

**REPORT OF THE
FOURTH CONGRESS
OF THE
R.I.L.U.**

*Red International of Labour Unions
4th Congress*

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FOREWORD

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U., by the number of countries and organised workers represented, has marked considerable progress as compared with the Third Congress. Represented in this Congress was the trade union movement of the countries of Europe, Asia, North and South America, Australia, and even some African organisations. Well represented were the Pacific, colonial and semi-colonial countries. Such representation testifies to the fact that the programme and tactics of the R.I.L.U. are penetrating ever deeper into the masses, and that the few years' work has already yielded serious results.

The Fourth Congress has summarized a prolonged period in the world's trade union movement; it has furnished advice on all the essential questions of strategy, tactics and organisation, and therefore the decisions of the Congress are of exceptionally great importance. Suffice it to compare the decisions of the Fourth Congress with those of the last Congress of the Amsterdam International to appreciate the difference not only in policies but also in working methods. The Amsterdamites usually confine themselves to passing a few resolutions of a general character, whereas the R.I.L.U. endeavours every time to furnish practical answers to the questions confronting the labour movement of every country. Never has the Amsterdam International taken up at its Congresses the tasks of the trade union movement of this or that country; it never did so because it maintains the standpoint of the autonomy of each organisation, of non-interference in the affairs of the different countries. The R.I.L.U. is combatting ideology and practices of this kind. There is no sense in creating an international organization if it is not to intervene, if it will not take up the essential problems and will not endeavour to utilize the international experience for the purpose of straightening out the line of the labour movement of this or that country. In this respect it will be very useful to study all the decisions adopted by the Congress and compare them with the decisions of the last Congress of the Amsterdam International.

The Fourth Congress has performed a tremendous work in summarizing and utilizing the experiences of the world trade union movement.

In the resolution on the first item on the agenda the Congress raised all the outstanding questions of the international labour movement. We have here a survey of the present stage of world capitalism, a characterization of the evolution of international reformism, questions of strike strategy, questions of unity, the results of the capitalist offensive, the condition of the masses, capitalist rationalization and its consequences, the role of the trade unions in the Workers' State, on the Amsterdam International, on the activity of R.I.L.U. adherents in reformist unions, on strengthening the revolutionary trade unions, on the struggle against expulsions from the trade unions, on the united front of the workers of West and East, on white and coloured labour, on the unity of trade unions in Latin America, on the struggle for the One International of trade unions, and so on. Particular place is given in the first resolution on the clearing up of our weak points and defects, which is characteristic of all the resolutions passed by the Congress.

The Congress did not confine itself to the drawing up of a general line, but it has worked out a programme of action as an international platform of the united front. The first resolution gave the tone to the whole Congress by its exhortation: INTO THE FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. INTO THE MASSES! This slogan and this standpoint have characterized also all the other resolutions: the resolution on the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, on the struggle against Fascism and yellow trade unions, questions of young workers and women workers, organizational questions, questions of cultural and educational activity, of the trade union press, on emigration and immigration, on social legislation, on rationalization, on the agricultural labourers, and so forth. All of them are permeated with the fundamental idea: INTO THE MASSES! The method and means of organizing the masses—this was uppermost in the deliberations of the Congress and of all its sessions and commissions. And each point in the adopted resolutions furnishes a reply to this very fundamental question to the revolutionary wing of the labour movement.

A particularly prominent place in the deliberations of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. was occupied by the question on the tasks of the trade union movement in the separate countries. From resolutions carried on such countries like England, United States, France, China, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Ireland, etc., it will be seen that the Congress had to deal closely with the peculiar circumstances

of each country. Whilst working on common principles, the practical tasks of the R.I.L.U. adherents in England, United States, China, and Ireland are so varied that separate programmes of action had to be worked out in the most minute and detailed manner. Each resolution for this or that country represents the essence of national and international experience, and this constitutes the incontestable value of the resolutions carried on in the separate countries.

The Congress has passed under the banner of stern self-criticism. There was not a single resolution passed in which all our weak points and defects have not been pointed out with full clearness and definiteness. Whether on the report of the Executive Bureau or on the first and all the other items of the agenda, and particularly in the resolutions concerning the separate countries—the Congress has invariably laid stress upon the weak sides of our work. We know that the reformists and bourgeois press has eagerly pounced upon our self-criticism, but this does not scare us in the least. We are not the Amsterdam International, we have nothing to conceal. We expose our weak points in order to put them right; we criticize one another in order to make further progress; we speak openly about our defects in order to dispose of them. If the Amsterdamites indulge in mutual praise, all the worse for them. The working class has no use for hypocritical diplomacy; it needs stern and honest self-criticism, on the basis of which it is possible to make further progress.

From all the adopted resolutions it is seen how seriously the Congress has studied our weak points and defects, and what advice it has given as regards putting them right. The deliberations of the Congress went on on highly constructive lines, regardless of the heated and impassioned debates. The deviations revealed in the course of the last few years were unanimously condemned. Among these deviations should be classed: unity at any price, a passive attitude towards the expulsions, a sentiment of awe in regard to the reformist trade union apparatus, the theory of capturing the reformist apparatus, the refraining from carrying on strike struggles in spite of the reformist leaders on the one hand, and insufficiently serious and reasonable calls for strikes on the other hand. All big and little deviations of this kind were fully dealt with in the debates and decisions of the Congress.

The resolutions and decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. should not only be read, but also studied, since each passage in these resolutions represents the concentrated experience of the world's ^{reforming} movement. The Congress has thought it necessary to furnish minute advice on all questions, bearing in mind that all the questions

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of the strategy and tactics of the world trade union movement have been elaborated to a sufficient degree. Of course, something had to be reiterated from the decisions of past Congresses, but the purpose of this reiteration was to lay stress upon the importance of those decisions that have not yet been carried out. Upon examining all the resolutions of the Congress from the standpoint of taking stock of the international experience, it may be said that they constitute a practical guide for all the R.I.L.U. adherents. This does not mean to say that the Congress has succeeded in minutely examining and discussing and formulating absolutely all the problems which now engage the attention of the world's trade union movement. In each country there will no doubt be found a score of questions to be solved, and such questions will daily arise in the international trade union movement. The resolutions and decisions of the Congress cannot furnish a mechanical reply to any questions which may arise in the future; nevertheless these resolutions contain such a vast amount of international experience, such a fund of practical hints for various types of trade union movement, for countries with varying social-economic traditions with a varying level of capitalist development, and a varying age of the labour movement, that a great many useful hints will be found in them for the further struggle to win the masses.

Once more I emphasize the need for all who are interested in the international trade union movement to study the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. in the most serious manner. The volume containing the resolutions and decisions of the Congress should become the companion of every class conscious worker, of every R.I.L.U. supporter, because he will find in these decisions, in concentrated and formulated shape, the vast experience of the world's revolutionary trade union movement.

A. LOSOVSKY.

May 11th, 1928.

RESOLUTION ON THE EXECUTIVE REPORT.

The IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. approves the political line and organisational activity of the Executive Bureau, observing that:

(1) The Executive Bureau has properly worked during the whole period under report in the direction of establishing the united front of the workers of all tendencies for organised counter-action to capitalist aggression;

(2) All the actions of the Executive Bureau were permeated with a sincere desire of attaining unity of the Trade Union movement upon a national and international scale in compliance with the decisions of the III. Congress of the R.I.L.U.;

(3) The Executive Bureau has worked in the spirit and in conformity with the decisions of all the Congresses of the R.I.L.U., rendering systematic aid to the Trade Union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries;

(4) That the Executive Bureau has acted properly when assisting in the organisation of the Pan-Pacific and Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat;

(5) The Executive Bureau has correctly extended its assistance to all the affiliated bodies in working out a more proper and clearer line in regard to the reconstruction of the trade unions upon the industrial principle;

(6) The Executive Bureau has acted in accordance with the decisions of the Congress when it urged the affiliated bodies to secure the organisational consolidation of their political influence and their constitution, either as minorities or as independent unions, upon the basis of democratic centralism;

(7) The Executive Bureau has acted properly when urging all the R.I.L.U. supporters to wage an energetic fight against expulsions from the reformist trade unions;

(8) The Executive Bureau has raised in time the question of the tactics of the R.I.L.U. adherents in the economic struggle, having exposed the weak points and shortcomings of the organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. in this respect.

Thus, considering the policy and practice of the R.I.L.U. correct, the IV. Congress at the same time notes a whole number of defects in the work of the Executive Bureau which

must positively be put right. Among these defects the following should be recorded:

(1) The insufficient contact between the Executive Bureau and the affiliated bodies, particularly in the individual countries.

(2) The insufficiently rapid response to current events.

(3) The absence of constant instructions of the affiliated organisations, the insufficient planfulness in the extension of aid in times of strikes, and the absence of a permanent Solidarity Fund.

(4) The insufficient activity for strengthening and broadening the work of the I.P.C.S.

The IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. instructs the incoming Executive Bureau to remedy all the aforesaid defects, AND TO DIRECT PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE ORGANISATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND, in order to render aid to the affiliated organisations of the R.I.L.U. in times of economic strikes.

The IV. Congress suggests to all organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. to do everything in their power to strengthen the central apparatus of the R.I.L.U. and to send responsible representatives to work upon the Executive Committee, thereby establishing regular and constant contact between the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated organisations.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT: SUMMARY, NEXT STEPS.

(Theses Adopted by the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress on Comrade Losovsky's Report).

1. General.

The state of world capitalism at the beginning of 1928 is marked by a fresh sharpening of the capitalist contradictions arising out of the strained atmosphere of the relationships between states and classes, and by the continuation, under new conditions and on a new basis, of the crisis in capitalist economy, rendering the stabilisation of capitalism less firm and secure.

The rivalries between the world powers in their endeavours to re-divide the world, in their thirst for new markets, where they may export their commodities and capital, and for new spheres of influence, are insistently growing. These rivalries bring in their wake a madder race in armaments, the formation of military alliances and treaties, while preparations for fresh imperialist wars are being openly carried on.

The mature financial and economic might and aggressiveness of American imperialism is meeting with the desperate resistance of Great Britain, which is more and more losing her world positions. Having reconstituted their productive apparatus, the German bourgeoisie is again coming forward with colonial claims. Other countries, such as Japan, France, Italy, etc., are sharply fighting for world markets and zones of influence.

The tremendous increase in the concentration of capital, the creation of powerful national and international trusts and combines, which, to an ever-increasing extent, are directly subordinating the machinery of the bourgeois State to themselves, is not only not smoothing out the contradictions in capitalism, but tending to render them more acute than ever.

The successes achieved in the sphere of stabilisation were carried out at the expense of the working class as a result of the economic and political offensive of the capitalists; mainly by lowering the living standards of the working masses, and to a lesser degree at the expense of the rationalisation of production. But it is precisely these very successes

which have called forth a wide disparity between production and the purchasing power of the broad masses, which have led to an extension of unemployment, to more bitter struggles for markets, etc. The growing economic struggle of the proletariat is becoming a serious factor undermining the firmness of capitalist stabilisation.

The flimsy nature of capitalist stabilisation is being made worse by the economic and political growth of the U.S.S.R., which is steadily and systematically raising the standard of living of the working class, successfully developing its work of socialist construction in industry, and is serving as a centre of attraction for the exploited masses the world over.

The Soviet Union's growth is compelling the international bourgeoisie to seek to overcome all the internal difficulties, with a view to throttling the country ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The struggle being waged by the millions of toilers of the colonies against imperialism is becoming a more and more important factor undermining capitalist stabilisation, while the struggle is making of them a mighty ally of the U.S.S.R. and of the revolutionary labour movement of the west.

Regarded on the whole, the international economic and political situation is conditioned by the steady sharpening of the class and social struggle, while a new period has begun of broader and sharper conflicts between the working class and capital. All activities of the Red International of Labour Unions and its adherents must be adopted towards preparing and directing this struggle.

II.—The Results of the Capitalist Offensive.

The political and economic offensive of centralised and trustified capitalism has led to the following: (1) the biggest economic disputes of recent years have finished in defeat for the workers, owing to the greater rallying powers and superior organisation of the employers and to the absence of the united front and the disunity of the workers, to be explained by the treacherous anti-labour tactics of the reformists (general strike, the miners' lockout in Britain, dispute in German railway industry, etc.); (2) compared with the general offensive of the employers and the beating back of the workers, any separate strikes won do not change the situation that has been established between labour and capital. This position of the relations between labour and capital have different forms in different countries. Whereas in Britain, for example, the process of the working class retreat has become of a lengthy character, and is still continuing in Germany, big sections of the proletariat have, during the last year, been

passing from the defensive to the partial offensive; (3) As compared with pre-war, in all capitalist countries there has been a lowering of the living standards of the vast mass of the working class, and only in a few countries has there been a raising of the life standards of certain sections of the workers (Britain, America); (4) unemployment in some countries (Britain) has become of a *permanent* character or of a constantly *recurrent* character (Germany); (5) practically everywhere the eight-hour working day has been withdrawn in actual fact, while at the same time social legislation has been whittled down; (6) a series of laws prohibiting the right of the workers to defend themselves has been introduced (the strike breakers' charter, in Britain), and the workers of many countries have been deprived of the right to possess their own class trade union organisations (anti-labour laws in Italy, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere), to call strikes, etc.; (7) with the aid of the reformists, anti-labour arbitration of a compulsory nature has been introduced by the capitalist State in many countries. In the United States, for instance, the American Federation of Labour is taking direct part in the drawing-up of an anti-strike law which provides for the compulsory arbitration in bourgeois courts; (8) an attack is being made on an international scale against the rights of the trade unions won by scores of years of fighting (Britain and elsewhere). At the same time the employers are making extensive efforts to introduce the company and all manner of non-class unions.

The result of this systematic and organised offensive has been a lowering of the masses' standard of life, has made for the weakening, while in many countries it has brought about the smashing of the trade unions and the other class organisations of the proletariat; by the use, on a wide scale, of their allies, the social reformists, the employers are, at the same time, making efforts to destroy the very possibility of resistance of the working class, using measures which lead to its complete disarmament. The distinguishing feature of the present-day "industrial peace" lies in its being carried out not by buying over the upper strata of the proletariat, as was the case before the War (the bourgeoisie at the present being unable to do so for lack of means), but by the preliminary smash-up of the working class, which still more emphasizes the treacherous role of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

III.—Transforming the Leading Organs of the Reformist Unions into a Direct Weapon of the Capitalist Organisations.

During the last few years the reformist trade union leaders have come to occupy such an anti-labour position that they are

in no wise to be distinguished from the leaders of the liberal, Christian and other unions based upon the harmony of interests between labour and capital, although they frequently mislead the worker, with their shouts about the class struggle. The rule of the reformist leaders in the trade unions is leading more and more to the destruction of the difference between the organisations which came into being as organs of the class struggle (free unions in Germany, etc.) and the bourgeois unions working for industrial peace. But the work of transforming the unions into organs of class collaboration is meeting with the serious resistance of the working class. Even if the reformists have succeeded in transforming part of the lower organs of the trade union organisations into a weapon of the employers and the bourgeois State, still a considerable part of the lower organs of the trade union movement are determinedly resisting this sort of thing.

Following are the features of this evolution: (1) *Fusion* of the leading lights of the trade union machinery with the apparatus of the bourgeois State (affiliation of the reformist Confederation of Labour of France to the National Economic Council, etc., etc.); (2) *amalgamation* with the employers' organisations (leagues and institutes of industrial peace in Britain, bloc of the trade union leaders and the bourgeoisie against strikes in Germany, Poland, etc.); (3) *voluntary submission* to the arbitration of the capitalist State (Germany, etc.); (4) *bloc* of the employers, police and trade union leaders against the striking workers (Germany, France, Balkans, United States, etc.); (5) *united front* of reformists and employers for the purpose of purging the factories of revolutionary workers; (6) transformation of the trade unions into organs of capitalist rationalisation (Britain, France, Germany, United States, etc.); (7) *collaboration* of leaders and employers to smash the trade unions and transform the reformist unions into company unions, which is having a catastrophic effect on the trade union movement (United States); (8) *submission* to the ruling classes and their organisations which only increases the aggressive attitude towards the left wing of the trade union movement. These repressions are becoming more powerful the more big class battles develop.

In addition to the act of sabotaging of the economic struggle, the reformist bureaucracy, forced under pressure from the masses to display a certain amount of initiative in the fight for higher wages and shorter hours (Germany, Austria, etc.), are striving, whilst retaining the leadership of the unions in their own hands, to prevent the development of a mass movement of the proletariat and the transformation of strikes into political struggles. By displaying a certain measure of activity in the economic struggle, the trade union bureaucrats are also aiming at creating a basis for themselves for government combinations. In these cases where the reformist bureaucracy finds itself at the

head of the mass movement out of fear that the leadership of the mass movement may pass into the hands of the revolutionaries it endeavours on the one hand to show to the employers that it has the masses in hand, and on the other tries to throttle the movement of the workers as soon as possible.

All these new features in the policy of the trade union bureaucracy are bringing about the complete subjugation of the reformist trade unions to the employers' organisations and the capitalist State, and so to the destruction of the unions generally.

IV.—Leaders Move to Right, Masses to Left.

As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, the successful offensive of the capitalists on the workers' standards of living is giving positive results for the bourgeoisie in consequence of: (a) The actual assistance given by the reformist trade union apparatus; (b) the possibility of utilising the cheap labour of the colonies in place of the dear labour of the capitalist countries; (c) the weak organisation of the workers—disruption and disunity of the trade unions. But these same causes arouse in the masses new sentiments which find their expression in a growing lack of confidence in their leaders; (1) attempts to take independent action against the capitalist offensive *without* and often *against* the reformist trade union leaders; (2) growing sympathy with the U.S.S.R.; (3) the formation of Friends of Russia Groups in many countries; (4) greater interest in the labour movement of the colonies and in the Chinese labour movement in particular; (5) an increase in the influence of the R.I.L.U. affiliated organisations; (6) a greater will on the part of the masses to resist the capitalist offensive.

This leftward drift of the masses which is evidenced in demonstrations at elections, in spontaneous, and what are called "wild" strikes, is not entirely of a uniform character. The various sections of the working class are moving to the left in various ways (transferring their votes from the Conservatives to the reformists; withdrawing their support from the reformists and transferring it to the Communists); this is a zig-zag, devious process. Left wing sentiment, yet undeveloped, but particularly strong in the reformist unions during the existence of the Anglo-Russian Committee which found expression in the setting up of unity groups, has at the present time taken fairly definite shape in a number of countries. The break of the Anglo-Russian Committee has brought about a process of political differentiation in the left wing of the Amsterdam International—certain of the Left Wingers, especially the leaders, have followed the General Council, while part have gone with the Russian Trade Union Council. On the other hand, the growing left sentiment in the masses inevitably faces each worker with the question of *whom he is to go with*—with Amsterdam or with Moscow? This has led to an increase in the ideological influence of the R.I.L.U. in

all countries, and to the R.I.L.U. supporters playing a greater part in all economic and political fights of the working class. But the ideological crystallisation of the revolutionary wing of the labour movement has gone far ahead compared with the organisational consolidation of this influence on the masses. This discrepancy will have to be done away with at all costs, and as speedily as possible. This Leftward drift of the masses organised inside the reformist unions makes it imperative that we wage a more intensive and determined struggle to withdraw the corrupt trade union bureaucrats from their posts and to drive them out of the trade union movement as people who have completely linked up their fate with the bourgeois State, and whose further leadership of the trade unions threatens the very existence of the latter.

V.—Capitalist Rationalisation and its Consequences.

Aiming at decreasing the cost of production with a view to increasing competitive ability on the world markets, the capitalist rationalisation now being carried out in all capitalist countries at the expense of the working class has already revealed all its negative features to a sufficient extent. Capitalist rationalisation signifies the raising of capitalist profits, the increasing of the power of the capitalists at the expense of the working masses by: (1) Destroying the eight-hour working day and lengthening it to 10 and even 12 hours (Italy, Germany, etc.); (2) throwing out of production considerable sections of the proletariat and consolidating the standing army of the unemployed; (3) directly and indirectly cutting wages (Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Italy, etc.); (4) increasing to an exceptional extent the intensity of labour which is not compensated for by correspondingly raising the standard of living and improving working conditions (Germany, Japan, United States, etc.); (5) more rapidly wearing out, wearing down, and exhausting the worker's organism, thus increasing and spreading illness, leading to higher mortality, etc.; (6) greatly increasing the specific gravity in the factories of the unskilled workers and of women workers and the youth; (7) making it easier to replace workers during disputes, owing to the influx of unskilled workers from the villages, etc.; (8) creating more obstacles to prevent the raising of the cultural level of the working masses.

Against all these evils connected with capitalist rationalisation, it is essential to fight on the basis of concrete demands, namely: (1) for the 7-hour working day; (2) for the retention of the 8-hour working day; (3) for higher wages; (4) against overtime work; (5) for an annual fortnight's holiday as minimum on full average wages; for annual month's holiday for workers in heavy and harmful occupations, as well as for young workers.

The struggle against all the evils concomitant with capitalist

rationalisation will be all the more successful the larger the number of workers the R.I.L.U. supporters prove able to organise and the greater the activity the working masses develop in fighting the latest and most refined forms and methods of exploitation.

VI.—Intensification of the Economic Struggle and our Tasks.

At the present time economic strikes involving the most important branches of production or large scale concentrated undertakings rapidly acquire a political character. The experience of recent years goes to show that the most important reasons for defeat in the economic struggle are: (1) sabotage of the struggle by the reformist leaders; (2) not enough of a skilful approach by R.I.L.U. supporters to the questions of strike tactics; (3) the disruption and disunity of the Trade Union movement. The major feature of all recent large scale disputes between the workers and the employers has been the capitulation of the leaders against the will of the masses, either before or during the very hottest moment of the struggle. In connection with the more frequent scabbing on the part of the Amsterdamites, the supporters of the R.I.L.U. are confronted with the task of directing strikes apart *from* and *against* the will of the reformist leaders, but in order to bring the masses with us, not only against the employers, but also against the reformist trade union leaders, it is essential to develop a great deal of work in organising the masses, for success in the economic struggle depends on plodding, steady, day-to-day, preparatory work.

In regard to strike tactics, it must be borne in mind that, according to the demands pressed at the beginning of a strike, it is essential in the process of its development to link it up with the general class tasks of the proletariat; that not every dispute must unfailingly close with a strike, but the masses ought always to be got ready for the use of this method of fighting; that to be a revolutionary does not mean that it is one's whole duty to outbid the reformists in making demands on the employers; that the success of a strike depends on the economic situation, on the degree to which the masses are prepared, and particularly on the activities of the revolutionary wing of the labour movement; that it is necessary to avoid blustering phrases with no punch behind them (the frequent "general" strikes in the Latin countries—France, Spain, etc); that in the event of the Union's refusing to take action in time, and providing there is genuine enthusiasm in the masses, the initiative must be taken in directing the struggle through strike committees; that efforts ought to be made to obtain the election of special organs to run the strike and to fight against the appointment of strike committees by the reformist unions; that there must be no playing with strikes (France), but that once a strike has begun, it must be carried out with the utmost determination; that the struggle must not be carried on

till the forces of the strikers are completely exhausted, but one must be able in time to retreat in proper order (for example, strikes lasting ten to twelve months, despite the fact that the strikers had been replaced by scabs); that in the conditions engendered by the concentration of industry, the strike weapon will prove all the more successful the more important the branches of industry involved in the strike; finally, that partial strikes as well, must be resorted to and not held up (French Unitary Federation of Miners) if they involve all the workers of the undertaking, concern, group of undertakings or a whole district, and providing such strikes can furnish direct results, or break the united front of the employers and reformists.

The chief thing to remember in the economic fight is this, that a strike is just like fighting a war and that in war you require the utmost straining of ALL forces and clarity of objectives. What is therefore essential is: (1) clearness, simplicity and general comprehensiveness of demands; (2) active participation of all strikers in the drawing up of demands, irrespective of the strikers' political outlook and Trade Union affiliation; (3) minimum of slogans; (4) slogans to correspond with the extent and importance of the strike; (5) co-ordination of economic with political demands; (6) creation of organs to direct a strike on the united front basis.

In view of the concentration of industry, strikes are more likely to be successful if militant alliances are concluded between the most important kindred groups of workers, which enable the battlefront to be extended and greater masses of workers involved. The supporters of the R.I.L.U. must always remember that to secure victory for the workers in the economic fights, a systematic and stubborn struggle for the winning of a majority of the workers organised in the reformist unions as well as for the consolidation of the independent revolutionary unions. It is precisely in connection with preparations, the conducting and the results of strikes, that the R.I.L.U. supporters must concretely and insistently confront the Trade Union members with the question of removing from their posts the Trade Union bureaucrats who sabotage the strike, and of replacing them by revolutionary workers. The R.I.L.U. adherents should clearly and practically prove to the workers that the more speedily and thoroughly the agents of capital in the midst of the working class are thrown out of their trade union posts, the easier and more certain it will be to secure victory for the workers over the employers.

VII.—Trade Unions in the Workers' State.

Whilst in all capitalist countries the political and economic offensive is being made on the working class and its Trade Union organisations, whilst all the inventions of modern science in capitalist countries are being directed against the workers, in the

U.S.S.R. the role of the trade unions in the political life and industrial construction of the Soviet Republics is steadily growing, the economic position of the working masses is improving, and the Socialist rationalisation of production aims not at enslaving but at freeing the working class. In the U.S.S.R. the rationalisation of production differs from rationalisation in the capitalist countries in that it aims at increasing the power of the working class and raising its material and cultural standards. It is for this very reason that in the U.S.S.R. the rationalisation of production is directly connected with the introduction of a seven-hour working day, with improved labour protection and better working conditions, etc., whereas in capitalist countries all the advantages of rationalisation go to strengthen the power of the capitalist class and increase the employers' profits.

This destruction of capitalist exploitation and the transference of all the means of production and exchange, and of all the resources of the country into the true common weal, constitutes a tremendous weapon for disintegrating the entire capitalist world. On the other hand, the fact that the working class is the RULING class on the territory of one-sixth of the globe cannot but raise the exploited masses throughout the world to the struggle against their exploiters. Thus, the very existence of the U.S.S.R. itself divides the entire world into two parts: into the ardent friends and the mortal enemies of the Rule of Labour. This explains the attractive force the U.S.S.R. possesses on the workers of all countries, and the growing hatred of the international bourgeoisie for the only working class government in the world, to defend which is the class duty of every exploited toiler, of every proletarian.

VIII.—The Amsterdam International a Capitalist Weapon.

In the last few years the Amsterdam International and the International Industrial Secretariats, led by the former, have particularly shown their dependence on the international bourgeoisie. In all campaigns undertaken by the bourgeoisie against left wing workers and against the U.S.S.R., the Amsterdam International occupies first place. Inside the Amsterdam International a fight is taking place along the cleavage-line of national and imperialist contradictions, which was shown most clearly at the last congress in Paris, and at the Berlin session of its Executive Committee. The long struggle over the question of where the Amsterdam International is to have its headquarters, and the endeavour of the German reformists to transfer the centre of this so-called International to Berlin, reflects the growing role of the German bourgeoisie in world policy and economy. All Amsterdam's activities are characterised by the talk in Geneva of the value of social reforms and by its ruthless struggle against the revolutionary wing

of the international labour movement. It may be said that the chief aim and object of the Amsterdam International's existence is that of fighting by all possible means for the recovery of capitalism, for class peace, that is, for the subordination of the workers' interests to the employers' interests. This explains the growing activity of Amsterdam and its Sections in the struggle against the left wing danger. Hence, also its growing hostility to the working class of the U.S.S.R., its ceaseless struggle against unity; hence, the split of all organisations where its supporters are in the minority; its refusal to negotiate with the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., and absence of any desire on its part to establish unity in the world Trade Union movement through the instrumentality of a democratically convened world congress of trade unions; hence, its refusal to help even those of its own organisations, which by their actions threaten the recovery of capitalism (miners' lockout in Britain); hence, its refusal to aid the struggle for freedom of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries (China); hence its imperialist and anti-labour attitude; the participation of reformists in class collaboration conferences for the object of carrying out the rationalisation of capitalist industry; hence, the efforts of the reformists to suppress and disarm the workers fighting against the consequences of capitalist rationalisation; whilst this also explains why the reformists do not organise the unemployed, thus enabling the capitalists to make use of the unemployed against the workers at work. The Amsterdam International constitutes an organic part of the bourgeois-capitalist system and it is by this fact that its tactics and policy are determined.

IX.—Work of R.I.L.U. Supporters in Reformist Unions.

At the present time reformism represents a serious force further more because: (1) it still has the backing of considerable sections of the workers; (2) it has a large bureaucratic apparatus at its disposal; and (3) in its struggle against the revolutionary wing of the labour movement, can count on the support of the whole machinery of the bourgeois State. Therefore, one of the big defects in the work of the R.I.L.U. adherents is the under-estimation of the forces of international reformism and its individual national Sections. It is indisputable that: (1) international reformism is being torn by national contradictions; (2) a considerable step forward has been taken in the revolutionisation of the working class in the most important capitalist countries; (3) the revolutionary elements of the working class have considerable successes to record in the work of winning the confidence of the broad working masses; but it is just as indisputable that in the most important capitalist countries (Germany, Britain), the reformists still stand at the head of the overwhelming majority

of the trade unions, and by this means—in spite of the low percentage of the organised workers in the main branches of production—can take the lead in big economic battles of the working class (general strike, British miners' lockout, German railway dispute, etc.) in order to smash the whole movement and make it easier for the bourgeoisie to punish the working class. Taking this into consideration, the chief task of the R.I.L.U. adherents in these countries still remains that of winning a majority of the workers organised in the reformist unions. This work demands of the R.I.L.U. supporters the utmost tact, and able approach to the workers under reformist influence, a patient, comradely explanation to the workers of the necessity for repudiating reformist methods, ability in their criticism of reformism to distinguish between the reformist bureaucrats and the working masses organised in the Amsterdam unions, ability correctly to formulate not only general, revolutionary policy, but also correctly to manage practical activities in the unions, and the ability, not in words, but in deeds, to realise the united front of the workers of all views.

X.—Strengthening the Revolutionary Trade Unions.

In those countries where besides the class revolutionary unions (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Japan, etc.), there are reformist unions as well, the main task of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. is to do everything possible to strengthen the revolutionary trade unions, to develop their activities, and, in the process of the struggle, to make them the effective leader of the mass movement of the proletariat. First and foremost, they must be strengthened by bringing the broad mass of the unorganised workers into the revolutionary trade unions by reorganising the whole revolutionary trade union movement on the factory basis, by establishing close connections between the leading organs and the workers at the point of production. If they are to pull the masses with them, the revolutionary trade unions must give their fullest attention to the day-to-day, practical and minor needs of the workers. They must watch everything that goes on in all factories; they must at once respond to the workers' demands; they must rapidly seize on and formulate these demands, and be able at the suitable moment to take the lead of the mass movement by drawing the workers in the reformist unions into the struggle.

In regard to the reformist unions, the revolutionary trade unions must follow the policy of establishing unity of action between the workers of different views directly at the point of production and in all working class action against the capitalists. The revolutionary unions must help all revolu-

tionary and left wing elements inside the reformist unions who are fighting inside their own organisation against the reformist leadership; they must give these elements every assistance by helping them to rally those workers in the reformist organisations round the slogan of the class struggle.

While always broadcasting the slogan of setting up a single trade union organisation in every country, the revolutionary trade unions must bear in mind that the fullest organisational strengthening of their own ranks, the increasing of their own memberships, the extending of their influence over the mass of workers both in the reformist organisations and those outside any trade union organisation, and what is the most important thing, a correct policy in regard to the class struggle of the trade unions, is the best guarantee for the speediest establishment of trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle.

Depending on the situation, conditions, time and place, individual trade union organisations belonging to the reformist centre which are won over by the R.I.L.U. adherents may be transferred to the revolutionary centre. This sort of question must be settled as the need arises from the viewpoint of the effect it is likely to have on the further influence of the revolutionary trade unions on the broad masses of the proletariat of the country concerned.

XI.—Struggle for the United Front and Unity.

The tactics of the united front and unity which have justified themselves during the last few years must be continued. Everywhere, particularly when economic conflicts are growing and sharpening, foremost place must be given to the united front of the workers of all views and to have unity of action in the struggle against the employers. At the same time it is essential to fight most determinedly against the subordination of the interests of the class struggle to formal unity. A determined struggle must be fought against the policy of unity at any price (such slogans are to be met with in France, Czecho-Slovakia), for unity is not an aim in itself, but a means to an end. The working class requires unity to increase its ability to fight, to raise its activity—it needs unity on the basis of the class struggle. That is why the struggle for unity must not be of an abstract character, why it must be based on a concrete programme of action against capital.

In view of the evolution undergone by the leaders of the Amsterdam International, the *main slogan should be: Unity from below*: at the point of production, in the rank and file organs of the reformist trade unions. This does not exclude the

possibility of negotiations with the leading organs of the reformist unions, but such negotiations after the break-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee (which was a model of the united front from above and below) are remoter than ever. Negotiations between the unions of the U.S.S.R., Norway and Finland, have given results partially because neither the Norwegian nor Finnish unions are affiliated to the Amsterdam International, though mainly because the mass of the Norwegian workers have brought pressure to bear on their leaders. Thus, **UNITY FROM BELOW** must be given first place, for the more direct contact between the organs of unity at the point of production, the more definite and stable they will be, and the more chances there are that the united front and unity will be created on the basis of the class struggle. The chief thing is to remember that the stronger the revolutionary unions and minorities are, and the more workers they are able to organise the more speedily and more closely we will get to the realisation of unity.

XII.—Fight the Expulsions from the Trade Unions.

The closer the alliance between the trade union bureaucracy and the employers becomes, the less finicky the bureaucrats are in breaking the most elementary rights of union members and the more furious they are in their attacks on the revolutionary workers. The withdrawal from their posts, the expulsion of progressive workers from the reformists unions and other repressions are becoming more and more frequent (Britain, Germany, U.S.A., etc.), yet the supporters of the R.I.L.U. do not everywhere react to this sort of thing with sufficient energy and determination. For example, we find the revolutionary press of Germany giving very little attention to the method of these expulsions. Instead of organising a campaign up and down the country against expulsions, views are voiced that any sharp protest might only make the position worse and lead to further expulsions. In such cases passivity is particularly dangerous if it be supplemented by a tinge of the theory of unity. Such theories must be resisted most determinedly since they represent nothing more than the merest capitulation. Whoever does not fight against expulsions just on account of the unity pretext or declines to undertake revolutionary work in the unions so as not to render himself liable to expulsion, is no revolutionary, for capitulation to the reformists is the first step to capitulation to the bourgeoisie. The struggle against expulsions must be conducted with maximum determination, always keeping in view that the main thing is to get the masses to participate in this work and to make every violation of trade

union democracy, every expulsion, the immediate business of the broad masses. When the reformists undertake expulsions for the purpose of disorganising left wing locals or trades councils (Bas'le) submission would mean to repudiate the right of winning entire trade union organisations for the class struggle. In the struggle against expulsions, the supporters of the R.I.L.U. must effect a broad mobilisation of the working masses, both in their own unions, and in the working class generally, for the reinstatement of expelled members. The adherents of the R.I.L.U. must make efforts to get the biggest possible number of trade union organisations to take action against expulsions and actively to fight for unity against the splitting activities of the trade union bureaucracy.

XIII.—The United Front of the Workers of the East and West.

The offensive on the standard of life of the workers in the capitalist countries is facilitated to a considerable extent by the fact that capital can emigrate to the colonies or regulate the whole labour market by the gigantic reservoir of cheap labour at its disposal in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as in the economically backward countries of Europe. The combination of up-to-date technique with cheap slave labour furnishes fabulous profits, and the possibility for the capitalists of utilising in their own interests racial and national contradictions; this is what constitutes the attractive power of such countries for the investment of capital. With the rapid industrialism of the Pacific littoral, it is becoming more and more difficult to compete with these countries. The low living standards of the doubly exploited and oppressed workers may lead, against their will and wish, to the lowering of a standard of life of the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, since the employers always want to level wages down to the cheapest type of labour. We witness the forcible proletarianisation of the African tribesman, forced by poll-tax and hut-tax to abandon their pastoral life and become wage slaves for the British landlords. Hence such pressure in recent years on the working conditions in the home countries, together with counteraction against the raising of the well-being of the colonial workers. Instead of making efforts to liberate the colonies and to raise the standards of the workers in those countries suffering under imperialist oppression, the reformists endeavour to establish their guardianship over them so that they may not work in the direction of independence apart from imperialism (General Council and British Labour Party in India, etc.).

In this connection the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat set up in the middle of 1927 which unites the workers of the most important Pacific countries acquires particular importance. The said Secretariat, to which are affiliated the trade unions of China, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, the U.S.S.R., the left trade unions of Japan, the revolutionary minorities of Britain and the U.S.A., etc. is deserving of all support, seeing that it has placed the question of lining up the workers of the East with those of the West on a practical foundation. In particular, extensive help must be given to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat by the workers of those countries (Britain, France, Japan, U.S.A.), whose bourgeoisie have possessions in the Pacific and hold in slavery hundreds of millions of the toilers in those colonial and semi-colonial countries.

XIV.—White and Coloured Labour.

In some countries (U.S.A., etc.) where the workers belong to different nationalities and different races, it is found that a burning question there is that of relations between the white and coloured workers. The reactionary leaders of the unions refuse to admit negro workers to membership, or else admit them as members not enjoying full trade union rights. It must be said that R.I.L.U. adherents are far too passive in this matter. Instead of at once starting to organise unions of the negro workers, they pass annual resolutions on this subject. These resolutions have not advanced matters a single step. It must be realised once and for all that this is not a problem for the future, but of the present. In the United States, where there are not less than five million negro workers, the dragging out of this question is a most serious mistake. Our minds must be made up to begin with to the organisation of the negro workers in special unions. At the same time an active struggle must be fought for admitting negroes into existing trade unions, while exposing the policy of racial prejudice pursued by the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The refusal to organise the negro workers in special unions on the excuse of a falsely understood internationalism or on the pretext that such independent negro unions would isolate the negro workers from the white workers, which can only play into the hands of the trade union bureaucrats and enable them to go on sabotaging the organising of the negroes, is really out and out opportunism. Racial restrictions and racial prejudices will be all the more easily overcome the more speedily the broad masses of the negro proletariat enter the path of the organised class struggle. There must be no

putting off or delaying, or else this work of organisation will take place without us and, consequently, against us. The negroes represent an enormous potential revolutionary force, and any disregard of the work of organising the negroes is really an echo of the ruling classes' influence.

XV.—Towards the Trade Union Federation of Latin-America.

The endeavour of the United States to obtain possession of all the riches of Latin America is forcing a profound protest from the working masses of these countries. This protest is all the stronger in that American imperialism acts not only directly, but also through its henchmen—the organisation known as the Pan-American Federation of Labour. Anarcho-syndicalism and reformism are the two diseases the Latin-American labour movement suffers from. The growth of social contradictions, the fruitlessness of anarchist tactics, the hopelessness of reformist strategy, the necessity for rallying to the full all workers in each country as well as the labour movement of the whole of Latin America, for the struggle against the common danger, is forcing the trade unions towards the line of revolutionary class struggle, towards unification of their forces for joint action against United States imperialism. Hence, the origin of the idea of setting up a Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat. The R.I.L.U. and all its affiliated bodies must render every support to this initial step, realising that every movement towards the unification of the workers of several countries is likely to bring the labour movement of the whole world near to the creation of an ALL-in International. It goes without saying that the supporters of the R.I.L.U. must do all that lies in their power to prevent this freshly created organisation from remaining aloof from the international Trade Union movement, and that it should, on the contrary, serve as the starting point for bringing the labour movement of Latin-America into the ranks of the struggle against American imperialism, and into the struggle of the international proletariat for its emancipation.

In this connection the R.I.L.U. supporters in the United States must in close contact with the Latin-American Secretariat, give particular attention to the fight against the attack of United States imperialism on the countries of Latin-America, by organising a united front of the workers of North and South America against United States imperialism and its labour agents in the person of the Pan-American Federation of Labour.

XVI.—Struggle for the Single Class Trade Union International.

In spite of the stubborn unwillingness of the Amsterdam International to take heed of the demands and interests of the

masses, the problem of the creation of the Single All-inclusive International remains in full force. The greater the number of Trade Union organisations brought into the struggle for the united International, the more determinedly the international organisations coming into existence (Pan-Pacific Secretariat, Latin-American Secretariat) and the international organs of the united front (Soviet-Norwegian-Finnish agreement, and the Soviet-Swedish and the Soviet-Norwegian industrial committees) fight for unity, the sooner will success be met with in rallying the entire world Trade Union movement round one centre, and in creating a powerful weapon against Capital. Come what may, it is essential to smash the counter-action of the Amsterdamites, to fight for the Single International, despite all the sabotage of the reformist allies of imperialism. The international proletariat cannot wait till the Amsterdamites want unity. Unity must be gained in the everyday struggle against the employers and their reformist henchmen. The broad working masses must be made to realise what the Single International is needed for and in what respects this united international will have to differ from the Amsterdam International. The working class needs the International to fight the bourgeoisie, not to arrange agreements with it. It needs the International to organise action on a world scale against the capitalists, in order to help with the joint forces of the international proletariat, the struggle of the workers of any country, of any particular industry. The working class requires unity in the international Trade Union movement, and therefore, all supporters of the R.I.L.U. must line up the masses *without the help of* and *against* the will of the reformist leaders who are sabotaging unity and continue steadily to work for the erection of a Single, Militant, Working Class International of Trade Unions.

In view of the fact that in their policy in practical activities the International Secretariats are not to be distinguished from the Amsterdam International, and that the problem of co-ordinated international action becomes imperative in the measure that the number and scope of the international trusts extend, the IV. R.I.L.U. Congress considers it necessary to strengthen and develop the work of the international wing of the Trade Union movement in the individual branches of production. For this purpose it is necessary on the one hand to pay redoubled attention to organising the workers of the most important branches of production (coal, iron, electricity, gas, chemicals, marine and railway transport), and on the other hand to transform the International Propaganda Committees into organs organising and directing the economic struggle of the workers in their respective industries. It is only by steadily fighting against the international secretariats and their policy of treachery that united internationals will be set up for each industry.

XVII.—Our Weaknesses and Defects.

In order successfully to advance towards the further conquest of the masses, it is essential to take a perfectly sober attitude towards the weaknesses and defects which have revealed themselves in recent years. The revolutionary Trade Union movement can grow and develop only on the basis of serious self-criticism. Our bourgeois-reformist enemies try to utilise this self-criticism in their own interests, but no real revolutionary can, nor must, repudiate self-criticism merely because it is going to be used by the enemies of the working class. All R.I.L.U. affiliated organisations must constantly verify their work by means of self-criticism, by discussing Trade Union questions at general meetings of unions' members, as well as by ascertaining all defects after every big strike or other movement. The main defects and weak points of the revolutionary Trade Union movement are as follows :—

(1) Duplication of Party slogans and Party programmes instead of drawing up a practical Trade Union programme of demands.

(2) Insufficient attention to the work of organising the unorganised, and failure to realise that in many countries (France, United States of America, Japan, etc.) this is the most important way to get to the masses.

(3) Proclamation of slogans not corresponding to the objective situation (workers' control and nationalisation in Germany).

(4) Lack of conformity between the character of a strike and its slogans (the slogan for overthrowing the bourgeois State and the slogan of the worker-peasant government during the recent railway dispute in Germany).

(5) Too frivolous an attitude to strikes (France) and failure to realise that every strike lost through our fault weakens the revolutionary Trade Union movement.

(6) Disproportion between political influence and the organisational consolidation of this influence (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, etc.).

(7) Insufficient understanding of the tactics of the united front and unity as the most important method of gaining the masses (United States of America, France, etc.).

(8) Not enough of an energetic struggle against expulsions and violations of Trade Union democracy (Germany).

(9) Insufficient connections between the workers in the factories and the directing organs (France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.).

(10) Insufficient mobility on the part of our organisations, lack of ability to respond to the questions agitating the working masses, and insufficient ability to arouse the initiative of the masses.

(11) Not enough ability to promote fresh young blood to leading posts in the unions.

(12) Failure sufficiently to carry into effect the principle of democratic centralism in all links of trade union organisation.

(13) Insufficient attendance to the needs and demands of the workers, which is one of the most important means of winning the masses in all countries.

(14) Lack of systematic work by the trade unions with a view to enrolling women in the unions and promoting them to responsible trade union work.

These defects, met with in various combinations in all countries, must be got rid of at all costs, otherwise they threaten to retard the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement.

XVIII.—Programme of Action.

Considering the social conflicts that are becoming more acute with each passing day, the move to the Right of the reformist leaders and the Leftward drift of the masses, and the continuing political and economic offensive of the capitalists, the fourth R.I.L.U. Congress calls on all revolutionary workers to rally the forces of the proletariat on the basis of the following PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

(1) Struggle against longer working day, for the 7-hour working day as maximum, and for the 6-hour day underground, in harmful occupations, and for young workers under eighteen.

(2) Struggle against all results of capitalist rationalisation by demanding higher wages, improving and placing on a healthy basis the conditions of labour in rationalised undertakings, etc.

(3) Struggle against the degradation of the standards of life; for increased real wages; for equal pay for equal work.

(4) Struggle against all taxes whatsoever on wages, and for the transfer of the entire burden of taxation to the shoulders of the ruling classes.

(5) Struggle for state insurance for the unemployed and those working short time, for all wage workers. Struggle for equal right of unemployed women to benefit.

(6) Struggle for the protection of female and child labour and nursing mothers.

(7) Struggle for a developed trade union democracy against the slightest attempts whatsoever to restrict the rights of members, against expulsions and repressions on the part of the trade union bureaucracy. For full freedom of opinion inside the unions.

(8) Struggle to enrol the unskilled and unorganised workers in the unions; to enrol the women workers and working youth in the unions.

(9) Struggle against all racial barriers whatever in the Trade Union movement, against dividing the unions according to nationality and religion.

(10) Struggle against Fascist, yellow, and nationalist unions; for the full freedom of the class unions, Trade Union press, etc.

(11) Struggle against compulsory arbitration, against the submission of conflicts between Labour and Capital to bourgeois courts, against the support of blacklegs by the State, against the interference of the police and courts in the economic struggle of the working class.

(12) Struggle for the united front, for a fraternal alliance in the struggle of the workers of all shades of opinion in the struggle against Capital and the bourgeois State.

(13) Struggle against splits, and for the creation in each country of a single organisation, to include all unions, and based on the class struggle.

(14) Struggle against all forms of class collaboration, against industrial peace, against profit-sharing, against the participation of the unions and factory committees in the work of increasing the productivity of labour in capitalist undertakings, etc.

(15) Struggle for the transformation of the co-operatives in capitalist countries into genuine working class organisations, able to render support to the workers in their struggle against the employers.

(16) Struggle for the fraternal rapprochement of the workers in capitalist countries with the victorious working class of the U.S.S.R.

(17) Energetic struggle for the creation of international industrial unity committees.

(18) Struggle for the creation of a single all-inclusive class International embracing the trade unions of all countries, all continents, and all races.

This programme of action, which may serve as an INTERNATIONAL PLATFORM FOR THE UNITED FRONT, must be made as popular as possible among the broad masses, linked up with the struggle for bringing the workers of the West into closer touch with the workers of the oppressed East, with the defence of the Chinese Revolution, with the struggle against the imperialist League of Nations and the International Labour Office, with the struggle against the Fascist reaction, against imperialist wars and attempts to surround and blockade the U.S.S.R., with the support of the labour movement of countries suffering from white terror and

Fascism, etc. The main thing is to mobilise the masses on the basis of concrete demands, and focus constant and unflagging attention on the day-to-day needs of the working class.

XIX.—Getting Down to the Masses.

The most important task of all R.I.L.U. supporters is to get into as close touch as possible with the factories and workshops. Each passing day sees reaction grow stronger. The united front of the employers, social democrats and Amsterdamites is working to purge the factories of revolutionary workers. The R.I.L.U. adherents will prove able to withstand the shocks of Fascist reaction and white terror only in the measure in which they are organically connected with the working masses. Every workshop, every factory must become our fortress. Only if we get right to the heart of the masses will it be found impossible to eradicate us. That is why the IV. Congress turns to all supporters of the R.I.L.U., to all fighters for the liberation of the working class, with the call:

TO THE FACTORIES!

TO THE SHOPS!

DOWN TO THE MASSES!

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES.

(Theses Adopted on Reports by Comrades Heller and Su).

The three and a half years which have elapsed since the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U. constituted a period of tremendous changes in the political life and in the labour movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

I. The struggle of the imperialists for colonies and semi-colonies in the scramble for raw material resources, selling markets, cheap labour, and fields of investment for foreign capital with a view to the extraction of super-profits, remains the fundamental mainspring of international politics.

By the side of the Asiatic continent and Central and South America, ever larger importance as an object of capitalist exploitation is acquired by the African continent. Besides the old zones of imperialism in North, Central, and South Africa (Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, Kapstadt, Transvaal, Rhodesia, Congo), the imperialist powers are becoming more and more "interested" in equatorial Africa. The cry of "valorisation" (capitalist exploitation) of the African colonies is becoming popular not only in capitalist circles in France and in Belgium, but it attracts ever greater attention on the part of Great Britain, as the latter is diligently "valorizing" Kenya, Tanganaica, Uganda (East Africa), the Gold Coast, the Elephantine Coast, Nigeria (West Africa), whilst even the United States is developing large plans for the "peaceable" capture of definite territories in Africa: Liberia (rubber), Abyssinia, Sudan (cotton).

This heightened "interest" of the imperialists in the continents of Asia and Africa implies the intensification of imperialist pressure in the colonies, meeting with ever-increasing resistance of the toiling masses, particularly of the labour movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

II. The condition of the labour and trade union movements of these countries is extremely varied. In a whole number of African colonies until very recently, the system of slave labour was widespread. Only now there have appeared "free" labourers, and at the same time the rudiments of a labour movement (strikes in Sierra Leone, Congo, Mozambique, etc.). The native workers are still feebly organized, even in such old spheres of capitalist exploitation like

Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, and Syria, where the trade union movement is only starting. More developed is the trade union movement in Turkey and Egypt. Highest of all—owing to a higher advance in industrial development—is the relative organisation of the proletariat on the Pacific coast (China, India, Indonesia), where we find a mass labour movement which is not only waging an economic struggle, but has also taken up a foremost place in the national-revolutionary struggle, mingling its own movement at times of upheaval with the movement of the peasant masses, and leading the latter (China, Indonesia).

III. The cheap labour, the low living standard of the colonial workers exploited by both foreign and native capital, turn them against their own will into a serious menace for the workers of the advanced capitalist countries. Amid the growing intensity of the struggle for colonial markets, the progress of industrialisation in the colonial countries, the growth of unemployment in the old capitalist countries, the rationalisation which deprives a considerable portion of skilled workers of their jobs, and the ever-increasing application of the labour of women and children in the old industrial countries—capitalism in the ruling countries is economically incapable of keeping up even a labour aristocracy at the expense of the colonial super-profits, and is therefore endeavouring to bring down the level of the workers in the leading countries to that of the cheaper colonial labour.

On the other hand, the lowering of the living standard of the workers in the imperialist countries, the lowering of the manufacturing costs in the imperialist countries, and the consequent increase in the competitive ability in colonial markets, urges the colonial capitalists to take up an offensive against "their own" workers and their miserable earnings. This we see in India (in the cotton industry of Bombay), on the railway transport, and in other branches. Of much wider swing is the capitalist offensive in China, where the economic motives (the collapse in many branches of industry) are further complicated by general political motives. Less striking in form is the capitalist offensive observed in the Philippines and in the countries of the Near East (Turkey, Egypt, Palestine).

The Colonial Policy of Amsterdam.

IV. THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL BETRAYS THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS OF THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES AND THE COLONIES ALIKE. Instead of aiding the movement of the colonial workers and endeavouring to raise their living standards—in which are also vitally interested the bulk of the workers in the imperialist countries—the Amsterdam In-

ternational and the leaders of its important sections are either holding aloof when it suits them, or they try to take the labour movement under their wing in order to render it harmless from the standpoint of the interests of imperialism.

The repeated appeals of the All-China Federation of Labour to the Amsterdam International, beginning with the time of the Shanghai strike in the summer of 1925, asking both for material aid and for the sending of a delegation to China, have been invariably turned down under various pretexts, which amounted to mockery. Knowing the mood of the Chinese workers, Amsterdam considered it more advantageous for itself to hold aloof. It acted differently in India. There, the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress has been endeavouring for the last two years, by means of having the Indian trade unions affiliated to the Amsterdam International, to bring them within the orbit of British Imperialism. In spite of the backing of a whole number of reactionary leaders in India, the General Council has failed to achieve this aim; nevertheless, the harm wrought in the Indian Labour movement, by these "leaders," the disciples of British reformism, is tremendous. Many a strike has been betrayed by them in the interests of British railway companies, the Bombay Textile Manufacturers' Association, and other capitalist organizations.

In close collaboration with the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, international reformism tried (in 1925—26), to convene a Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference in order to split and break up the Chinese trade union movement with the help of the leaders of Indian and Japanese reformism (Suzuki, Joshi).

The same role is played by Amsterdam in the Near East and in North Africa. The Amsterdam International extends sympathy only to such organizations which do not hinder the exploiters in the "work," the merciless grinding down of the toiling masses. No sooner did a left wing Confederation of Labour arise in Tunis, no sooner did a class trade union movement appear in that country, than Jouhaux, the Secretary of the French reformist Confederation of Labour, made haste to go to Tunis in order to collaborate with the apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the police in crushing and stamping out the revolutionary trade union movement, and to form jointly with the imperialist authorities a moderate section of the G.C.L. which would be perfectly harmless to French capitalism.

The same we find in Egypt. Amsterdam did not recognize the Egyptian Confederation of Labour (1921-23) when it was raising the masses against the class and national oppressors, and did not have any relations with it. Yet the

representatives of Amsterdam quite readily, and without grudging any expressions of profound sympathy, pay visits to the nationalist Workers' Federation which was formed after the reaction (1924), which is led by bourgeois hirelings, and is under the direct patronage of King Fuad of Egypt.

Any organization which sets to itself the aim of fighting against colonial oppression, against imperialism, invariably meets with the utmost resistance on the part of Amsterdam. Such was the case with the Anti-Imperialist League, which both Amsterdam and the Second-International are trying to picture as a " bolshevist machination " in order to blacken it in the eyes of the moderate elements of the European labour movement, thereby rendering a direct service to imperialism.

All this reveals quite clearly the role of Amsterdam as the aid and tool of imperialist capital in its struggle against the national-revolutionary and labour movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

China.

V. This struggle has assumed the acutest form in *China*. The condition of the Chinese labour movement just now is determined by the pressure of imperialism and by the regrouping of the social forces which has taken place in China as the result of the counter-revolutionary strokes which took place in the summer of 1927. Just because in the recent past the Chinese trade union movement embraced huge masses of the proletariat—prior to the counter-revolutionary strokes there were nearly 3,000,000 workers organized in the trade unions—just because it was a revolutionary movement which fought for the economic interests of the proletariat and for its class aims,—the temporarily triumphant reaction is straining all its forces to partly destroy and partly subject to its leadership the whole of the labour movement. The most brutal white terror directed against the genuine labour movement, and the formation of " their own " yellow unions,—these are their measures for combatting the Chinese labour movement. Whilst having no roots in the Chinese labour movement, these yellow unions nevertheless spell a certain danger.

The tasks confronting the trade union movement in China are as follows :—

1. A RUTHLESS AND SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE YELLOW UNIONS :

(a) In all cases it is necessary to carry on an untiring educational campaign among the more backward elements of the working class, opening their eyes to the false, corrupt and treacherous policies pursued by the leaders of the fascist unions to the

detriment of the working class, working as hirelings of the militarists and agents of the feudal and compradore reaction. Not individual terror, but the emancipation of even the most backward masses from the influence of the yellow leaders. (b) Where the yellow unions are maintained exclusively by the pressure of the police and the military, and by means of terrorism; where they have not succeeded in gaining a foothold even among a small section of the workers, there can be but one course, namely, of wrecking these organizations. (c) Where the yellow unions have succeeded in gaining a foothold among the masses of the workers (such cases are rare), and in entrenching themselves amongst a section of the workers, the adherents of the class trade union movement should carry on a campaign within these organizations.

2. Another fundamental task of the Chinese trade union movement is **TO MAINTAIN AND EXPAND THE CONTACT WITH THE MASSES**, and all the means and possibilities should be utilized to this end. This aim should be pursued, first of all by taking an active part in the daily economic struggle, in the settlement of conflicts, and in the conduct of strikes, even in such cases when the strike is formally led by a fascist organization.

Thus, a good deal of attention ought to be devoted to the question of **STRIKE TACTICS**. Whilst refraining from raising any demands that cannot be realized under given circumstances, which do not correspond to the force and fighting ability of the workers engaged in a given strike, it is essential to concentrate the light around a few basic demands that are clearly understood by all the workers. The demands most understandable, popular, and close to the aspirations of the working masses at the present time are: (a) a return to the previously concluded agreements (before the counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat*) and the conditions of wages and working hours laid down under the terms of those contracts; (b) the struggle against arbitrary dismissals, and (c) against compulsory arbitration.

The officials of the class trade unions should keenly watch the changes taking place in the depth of the masses and keep a watchful eye on those forms of **SELF-AID AND SELF-ORGANIZATION** in which the terrorised masses are seeking salvation. Among such forms are the various brotherhoods and fraternal societies formed in recent months—small associations which are usually based upon kinship and countrymanship relations. The militants of the old unions should not pass by these primitive forms of organization, but should endeavour through them to get in touch with the more backward and intimidated elements of the artisan and trading proletariat.

The main line, however, remains the activity for the **EXTENSION OF THE TIES WITH THE LARGE FACTORIES**.

3. It is necessary to take the initiative in the organization

of various forms of cultural activity (clubs, schools, courses, sports circles, etc.). Important in itself, this activity acquires added importance in view of the fact that around these cultural institutions it is easiest and most convenient to carry on trade union activity, to organize trade union nuclei, to lay the foundation for a trade union organization where it does not exist, and to extend the existing connections.

4. Particular attention should be devoted to the question of the cadres. The insufficient contact between the leading organizations and the masses constitutes an old sin of the Chinese trade union movement. The militant group of the Chinese trade union movement is neither adequate by its numerical strength nor satisfactory by its composition: there is too little representation of the factory workers, and a too large number of intellectuals. The promotion and training of a MILITANT GROUP OF NON-PARTY WORKERS, sufficiently numerous and well connected with the large factories—is a task of supreme importance. Only the presence of such a militant body accounts for the fact that the Wuchang Textile Workers' Union has managed, under the most difficult conditions, to retain under its influence and leadership not only the small factories, but also a number of the largest textile enterprises in Wuchang.

5. Great attention should be dedicated to the question of the UNEMPLOYED, who are threatened with being diffused and declassed. This question is all the more serious since the scourge of unemployment hits particularly the members of the old unions, who are the first to be victimized by the capitalists, and to be thrown out of the factories under the plea of present depression in trade. It is necessary to create funds for assistance to the unemployed, and to carry on a campaign for the organization of public works for the unemployed. All efforts should be exerted to maintain the contact between the unemployed and employed members of the unions, to make use of the unemployed for trade union work in the towns, and to send them for work among the peasants on suitable occasions.

6. It is necessary to attract the WORKING WOMEN AND WORKING YOUTH to the trade union movement in a larger degree, and to develop energetic activity in the struggle for the amelioration of the conditions of child and female labour which plays such a big role in the Chinese factories.

7. Whilst waging the struggle for the economic interests and the daily needs of the workers, the class trade unions should be able to link up this activity with the general revolutionary tasks. Therein lies the fundamental political problem of the Chinese trade union movement.

India.

VI. 1. The condition of the trade union movement in India is characterized by the following basic features: (a) The trade union movement embraces only about 10 per cent. of the factory and office workers (300,000 out of 3,000,000). (b) A considerable proportion of the membership of the unions is made up of the labour aristocracy—office clerks and the upper crust of the skilled workers. (c) The bulk of the proletariat in such important industries like jute mills, mines, metal works, is organized only to a negligible extent (the situation is better in the cotton district). Entirely unaffected by the trade union movement are the plantation workers, numbering about three-quarters of a million. (d) The unions are not centralized, they are diffused, and in the majority of trades there is a multitude of small overlapping unions which have almost no connection with one another. (e) The existing urban and provincial federations are—with few exceptions—of a formal character, having officials, but no masses. (f) The All-India Trade Union Congress embraces only one third of the organized workers, so that it really does not constitute as yet the leading organ of the Indian trade union movement. (g) AT THE HEAD OF THE DIFFERENT UNIONS, THE URBAN AND PROVINCIAL FEDERATIONS, AND FINALLY, THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS, ARE MOSTLY PEOPLE OF CLASSES THAT ARE ALIEN TO THE PROLETARIAT: Lawyers, functionaries, leaders of the nationalist parties, who make use of the labour organizations to further their own ends, endeavouring to deprive the labour movement of its class content and to imbue it with a liberal-nationalist character. (h) The British Labour Party and the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, on their part, are carrying on a vigorous agitation in the labour movement of India, endeavouring to imbue it with a specific trade unionist character, to link it up as closely as possible with European reformism as represented by Amsterdam, and to subject it to British imperialism. (i) In late years, in industrial centres like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc., a left wing is beginning to develop in the labour movement. Its appearance is the expression of the revolutionization of the working class, which is turning to the left under the effect of the capitalist offensive and the general political revival in India, as well as under the impression of the Chinese revolution.

The left wing has not yet managed to capture a single big union, but its influence in the course of 1927 has already been clearly revealed in a number of strikes (railway men, textile workers), and in the proceedings of the last Trade Union Congress.

2. Whereas in China the chief enemy of the labour movement is the bourgeois-feudal bloc, in India it is Reformism in its nationalist and trade unionist varieties. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE LAWYERS AND BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS WHO HAVE ENTRENCHED THEMSELVES IN THE TRADE UNIONS, THEIR OUSTING FROM THE INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THEIR SUBSTITUTION BY WORKING CLASS LEADERS, IS A TASK OF TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE. In order to solve this task, it is necessary to wage a struggle against the system based on officials and no masses, and the diffusion of the trade union organizations which largely facilitate the penetration of the bourgeois influence into the trade union movement. This, in its turn presupposes, as the central task, THE DRAWING OF THE MASSES OF THE BASIC INDUSTRIES INTO THE TRADE UNIONS, the re-organization of the trade union movement in the shape of merging the small parallel unions, the creation of federations, and the approaching of the type of trade unions to that of industrial organizations.

3. In view of the insufficient number of organizers at the disposal of the left wing, it should concentrate its activity upon the economically and politically more important branches of industry (textile, mining, metallurgy, transport, plantations), in the districts of the provinces of Bengal and Bombay, in the Djaria mining region, and at the Djemshedtur metallurgical centre.

4. The left wing is advantageously distinguished from the bourgeois-reformist leaders who sabotage the struggle of the Indian workers for the amelioration of their living conditions by taking an active part in the daily struggle of the Indian proletariat. This constitutes the source of the growing influence of the left wing. These tactics should be continued and strengthened. Yet, whilst taking part in the economic struggle, it is necessary to link it up with the general political tasks, with the anti-imperialist national-revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletarian organisations.

Indonesia.

VII. In DUTCH Indies (Indonesia), as distinguished from British India, there has been no numerous and influentially big native bourgeoisie. Hence the national, and still more the labour movement in Indonesia, has been imbued with a pronounced revolutionary character from the very outset. The trade union movement, embracing the transport and industrial workers, has essentially developed outside of the bourgeois influence, and is imbued with a definite class

character. Under nationalist influence are only the Teachers' Union and some categories of office workers. Until very lately the reformists, represented chiefly by Dutch Social-Democrats, controlled only those unions which include highly skilled Dutch workers and superior and secondary office employees who are the direct agents of imperialism (railway officials, postal telegraph, superintendents of plantations, etc.).

Lately there have appeared the sprouts of reformism also among the native workers (the social-democratic Railway Men's Union, founded in the beginning of 1927, which has now over 3,000 members). The ferocious terror raging in Indonesia since the crushing of the insurrection in Java and Sumatra at the close of 1926, the executions and deportations, the mass dismissals of Communists and trade union militants, have created an exceptionally favourable atmosphere for the activity of the Dutch social-democracy, which not only enjoys legality, but also the patronage of the Dutch authorities in Indonesia. Nevertheless, in view of the acute struggle going on between Dutch imperialism and the masses of the people in Indonesia, and of the almost total absence of a big indigenous bourgeoisie, the chances of reformism in Indonesia are flimsy.

The tasks confronting the trade union movement in Indonesia are essentially as follows: (1) To strengthen and widen the contact between the illegal class trade unions and the masses of the industrial, transport, and agricultural proletariat. To this end it is necessary to take the widest part in all the cultural, public and sport organizations around which considerable numbers of workers are grouped. (2) It is necessary to penetrate into the existing nationalist unions and into the newly formed reformist Railwaymen's Union, organizing an oppositional minority therein. (3) To develop a wide campaign for the restoration of the legality of the trade union movement. (4) To take steps for the promotion and education of a new body of militants to take the places of the old militants who have been imprisoned and exiled. (5) To establish closer connections with the Pan-Pacific and world revolutionary trade union movement as represented by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the R.I.L.U. The aloofness of the Indonesian trade union movement from the world revolutionary movement, and the consequent political and organizational inexperience of the leading militants, has played a big role in the mistakes which were committed both before and during the insurrection.

VIII. The weakness of the trade union movement in KOREA is rooted not so much in the feeble industrialisation of the country and in the youthfulness of the movement

itself, which is developing under intense terrorism—conditions that are common to the whole of the colonial East—but is due also to some particular circumstances under which the trade union movement in Korea had to develop. First of all, the colonization and immigration policies of Japanese imperialism. These policies compel large numbers of Korean workers to emigrate. In Japan alone the number of skilled Korean workers is larger than the number of factory workers in Korea proper. On the other hand, considerable numbers of Japanese workers are sent to Korea together with Japanese capitalists, functionaries, and “strong” peasants from Japan, who are given the best lands and are forming a bulwark of Japanese imperialism in Korea. In Japan proper the Korean workers are isolated from the Japanese trade union movement, serving against their own wishes as a tool in the hands of the Japanese capitalists for bringing down the living standard of the Japanese workers.

A considerable hindrance to a healthy development of the labour movement was furnished by the acute struggle within the ranks of the Korean revolutionary movement. All this has hampered the development of the trade union movement in Korea. It was only in the second half of 1927 that the Korean Workers' Federation was formed—the first trade union centre of the organised Korean proletariat.

The left wing is confronted with the following tasks: (1) The organizational consolidation of the separate trade unions and local federations, and the promotion and training of a body of militants; (2) to attract to the Federation the still unorganized factory and workshop workers who are in the overwhelming majority outside of the ranks of the Federation; (3) to increase the activity among the miners, timber workers, the fishery workers, and the agricultural labourers, this work being of particular importance since through these categories of workers the Federation could most easily influence the peasant movement in Korea; (4) co-ordinate the actions with the left wing of the Japanese trade union movement (Hiogikai). The two organizations should work out jointly a programme of action, and conduct upon its basis a wide educational campaign among the Korean workers in Japan and among the Japanese workers in Korea, in order to overcome the racial prejudices and imperialist tendencies with which certain elements of the Japanese workers are contaminated, on the one hand, and the conceivable mistrust and hostility towards the Japanese workers on the part of the cruelly exploited Korean workers, on the other hand. It is necessary to overcome the existing isolation between the Japanese and the Korean labour movements. Only in this way will it be possible to wage a successful fight against

the policies of Japanese imperialism which oppress both the Korean and Japanese proletariat.

Philippines.

IX. Embracing a relatively large number of organized workers (over 100,000), the trade union movement of the *Philippines* suffers from being led by officials who do not enjoy the support of the masses, and from being scattered, whilst there is nearly a total absence of working people among the militants and the leaders. From its very inception (25 years ago), and to this day, the trade union movement is led by bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements who lead it in the spirit of class collaboration and mutualism (petty bourgeois mutual aid).

Of late certain tendencies leftward are to be observed in the labour movement. It is connected with: (a) the growth of the aggressiveness of American imperialism; (b) the rightward turn of the leaders of the nationalist movement who are manifestly prepared to strike a bargain with American imperialism; (c) the offensive of the capitalists who are carrying out rationalization in the tobacco and sugar industries, accompanied by wholesale discharge of workers in the cigar factories and the increased exploitation of the workers in the sugar refineries, and finally (d) under the effect produced by the Chinese revolution.

This radicalization of the working class was expressed in the growth of the strike movement, in the insurrection of the agricultural and sugar workers on Negros Island (in the summer of 1927), in the observable withdrawal of the workers from the nationalist movement that is led by the bourgeoisie, and finally, in the affiliation of the most influential organization—the "Labour Congress," embracing eight-tenths of the whole of the organized proletariat—to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

The tasks confronting the trade union movement in the Philippines are as follows: (1) the organizational strengthening of the unions, the amalgamation of parallel organizations in one and the same industry, the struggle against craft unionism and mutualism, and reorganization of the unions, and their bringing nearer to the industrial type; (2) the promotion and training of militant workers, and the struggle for substituting proletarian for bourgeois leadership; (3) the organization of the unorganized; (4) the struggle for the One national trade union centre.

X. In view of the existence of large numbers of Chinese emigrant workers scattered all along the coast and on the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the R.I.L.U. adherents should endeavour to organize them in the trade unions which exist in the countries of immigration. At the same time it is necessary to create special Labour Contact Committees in all the countries of Chinese immigration, for the purpose of protecting the Chinese Federation

of Labour against the white terror and supporting the revolutionary class trade union movement in China proper.

The Near East.

XI. The trade union movement of the *Near East*.—The industrialization of the countries of the Near East is feeble; the existing cadres of the proletariat are small and closely attached to the village, and even to a greater extent to the urban petty bourgeois elements who are in sympathy with nationalism (Egypt) or even Chauvinism (Turkey). This enables the governments of countries like Turkey and Egypt, after suppressing the revolutionary wing of the labour movement by means of police and legal persecution to gain the leadership, either directly (through governmental hirelings and appointees), or indirectly (through disguised agents who pose as friends of labour, and even as "Socialists") of a considerable section of the labour movement, reducing the latter to the most primitive forms of guild and mutual aid organization.

1. In *Turkey*, where the cadres of the proletariat are growing in connection with the progress of industrialization, there arises, in spite of all the pressure and the astute policies of the Kemalist authorities, an objectively favourable situation for the development of the trade union movement. The acute discontent of the advanced elements of the proletariat against the deterioration of the working conditions, and their complete lack of legal protection, drives them into the struggle against the bourgeois dictatorship (strikes, individual terror).

The revolutionary trade union movement in Turkey is confronted with the following tasks: (a) whilst not refraining from taking part in the "mutual aid societies" that are fostered by the Kemalist government, even advising progressive workers to join them, at the same time to carry on a campaign for the transformation of the "mutual aid societies" into real trade unions; (b) to draw the unorganized, who comprise four-fifths of the Turkish proletariat, at least into the organizations of the mutualist type, linking up this activity with an extensive oral and press campaign to educate the workers as to the role and significance of the class trade union movement; the endeavour to create schools, courses, and sports circles, which is to be observed among the young workers in Turkey, affords wide opportunities for the conduct of propagandist and organizational activity; (c) the limited forces of the revolutionary militants (owing to the mass repressions which recently took place) should be concentrated in the essential districts (Constantinople, Smyrna, Adana) and among the essential categories of workers (railwaymen, tobacco, textile, and leather workers).

2. The basic evil of the Egyptian trade union movement consists in the high-handed attitude of the bourgeois-nationalist

leaders. The condition of the trade union movement in Egypt is substantially similar to that of Turkey. Nevertheless the aggressiveness of British imperialism, the weakness of the Egyptian government, the inner strife among the bourgeois-nationalist parties, and finally, the preserved influence of some big class trade unions, are extending to the Egyptian trade union movement greater freedom of action and greater possibilities as compared with Turkey.

The methods of activity are the same as in Turkey. The districts for activity are: Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said, Zagazig, Tanta, Nehale-el-Kubra. The categories of workers among whom the activity should be conducted in the first place are: the railwaymen, the tramwaymen, the port labourers, the tobacco workers, the workers of the Suez canal.

3. The trade union movement in *Persia*, having a 20-year history, and which had about 5,000 members at the time of the Third Congress, is at the present time almost completely smashed, numbering only a paltry few hundred members who are scattered among a whole number of dwarfish unions.

The erroneous policies of the leaders of the Persian trade union movement, the excessive emphasis on politics, the transformation of the unions into purely political organizations on the one hand, and on the other hand the cruel persecution of the Shah's government acting upon the dictates of British agents, have led to the collapse of the trade union movement. The radical rectification of past errors is indispensable. It is necessary: (a) to devote the maximum of attention to the struggle for the amelioration of the economic conditions of the workers and to inaugurate the campaign for the eight-hour day in basic industries, like match factories, textile mills, and leather works; (b) to conduct a wide educational campaign concerning the importance of the trade unions as the class economic organizations of the proletariat, as against the guild organizations led by agents of Reza Shah, into which the Shah's government wants to drive the Persian workers; (c) in spite of all difficulties, to proceed to the organization of the most numerous category of workers, and the most cruelly exploited by foreign capital, the Persian workers employed in the oil refineries of the Anglo-Persian Company.

4. In *Palestine*, where the organized workers consist almost exclusively of immigrant Jewish workers and artisans, Amsterdam has its best organized section in the East. In that country the intermediary between Amsterdam and British imperialism is the trade union centre of the Jewish labour movement—"Histadruth." This organization, in whose ranks are not only wage earners but also a large number of artisans and even little bosses, is closely co-operating with Zionism, whose monetary contributions constitute the material basis of this unique national-guild organization of labour.

THE FUNDAMENTAL SECTION OF THE WORKING POPULATION OF PALESTINE—THE ARAB WORKERS—HOLD ENTIRELY ALOOF, and their organization is now being taken up by the bourgeois Arab elements from among the intellectuals and the merchant capitalists, and even from among the feudal circles.

Thus, in Palestine, the revolutionary wing of the labour movement has to wage a struggle against British imperialism and its agency in the shape of Zionism in all its aspects. It is necessary to exert all efforts towards the organization of the Arab workers, whilst at the same time wresting them from under the influence of the Arab nationalists. Notwithstanding the difficult conditions, and the policy of expulsion and economic boycott, the R.I.L.U. adherents (the "Labour Fraction") have not only succeeded in retaining their influence in the "Histadruth," but also in establishing contact and penetrating among the Arab workers. But this is far from sufficient. The Workers' Fraction should: (a) increase in every way the activity among the ARAB workers, organizing unions where none exist, and forming nuclei in the unions organized by the Arab nationalists; (b) taking advantage of the falling prestige of Zionism among the Jewish workers in connection with the chronic unemployment and the worsening of working conditions, to endeavour to extend its influence among the Jewish workers organized in the "Histadruth"; (c) to carry on untiring activity in favour of unity of the trade union movement, and the transformation of the "Histadruth" into an international, class trade union movement; (d) to organize a union of agricultural labourers, and (e) to increase the struggle of the unemployed directing it against the government and the municipalities, whilst at the same time convening the Zionist slogan of the capture of a monopoly of the labour market by the Jewish workers.

5. The labour movement in *Syria* is characterized by a certain revival of the strike movement, which is partly led by revolutionary workers.—Nevertheless the organizations of the Syrian workers are very weak. This is due to the terror of French imperialism which mercilessly crushes all attempts of the revolutionary workers to organize themselves. On the other hand, in contradistinction to the other Near Eastern countries, the existing nationalist unions in Syria are very weak.

The desire of the workers for organization, in consequence of the insurrection, facilitates our task. The limited forces of the Syrian trade unionists should be concentrated in the important industrial and political centres: Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, and in the essential industries: railways and ports, local transport, textile mills, tobacco factories, printing establishments.

Africa.

XII. *North Africa*.—Regardless of the existence of considerable numbers of industrial workers and extensive cadres of agricultural labourers, there can be no talk of any serious trade union movement in North Africa. Only in *Algiers* there is a section of the Unitarian Confederation of Labour with over 10,000 members (a majority of them railwaymen). But the latter are overwhelmingly made up of French workers, the natives forming only ten to twelve per cent. of the membership.

In *Tunis*, after the closing of the Tunis Confederation of Labour, the movement became sharply decreased. The fundamental task of the R.I.L.U. supporters is the restoration of the Tunis Confederation of Labour.

In *Morocco*, regardless of the existence of big ports, apart from guilds of the medieval type, there is practically no trade union movement in existence.

In "Internationalized" Tangier there are two labour unions composed exclusively of Europeans.

In spite of some success of the U.G.C.L. in Algiers, the work so far carried out in that country should be considered only as a beginning. In the future it will be necessary: (a) to set aside considerable forces for the organization of the INDIGENOUS workers; (b) to wage a fight for the abolition of the INDIGENOUS CODE, for the legalization of the trade unions, for the freedom of strikes, for the full rights as enjoyed by the European workers, and for the complete freedom of emigration and immigration; (c) to combat in every way the colonizatory sentiments which have not yet been completely banished in the ranks of the U.G.C.L. in Algiers and in other colonies; (d) to wage a wide campaign among the colonial workers in France, and to create among them—by attracting them to activity in the organizations of the U.G.C.L. in France,—a body of militant trade unionists for North Africa.

XIII. The central problem of the trade union movement in *South Africa* is that of *COLOURED LABOUR* and the relations which exist between the organizations of the white workers and those of the coloured workers, the latter constituting the great majority of the South African proletariat.

The antagonism and hostility between the white and coloured workers are advantageous only to the capitalists and are being fostered by them in every way. Beginning with 1922 (the strike lost by the white trade unions), the condition of the white workers is getting continually worse, in consequence of the attraction of ever larger numbers of cheap SKILLED coloured workers to the mining enterprises. There is only one way out of the situation, the single organization of the white and coloured workers, the united front of the whole of the South African proletariat against capital.

However, only a few of the trade unions affiliated to the Federation of Labour Unions of the Cape Colony (which became affiliated to the R.I.L.U. in 1921) are carrying out this line in practice. The overwhelming majority of the white unions constitute—exclusive aristocratic organizations which faithfully observe the old traditions and view the coloured workers with unbounded hostility, considering them as black-legs.

The only organization of the coloured workers—the “Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers,” led by Kédalé—became affiliated to Amsterdam in the beginning of 1927. This fact points to the extreme weakness of the activity of the R.I.L.U. adherents in the trade union movement in South Africa.

Nevertheless the downward trend in the living standard of the white workers, and the growing importance of skilled coloured labour, and the Union of coloured workers, furnish more favourable conditions for the rapprochement and co-operation of the organizations of the white and coloured workers. Their amalgamation into a single trade union centre should be urged as the fundamental task of the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement in South Africa.

At the same time the R.I.L.U. adherents should wage an energetic fight against all the legal restrictions, against the system of contracting of coloured labour, and finally, against the latest parliamentary bills of the South African government which tend to increase the landless state of the peasants, to create new cadres of unemployed, and to bring about a general worsening of the living conditions of the native proletariat.

THE PROBLEM OF COLOURED LABOUR TRANSCENDS FAR BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF SOUTH AFRICA. It has tremendous importance, not only to the whole continental Africa, but also to the French colonies outside of Africa (Guadeloupe, Martinique, etc.), to France herself, and finally, to the United States of America.

Latin America.

XIV. Latin America, with its tremendous wealth in raw materials and its importance as a market, constitutes for the present time the object of increased aggression and bitter strife among the imperialists of the different countries, particularly among those of Great Britain and the United States, each of these countries having invested upwards of \$5,000,000,000 in Latin America. In nearly all the countries of Latin America there is petroleum. Venezuela and Mexico occupy second and third place respectively as regards the world's output of petroleum. Mexico occupies first place in regard to the mining of silver, whilst Chile possesses the most powerful deposits of nitrates. Brazil occupies first place in coffee growing, and one of the first places in the mining of

manganese and the collection of rubber. In Peru, Bolivia, etc., there are colossal deposits of heavy metals. Cuba is the first country in regard to sugar; Argentina and Uruguay are the largest purveyors of corn and meat. In Central America there are large fruit orchards, plantations, and so on. Latin America represents not only an excellent market for the export of capital and the selling of industrial products, but also a first class strategical military base.

The numbers of the workers in Latin America are rapidly increasing as the result of industrialization. All of them are very little organized, and this fact leaves a free hand to the imperialists, particularly to those of North America. The present intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, was preceded by 36 interventions and acts of interference in other countries in the course of the last 25 years.

The working conditions of the millions of workers in Latin America are similar to those of other colonial and semi-colonial countries; intense exploitation, long working hours, miserable wages, and etc. Moreover, owing to the uneven economic development of the Latin American countries, we observe in them also a two-fold exploitation: by the native bourgeoisie and by foreign imperialism. Such a state of things naturally leads to the emigration of Latin American workers to the United States. Within the latter country there are at present over 4,000,000 Latin American workers, of whom over 3,000,000 are Mexicans. The exploitation of the workers of Latin America contributes to the further bringing down of the living standards of the workers in the capitalist countries.

Parallel to the ever-growing penetration of American imperialism, which is waging a successful fight against British imperialism, we find a further leftward trend of the working class in Latin America: huge demonstrations of protest in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the pressure of the Mexican proletariat upon the petty bourgeois Calles government, in order to force the latter to take up the struggle against imperialism, the protests against the intervention in Nicaragua, the improvement of the strike tactics, whilst many of the strikes assume a pronounced character of fighting against imperialism, and protesting against dictatorships in the Latin American republics, and so on.

Regardless of the leftward tendencies of the working class in Latin America, it is rather poorly organized, and for this reason it does not represent, at the present time, a really serious factor in the struggle against imperialist penetration. The backward economics, the survivals of mutualism and craft unionism, the improper conception of the tactics and

methods of fighting, the absence of proper tactics which might be able to rally the peasants and the artisans to struggle against imperialism,—such are the causes of the weakness of the labour movement of Latin America.

It is necessary to organise the teeming millions of the workers. By their respective weight, in the sense of trade union organisation, the Latin American countries are divided, in the descending order, as follows: Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Uruguay, and so on. The fundamental tasks amount to the following: (1) the transformation of the existing organisations in the revolutionary spirit; (2) the organisation of the unorganised; (3) amalgamation upon the grounds of the class struggle; (4) the struggle against imperialism and its agent within the trade union movement—the Pan-American Federation of Labour. The struggle against the latter constitutes the essential task of the Latin American workers. Imperialism and its agents are coming out under the mask of the P.A.F. of L., which is headed by the bureaucrats of the A.F. of L., and backed by the Mexican labour leaders (the wire-pullers of the C.R.O.M. in Mexico).

The organised masses alone can wage a fight against imperialism, against the indigenous bourgeoisie, and against the methods employed by imperialism to set up new dictators in Latin American countries and to act in league with existing dictatorships, as well as to provoke revolutions.

Congress instructs the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U., jointly with the Latin American Conference, to work out a programme of action for the several countries of Latin America.

XV. With all the variety of conditions, and with all the checkered picture of the economic and political circumstances, there are two fundamental tasks which invariably confront the labour movements in the colonial countries: (a) the struggle against imperialism, and (b) the struggle for the class interests of the proletariat. Without breaking down the domination of imperialism, which is out to extract super-profits from the colonies, the working class in the colonies and semi-colonies cannot achieve any real amelioration in the working conditions.

Yet, whilst taking part in the national liberation struggle, the workers should occupy upon the anti-imperialist front the most advanced and independent positions. The proletariat in the colonies should endeavour to get into its hands the leadership of the peasant masses and the agrarian revolution, without which there can be no thought whatsoever of the emancipation of the colonies and semi-colonies.

Particular attention should be devoted by the trade union movement in the colonies to the organisation of the millions

of agricultural labourers and artisan workers, who are departing more and more from the declining patriarchal form of craft organisation, in order to draw them into the struggle of the proletariat.

XVI. Whilst starting from the daily struggle, and from the sober assessment of the opposing forces in each strike, raising in every case the demands that fit in with the existing circumstances, the class struggle of the colonial proletariat should, on the whole, be waged for definite slogans:

The struggle for the 8-hour day, for the freedom of strikes, for the freedom of trade unions; the struggle for factory legislation, for all kinds of insurance (including state insurance of the unemployed); the struggle for the protection of the labour of women and children; the struggle for increasing the real wages; the struggle against the raising of any racial barriers in the trade union movement, against the division of trade unions by nationality, race, or creed (equal pay for equal work); the struggle against the Fascist reaction, against all forms of class collaboration (against compulsory state arbitration), against the International Labour Office of the League of Nations,—such are the basic slogans which constitute together the programme of action around which it is necessary to gather and organise the proletariat of the colonial and semi-colonial countries for the revolutionary struggle in the defence of their national and class interests.

XVII. In contradistinction to the Amsterdam International, the R.I.L.U. has attached from the very outset the utmost importance to the labour movement in the colonies, extending every material and moral support to the latter.

The R.I.L.U. adherents in the imperialist countries—to begin with, the National Minority Movement of Great Britain, the Unitarian Confederation of Labour in France, and the Trade Union Educational League in the United States—must render their utmost assistance to the trade union movement in the colonies maintaining with it the closest contact, supplying it with literature, agitating and organising forces; supporting by means of the press, public meetings, and in Parliament, the public interests in the colonial question; combatting the imperialist and racial prejudices among the working class in the imperialist countries, and organising, according to the occasion, campaigns, demonstrations, and solidarity strikes. The same tactics are obligatory to the revolutionary movement of the colonies in regard to the working class in imperialist countries.

In this connection the defence of the Chinese revolution and the utmost support to the Pan-Pacific trade union Secretariat become of particular importance.

XVIII. For the purposes of practical activity, it is necessary to work out, in conformity with the general programme outlined above, a more detailed programme of action for the immediate period, and for each country in particular, in the special commissions on the different countries.

MEASURES FOR FIGHTING FASCISM IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

(Thesis Adopted on the Reports of Comrades Mounrousseau, Redens, Dmitrow).

I. Roots and Character of Fascism.

1. Fascism represents a special system of the class domination of the bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism and Social Revolution. After the imperialist war, after the victorious October Revolution, and after the consolidation of the Soviet Union, and with the tremendous revolutionising influence of all these factors on the proletariat, on the peasant masses, and on the oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples, the bourgeoisie is finding it more and more difficult to hold the masses of the people under its class hegemony, and is not in a position to solve the problem of the stabilisation of capitalist economy with the help of the old forms and methods of parliamentary democracy.

These conditions determine the peculiar character of Fascism in various countries. In some countries (Italy, Poland), the Fascist dictatorship is being established by means of the direct utilisation of the movement of the dissatisfied: the petty bourgeoisie and certain strata of the peasantry; whilst in other countries (Bulgaria, Spain, Portugal, Lithuania), it is being established by revolts of the bourgeoisie and against the resistance of the masses, the bourgeoisie being supported by the armed force of the country and receiving the financial support of banking capital. On the other hand, in some countries, Fascism is being applied as a means of struggle for the prevention of the revolutionisation of the labour movement (Britain, France, Belgium, America). It is being organised, armed, and is gathering its forces for a determined attack, under the patronage and with the fullest assistance of the government authorities (Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania). In other countries, it is being applied as an open weapon of counter-revolution in the period of the extreme sharpening of the revolutionary struggle (Germany in 1923, China), or as a means of consolidating the tottering positions of the bourgeoisie after the temporary victory of the proletarian revolution (Hungary), and so on.

2. For the class movement of the proletariat of all coun-

tries, Fascism is a *constant and growing danger*. To underestimate the forces of the Fascist dictatorship and deny the possibility of the establishment of Fascism in the big capitalist countries is likely to weaken the vigilance and resistance of the proletariat towards Fascism, and to further the temporary strengthening of the Fascist dictatorship wherever it already exists, and permit its establishment where it is not yet the State form of authority.

II.—Fascism in the Trade Union Movement.

3. For Fascism, the possession of the trade unions, the destruction of the class Trade Union movement, is a vital necessity.

Just as the dictatorship of the proletariat is unthinkable without a class trade union, so, too, the Fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is impossible without the break-up of the class trade union movement. Fascism terror is directed against any genuine working class movement, and against any economic struggle.

4. In regard to ideology, Fascism mainly makes use of nationalism and chauvinism. It tries to divert the attention of the masses from internal problems to external problems, by holding out the prospects of a betterment in the position of the working class through the conquest of neighbouring regions, territories, by obtaining colonies, etc. Fascism advocates the theory of co-operation between the capitalists and the workers for the stabilisation of capitalism and the rationalisation of production, the theory of class harmony, the "unity of interests" of the various classes, the liquidation of all class struggle, the substitution of compulsory arbitration for strikes, and the transformation of the trade unions into organs of the capitalist State, etc.

5. Fascism is directing its main efforts towards the subjection to its tutelage of the movement of transport workers through police repressions, miners and workers in other key industries, as well as the movement of the employees in the direct employment of the government apparatus. Fascism is also making big efforts to strengthen its influence on the agricultural workers, taking advantage of their cultural backwardness. It is also trying to make every use of the starving unemployed masses, recruiting adherents from their ranks. No less attention is being given by Fascism to the youth, whom it is attracting into its net by means of various sport, military, and other "cultural" organisations.

Trade schools are being utilised by Fascism to train new skilled staffs under Fascist influence, who could be used to replace the main part of the revolutionary proletarian skilled labour in transport and the key industries.

In many countries, in every big undertaking, Fascist reserve officers, Russian white guards, and all sorts of thugs and blackleg elements are being appointed as overseers, watchmen, etc., usually forming armed groups, terrorising the workers and office employees, endeavouring to disorganise and demoralise them, whilst at the same time these undertakings are purged of the best revolutionary proletarian elements; leaving the masses at the point of production without leaders.

6. Whilst doing everything to destroy the existence and hinder the strengthening of the class organisations of the railwaymen, postal and telegraph employees, and other State employees, and miners, and so on, Fascism is also trying to take hold of the leadership of the reformist and yellow organisations in these important fields with the assistance of the reformist and yellow leaders themselves. At the same time, Fascism is putting forth every effort to create its own trade unions, and to subordinate the entire Trade Union movement to its tutelage. Combining the instrument of political and economic terror with the instrument of demagoguery, and corruption of the masses, Fascism very frequently shows great ability to manœuvre and to adapt itself to the specific conditions of each country, each branch of industry, and each category of the proletariat, broadcasting popular slogans and demands for the workers social insurance, State and workers' control over industry, etc.), and making use of the discontent of the masses with their reformist leaders, it hides behind the slogan of "no party politics," and sometimes even heads workers' strikes; of course, not for the object of carrying them to a successful issue, but for the purpose of bringing about a compromise with the employers through its agency and thus extend its influence over the working masses.

III.—Reformism in the Service of Fascism.

7. By their anti-working class policy the reformist Amsterdam bureaucracy is clearing the way for Fascism in the Trade Union movement. By trying to liquidate the last remnants of the ideas and methods of the class struggle in the reformist trade unions, by proclaiming and pursuing the policy of "peace in industry," and of compulsory arbitration by helping their capitalist bourgeoisie on the national scale (by means of various "national economic councils") and on the international scale (League of Nations, the International Labour Office, etc.), in the work of stabilising capitalism and rationalising production, and by sabotaging in every way the struggle of the workers for their everyday interests, *this reformist bureaucracy is actually taking up the same stand as Fascists.* The line of demarcation between its ideology and

the ideology of Fascism is tending to disappear more and more, and the reformist bureaucracy is being transformed into the instrument of Fascism in the Trade Union movement. In destroying trade union democracy, in breaking up the real mass Trade Union organisations by splitting them and expelling militants, in endeavouring to cause a break between the revolutionary elements and the masses inside the trade unions, and by their shameless persecution of Left revolutionary tendencies in the Trade Union movement—in doing all this, the reformist bureaucracy is working on the united front with Fascism.

8. Part of the leaders of the reformist trade unions are already in open and full ideological and political unison with Fascism (Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc.). The other part is on the way to Fascism (Jouhaux, Thomas, Grossman, etc.). The more the masses in the reformist trade unions move to the left and become revolutionised, and the more they resist the treacherous policy of the reformist bureaucracy, the more—in the process of the sharpening of the class struggle—will the leadership of the reformist trade unions move to the right—towards Fascism.

By breeding disappointment and distrust in the backward sections of the reformist trade unions, and by corrupting the upper strata of the trade union membership, the reformist leadership in the Trade Union movement is creating a certain foundation for Fascism in the movement.

IV.—Struggle with Fascism in the Trade Union Movement.

9. Against Fascism in the Trade Union movement, and especially against the Fascist unions, a systematic, stubborn, merciless and continuous struggle must be fought everywhere, and in every way. Wherever Fascism has reared its head—in the factories, in offices, in organisations, among the unemployed, etc.—it must be struck at in concrete and business-like fashion. This must be done from the point of view of the workers' class struggle for liberation, and in accordance with the immediate interests of the workers and office employees, and with the special task of the Trade Union organisations themselves.

An ideological, political and organisational struggle must be conducted simultaneously within the Trade Union movement on the following basic lines:

Firstly, the Fascist ideology must be determinedly opposed by the class revolutionary ideology of the proletariat. We must expose and fight nationalism and chauvinism, the ideas of "international peace" and "class harmony," of the theory of the liquidation of the class struggle, and all such manifestations of reformism. We must expose Fascism

as the splitter and grave-digger of the trade union movement, the slogan of "no party affiliation" for the trade unions, which serves as a cover for the Fascists. Exposure of Fascism as the bearer of the seeds of war, and more especially of war against the first proletarian State in the world. Broadest and most constant popularisation among the masses of the programme and tactics of the R.I.L.U.—The International of the class Trade Union movement.

Secondly, organisational consolidation of the class trade unions and the enrolment of the masses of the unorganised workers in their ranks; transference of their organisational basis and the centre of gravity of their activities to the factory and workshop. Creation of illegal Trade Union organisations maintaining connections with the broad working masses and guiding their struggle wherever the existence of the legal class unions is impossible. Strengthening of the class-conscious wing in the reformist, nationalist, autonomous and other unions, while linking it up with the class trade unions for joint work and struggle. Extension and strengthening of the network of general workers' committees at the point of production, and in offices (shop committees) as the organs of the masses right at the place of their employment, while linking up their work with the class Trade Union movement. Organisation of the unemployed movement, and its co-ordination with the campaigns of the class Trade Union organisations. Organisation of the agricultural proletariat. Extension of work among the civil servants and State employees who are the most liable to yield to Fascist agitation and influence. Enrolment in the ranks of the class trade unions of the vast mass of the working youth and women workers.

Thirdly, mass campaigns and strikes, against the consequences of capitalist rationalisation, for the freedom of the class trade unions, freedom to strike, etc. In this manner we must set the masses against Fascism (and its agent, reformism) in the process of the struggle itself for the workers' immediate interests and demands, and expose their treacherous bourgeois nature. In this way we can isolate Fascism and the Fascist unions from the proletarian masses.

Fourthly, in the struggle of the workers (during strikes, etc.) the active moral and material support of the rest of the town, and peasant working masses, must be obtained. The united front between the workers and the toiling peasants in the general struggle against the capitalists **must** be established, thus isolating Fascism from these toiling masses on the basis of the struggle.

Fifthly, organisation of mass self-defence against the Fascist oppressors in the factories (protection of organisa-

tions, meetings, strikes, Trade Union officials, etc.). Campaign for hounding Fascist agents, overseers, spies, provocateurs, etc., under the slogan of "clear the factories of the Fascists!"

Sixthly, strengthening of the campaign against the splitting policy of Fascism (and of reformism) *from below* among the masses in the process of their practical struggle for the class unity of the Trade Union movement, no concessions whatever being allowed to the Amsterdam International or the Fascist unions,

10. Inasmuch as the Fascist unions have succeeded in some countries in grouping workers within their ranks either as the result of repressions and legislative measures of the Fascist dictatorship or in consequence of the lack of class-consciousness, lack of courage, or demoralisation of these workers, the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must work inside these unions, doing everything to oppose the treacherous Fascist leadership by the struggle for the workers' daily interests, and to oppose the terror and violence practised by the Fascist leadership by the Trade Union democracy. In this way the internal struggle in the Fascist unions will be rendered more acute, and connections between the Fascists and the masses undermined. But this work must not be undertaken with the object of winning the Fascist unions from inside—a thing utterly nonsensical—but for the purpose of destroying them and liberating the workers in their ranks for enrolment in the class unions (legal or illegal).

11. It is essential to devote particularly serious attention to questions concerned with the unemployed. The employers make use of the dismissal of part of the workers in the factories to create antagonism between different sections of the workers. Constant work must be carried out to overcome this antagonism by establishing and maintaining close connections and developing a closely-cemented solidarity between unemployed and those working short time, and the other workers.

Further, in countries where there are masses of foreign workers, the most energetic work must be carried out against the attempts of the Fascists to foster antagonism between the native and foreign workers, and against the deportation of foreign workers on account of their sympathy with the revolutionary labour movement, this work taking the form of bringing the foreign workers into the class Trade Union movement, strengthening the solidarity between them and the local workers, and by fighting most determinedly in defence of foreign workers, against deportations and various methods of persecution, and exclusive measures.

V.—Fascism and the Trade Union Movement in Italy.

12. In Italy the Fascist unions are defined by the law as "State organs of class collaboration." This definition in itself is quite enough to characterize the Fascist unions as organs of the over-lordship of the capitalists over the workers, organs excluding any class struggle, the real and traditional task of every working class trade union.

Owing to the very essence of their bourgeois class character, as well as their forcible methods of organisation, the Fascist unions have not, and cannot have, any deep roots in the working class, and cannot be regarded as proletarian organisations. If the Fascists speak of hundreds of thousands of members in their unions when issuing their official reports, it is, of course, only a matter mainly of simple bureaucratic registration, and by no means of the active participation of the masses in the life of these organisations. The hundreds of thousands of Fascist Trade Union members is for the most part the result of coercion carried out by means of: (a) compulsory membership dues deducted by the employers from the workers' wages for the membership cards of the Fascist unions; and (b) various direct forms of coercion on the part of the Fascists against the workers (no worker may take up employment if not registered in the Fascist union; arrests, bludgeonings, etc.).

The Fascist unions in Italy display no real trade union life; the vast bulk of their members, or rather booked members, take no part at all in the life of these unions.

The workers do not participate, or do so to a very limited extent, in the meetings called by the Fascist unions. At these meetings, the workers are afforded no opportunity whatever of discussing the problems they are interested in; and, general speaking, these Fascist Trade Union meetings are more in the nature of a show, and of Fascist political demonstrations.

The members of the Fascist unions have no right to elect leaders for the unions, these being appointed directly by the State organs. The minister of the Fascist corporations appoints the secretaries of the confederations; these latter appoint the secretaries of the national federations, who in turn appoint provincial secretaries; and so the appointments go on, from the top, right down.

Owing to this bourgeois class character of the Fascist unions, and their internal coercive system of organisation, all possibility of conquering the Fascist unions and reorganising them on the basis of the class struggle is out of the question. The general slogan of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must therefore be the slogan already adopted in Italy: "*Leave the*

Fascist corporations! Join the General Confederation of Labour!" This does not mean, of course, that the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must give up working to win the workers belonging to the Fascist unions or to disintegrate these unions. At the present time, the Fascist unions represent the only legal organisation in existence in Italy; the mass of the workers are organised in them forcibly, and it is the task of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. to develop special work in these unions, suited and adapted to the special character of the Fascist unions.

All this work to disintegrate the Fascist unions must be carried on concurrently with work for strengthening the General Confederation of Labour, the sole class Trade Union centre mobilising the masses and leading them to the struggle for economic demands against capitalism and its Fascist dictatorship.

13. The fundamental tasks of the R.I.L.U. adherents in Italy must be: (a) Whole-hearted support and consolidation of the General Confederation of Labour as the sole Trade Union organisation of the Italian working class, which continues successfully to develop and guide its struggle, in spite of the fact that it is entirely illegal, and despite the most outrageous repressions.

(b) Transference of the base of organisation of the illegal trade unions to the factories and workshops.

(c) Livening up and extension of the practical work of the illegal trade unions of the G.C.L. on the basis of a clear-cut programme of partial demands for mobilising the working masses for the struggle against Fascism.

14. All work in the Fascist unions must be directed towards exposing to the workers the *system and role* of the Fascist unions as an instrument of capital and of the Fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, towards rousing the forcibly organised workers to press their demands and fight for the defence of their immediate interests, and thus develop the internal struggle inside the Fascist unions, render their internal contradictions more acute, widen the gulf between the masses and the Fascist leadership, steadily strengthen the process of disintegrating and destroying the Fascist unions.

15. The struggle against the Fascist Trade Union movement in Italy is at the same time a struggle for the obtaining of freedom for the class Trade Union movement, the right to strike, and against the Fascist regime generally. It must be linked up with the struggle against the militant policy of Fascism as well as with the common task of the proletariat and the toiling masses—the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship of the Italian bourgeoisie.

VI.—International Character of the Struggle with Fascism in the Trade Unions.

16. The struggle against Fascism in the Trade Union movement, against the Fascist unions, and against the Fascist dictatorship, must be fought *internationally* by the joint efforts of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries. It is particularly necessary to organise international campaigns in defence of the class trade unions of countries in which the Fascist dictatorship has already been established (Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Spain, Lithuania, etc.). The weakening of the position of Fascism in countries where it holds the dominating position will undoubtedly facilitate the struggle against the onslaught of Fascism in the trade union movement in those countries where the Fascist dictatorship is not yet established.

17. Any success in the struggle against Fascism in the Trade Union movement will depend primarily on the activity and good work of the adherents of the R.I.L.U., on the correct revolutionary policy they follow in their practical work, on their placing themselves at the head of the struggle of the masses against the offensive of the capitalists along the whole line, and against the growing danger of war, on their winning the confidence of the broadest masses by their practical work for the defence of the daily demands of the workers.

Only in this way will it be possible to preserve the class trade union movement wherever it still exists openly, and to obtain its re-establishment wherever it has been suppressed or is subjected to repressions—only in this way will final victory over Fascism be achieved.

ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS.

(Thesis adopted on the reports of Comrades Jay, Merker, Dudilleux.)

During the period of time which elapsed from the Third to the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. there has been a considerable increase in the general importance of the revolutionary trade union movement and its influence upon the masses of the workers. This increased influence, however, has not been sufficiently made use of to strengthen the organisations, both the independent unions and the minorities affiliated to the R.I.L.U. and ideologically connected with it.

The organisational work no doubt constitutes the weakest side in the activity of the revolutionary trade union movement. Such a situation is particularly unbearable at the present time, when the intensification of the class struggle in the leading capitalist countries, and the growth of the young trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East, are confronting the revolutionary trade union movement with a number of important tasks connected with the task of leading the working class.

On the whole, the defects in the organisational activity of the revolutionary trade union movement may be summarised as follows:—(a) An insufficient contact between the leading organs and the mass of the workers particularly revealed in the process of recent strikes; (b) an insufficiently concrete position in clarifying the tasks and aims of the movement, a prevalence of the methods of agitation and declaration in stating the current problems; (c) acute lack of leading cadres of a number of important districts, and an insufficiently wide circle of militants attracted to active trade union work, and the insufficient promotion of such militants to leading activity; (d) defects in the leadership of the work of the lower units of the trade unions, notably the lack of lively and daily guidance, the frequent failure to estimate the force and possibilities of the movement; the employment of hackneyed methods in the treatment of individual questions, without estimating the concrete features of each separate situation; (e) the survivals of reformist and anarcho-syndicalist methods of activity which hinder the winning of the masses, with the result that the practical everyday work of the revolutionary unions frequently becomes insufficiently distinguishable from that of the reformist and syndicalist unions.

Another general defect of the revolutionary trade union movement is the weakness of international and national discipline. As a rule the decisions of the R.I.L.U. Congress, as well as the instructions of the R.I.L.U. Executive Bureau and the national directing centres of the revolutionary trade union movement, are given effect to in a very feeble manner.

Of course, in the different countries there is great variety in dealing with the defects of the organisational activity. The organisational forms and situations are always of a relative character, subordinated to the fundamental tasks of the movement at a given stage of development, and modified in accordance with the changes of these tasks, as well as the changing conditions in each individual country, and the organisation and tactics of the employers and the reformists. This requires from the workers in the revolutionary trade union movement a certain degree of flexibility, and ability to adapt the organisational forms of the movement to the changing conditions of activity. Nevertheless it is possible to outline some of the most essential problems of organisational activity that are common to the whole of the revolutionary trade union movement.

II.--MASS ACTIVITY.

1. The whole activity of the revolutionary trade union movement should be based on ascertaining and catering for the needs and interests of, and upon attracting the large masses of the workers, and, of course, in the first place, the members of the trade unions, to the discussions and solution of fundamental questions of the movement. To this end should be conducted and utilised the general meetings of the workers, the trade union meetings, the delegate conferences, as well as the votes and referendums practised by the reformist unions. The greatest attention in this connection should be dedicated to the daily work in the factories and the so-called "petty questions" of the labour movement, which should nevertheless be linked up with the general problems of the working class.

2. The basis for the activity of the revolutionary trade union movement is the factory and the workshop. Particular stress ought to be laid upon the task of increasing our influence in the big factories. It is precisely the weakness of the trade union movement in the large factories that presents one of the fundamental obstacles towards winning the masses of the workers. It is also necessary to single out the particularly essential industries and industrial districts, endeavouring to strengthen our influence at such decisive points.

3. Successful mass activity demands the creating and training a body of active trade unionists among the rank and file. The revolutionary unions should create and develop institutions of shop stewards, which constitute the basis of factory organisation.

and also the institution of delegates, dues collectors, etc., conforming to the organisational forms and conditions of a given country. The revolutionary minorities should vigorously fight to capture the official positions in the reformist unions by bringing the rank and file members into the work of the union and by extending active work so that all activities aiming at winning the official union positions should be based on the support of the masses.

A determined fight must be put up to win over the best section of the local militants, still under reformist influence.

The greatest weakness of the revolutionary trade union movement is the limited scope of the active rank and file, which has among them a very insignificant number of revolutionary workers of different opinions and tendencies. The next source of weakness is the lack of sufficient experience in the part of the active trade unionists as to the fundamental questions of trade union activity—wage scales, questions of labour legislation, etc. It is essential—

(a) To expand the groups of active members by attracting more workers from the ranks of actual factory workers.

(b) To provide higher training for the active members, particularly by means of educating them upon practical work.

(c) To this end, to increase the daily guidance of the activity in the factories, and in the large establishments to begin with, notably by means of having reports of leading comrades of such factories delivered before the leading organs of the revolutionary trade union movement.

(d) To conduct schools and courses on questions of the trade union movement, and get women workers and the youth to attend them.

(e) To systematically promote rank and file members to responsible activity from among those who commended themselves by their work in the lower units.

(f) It is also necessary to devote more attention to the question of training active unionists by attracting the young workers.

4. In the leading capitalist countries the percentage of workers organised in the trade unions is extremely insignificant. In the United States of America the trade unions have evolved into a system, the principle of which is the organisation of only exclusive groups of highly paid workers. This same tendency is increasing in the West European countries. As against these tendencies, the revolutionary trade union movement should untiringly carry on daily activity to attract into the trade unions the largest elements of the proletariat and to organise the unorganised. Particular attention under these circumstances is attached to the growth of the trade union bodies adhering to the R.I.L.U. These trade unions should become veritable mass organisations, constantly winning new elements of the workers

for the revolutionary trade union movement. Unfortunately, however, a certain reduction in the membership of revolutionary trade unions, which has taken place in a number of countries, goes to show that these organisations have proven themselves incapable of practically approaching the solution of this elementary task of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The revolutionary minorities are to undertake recruiting activities in the reformist unions, at the same time explaining the treacherous rôle of the reformist leaders and the necessity for working for their removal.

5. The revolutionary trade unions must give special attention to the recruiting of women workers. Capitalist rationalisation has led to the employment of a vast number of women workers and minors in all branches of production. The capitalists are making use of the weak degree of organisation among these sections of the workers to increase their exploitation and strengthen the attack on the working class as a whole. The Red trade unions and revolutionary minorities must, therefore—

(a) Fight unceasingly for the improvement of the position of women workers and the youth and in particular for equal pay for equal work and for equal benefit in the event of their becoming unemployed.

(b) Carry out systematic work to organise the women workers and young workers and to build up a body of active trade unionists from their ranks.

(c) Promote the most active women workers and young workers to directing work in all departments of trade union organisation.

(d) For the successful execution of which work the trade unions must set up special subsidiary organs and direct their work.

6. Congress considers that in addition to work in industrial undertakings, the work among the agricultural and forest workers must be extended, particularly in agrarian countries where the specific importance of the agricultural proletariat is very considerable.

7. Having regard to the existence of large masses of immigrants in many capitalist countries, it is essential to take vigorous steps to enrol the immigrant workers in the existing revolutionary and reformist (where there are no revolutionary) unions, special language sections being set up to cater for their needs and for propaganda activities, and a fight made for granting them equal trade union rights with the native workers of the countries of immigration and for getting them to take their part in running the unions.

Emigrant workers, members of the Red trade unions, are to enter the unions of the countries where they work. Should there be no revolutionary unions in the country then they are to join

the reformist unions even if their trade union standing is not counted. On returning to their own countries the revolutionary organisations of which the emigrant workers were members are to readmit them and count their period of membership in the unions of the countries where they were immigrants.

The revolutionary organisation and minorities of the countries of emigration must wholeheartedly support their fraternal organisations of the countries of immigration in all their work of propaganda and of recruiting members among immigrants, while the organisations of the countries of immigration must extend every opportunity to the organisation of the countries of emigration for giving effect to these tasks.

8. To this very day a considerable number of clerical workers and minor officials in State service, commerce, banks, and industry have hardly been brought into the general class struggle of the proletariat at all. In view of the considerable rôle which the organisations of the clerical employees may play in the forthcoming class battles, it is necessary to extend the work of organising these sections of the toilers and bring them into closer touch with the revolutionary trade union movement. This task is especially urgent for the countries of the East, America, and all colonies, where there is practically no office workers' movement.

9. The revolutionary minorities, as well as the unions, should be built upon the principle of democratic centralism. Considering the insufficiently consistent and complete carrying out of inner union democracy, Congress draws particular attention to the strengthening of the subordinate organisations, to the development of their initiative and independence and to the evolving of democratic methods of work. At the same time the revolutionary trade union movement should enforce a solid proletarian discipline, both in the relations between the local organisations and the national centres, and in the relations between the latter and their leading centre—the Red International of Labour Unions. The leading organs of the revolutionary unions and revolutionary minorities must not confine themselves to the publication of circulars, but convene general meetings and conferences of R.I.L.U. supporters as frequently as possible and make a practice of going round the districts for the purpose of instructing them in their work.

III.—FACTORY COMMITTEES.

10. The strengthening of the activity of the revolutionary trade union movement directly in the factories requires particular attention to the activities of the factory committees.

The factory committees under the guidance of the revolutionary trade union movement must become the basis of the industrial structures of the unions, and must play a decisive part in a period of a directly revolutionary situation in the struggle for the intro-

duction of workers' control over production, and at the passing of industrial establishments into the hands of the working class. But even in the period of relative stabilisation of capitalism when the tasks of workers' control and nationalisation of factories are not yet on the order of the day as a direct issue in the struggle, the factory committees must constitute the fundamental point of support for the revolutionary trade union movement in its activity in the factories.

11. In the resolutions of the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U. the factory committees are considered the best means for the creation of the united front from below and the best primary school for the unorganised. Only those trade unions will be able to gain a hold on the masses and to utilise the tactics of the united front for the purposes of the Revolution, which will create real revolutionary factory committees that should become the basis of revolutionary trade unions.

These decisions of the Third Congress fully retain their force to-day, yet they have not been carried into effect with sufficient energy. In countries where no factory committees exist, the practical opportunities for creating them have not been sufficiently utilised. In countries where factory committees exist, one has to note the lack of attention to the activity of the factory committees; one can clearly see also an underestimation of the opportunities for strengthening the influence over the masses by the daily activity in the factory committees.

12. The revolutionary trade union movement should carry on activity for the creation of factory committees where none exist, and for capturing them where they do exist, while working for their transformation into organs of the revolutionary class struggle.

A revival of the strike movement furnishes real pre-requisite conditions to the struggle for the formation of factory committees. The strike committees elected by the workers of a given factory after the conclusion of the strike, should be utilised as the basis of factory committees.

In countries where factory committees or similar working class organs at the point of production do not exist and where for various reasons the slogan of Fight for the Factory Committees cannot be directly broadcasted, the struggle for the recognition of shop delegates elected by the workers as an institution representing the workers' interests to the employers can be an important starting point for the creation of factory committees.

The winning of the factory committees by the revolutionary trade union movement should become a point of support in the struggle against the trade unionist bureaucracy.

13. It is essential to preserve the class character of the factory committees, counteracting the attempts of employers and

social democrats to turn the factory committees into a tool of class collaboration.

14. The factory committees must be the centre of the struggle for the everyday demands of the workers in the factories and workshops, embracing both organised and the unorganised workers in the factories, and drawing them into the revolutionary class struggle. The revolutionary trade unions must fight against the reformists' practice of having factory committees appointed by the trade unions.

15. It is essential to bring about an alliance of the factory committees of all the factories and workshops forming part of one concern or trust, for the purpose of common action against concentrated capital, whilst the individual factory committees must be retained in each factory and workshop. It is also necessary to convene conferences of factory committees for various districts, industries, and also on a national scale, in particular in connection with the ripening conflicts between labour and capital.

16. It is necessary to fight for the recognition of the factory committees by the employers and for their legal existence. In Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, efforts should be made to gain the extension of rights and powers of the factory committees, carrying out such an extension without asking permission; to get regulations in force protecting the candidates of the factory committees from victimisation; to gain the right for the workers at any time to withdraw members from the factory committee who prove undesirable to them. For the right of all workers irrespective of age to elect and be elected, during factory committee elections.

It is also essential to get the legislation concerning factory committees extended also to all workers, office workers and civil servants working for wages.

17. In countries with a split trade union movement it is essential: (1) To work for the establishment and strengthening of factory committees; (2) to put up lists of candidates to the factory committees, recommending that all the adherents of the revolutionary trade union movement at a given enterprise should vote only for these candidates; (3) to unfold the widest propaganda in support of such lists of candidates and press their own programme for the factory committees. No preliminary pacts with the reformists concerning the distribution of seats upon the factory committees to be permitted. Such tactics are radically wrong, because one of the prime tasks in a pre-election campaign is the increased propaganda of our own ideas, and the exposure of the reformists and their tactics of repudiating the class struggle. In exceptional circumstances an agreement may be come to with the reformists during elections to the factory committees providing such agreement or pact aims, for example, at fighting the fascist unions and does not prevent the revolutionary

unions from developing the programme of consistent revolutionary class struggle.

18. In countries with no organised revolutionary opposition (Germany, Austria, etc.), it is essential to combat the practice of drawing up lists of candidates to the factory committees by meetings of officials or even by executive meetings, and to urge that candidates be put up at the general meetings of the workers.

Carrying on an unremitting struggle for the necessity of candidates for the factory committees being put forward by the workers in the factories and plants themselves, in those countries where there is no organised revolutionary opposition (Germany, Austria and elsewhere), and where the lists of candidates are put forward by the Catholics, liberals, and by the free trade unions and other organisations—R.I.L.U. adherents should endeavour to get their candidates elected on the lists of the free trade unions.

19. The revolutionary trade union movement must fight all attempts to substitute the revolutionary trade unions with factory committees.

IV.—ON THE INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION OF UNIONS.

20. The Fourth Congress confirms the resolutions of the Second and Third Congresses and of the Fourth Session of the Council of the R.I.L.U. concerning the struggle for transforming trade unions into industrial unions. The industrial form of trade union structure constitutes the basic organisational principle of the revolutionary trade union movement and is an organisational structure by which means the greatest strength of the working class can be mobilised for the creation of a militant mass organisation of the proletariat under the present conditions of trustification and cartelisation of capital. The slogan of "One Factory, One Industry, One Union!" remains an actual slogan for adherents of the R.I.L.U.

Congress, therefore, considers it necessary to undertake systematic work towards transforming the existing trade union organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. into unions of the industrial type.

The Congress calls upon the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions to wage an energetic struggle against the reactionary leaders of the reformist craft unions, exposing their sabotage of all attempts to reorganise the trade union movement upon industrial principles, and on the other hand to expose before the working masses the hypocrisy of those who support the theory of industrial unionism, not to wage the class struggle, but to gain greater control of the apparatus, for the purpose of class collaboration.

In the reformist unions the adherents of the R.I.L.U. should advocate the amalgamation of individual trade unions in a given

branch of industry. The struggle for the amalgamation of unions must be persecuted with greater vigour especially in Britain and America, where the success of action undertaken in the economic struggle has been repeatedly prevented not only by their treacherous class policy but also by the narrow craft sentiment of the unions. The revolutionary minorities must not stop at partial fusions if at the given moment general fusion is impossible. It must, however, be borne in mind that the whole activity for the reconstruction of the unions upon the industrial principle should be based upon the widest educational activity among the masses.

The rapid growth of the international cartels and trusts, and the growing organisational and economic connections among different branches of industry, are confronting the adherents of the R.I.L.U. with the problem of supporting and developing the fighting alliance of the unions for mutual aid and joint activity, both upon a national and international scale.

V.—ACTIVITY OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS.

21. Only the practical activity and the correct policy of the trade unions which are under the leadership of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. can finally clinch for it the confidence of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions should work better than those of the reformists, better protect the interests of the workers, take up a more attentive attitude to the needs and requirements of the working masses, more vitally respond to all current events, and more fully enforce the principles of trade union democracy by establishing closer ties with the masses of the members. If these unions grow and increase their influence among the working class they are dealing a crushing blow to the reformists. The revolutionary trade unions should set an example to revolutionary activity for the organisation of the masses and defend the vital interests of the working masses.

22. The basic organisations of the revolutionary trade union movement in the capitalist countries of Europe—the Unitarian Confederation of Labour in France, and the One Big Union in Czecho-Slovakia—owing to a number of reasons due chiefly to the history of the rise of these organisations and the peculiar traditions of the labour movement in each of these countries, and also to insufficient experience and attention to the organisational activity of the unions, have not yet brought up this form of activity to the proper level.

23. Regardless of the work performed by the O.B.U. for the unification of the Red trade unions, it should be admitted that the decisions of the preceding Congresses of the R.I.L.U. and the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. have only been partly carried into effect. We still find excessive centralisation in the O.B.U. which curbs the initiative and the proper growth of its sections, a

prevalence of administrative features in the leadership to the detriment of the general work in hand, the survivals of obsolete methods of activity revealed in the insufficient attraction of the masses of the members to activity and in a formal application of the principle of trade union democracy, and insufficient attention to catering for the members of the unions, particularly in the insufficient promotion and training of a body of trade union militants. All these are cardinal defects in the activities of the revolutionary trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia. One of the consequences of these defects is the fact that the O.B.U. has not only failed to increase its ranks numerically, but has also lost part of its members and suffers from the excessive fluctuation of its membership.

24. The defects in the activity of the Unitarian Confederation of Labour in France consist in the scattered nature and decentralisation of the movement, and in the weakness of the rank and file units of the unions within the factories. The feeble interest taken by the members in the activity and existence of the organisation, particularly the absence of strike funds, unemployment funds, etc., in the unions, urges persistent and continuous activity for the reconstruction of the Unitarian trade union movement. The work already started in compliance with the decision of the Bordeaux Congress (1927) can be carried out only upon the basis of the broad clarification of the reorganisation that is being carried out, and of the systematic re-education of the masses of the members.

25. The instructive advices for the elimination of these defects in the activity of the revolutionary trade unions should be worked out quite concretely, and adapted to each country in particular, in special resolutions to be carried by the Congress. It must be said, however, that along with the task of improving the activity of the revolutionary trade unions, the adherents of the R.I.L.U. in countries with split trade union movements should also carry on activity within the reformist unions. Individual local organisations, district and industrial bodies of the reformist unions in which R.I.L.U. supporters obtain the leading majority, may, under certain conditions, leave the reformist bodies as whole organisations and affiliate to the revolutionary bodies. This may occur, for example, during a strike wave, when reformist treachery during a strike may serve as a starting point for the transfer of scores of thousands of workers to the revolutionary trade union organisations. It is essential, however, strongly to condemn the tactic of dragging individual workers and small groups out of the reformist unions into the Red trade unions.

26. The organisation of statistics on the trade union movement, and especially relative to members, is most important for the revolutionary unions. It is, therefore, necessary to pay

particular attention to the work of organising regular statistics covering union members as well as all aspects of trade union work.

VI.—WORK WITHIN THE REFORMIST UNIONS.

27. In countries where the adherents of the R.I.L.U. are active as minorities in the reformist unions, the forms of the organisational consolidation of our influence cannot be built upon one and the same model. The tasks common to all these countries, that of attracting the greatest possible number of the workers to the activities of the revolutionary oppositions, including the social democratic workers, who are shaking off reformist influence—this task can be carried out organisationally in different ways, depending upon the concrete conditions and circumstances prevailing in the respective countries.

28. Those local unions and federations of trade unions, in which the Opposition is gaining majority, should oppose the reformist unions with all the tactics at their command, energetically working for the enrolment of new members, affording better protection of their interests, and so on.

These local bodies should play the initiatory rôle in the struggle against the predatory policies of the Amsterdam leadership.

29. One of the fundamental slogans of the activity of the revolutionary minorities is the struggle for democracy in the unions. The reactionary statutory rules which hinder the free expression of the opinions and wishes of the membership, are taken advantage of by the reformists in the campaign against the revolutionary trade union movement. New restrictive clauses are being introduced in the rules of the unions against the adherents of the R.I.L.U. and the Communists. The tasks of the Opposition are:—

- (1) To fight for revision of reactionary rules.
- (2) To fight against the non-elected officialdom in the trade union movement.
- (3) Struggle for proportional elections to all trade union bodies, trade union conferences and congresses.
- (4) For annual rank and file elections of Executives and officials of the unions.
- (5) For the widest possible extension of the independence of local union bodies without weakening the fighting capacity of the union as a whole.
- (6) For the free expression of opinion for every member of the union at meetings, congresses and in the Press.
- (7) For the freedom of the Press of the revolutionary minorities.
- (8) To struggle against high salaries and other privileges for union officials.

(9) The leading organs must deliver regular reports on their work to the members of the unions.

30. The new wave of expulsions which is being carried on by the reformists should meet with the determined resistance of the revolutionary trade union movement. The campaign against expulsions should be organised as a wide mass movement, having for its purpose the mobilisation of all working class forces capable of fighting against the unheard of curtailment of the rights and free expression of opinion of the members in the trade unions as practised by the reformists. The question of expelled members must be brought up for discussion at workers' meetings and at trade union meetings, exposing in every individual case the policies of the trade union leaders. It is necessary to clarify these questions in the trade union and general Press; to keep silent on the persecution of revolutionary workers by the reformists would mean to pave the way for fresh reprisals. Efforts must be made to get the lower units of the trade unions to resist actively the policy of expulsion that is carried on by the trade union leaders.

31. In Germany, the task of the R.I.L.U. adherents is first to strengthen and extend the revolutionary opposition in the free trade unions. Serious revolutionary activities must be carried out among the masses of workers at the enterprises. In the capacity of trade unionists they must carry on systematic work to recruit new members. By implacably struggling against reformism, R.I.L.U. adherents must win the confidence of the workers at large, and in this fashion get a footing, especially in the rank and file apparatus, in the factory committees, strike committees and local and district organs of the trade unions.

By promoting and developing connections among the opposition groups in the individual trade unions, more favourable conditions should be created for the preparation and organisation of workers' movements, trade union conferences, etc. It is essential to attract the factory committees to this work to a larger degree than hitherto, whilst they should be developed and enlivened. More life should be put into the unemployed movement.

32. In Britain the Minority Movement is still relatively weak in regard to organisation, and must concentrate its efforts on the task of consolidating its influence organisationally.

It is particularly essential in this connection to attract into the Minority Movement the local branches of the unions, the trade unions themselves, and especially the Trades Councils, to strengthen connections with them and increase the influence of the leading organs of the Minority Movement upon the everyday activities of the organisations. At the same time it is necessary to develop individual membership in the Minority Movement. In the present situation in England it is essential that

the Minority Movement gives great attention to the task of organising unemployed workers.

33. In the United States R.I.L.U. adherents should develop and strengthen their activities in the unions affiliated to the reactionary American Federation of Labour; nevertheless, it is the central task of the T.U.E.L. to carry out really the slogan of: "Organise the unorganised." Whilst advocating and defending this slogan even in the most reactionary unions, the Trade Union Educational League should, indeed, proceed with the organisation of trade unions in those branches of industry where the workers are either entirely or almost unorganised. This refers, in the first place, to the automobile, rubber, steel, boot and shoe, and textile industries, as well as to water transport.

As one of the most essential means for carrying out this fundamental task, it is necessary to develop the national industrial committees of the T.U.E.L. into genuine leading organs in the struggle for the organisation of the unorganised. These committees must start to set up factory committees as the main basis for the industrial unions. In those branches of industry where there are large trade union organisations, the national industrial committees must set up T.U.E.L. groups inside these unions. The work of the T.U.E.L. would have to be closely connected with the work of these groups in the factories. The T.U.E.L. must also develop activities to set up unions for Negro workers, whilst at the same time urging existing unions to admit them.

VII.—WORK IN THE COLONIES AND SEMI-COLONIES.

34. The general methods of organising the revolutionary trade union movement are fully applicable also to the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But, in view of the specific features of these countries, it is necessary to take the following points into consideration:—

(1) The central task must be to organise the industrial proletariat, which, though small in numbers, is nevertheless the main basis for the whole trade union movement of such countries. Backed by these class organisations of the proletariat, efforts must be made to line up the journeymen and workers in the handicraft trades—who represent the bulk of the town workers in these countries—into the trade unions.

(2) Within the existing craft unions the differentiation of the membership must be promoted by gradually squeezing out the non-proletarian elements from the unions (in the first place the small masters). However, at the same time the handicraftsmen and petty masters must be organised by means of co-operatives, which bodies must be brought under the constant control of the trade unions.

∴ (3) It is necessary to struggle for the establishment of

general unions admitting both native and foreign workers.

(4) A constant struggle must be waged to improve the working conditions and wages of native workers, and to get the same rights for them as enjoyed by foreign workers.

(5) The existence in the colonies and semi-colonies of many millions of agricultural workers makes it imperative to organise them (firstly, on the big plantations). At the same time close connections must be established between the agricultural workers' unions and the industrial unions for the purpose of catering for the needs of the semi-proletarian elements of the villages.

(6) In view of the weakness of the proletarian directing nucleus in the trade union movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the consequent danger that the trade union movement may be side-tracked from the class struggle towards a narrow policy of bourgeois nationalism and class collaboration, the revolutionary trade union movement of these countries is faced with the vital task of promoting and training its own body of active proletarians.

VIII.—ORGANISATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

35. In view of the process of capitalist rationalisation which serves to intensify unemployment, the organisation of the unemployed should occupy a prominent place in the activities of the revolutionary trade union movement. The basic guiding lines for these activities are :—

- (a) To urge that rights of union membership be retained for the unemployed on the same terms as those in employment and for the admission of the unemployed into the trade unions.
- (b) The creation of unemployed committees, both locally and on a national scale, whose task shall be to defend the everyday interests of the unemployed and maintain connections between the unemployed and the organisations of the rest of the working class.
- (c) To struggle for trade union recognition of unemployed organisations, and to set up close connections on one hand between the organs of the unemployed workers' movement, and on the other with the trade unions and factory committees.
- (d) To struggle to put into effect the basic demands of the unemployed, leading to an improvement of their conditions (State insurance, industrial relief, etc.).
- (e) Cultural and educational activity among the unemployed to raise their class consciousness.

IX.—WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA COMMITTEES.

36. (1) Recognising that under the conditions created by intensified trustification and the formation of inter-State indus-

trial combinations of capital, the rôle of the International Propaganda Committees is growing to a considerable degree in view of the bankruptcy and futility of the Trade Secretariats of Amsterdam, and that the struggle for the rallying of the proletariat in the various industries is acquiring greater importance, the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress urges the Executive Bureau to give most serious attention to the support of the work of the I.P.C.s and intensify its direct guidance of their activities. The I.P.C.s must be transformed into international centres guiding organisational activities in the various industries.

(2) Congress confirms the fact that during the period under report the I.P.C.s have achieved certain successes by having extended and strengthened their connections. Nevertheless, the majority of the I.P.C.s have been unable to consolidate their influence organisationally and their work in the past, and to a certain extent even now has been carried out mainly on agitation and propaganda lines.

(3) The I.P.C.s must constantly work for unity and get the centre of gravity of this work transferred to the broad masses of the workers; they must reveal the danger of war, and prepare and organise active resistance to the imperialist designs of the bourgeoisie. This applies primarily to the I.P.C.s of the Miners, Metalworkers, Chemical Workers, and particularly the Transport Workers' I.P.C., the rôle of these workers being of paramount importance during military conflicts.

(4) The I.P.C.s must expose the disruptive policy of the Industrial Secretariats affiliated to the Amsterdam International which are sabotaging international and national trade union-unity and the united working-class front.

(5) It is likewise necessary to give particular attention to strengthening the connections and work of the I.P.C.s in the East (China, Japan, India, etc.), Latin America, and Australia and New Zealand, where preparatory work to establish connections must be carried out as speedily as possible.

(6) The I.P.C.s must devote greatest attention to the strengthening of their connections with the organisations of various countries (Secretariats for groups of countries, fraternities, revolutionary trade unions, minorities, revolutionary nuclei, ship committees, port bureaux, etc.). They must also render active assistance in organising the unorganised.

(7) The I.P.C.s must take a direct and active part in economic disputes by organising help for the strikers or locked-out workers, and also organise joint action on the part of different trade union bodies. Particular attention should be paid to the struggle against international blacklegging during strikes and lock-outs.

(8) Most serious attention should be given to the question of the Press and publications. Existing published organs must change their character, and from information bulletins be trans-

formed into genuine mass printed organs for fighting and defending the interests of the proletariat in the given branch of labour. At the same time the publication of mass popular literature must be undertaken covering the chief questions affecting the movement of the given industry. In particular, arrangements should be made to deal systematically in the Press with questions of the U.S.S.R. trade union movement as concerns the various industries. It is also necessary to arrange a regular supply of information and materials on the international trade union movement and class struggle to all publications of the revolutionary trade unions, the Minority Movements and the I.P.C.s.

(9) Congress attached exceptional importance to the question of obtaining a firm financial basis for the I.P.C.s, for which purpose it is necessary that all revolutionary organisations affiliated to the I.P.C.s should without exception regularly send in their contributions.

(10) If the work of the I.P.C.s is to be set up properly and improved, it is absolutely essential that the machinery of the various I.P.C.s should be of a quality in keeping with the tasks they have been charged with. Experienced and trained trade unionists should be promoted to the work of directing the I.P.C.s.

(11) Congress considers that if success is to be assured in this work, and connections strengthened with the organisations, it is essential to convene conferences, meetings and plenums of the I.P.C.s regularly and more frequently, and also that the I.P.C. workers should undertake visits for the purpose of investigating the work being done and instruct those on the job.

(12) Congress urges the forthcoming conferences of the I.P.C.s to draw up corresponding constitutions, in view of the fact that the majority of the I.P.C.s exist and carry on their work without any set regulations whatever, or on the basis of statutes which are now out of date. In addition, programmes of action should be drawn up on all questions concerned with the activities of the various I.P.C.s.

(13) Congress makes it incumbent on all affiliated unions and minorities to maintain close connections (by personal contact as well as by correspondence) with the I.P.C.s, and to extend them active support in their work and activities. To co-ordinate this work the trade union centres and Secretariats of the minority movements affiliated to the R.I.L.U. must obtain the affiliation of revolutionary organisations and minorities in the various industries to the I.P.C.s, and get the responsible leaders of these organisations to establish effective contact with the respective I.P.C.s.

X.—QUESTIONS OF FINANCE.

37. The establishment of a sound financial basis for the revolutionary trade union movement is a necessary condition

for the productivity of the work, both of the revolutionary unions and the minorities in the reformist trade unions. They must make use of all possibilities of strengthening their financial position. Regarding the gathering of membership dues as one of the forms of contact between the trade union organisations and their members, and the strengthening of finances as a means of the successful work of the trade union organisations, Congress urges all R.I.L.U. affiliated bodies to give greater attention to the work of collecting membership dues as well as to the manner in which trade union funds are expended.

Congress considers the following necessary for the R.I.L.U. affiliated unions:—

- (a) To fix membership dues at an amount which, while not being too heavy a drain on the worker's pocket, would nevertheless assure the financial solvency of the trade unions. Membership dues should be collected in definite amounts or percentages reckoned on the basis of time-rates. Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to go thoroughly into this question for each of its affiliated organisations and to settle the matter with the latter.
- (b) While recognising the necessity of fighting for the State to be responsible for all relief and benefits—the whole being a charge on the employers—under the control of the workers' organisations, it is, however, considered necessary until this objective be attained to preserve the main forms of assistance (benefits) in the trade unions, and to introduce them where they do not exist in order to get the workers to take a material interest in their trade unions.
- (c) To take all steps to cut down management expenses in the unions.

Congress considers it necessary for the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions to fight:—

- (a) For the introduction of the above principles into the reformist trade unions.
- (b) Against the placing of trade union funds in capitalist countries in the keeping of, or their investment in, any private undertaking whatever, whether limited liability companies, or enterprises connected with the bourgeois State (loans, municipal enterprise, etc.).
- (c) To increase the amount in the budgets of the trade unions allocated for the financing of the economic struggle.
- (d) Against the extraordinarily high salaries paid the trade union leaders in some countries (America, Britain, etc.), these salaries to be brought more into line with the rates paid the workers in the given branch of industry.

In connection with the clause of the constitution relating to

the International Solidarity Fund, Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to take steps to go thoroughly and practically into the question both of the amount of contributions to be paid and the means of increasing the said Fund.

XI.—STRENGTHENING THE ORGANISATION WORK OF THE R.I.L.U.

38. The shortcomings and defects in the organisational activity of the revolutionary trade union movement have shown themselves to a considerable degree in the activity of the R.I.L.U. as well. In order to strengthen the organisational leadership on the part of the R.I.L.U. Congress deems it necessary :

- (1) To strengthen connections between the affiliated bodies and the R.I.L.U.
- (2) To create an institute of instructors.
- (3) To reinforce the R.I.L.U. Bureaux abroad.
- (4) Regular reports on the position of things in the different countries, both of a general nature as well as on individual questions of the movement, after a thorough study and treatment of the question has been made.
- (5) To strengthen the guidance of the activities of the I.P.C.s.
- (6) To call more regular sessions of the Central Council of the R.I.L.U.
- (7) To convene periodically international conferences (of groups of countries and of various branches of activity).
- (8) Competent comrades with experience in the trade union movement and able to undertake political and organisational leadership must be appointed by the affiliated organisations to the R.I.L.U. leading organs.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE YOUNG WORKERS AND THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

(Thesis adopted on the report of Comrade Appelt.)

I.—THE ROLE OF THE YOUNG WORKERS IN THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS.

1. To the extent that the importance of the young workers grows in capitalist production, particularly in countries with capitalist rationalisation, there grows also their rôle in the economic and political struggles of the workers. The recent growth in the wave of strikes showed an increasing participation of young workers in the economic fights. The general drift leftwards of the workers is partly manifested to a larger extent among the young workers than among the adults. In several countries young workers, mostly not even organised in trade unions, went out on strike with their own independent economic demands. In some cases the result of the strikes of the young workers led even to the outbreak of economic fights of the adult workers.

2. These facts should attract the utmost attention of revolutionary trade unions. It is essential to attract the young workers into the strikes of the adults, and to fight for definite demands on behalf of the youth in the course of general strikes. Since the right to strike is practically denied the young workers by the reformist trade union bureaucracy, whilst even the raising and defending of their demands is rejected. It is the task of the revolutionary opposition in the reformist trade unions to advocate the attraction of the young workers in all the economic fights, and the united struggle of the young and adult workers for the demands made on behalf of the youth. At the same time a fight should be carried out for representation of the young workers on strike committees. In the course of 1927 in some countries there were strikes of young workers in which the latter fought independently for the amelioration of their working conditions, since the struggle for the demands of the youth was sabotaged by the trade union bureaucracy. Such movements of the young workers should be earnestly supported by the revolutionary trade unions.

3. It is the task of the trade unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. to wage struggles on their own part in support of the demands of the young workers, and to get the young workers to take active part in the framing of demands and in the conduct of strikes.

Greater interest than hitherto should be aroused among the adult workers in regard to the demands of the young workers. A wide campaign in this direction should be conducted in factories and workshops, and in the unions.

4. Most of the apprentices are tied by individual contracts and the employers take advantage of this situation to use the apprentices as tools for bringing down wages and as strike breakers. The trade unions should fight for the abolition of the system of individual apprenticeship agreements which denied the apprentices the right to strike, urging its substitution by the system of collective apprenticeship contracts, extending equal rights to the apprentices. The recognition of individual apprenticeship agreements by the reformist trade union bureaucracy should be denounced as direct support to the interests of the employers. The slogan of the apprentices: "No blacklegging work" should be considered inadequate. The apprentices should be given the opportunity to take active part in the economic struggle of the workers. The revolutionary tactics call for a militant united front between young and adult workers.

5. The revolutionary opposition in the trade unions must wage a determined struggle against the trade unions becoming inter-locked with the socialist youth organisations. The only purpose of such inter-locking is to subject the young workers to the reformist ideology in order to disable them for the class struggle. To prevent this, the revolutionary trade union activity of the young workers should be developed and the closest collaboration should be effected with the revolutionary youth organisation.

The trade union organs among the youth should take a stand on all actual problems of the class struggle, not only on economic, but also on political questions (the menace of war, imperialist attacks against the Soviet Union, fascism, etc.).

6. Particular importance should be attached to questions connected with youth activity in the Eastern and colonial countries.

In China, Japan, India, and Indonesia, there is an extraordinary use made of the labour of youth and children. A great proportion of the proletariat in those countries is made up of young people (children and youth).

The brutal exploitation, to which the working class in those countries is subjected, falls with particular weight upon the shoulders of the young workers. The latter receive wages which are much lower than the miserable earnings of the adults, and frequently they get no wages at all. The working children and youths, whilst subjected to brutal treatment by the administration and the employers, are leading an existence of starvation. (It is quite known, for instance, that even to-day in China there are frequent cases of parents selling their children through agents.)

In connection with the Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference a special resolution was carried on the subject of child and juvenile labour. The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. endorses this resolution and makes it incumbent upon the delegates of the Eastern and colonial countries to support in every way the demands raised by the Pan Pacific Conference on behalf of the working youth of those countries.

II.

METHODS AND FORMS OF ORGANISATION OF THE YOUNG WORKERS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

7. The percentage of organisation of young workers and apprentices in trade unions is far from corresponding to the importance and rôle of the young workers in capitalist production, and in the struggles of the working class. Large masses of the young workers are still unorganised. It is of tremendous importance not only to the young workers, but also to the trade union struggle of the working class as a whole, that the young workers should be organised in the unions. Every effort must therefore be made to get the young workers organised in the unions.

In order to win these young workers for trade unionism, to secure a body of class fighters to succeed the work of the trade unions, and in order to encourage the young workers to carry on in an organised fashion the struggle for their own specific demands, it is necessary to form special youth organs in the trade unions, yet without separating the youth from the adults.

8. The existing organisational forms of the reformist trade unions are absolutely unsuitable to these purposes, because the reformist trade union leaders are deliberately hindering the struggle of the young workers, and it is therefore their practice to transform the youth sections not into organisations of the working youth connected closely with the working youth in the factories and maintaining an united front with the adult workers, having equal rights with the latter, but rather, on the contrary, to keep the youths detached from the adults and from the class struggle of the workers.

Yet even the organisational forms of the working youth in the Red trade unions are not without considerable defects. Their principal defect is that they are not yet built upon the basis of factories, and therefore have not yet been made into real mass organs of the working youth.

9. The demands of particular importance to get the young workers organised within the trade unions are the following :—

- (a) The organisation of the youth should comprise the workers of every factory, locality, district, and country, within the confines of the present trade unions, so as

to correspond to the economic struggle of the young workers.

- (b) The organisations should be based upon the factories and rely upon a body of youth delegates in the factories.
- (c) The young workers should be given the *possibility to work* in the organisations, and the same rights as are enjoyed by the adult workers, yet with the payment of dues in proportion to the wages received by them.
- (d) At all stages of trade union organisation young workers should be closely connected with the organisation of the adults and be fully represented on all the leading organs.
- (e) The young workers should have their own elected leadership within the trade unions *keep a separate register of their members*, and also maintain their own press, or at least supplements to the general trade union press.
- (f) The youth organisation should afford thorough education in the principles of revolutionary trade unionism, at the same time affording recreational services to the young workers.

10. The revolutionary opposition in the reformist trade unions and in the youth sections should actively support this standpoint within the trade unions and the youth sections with a view to their reorganisation on these lines. It must fight for capturing the leading positions of the youth sections in the reformist unions.

11. In the apprentices sections the revolutionary oppositions should oppose the separation of the young workers from the apprentices, and demand the enrolment of all youths in these sections. The common interests of the apprentices and the young workers are far more important than any existing differences in their relative conditions.

12. In the trade unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. corresponding to the requirements of the above-enumerated points, it is necessary to form youth organs in all the unions and trade union sections, and by the election of factory delegates of the young workers organised in the unions, to render them into real organs of activity among the masses. Delegates of the youth should be elected to various trade union conferences, district, local, or national, so that youth commissions shall be formed on all such bodies.

To lead the activity of the youth commissions, it shall be the task of R.I.L.U. sections to create a Youth Secretariat upon their respective central committees. Such a Youth Secretariat should also exist as part of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

13. Where the reformists enrol no young workers in their unions, as is partly the case in America, the R.I.L.U. supporters should insist upon equal organisational rights of the young

workers in the existing trade unions. At the same time it is necessary to reject all attempts at forming separate trade unions for the youth.

14. In view of the fact that the neglect of the urban industrial centres in regard to the young agricultural workers exposes the latter to the influence of the Christian and fascist organisations, Congress directs the attention of all sections of the R.I.L.U. to the importance of carrying on activity among this most backward mass of proletarian youth.

15. It shall be the task of the youth section of the R.I.L.U. to work out concrete measures in conformity with these general lines on all questions concerning the trade union activity among the young workers.

16. The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. makes it incumbent upon the R.I.L.U. Section and the revolutionary minorities to advocate a militant programme for the benefit of the working youth. Congress calls upon the whole of the young workers, as well as upon the adult workers, to take up the fight for this programme.

WORK AMONG WOMEN.

Capitalist rationalisation has furnished the basis for the replacement on a mass scale of skilled labour by unskilled labour. To an ever greater extent the cheaper and less well organised labour of women, young workers, children, foreign and colonial workers is being drawn into production. The increase in the number of women workers is being accompanied by a general worsening of the position of the whole proletariat and by increased unemployment.

Therefore, the fundamental task of all revolutionary proletarian organisations, and in the first place of the Red trade unionism, is to obtain the mass enrolment in the trade unions of all sections of the proletariat and the creation of a united fighting proletarian front irrespective of sex, nationality and age.

I. CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION AND THE WOMEN WORKER.

In the advanced capitalist countries women workers and women office employees represent from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. of the total proletariat and their numbers continue to grow.

The wages of the vast bulk of women workers and office employees is so low that starvation forces a whole group of women workers to take up prostitution to obtain additional earnings.

For the same work that men do women get one-half to two-thirds of the wages paid to men. Work on a conveyor system brings with it a greater nervous exhaustion of the woman worker and threatens the life of the nursing mother and her child. Amongst women workers nervous diseases, accidents and even cases of permanent incapability and death from exhaustion are growing at an alarming rate. The capitalists not only sabotage the execution of the legislation relative to the protection of labour, meagre and insufficient though it be, but are actually vitiating what social legislation there is. The position of the woman worker is particularly appalling in the East and colonies where a 16-hour day is worked, and where they are beaten up with impunity and even murdered, while children are crippled and die off.

It is only in the country of the proletarian dictatorship that the rationalisation brings with it an improvement in the position of the men and women workers. In the U.S.S.R. rationalisation

is being carried out in close unison with the trade unions and the mass of the men and women workers. Together with it the 7-hour working day is being introduced, measures are being taken to raise the skill and wages of women workers, there is an increase taking place in the number of crèches, nursery schools, kindergartens, etc.

II. THE WOMAN WORKER AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

(1) MASS NATURE OF THE WOMEN'S LACK OF ORGANISATION.

In spite of the fact that in world production tens of millions of women workers are employed and in spite of their monstrous exploitation, the vast majority of women workers have not yet been organised. In Germany, nearly 25 per cent. of all women workers have been organised. In Britain, 20 per cent. ; in France, from 3 to 4 per cent. ; in U.S.A., 3 per cent. ; in Japan, .8 per cent. But the women workers who are organised take very little part in trade union life and in recent years the drop in female trade union membership has been considerably greater than the decrease in male membership.

(2) BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE ON WOMEN WORKERS.

Repressions and terror are the main instruments used by the bourgeoisie to give the women workers no opportunity of participating in the class struggle, but in addition the bourgeoisie is making big efforts to hold up the development of the class conscious outlook of women workers by setting up Christian, national, employers and fascist unions, by founding philanthropic institutions, by using the influence of the pulpit, the school, the Press, etc. Reformists are the main helpers of the bourgeoisie in this counter-revolutionary work.

(3) WORK OF REFORMISTS AMONG WOMEN.

The leaders of the reformist trade unions bear the chief responsibility for the weak organisation of the women workers. Owing to their policy of collaboration with the capitalists, they are sabotaging the drawing in of women workers into the class struggle. The whole of their work among women is done with a view to confining women to minor social measures and philanthropic institutions and so sidetrack them from the fundamental questions.

Therefore, one of the basic tasks of the R.I.L.U. adherents is to carry out constant work to expose the reformists and show the mass of women workers by the whole of their activities that only the revolutionary trade union movement is the defender of their interests.

III. TASKS OF THE R.I.L.U. IN REGARD TO WORK AMONG WOMEN.

The fundamental tasks of the R.I.L.U. in regard to activities among women workers are :

(1) Constant struggle for bettering the position of all categories of women workers, office employees and out-workers, and for gaining the confidence of the broadest masses of the women of the working class.

(2) Systematic work in the mass enrolment in the trade unions of women workers, office employees and home workers.

(3) Training of active women trade unionists and their promotion to directing work in the trade union organs and those organs to which the unions delegate their representatives.

(4) Mobilisation of the views of workers for assisting the strike struggle.

Congress is of the opinion that the work done up to now by the Red trade unions and revolutionary minorities among women workers has been insufficient and urges them to extend this work as far as possible.

Congress stresses the fact that the enrolment in the trade unions of the millions of unorganised women workers and measures to retain them in union membership constitute one of the fundamental tasks of the Red trade unions and the revolutionary minorities as a whole.

IV. R.I.L.U. PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

The R.I.L.U. shall fight for the following programme of demands for the women workers :—

(1) *Wages.* Equal pay for equal work. General raising of women workers' wages in correspondence with the *price in the cost of living* and productivity of labour. A minimum wage shall be established for the women workers of the backward branches of industry, agriculture, and home workers or house workers.

(2) *Working Hours.* Introduction of a 7-hour day and 6-hour day for harmful occupations. A 4-hour day on Saturdays and the days before holidays. Introduction of an annual monthly holiday on full pay.

(3) *Labour Protection.* Prohibition of night work, overtime, and work in particularly difficult and harmful occupations, and underground work for women and persons under 18. Until this be carried into effect, night work and overtime shall be prohibited for expectant and nursing mothers.

All women employed for wages shall be given confinement leave on full pay for 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement. Nursing mothers shall be allowed paid intervals of not less than half-an-hour for feeding the child every three-and-a-half hours during the working day. Organisation of special

rooms in factories where nursing mothers may feed their children. Organisation of free crèches for the children of women workers at the cost of the employers and under the management of the workers and their organisations.

Instalment in factories of special dressing rooms, wash rooms, shower baths, a sufficient number of seats, etc., for the women workers and women office employees.

The whole body of legislation relative to labour protection and all forms of social insurance shall cover not only the industrial women workers but all women working for wages.

4. BENEFIT FOR UNEMPLOYED WOMEN.

All unemployed shall be entitled to unemployment benefit which can secure the maintenance of their families and dependants during the whole period of unemployment.

Women workers shall be entitled to unemployment benefit to the same amount as that of male workers. Relief works must include such work as may be performed by women without danger to health. Right of unemployed women workers to have equal representation with male workers on all State, municipal and other organs looking after the unemployed. It shall be forbidden to dismiss expecting and nursing mothers.

V. METHODS OF WORK OF RED UNIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY MINORITIES AMONG WOMEN.

1. *Elaboration of programme of demands for women workers and struggle for carrying it into effect.* The organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. shall, on the basis of the general programme of demands of the R.I.L.U. work out concrete programmes of demands for the women workers of the various countries, branches of industry, agriculture, territorial districts, union locals, and for the women of individual factories. These programmes should be elaborated with the participation of the women workers themselves and be widely popularised. In all their work the R.I.L.U. supporters should fight for the practical carrying into effect of these programmes and bring the women workers into this struggle.

2. *Attraction of women workers into the struggle for trade union unity.* On the basis of their programme of demands for the women workers the Red trade unions must propose the formation of a united front to the other unions for the struggle for the improvement of the position of the women workers, and must also bring the broad masses of the unorganised women workers into these campaigns. The revolutionary minorities inside the Amsterdam unions must support these proposals of Red trade unions and fight for the attraction of the women workers who are members of the reformist unions into the struggle for trade union unity.

The Red trade unions must convene meetings and conferences of women workers from the workshops and endeavour to develop these meetings into real assemblies of women delegates from the workshops as one of the best methods in the struggle for the united working class front and trade union unity.

3. *Drawing on of women workers into the struggle against imperialist wars.* As a counter-blow to the criminal attempts of the bourgeoisie and reformists to mobilise the women workers for the requirements of imperialist wars and the war against the U.S.S.R. (Paul Boncour's law in France and Pilsudsky's in Poland), the Red trade unions and revolutionary minorities must work systematically to draw the mass of the women workers into the struggle against imperialist wars and for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

VI. ORGANISATIONAL FORMS OF WORK AMONG WOMEN WORKERS.

(A) IN THE RED TRADE UNIONS.

1. *Commissions of Women Workers.* While always and everywhere emphasising that the trade union movement is a single whole and cannot, and must not, be divided into a trade union movement for men and a trade union movement for women, the unions should, however, at the present stage of development of the labour movement in the capitalist countries and in the East, set up under the direct and complete leadership of the elected trade union organs, commissions of women workers as auxiliary organisations for assisting the unions in carrying out work among the women. These commissions should be set up under the auspices of all trade union organisations, beginning with a factory and finishing with the central trade union council of every country. Following are the basic tasks of these commissions:—

- (1) To attract the women workers into every form of activity of the working class.
- (2) Assist to collect material on the position of women workers in the districts to which their activities are confined.
- (3) On a basis of this material to work out draft programmes of concrete demands for the women workers.
- (4) To elaborate plans of work among the women workers and submit them to the consideration of the trade union organs concerned.
- (5) Take the initiative in confronting these organs with questions connected with female labour.
- (6) To bring to the forefront (questions connected with female labour in the general trade union press and extend the distribution of the trade union for women workers as well as promote the extension of the ranks of women correspondents.

- (7) To put up candidates during elections of shop committees, wage rate commissions, strike committees, etc., and submit them for consideration of the responsible trade union organs.

2. *Trade Union Conferences of Women Workers.* In order to ascertain the requirements of the women workers and to exchange experiences the trade unions should, as deemed necessary, call trade union conferences of women workers (local, regional, by industries, national and international).

(B) IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MINORITIES.

1. The R.I.L.U. adherents in the reformist trade unions must work in the women workers' commissions of the Amsterdam unions and carry on a constant struggle for a correct class policy in the work of these commissions. The R.I.L.U. adherents must also participate in the conferences of women workers convened by the Amsterdam unions and fight in them for a correct class policy.

(C) IN THE MOSLEM EAST.

Wherever, owing to social prejudice women workers do not participate in general meetings attended by male workers the trade unions must steadily fight these prejudices. As a temporary measure, special women sections may be set up in the general trade unions, which sections shall meet separately and have their own elected official bodies. It is at the same time essential that the women workers' section should be represented in the general union bodies and should work as part of the whole union under the direction of the duly elected union bodies.

VII.—AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA WORK AMONG WOMEN.

1. *Press.* The general Press of Red trade unions should give prominent place to questions of female labour and develop the movement of women worker correspondents. The trade unions must see to it that the women worker correspondents are well represented at conferences of such correspondents and also convene special conferences of women worker-correspondents as the need arises. The trade unions should as far as possible issue a mass weekly paper for women workers. Trade union papers and journals should carry a "women workers' page" as a regular feature.

2. *Agitation and Propaganda.* For the development of agitation and propaganda suitable for the level and requirements of women workers the Red trade unions should allocate a certain part of its budget to propaganda work among women. The trade unions should also organise special carefully prepared recruiting campaigns for the attraction of the unorganised women workers into the trade unions.

3. *Cultural Activities.* The unions must see to it that there be a sufficient number of women workers attending general courses for active trade unionists and if necessary arrange special courses for active women trade unionists.

4. *Explanatory Propaganda Dealing with Questions of Female Labour.* In view of the fact that many workers including some members of the Red trade unions, do not fully appreciate the tremendous rôle of women in production and the class struggle and so do not realise the necessity for special and systematic work among women on the part of the Red trade unions, the unions should explain to their members and to the mass of the workers all these questions in their press, at meetings, at courses, and in all practical work, and try to get all members of the Red trade unions to give up their opportunistic underestimation of the women workers as a class force and take in hand to defend and organise the women workers.

5. *Revolutionary Minorities and Agitation and Propaganda among Women.* The R.I.L.U. adherents in the reformist trade unions should fight against the opportunistic and petty bourgeois way of dealing with questions regarding female labour in the Press and in the actual practice of the Amsterdamites and, by promoting men and women worker correspondents, oppose it by the correct formulation of these questions in accordance with the class outlook. They must also strive to carry out for the Red trade unions in accordance with the programme of the R.I.L.U. recruiting work, agitation, propaganda and cultural activities among the women workers and fight for the correct class policy in this work in as much as this work is in the hands of the Amsterdam leaders.

ON ACTIVITIES AMONG AGRICULTURAL AND FORESTRY WORKERS.

1. BOURGEOISIE SHIFTING THE WHOLE BURDEN OF AGRARIAN CRISIS TO SHOULDERS OF TOILERS IN TOWN AND VILLAGE.

In all capitalist countries, in the conditions of the developing agrarian crisis in several lands, agrarian and financial capital is pressing forward its onslaught on the agricultural proletariat, and finding support everywhere in the tactics of the reformist Trade Union leaders.

On the basis of the developing class differentiation in the villages, increasingly larger numbers of small peasant farmsteads are being ruined and swallowed up by the big estates and large (rich peasant) farms.

The agrarians are endeavouring to shift the whole burden of the agricultural crisis on to the shoulders of the agricultural workers, the broad strata of the peasantry and the town workers. This in turn is intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the workers in the towns and villages, and is increasingly grinding down the broad strata of the peasantry; fascist methods of fighting the workers are being resorted to more frequently, while political reaction is on the increase.

2. IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES POSITION OF LAND AND FOREST WORKERS WORSENING; IN THE U.S.S.R. IMPROVING.

During the last few years the position of the agricultural and forest workers in capitalist countries has become extremely bad owing to the capitalist attack. Capitalist rationalisation has in effect brought about greater unemployment, permanent workers are being replaced by seasonal workers, old workers are discharged, wages cut; indeed, the level of wages in agriculture is to an increasing extent falling behind the wages of the industrial workers; hours have been lengthened, housing conditions have become even more abominable, while the exploitation of female and child labour has been increased. In several countries rationalisation is even accompanied by methods of exploitation that recall the days of serfdom—the workers are turned into domestics for their masters, wives and children also have to work, while the most active sections of the agricultural workers are arrested, flogged and even murdered.

Worst of all is the position of agricultural workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who groan under the double yoke of international capital and the local exploiters. In the colonial plantations exploitation knows no bounds; the slightest sign of activity or discontent is ruthlessly stamped out, agricultural workers are tortured and treated atrociously.

The Land Reforms introduced in several European countries, generally for the benefit of the well-to-do peasantry, have made things worse for the land workers; unemployment has increased, wages have come down, the most active sections of the agricultural labourers have been thrown out. Those few agricultural workers who have received land as a result of the Land Reforms (Poland, Lithuania) are now either starving on their miserable plots or still remain labourers, in which case, tied down as they are to the land, they are even more dependent on their exploiters (Hungary).

Meanwhile, the radical changes brought about by the October Revolution in the life of the proletariat and peasantry of the U.S.S.R. have created conditions improving the position of the agricultural and forest workers year by year. Wages are steadily rising. The eight-hour day is in operation in the large State farms as well as in the communal and rich peasant farms. Agricultural workers in the rich peasant farmsteads come under the same legislation regarding labour protection as industrial workers. Further, agricultural workers are insured at the expense of the State and private employer, the workers being insured also against unemployment, while collective labour agreements have received wide adoption.

3. PROBLEM OF ORGANISING LAND AND FOREST WORKERS MUST BE SOLVED IN INTERESTS OF WHOLE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

During the last few years the number of agricultural and forest workers organised in the class and trade union organisations in capitalist countries has fallen by hundreds and thousands. At the same time, in many countries the national fascist and Christian organisations still wield much influence over the masses of the agricultural workers.

The number of unorganised agricultural and forest workers, including both male and female workers, exceed 25 millions in Europe alone. In many countries less than 1 per cent. of the agricultural and forest workers are organised. There also exist powerful employers' associations which cater for the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers, their numerical strength being even greater than that of the class trade unions catering for the agricultural and forest workers.

This extremely weak organisation of the agricultural workers is admittedly one of the greatest drawbacks in the world labour movement.

Only in the U.S.S.R. has the number of organised agricultural workers increased more than nine times during the last few years. (Jan., 1923, 249,100; Jan., 1928, 1,271,700.)

The decline in organisation of the agricultural and forest workers in capitalist countries is due in great measure to the fact that the reformist leaders renounced the class struggle for systematic class collaboration with the employers' association and the bourgeois governments (arbitration, participation in government commissions, support of imperialist and national oppression, etc.).

All this could not but affect the international connections of the agricultural and forest workers' movement.

In several countries the history of the organised mass movement of agricultural and forest workers goes back for scores of years. Yet down to the present time it has been impossible to set up a world federation, which, not in name, but in deed and action, in composition, character and scale of work, would really be an international industrial federation. (In great measure the failure to establish such an international federation is due to the sabotage of the reformist officialdom of the Amsterdam Federation, and to the fact that the labour movement as a whole has not given the agricultural and forest workers' movement sufficient attention.) The Amsterdam Federation does not embrace even half the European unions, while its membership hardly comprises $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the agricultural and forest workers of Europe.

While struggling against the disintegrating influence of reformism among the agricultural and forest workers, the revolutionary unions and minorities must strain every effort to carry out the following tasks:—

(1) To organise new hundreds of thousands of agricultural and forest workers in the class trade unions.

(2) To educate the organised and unorganised masses in the class spirit in the course of the struggle itself.

(3) To assist the creation and growth of contingents of active workers and organisers from among agricultural and forest workers themselves.

The interests of the whole labour movement make it imperative that the revolutionary trade union movement concentrates all its forces and means to solve these problems along the following lines:—

- (a) In those countries where there are no class unions of agricultural and forest workers, the founding of trade union organisations must be commenced, concentrating all attention firstly on the large farms, estates, plantations, forestry and logging camps, etc.

- (b) In those countries where there are undivided trade union movements, where agricultural and forest workers' unions exist, everything must be done to line up the broad masses of these workers in the class organisations, while everything must be done to bring them under revolutionary leadership.
- (c) In countries with a divided trade union movement the revolutionary unions of the agricultural and forest workers must be strengthened, while fighting for the unity of the whole trade union movement.
- (d) In countries with Christian, nationalist and fascist unions catering for the agricultural and forest workers, activities must be increased among the members of these organisations in order to extricate them from the influence of national fascism, and so win them over for the class trade union movement.

In countries with a weakly developed industry—especially colonial and semi-colonial countries—the chief attention of the revolutionary trade union movement must be concentrated on organising the agricultural and forest workers who comprise the most important proletarian basis in these countries.

4. AGRICULTURAL AND FOREST WORKERS' PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS.

The work of unifying the broad strata of the agricultural and forest workers must be carried out with the support and development of mass activities, the agricultural and forest workers being roused to take mass action to fight for the following demands :—

1. Regulation of working hours in agricultural and forest enterprises on the basis of an eight-hour day for adult workers, and a six-hour day for juniors under 16 (irrespective of whether they are day-workers or permanent workers).
2. An uninterrupted weekly rest of 42 hours with right to annual holiday of 2 weeks on full pay.
3. Legislation on protection of labour for agricultural and forest workers to be placed on a par with the legislative measures covering the industrial workers.
4. Fixed hours, day or monthly wage in money; real wages of agricultural and forest workers must not be lower than the average real wage of industrial workers in the same district.
5. Living quarters fit for human habitation must be supplied, the cubic space being sufficient to house all the members of the workers' family; eviction of discharged worker from premises belonging to employer to be prohibited until worker has found new living quarters.
6. All forms of social insurance to cover all groups of agricultural and forest workers at expense of employers and State.
7. The obligatory work on part of wives and children of agricultural and forest workers, obtaining in many countries, to

be abolished, while the system of turning workers into domestics for their masters must likewise be done away with.

8. Female labour must not be employed on work dangerous or harmful for women; equal pay for equal work; maternity protection; child labour in agricultural and forest enterprises to be prohibited.

9. Establishment of children's homes at expense of employers in those localities where large numbers of female workers are employed.

10. Fines and deductions from wages to be prohibited.

11. Enactment and rigorous observance of laws to prevent accidents at the enterprises.

12. No obligatory arbitration to be permitted.

13. All obstacles to the free migration and movement of agricultural and forestry workers to be removed.

14. Establishment of public workers' employment agencies, operating under the actual control of working class organisations, all other agencies, especially employers' recruiting offices, to be prohibited.

15. All forms and conditions of labour protection and wage rates enjoyed by local workers to cover all new workers that arrive, including immigrants.

16. No limits to be placed on the right to organise trade unions' right to strike and full freedom of assembly and press.

17. Immunity of representatives of agricultural and forest workers who defend their interests.

18. Workers' committees to be established at all large farms and enterprises, independent of the agrarians and timber merchants.

19. Workers to be engaged with the consent of the trade union, dismissal to be made only in those cases provided for by collective agreements, and with the consent of the trade union workers' representatives in the enterprises.

20. In concluding collective agreements with the employers only representatives of the class trade unions to be recognised as the contracting party on behalf of the workers.

21. Abrogation of all those labour conditions that enslave native workers in the East and colonial and semi-colonial countries; all forms of protection of labour and wages enjoyed by European and American workers on the spot to cover native workers also.

22. Support of demands of poor strata in the villages regarding taxes, and rents; usurers to be combatted, etc.

Using these demands as a basis, the R.I.L.U. Sections, as well as the revolutionary federations and minorities of agricultural and forest workers must draw up a programme of demands applicable to local conditions and the specific conditions of various branches of the agricultural and forestry trades.

5. CURRENT TASKS OF AGRICULTURAL AND FOREST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

(a) *In the Field of Economic Defence the following must be done :—*

(1) The foregoing programme of demands must be widely popularised among the agricultural and forest workers, especially when collective agreements are being concluded making clear the connection between the day-to-day struggle and the general class problem of overthrowing the power of the landowners and manufacturers and expropriating the factories and lands of the exploiters.

(2) Demands to be pressed on employers in organised fashion and at suitable times during various periods of the agricultural season (at ploughing, at harvesting time, and so on) making the most of all favourable conditions to advance the struggle (good harvest, shortage of farm workers).

(3) To get the broad masses of agricultural and forest workers to support the movement to establish collective agreements; revolutionary leadership to be set up in the struggle to improve labour conditions.

(4) To endeavour to get the agreements to cover not only workers in privately owned estates, but also to cover workers hired systematically in the peasant farmsteads; all due attention to be given the defence of seasonal and day workers.

(5) To struggle against piece rate system as a method of capitalist rationalisation at the expense of the workers, wherever the piece-rate system is in force to mobilise the masses to combat piece work, putting up concrete demands (eight-hour day for adults and six-hour day for juniors, better wage rates, lower output standards, etc.).

(6) All negotiations between trade union representatives and agrarian and timber merchants must be made public, while all attempts of the reformist leaders to come to an agreement with the agrarians and timber merchants behind the backs of the workers to the detriment of working class interests, must be exposed.

(7) The strikes of the agricultural and forest workers, which in the past were spontaneous movements for the most part, must be carried out on more organised lines, and efforts must be made to extend the scale of the struggle and get all possible support from the industrial workers and poor peasantry.

(8) To further these aims an international strike fund must be set up under the auspices of the Revolutionary Agricultural and Forest Workers' I.P.C.

(9) To wage a systematic struggle for the demands of unemployed agricultural and forest workers, closely linking up this struggle with the demands of the whole working class and the revolutionary agrarian movement.

(10) Every endeavour must be made to link up the agricultural and forestry workers' strike movement with the movement of the poorest strata of the peasantry against the landowners and big renters.

(b) *In the Field of Organisation the following must be done :—*

(1) Concentrate attention first of all on those districts where large numbers of agricultural and forest workers are employed, lining up in the class organisations not only the workers in the privately-owned estates, but also the agricultural labourers employed in the peasant farmsteads and those employed by the big farmers.

(2) The agricultural and forest workers' unions must embrace whom this is the only or chief means of existence, but also the not only the broad strata of the workers working for wages, for semi-proletarians, for whom temporary work is their chief means of existence for them and their families.

(3) To extend in every way possible activities among juniors and women workers employed in the agricultural and forestry enterprises.

(4) All R.I.L.U. sections, revolutionary minorities and opposition groups should be guided by the following in carrying out organisational work among agricultural and forest workers :

(a) Activities among the masses in several countries, including the U.S.S.R., have shown the expediency of uniting all agricultural and forest workers in industrial unions on a national scale in each country.

(b) Agricultural and forest workers' unions must enrol also other groups of workers employed in the villages connected with the agricultural and forest trades.

(c) It is expedient to organise agricultural and forest workers, or separate groups of these workers (for example—wood cutters), in the industrial unions of industrial workers.

(5) Continuing unremitting activities among employed workers, to organise the unemployed in committees or commissions of unemployed under the class trade unions. Should the reformists turn down this measure, to take the initiative in setting up unemployed committees whose activities are to be linked up with the economic struggle of the working class and the revolutionary peasantry.

(6) To get the local trades councils to pay more attention to the agricultural and forest workers' movement (to request reports, render financial aid, assist with instructors, etc.).

(7) To establish special committees under the trade councils or Industrial Workers' Unions to intensify activities among the agricultural and forest workers, or appoint special workers (agrarian secretaries) to further these aims.

(8) To help to organise an Agricultural and Forest Workers' Union in the U.S.A., to include the Negro workers—the most exploited section of the agricultural workers.

(9) To give more attention to the organisation of agricultural and forest workers in the East, the colonies and semi-colonies (India, Egypt, and elsewhere).

(10) To commence the organisation of agricultural and forest workers' unions in the Pacific countries and in Latin America, wherever they do not exist (Japan, South American countries, and elsewhere).

(11) To hasten the organisation of a class trade union of agricultural workers in China, linking up also other groups of workers employed in the villages in this organisation.

(c) *In the Field of Agitation and Training Contingents of Active Workers from among Agricultural and Forest Workers, the following must be done :*

(1) To strengthen the mass agitational activities of the class trade unions and revolutionary minorities among agricultural and forest workers.

(2) In countries groaning under fascism and the white terror, it is very important to utilise to the full the influence among the revolutionary peasantry for activities among the agricultural and forest workers.

(3) To arrange political-educational activities among immigrants employed in the agricultural and forestry trades in their native languages wherever large numbers of these workers are concentrated.

(4) To carry out systematically agitational trips of industrial workers to those districts where large numbers of agricultural and forest workers are employed.

(5) To utilise all connections with the villages, through industrial workers, and especially seasonal workers, to extend the industrial proletariat's influence among agricultural and forest workers.

(6) To get agricultural and forest workers' representatives to take part in the conferences and proletarian celebrations of the town workers.

(7) To appoint agitators and organisers to go over those districts where large numbers of agricultural and forest workers, both male and female, are employed.

(8) To establish special funds for agitation and propaganda among agricultural workers, by making collections among industrial workers; getting industrial unions to patronise and attend cultural needs of definite areas, where large numbers of agricultural and forest workers are concentrated.

(9) To widen educational activities among women and juniors employed in the agricultural and forest trades.

(10) To organise special schools and courses in several countries to train active contingents of agricultural and forest workers, developing in every way possible all kinds of movable forms of cultural-educational activities (travelling schools, libraries, propaganda wagons, placards, etc.).

(d) *In the Field of Mutual Relations with Peasant Organisations, the Fourth Congress, standing by the decisions of the Third Congress, confirm :*

(1) The necessity of building up independent class organisations of agricultural and forest workers in all countries. The lining up of agricultural and forest workers in peasant organisations, without their being organised independently in class unions, obscures the proletarian character of the agricultural labourers' movement and hampers the process of revolutionising the agricultural and forest proletariat as well as their education in the spirit of the class struggle.

(2) It is important at the same time to establish connections between the agricultural and forest workers' trade unions and the revolutionary peasant movement, so that while the class independence of the trade unions shall not be jeopardised, the influence of the organised sections of the agricultural proletariat over the revolutionary agrarian movement shall be enhanced. In any case the widespread establishment of independent class organisations should not isolate the agricultural and forest workers from the peasant masses who are participating in the revolutionary agrarian movement.

Congress considers the following forms of connections to be the most expedient :

- (a) To set up temporary joint committees of action to defend the demands launched by the proletarian and revolutionary agrarian movements.
- (b) Agricultural labourers' Trade Union organisations to line up collectively in the peasant leagues (retaining the class independence of their organisations, which should come under the leadership of the Trades Councils).

Only in very special cases can dual membership (in the peasant organisation and trade union) be permitted, the basic form of uniting all village proletarians—agricultural and forest workers—being the trade union. When agricultural and forest workers join up individually in the peasant organisations they should not remain divided, but should organise themselves into Agricultural Labourers' Fractions, etc.

Congress charges the Executive Bureau to take up jointly with the I.P.C. and the Peasant International, the questions dealing with the joint work of these organisations among the agricultural proletariat and peasantry, and submit practical suggestions on these points.

(e) *In the International Field the following must be done :*

(1) To continue an organised struggle for unity, especially by setting up committees of unity and friendship between the class trade unions of various countries, following the example of the committee set up by the unions of Norway, Finland, and the U.S.S.R.

(2) To make widely known and expose to the masses of the

agricultural forest workers the disruptive and anti-class character of the activities of the Amsterdam International.

(3) To support in every way possible the work of the I.P.C. as follows : To aid in practical fashion the establishment of agricultural and forest workers' unions in those countries where such do not exist ; to organise an active strike movement of agricultural and forest workers in capitalist countries ; to strengthen connections and guide the work of the revolutionary trade unions affiliated to the I.P.C.

(4) The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. must draw up a series of measures that will guarantee the further strengthening of the rôle of the I.P.C. in the international agricultural and forest workers' movement.

(6) *Defects observed in Activities among the Agricultural and Forest Workers must be thoroughly eradicated.*

Confirming the resolution of the Third R.I.L.U. Congress on activities among agricultural and forest workers, the Fourth Congress states at the same time that the R.I.L.U. Sections have done little as yet to surmount the difficulties of organising the millions of workers in agricultural and forest trades, and to carry out the instructions of that Congress.

The forces and means used by the revolutionary movement to unite and organise the agricultural and forest workers have been extremely inadequate. The demands of the village workers have not received adequate representation in the mass political and economic movements of the town workers. Instead of the popular press being further developed for the broad masses of agricultural and forest workers, during the last few years, we have observed that even the central organs of the revolutionary unions and minorities of agricultural and forest workers have been closed down.

The Third R.I.L.U. Congress especially stressed the importance of mutual aid between the towns and villages during strikes. A great drawback for the revolutionary T.U. movement is the fact that even local strikes of agricultural and forest workers in the various countries have not been receiving all the assistance they should get from the industrial workers.

These defects in the revolutionary T.U. movement must be eradicated once and for all.

All R.I.L.U. Sections must make systematic reports detailing the position and development of activities among agricultural and forest workers.

In accordance with the present decision, the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions must submit comprehensive instructions on activities among agricultural and forest workers for each country where large numbers of such workers are concentrated.

ON THE TASKS OF THE BRITISH MINORITY MOVEMENT.

GENERAL.

The decline in British capitalism continues, and is especially evident in the basic industries, coal, metal, shipbuilding, textiles, etc. There have been slight improvements in the luxury and light industries, which do not, however, refute the major fact of decline; it only serves to emphasise the parasitic stage which British capitalism as a whole has reached.

The decline results from (a) the advance of new industrial powers; (b) the relative backwardness of British technique; (c) the burden of over-capitalisation; (d) war debts, etc. British capitalism endeavours to escape the effect of this condition by and through attacks upon the British workers' wages, hours and working conditions, more extensive and ruthless exploitation of colonial workers, and by sabotage and war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

THE ROLE OF THE REFORMISTS.

The result of the ruthless capitalist offensive launched in 1921 can be seen in the fact that from January, 1921, to November, 1927, the workers of Britain lost £10,399,000 per week in wages, or approximately £550,000,000 per annum, whilst approximately 2,000,000 workers are unemployed, and of these in October, 1927, only 1,132,000 were in receipt of unemployment benefit.

This attack against the working-class standards, and the curtailment of the rights of the trade unions, have been carried out with the direct assistance of the reformist trade union leaders. They support the capitalists who declare that the main objective must be to enable British capitalism to successfully compete against colonial and foreign capitalism. They formed a united front with British capitalism, and seek to increase its competitive power by and through rationalisation, *i.e.*, more intensive work, longer hours, for less wages.

All the official trade union leaders, the right as well as the so-called "left," have now equally adopted the open and unconditional policy of surrender to capitalism. This expressed itself in the complete capitulation of the leadership in the British General Strike, in the acceptance of the Trade Union Act and the Blanesburgh Act without resistance, in the breaking off of the Anglo-Russian Committee, in the failure to make any attempt to deal effectively with the menace of non-political and company unions,

in the violent persecution against the Minority Movement, in the prohibiting of Trades Councils from affiliating with the Minority Movement, and, finally, in the participation of the General Council in the Mond Conference, even whilst a terrific onslaught is made against the workers.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE MINORITY MOVEMENT.

The British Minority Movement exists to direct and participate in the ruthless struggle against capitalism, to awaken the entire trade union movement to the revolutionary political character of the struggles ahead, to expose the treacherous rôle of the reformists in the trade unions, by persistent and merciless criticism, and to prevent the success of the attempts now being made to turn the trade unions into instruments of capitalist production.

The Minority Movement is the only revolutionary opposition to the reformists in the trade unions, and its fundamental task as a revolutionary organisation is to strengthen its organisation so as to rally the workers against reformist leadership in the struggle against capitalism.

It is the duty of the Minority Movement to build up a strong, well-organised movement, capable of transforming the trade unions into effective weapons of class struggle.

To do this it must train and equip its members in practical trade union affairs, and so enable them to participate efficiently in the every-day concrete tasks of the trade unions. Thus shall we demonstrate to the workers in action that the Minority Movement is the only alternative to the reformist betrayers.

The Minority Movement should aim at collective affiliations, *i.e.*, affiliation of trade union branches, Trade Councils, co-operative sections, etc.

Simultaneously it should recruit individual members, who should be organised in Pit, Shop or Factory Groups. The main immediate task of such groups must be to work for the affiliation of their trade union branch, Trades Councils, etc., to the Minority Movement, and, until this is done, to act in substitution of such affiliation by furthering the work and policy of the Minority Movement inside the branch. When affiliation is secured, the individual membership groups should remain in existence, recruiting new members and activating the affiliated branch members in every possible way.

All trade unionists prepared to fight against capitalism shall be admitted to membership and shall be allocated tasks in the trade union branch, Pit, Shop or Factory Committee, District Committee, Trades Council, etc., or other sections of the trade union, co-operative or unemployment movement.

There shall be the maximum effort to organise the individual membership on a Pit, Shop or Factory Group basis, which is the basic unit of the organisation. But, as a transitional measure,

the Minority Movement must also organise its forces within all the units of the present trade union organisation; that is, Minority Movement groups must be organised in every union branch, in every district committee, in every trades council, in every delegate conference and executive from top to bottom of the trade union structure.

Within given areas there must be organised district Industrial and General Committees of the Minority Movement, which shall co-ordinate and direct the work within the area under the direction of the National Committees; in addition to the National Industrial Committees now in existence, such as the Miners' M.M., Transport Workers' M.M., Metal Workers' M.M., there must be organised similar committees for all industries. These committees should consist of selections from branch group leaders, members with special knowledge of trade union work, and members occupying leading positions in the trade unions.

The Minority Movement National Executive shall meet monthly, if possible, and shall receive reports of the work of the industrial departments and decide general policy nationally, and shall organise and direct international work, paying special attention to the problem of assisting the workers of the colonies of the British Empire. The National Advisory Committee for each of the unions should be strengthened in the industries for which they have been set up, and should be organised where they do not exist. The Committees should participate in the work of the Minority Movement, meetings to be called every six months.

In all departments the Minority Movement must seek to excel in the practical, concrete tasks of the work of the trade unions, and should demonstrate by actual work their fitness to lead the masses. The task of changing the leadership involves the preparation of an alternative leadership, and every effort should be made to train Minority Movement members in trade union affairs in order to connect the day-to-day struggle with the revolutionary objective of the Minority Movement. The Central Committee of the Minority Movement must prepare in a systematic fashion for trade union elections, which must be made part of the propaganda of Minority policy and progress.

The membership must be made an actively functioning membership prepared on every occasion to accept positions of responsibility within the trade unions. "No task too small, no task too big." The E.C. must continue its policy of maintaining as many full-time organisers in the field as possible, carrying on Headquarters with the minimum staff.

All attempts at expulsion or suppression, either of individual members, branches or trades councils, etc., must be resisted to the very last, and there must be no political capitulation to avoid the struggle. It must be recognised that the Minority Movement made a serious mistake when it advised the 22 affiliated councils to withdraw on the instructions of the General Council.

The work of the Minority Movement in the co-operatives must be organised on similar lines; groups of individual members in the guild, on the committees, lined up and directed by national committees, with their special sub-committees for the main societies.

In order that the work among women and youth may be guaranteed adequate attention, the various organisations must appoint a committee to maintain contact with the National Committee.

The Minority Movement is not interested in organisation for its own sake, but rather in the organisation of an army, a fighting force which will ensure solidarity and the greatest striking power.

The problem for the Minority Movement is to transform its present mass influence into organisational power.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

1. To struggle against Industrial Peace, which is an attempt to transform the existing unions into mere instruments of capitalist rationalisation.

2. To expose the present discredited reformist leadership, showing clearly and concretely what their leadership has meant for the workers, and what it will mean in the future if left unchallenged.

3. To fight against company and non-political unionism, profit-sharing schemes, and all other schemes of class collaboration; and, in particular, the movement for all aiming at "industrial peace."

4. Campaign for 100 per cent. trade unionism, and the formation, wherever possible, of workshop committees.

5. The re-organisation of Trades Councils, and their transformation into local unifying centres of the workers' class movement.

6. Acceptance of the principle of One Union for each industry, and immediate amalgamation of competing trade unions as a step in this direction.

7. A concrete programme of immediate demands for each industry and branch of industry.

8. The reactionary bureaucrats of the General Council and of the trade unions are misusing their rights and powers in order to suppress the wishes and to betray the interests of the rank and file. The immediate task of the trade union movement is to fight against these bureaucratic actions of the permanent officials of the trade union movement, with the object of securing the real democratic election of delegates to the Trade Union Congress as well as to the conferences of the trade unions. A fight must be carried on to revise the rules of the existing unions in order to ensure that at least 75 per cent. of the delegates to the T.U.C. are rank and filers, and the discontinuance of attending at such conferences of non-elected full-time officials.

9. Affiliation of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement and the local Trades Councils to the Trade Union Congress, and the acceptance of representatives of these bodies on the General Council of the Trade Union Congress.

10. Fight against all attempts to impose on the trade unions permanent officials who cannot be removed in their lifetime.

11. The reformist General Council of the Trades Union Congress has misused its power: it has betrayed the General Strike and the Miners, and is now trying to subordinate the unions to the employers, headed by Mond. The present corrupt leadership of the trade unions must be ousted in order to make way for their replacement by a new class-conscious leadership for the trade unions.

12. In view of the increasing adoption by the reformist bureaucracy of disciplinary measures, of prohibition of affiliation to the Minority Movement, suspension of branches, and sections not obeying, and suspension and deprivation of rights, or even exclusion of revolutionary workers, the Minority Movement must fight in the present period around the slogans: "Hands off the militant workers"; "No splitting the unions"; "Fight for real Democracy in the Unions." The Minority Movement must show to the workers that the reformist leadership alone is guilty of splits and disruption. (A striking example is the action of the Scotch Miners' officials, adherents of the Minority Movement.) The Minority Movement shall mobilise the broadest masses against the Reformist Splitters, and attract the Trade Unions and Trades Councils into the struggle against the splitting policy.

13. Building up of a strong unemployed organisation, the members of which shall retain full rights in their Trade Unions.

14. Popularisation and organisation, or Workers' Defence Corps, which shall defend the workers' organisations during periods of acute class struggle.

INTERNATIONAL.

Popularisation of Programme of tactics of R.I.L.U., and exposure of the treacherous policy of Amsterdam International.

A fight for the united Trade Union International based upon class struggle and the maintenance of a movement of the closest possible relations with the militant movement of all countries until this is achieved by:

(a) Attendance at conferences through the R.I.L.U., as an affiliated section; paying special attention to work of I.P.C.s.

(b) Fight to secure the formation of Anglo-Russian Industrial Committees.

(c) The Minority Movement shall give great attention to the task of maintaining contact with the Trade Unions of China, India and Egypt.

It shall do everything in its power to secure the defence of the Chinese Revolution, now facing the sharpened and ruthless attacks of British Imperialism.

THE TASKS OF THE ADHERENTS OF THE R.T.L.N. IN GERMANY.

1. THE GENERAL SITUATION.

The monopolist development of German capitalism in recent years, furthered by the rapid concentration of the means of production in the decisive industries into the hands of a few powerful trusts and the development of employers' associations in connection therewith, led, especially in the period of rationalisation, to a constantly stronger domination of the State apparatus by monopolist capital. This expresses itself, first of all in an intensified intervention by the State apparatus in the economic struggle of the workers and leads to an increased restriction of the right to strike (compulsory arbitration, prohibition of strikes, holding the trade unions liable for strike damages). Every serious effort of the working class to improve its working conditions is answered by monopolist capital with a threat and execution of lockouts against large masses (shutting down of the smelting industry, the conflict of the Central German metalworkers, the Berlin toolmakers' strike, etc.).

At the beginning of the trade revival which followed the last profound depression, the bourgeoisie made certain apparent concessions (nominal increases in wages, etc.) in order to hold back the working class from serious struggles for the improvement of their situation, and in order to exploit the possibilities of the improved economic situation to their best advantage. As a result of the policy of the reformist leaders the proletariat was not able to utilise the favourable situation of 1927 for the purpose of improving its standard of living. The situation of the large masses of the workers had become generally worse. Whilst there was an unprecedented increase of productivity and rising living costs, there was a decline in the real wages, and at the same time a certain stabilisation took place in the living standard of the upper strata of the skilled workers. The disparity in the comparative wages of skilled and unskilled workers had become appreciably increased.

In most recent times there has begun a new intense employers' offensive with the most powerful support of State apparatus, the arbitration bodies, etc.; this is the direct expression of the intensified struggle of the German bourgeoisie for enlarging the sale of their commodities in the world market. The striving of the employers to increase the competitive power of their industry at the expense of the working class, and to shift

to the shoulders of the workers all the burdens associated with the execution of the Dawes' Plan, finds its expression in the demand for wage cuts and longer hours (building trades operatives, Ruhr mining, etc.).

Despite the policy of the reformist Trade Union bureaucracy which is directed against the class struggle, and regardless of their advocacy of class collaboration, economic democracy, and support of the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie—the actions of the working class, especially in the last quarter of 1927, give evidence of a considerable intensification of the class struggle in the form of a strike wave which has already unleashed major mass action of the working class (miners and metalworkers' strikes in Central Germany, etc.). This heightened activity of the working class was particularly clearly expressed in the fact that under the initiative and leadership of the Trade Union opposition the workers engaged in a whole series of big struggles in defiance of the reformist bureaucracy, contrary to the decisions of the arbitration organs, and despite injunctions against strikes (Berlin metropolitan railwaymen, Berlin woodworkers, Chemnitz carpenters, Solingen metalworkers, Hamburg dockers and textile workers, etc.). The transition of the working class from the defence to the partial offensive, the growing radicalisation of the German working class, leads to increased influence of the revolutionary Trade Union opposition, as well as to the capture of fresh positions in the Trade Union movement by adherents of the R.I.L.U.

2. THE POLICY OF THE REFORMIST LEADERS.

The support of capitalist rationalisation by the reformists, their sabotage of the workers' struggles to utilise the situation to improve their living conditions, their systematic collaboration with the representatives of Trusts and corporations in the National Industrial Council, etc., their direct collaboration with the employers' associations, their active participation in the State arbitration organs, their practical aid in the formulation of the Work-Day Emergency Law and the Unemployed Maintenance Law—show clearly their close identity of interests with the bourgeoisie, and the constantly growing fusion of the reformists with the apparatus of the capitalist State. Their betrayal of the interests of the working class these reformist leaders seek to camouflage with slogans having a "socialistic" ring about them.

1. Rationalisation of production, perfection of technique, improvement of factory management, etc., which, it is claimed, not only improves German competitive power, but also gives work to hundreds of thousands of proletarians, and even leads towards socialism. This then is the ground on which they give their wide support to capitalist rationalisation. In fact, however, rationalisation has raised the prices in the home market and has

removed hundreds of thousands of workers from the process of production, for even in the time of the greatest prosperity the unemployed army still numbered about 800,000. The ever-increasing application of new technical and industrial equipment, with a growing depression in trade, has again increased the army of the unemployed to nearly two millions. The increased figure of the unemployed is only slightly to be explained by seasonal fluctuations.

2. Economic democracy. Even though the reformist Trade Union bureaucracy knows full well that industrial democracy cannot be carried out within the capitalist State, the reformist leaders nevertheless try to deceive the workers by assuring them that this is a "struggle" to give the workers a say in the management of industry, a struggle for the control of monopolist capitalism by the State, a struggle for economic councils; the same aim is pursued by the development of the co-operatives, and the establishment of labour banks and Trade Union enterprises. Industrial democracy is a systematic attempt to produce an ideology of industrial peace in the minds of the workers and to transform the trade unions into organs of class collaboration with capitalism. Under the cloak of Trade Union neutrality, the reformists have placed the entire Trade Union apparatus in the service of fostering the social-democratic tactics.

The reformists say that in times of crisis it is impossible to fight, that there must be a wave of prosperity before fighting can be thought of. But also during the prosperous period of 1927 they took every opportunity to betray the interests of the workers (by means of their wage policies, the signing of long-term contracts in which in many cases the wage rates are lower than those already actually achieved by the workers; by including in the wage contracts the provisions of the Work-Day Emergency Law, by resorting to State arbitration, by submission to arbitration decisions, by accepting arbitration verdicts rendered by social-democratic judges against the workers, etc.). Their whole policy during this period was directed towards preventing by all means the development of the class struggle.

In the second half of 1927, under the influence of the changed situation the reformists changed their treacherous tactics. Under the powerful pressure of the working masses which demanded resistance to the assault of the bourgeoisie, the reformists, in order to compel the bourgeois bloc to recognise them as a coalition partner, took the lead in strike struggles (Cologne metalworkers' strike, Central German soft coal strike, etc.), in the effort to keep their grip on the leadership of the workers' struggle in order to be able to strangle it at the critical moment. For this purpose the reformist leaders have entered upon a cunning division of labour with the arbitration bodies of the State; on the one hand they themselves sit in these arbitration bodies which render anti-labour verdicts (Wissel, Brandt, etc.), and on the other hand, under the pressure of the masses, they put themselves

at the head of strikes, and in the capacity of strike leaders frequently pose as the defenders of the interests of the working class, rejecting these very arbitration verdicts, in order to surrender before such verdicts at the decisive moment, declaring them obligatory, and breaking down the strike in the name of such verdicts. The continued restriction of the workers' right to strike is in the main the result of this treacherous attitude on the part of the reformist leaders.

The activity displayed by the reformist leaders during this period has the aim, furthermore, of effecting within the limits of capitalist society, as far as possible, a certain improvement in the situation of skilled upper strata of the working class, and of making the latter the bearer of its policy in the working class.

This tactic of actual support of capitalism under the cloak of a struggle for the workers' demands, which appeared with particular clarity in the strike of the metalworkers of Central Germany, and in the course of the struggle of the Berlin tool-makers, is characteristic of the hypocrisy and double-dealing of the reformist policies. The revolutionary Trade Union opposition has not to a sufficient extent understood how to expose these deceitful tricks of the reformists.

3. STRUGGLE AGAINST REFORMIST MEASURES OF EXPULSION AND SPLITTING.

In order to assure its pro-capitalist policy which is intended to consolidate the capitalist State and economy; in order to prevent the exposure of their treacherous tactics, and finally, in order to prevent an extension of economic struggles beyond the limits of reformism—the reformist bureaucracy persecutes the revolutionary Trade Union workers, forbidding them to speak and removing them from their positions, conducts a systematic campaign of mass expulsions of revolutionary functionaries, and also resorts to direct provocation for a split (the Konisberg railwaymen, the Romscheid and Hagen metalworkers, etc.).

In order to strengthen their positions in face of the ever-increasing opposition of the workers to the reformist policies the reformists have already for a number of years engaged in systematically restricting democracy in the trade unions. By a constant worsening of the Rules of the Union the rights of the members are diminished, whilst the all-powerful authority of the reformist apparatus is strengthened. It is to be regretted that this situation, deliberately created by the reformists, is not quite clearly realised by the members of the trade unions and even by R.I.L.U. adherents, and for this reason there was no serious struggle for democracy so far conducted in the trade unions. The primary condition for a fight against these reformist measures that are directed against the whole working class, is the conduct of the widest mass mobilisation in the

factories and in the unions. The oppositional trade unionists should utilise each expulsion of a political character to expose reformism and to arouse the masses to the struggle for unity.

In recent times there has been too little attention paid to the struggle against expulsions and the splitting efforts of the reformists. There are even cases when expulsion is accepted quite silently. In a whole number of cases the R.I.L.U. adherents have voted together with the reformists against their own comrades in arms, and against the line of the class struggle, for fear of being expelled, and owing to an insufficient understanding of the difference between the policy of the reformists and the class line.

A most energetic campaign ought to be waged against the unconditional acceptance of the expulsions and against the splitting policies which form the inevitable corollary of the oppositional struggle in the trade union movement, as otherwise it will mean directly supporting reformism.

The only way to hinder the continuance of the reformist expulsions and splitting policies is by waging energetic struggle against the whole policy of the reformists, and by the practical extension and intensification of the activity in the factories and in the unions, whilst *utilising all the rights afforded in the unions.*

4. THE POLICY OF THE ADHERENTS OF THE R.I.L.U.

The revolutionary opposition in the trade unions, after the big defeats of 1923-24, has again achieved new and important successes since 1926. In a whole number of economic fights the opposition has succeeded in waging a successful struggle, thanks to its increased influence.

Mention should also be made of the achievements in the sense of the training of revolutionary trade unionists and of improving the activity among the unemployed.

Despite some setbacks, the results of the trade union elections in general indicate a strengthening of the influence of the opposition in the trade unions, a greater penetration of the lower units of the trade union apparatus. In the last year and a half the opposition was considerably more strongly represented in the trade union conferences which took place, than was the case in 1925 and 1926. Both the rebuilding of the trade union apparatus in the factories, and also the rising membership of the trade unions are to a considerable extent to be accounted for by the activity of the revolutionary trade union opposition.

The successes of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. might be considerably greater if they had not made a series of mistakes. These were expressed: in the under-estimation of the fighting power and militant spirit of the masses; in the inadequate

initiative in the development of the workers' struggle through which the militancy of the masses was curbed; in the all too rigid application of the "trade union" criterion in regard to economic fights; in failure to recognise the great political significance of economic struggles in the period of relative stabilisation of capitalism; in excessive fear of extending the struggles of the workers into a fight against the sabotage practised by the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

In the majority of cases these mistakes were due to the following causes:—

1. The under-estimation of our forces as compared with those of the reformists.

2. The incorrect understanding of the tactics of the united front, so that instead of combating the backward reformist mentality still to be observed among the masses, instead of attracting the workers from the social democratic ranks to follow the revolutionary line—the opposition itself is becoming attuned to this mentality. This accounts also for the fact that some R.I.L.U. adherents have raised the slogan of control over production and the nationalisation of the essential branches of industry whilst there was a total lack of a revolutionary situation, as well as for the fact that opposition officials have frequently voted with the social democrats against the proposals moved by the revolutionary opposition, or refrained from moving their own proposals. This is also partly to be explained by their fear of losing their positions, and of the insufficient revolutionary training of the opposition functionaries, which causes them to fall into the snare spread for them by the reformist demagogues.

Along with these mistakes there was also committed a number of blunders of a different kind. These include: the lack of systematic training of the revolutionary opposition for the workers' struggles; the under-estimation of some of the economic actions of the working class; the raising of demands that correspond neither to the circumstances nor to the mood of the masses owing to an over-estimation of our influence upon the working masses; the systematic extension of some political slogans to cover the whole field of the economic struggle. It was frequently forgotten by some R.I.L.U. adherents that in the period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism it is not every movement that can be extended beyond the limits of trade unionism into a general political struggle. For this reason they frequently raised general political propaganda slogans, failing to consider the fact that such slogans should be closely linked up with the concrete economic demands for which a given strike was started, and should only be put in the foreground during the process of the development of the struggle.

These mistakes resulted from the fact that the contact between the revolutionary opposition and the factories was rather inadequate, that the contact between the revolutionary workers in the factories and the leading organs of the opposition proved unsatisfactory. This resulted in that frequently there were abstract slogans raised, that there had been no preliminary discussion of the demands with functionaries from the factories, so that the latter could not carry these demands into effect. That is why the leading organs of the R.I.L.U. adherents have had rather weak influence in the conduct of strikes in many cases, although the initiative of the struggle had come from the revolutionary workers.

Extraordinary mistakes were made during the metalworkers' conflict in Rhineland, Westphalia. Even though the movement was maturing visibly for months, the R.I.L.U. supporters did very inadequate preparatory work. There was an utter lack of any systematic political and organisational work in the factories, which was particularly necessary in view of the fact that the organisational weakness of the opposition in the large factories was a matter of common knowledge. There was no calling together of the factory councils or any consultation with the opposition trade union functionaries. There was not even any adequate preparatory work in the opposition itself. Consequently, in the decisive period of the movement (during the threat of a lock-out, the issue of the arbitration decisions, and the open treason of the reformists) the R.I.L.U. adherents proved helpless against the treacherous measures of the reformists.

These outstanding organisational defects, and the inadequate preparation of the working masses, hindered the militant mobilisation of the workers. Yet, regardless of this, the R.I.L.U. adherents in the Ruhr district went to the other extreme and launched the ill-considered slogan of the general strike and the formation of committees of action. Naturally, such a slogan could not be seriously entertained by a single worker, and instead of showing up the reformists, it led only to a severe weakening of the revolutionary opposition in this district.

Among the general causes of the inadequacy of the work of the revolutionary opposition there are also: the insufficient training of the local executives of the revolutionary opposition, the insufficient ability of some of the heads of provincial newspapers in the field of the trade union movement, the frequent changing of the heads of the revolutionary opposition at headquarters and in the districts and in the various branches of industry, the insufficient collaboration between the leadership of the R.I.L.U. adherents and the oppositional functionaries active in responsible trade union positions, the insufficient organisation and co-operation of the R.I.L.U. adherents in

the factories and trade unions on the basis of initiative from below, and finally, the insufficiently systematic utilisation by the opposition of the situation in which it finds itself.

5. THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION OPPOSITION IN GERMANY.

The most important and most decisive task of the revolutionary opposition is the organising of the struggle of the working class for the improvement of its standard of living, which must be bound up with the final aims of the proletariat. By its business-like and concrete work, and on the basis of its concrete programme of action, the revolutionary opposition must step forth as the real leader of the struggle of the working class, as the organising force around which the working class rallies for the struggle against reformism and its spokesmen, as the force capable of leading the masses in the conquest of the trade unions and for the overthrow of capitalism.

The most important points of the programme of action of the revolutionary trade union opposition are:—

1. The struggle for a general increase in wages, against the further harmful differentiation in the rates of wages, and for the principles of equal pay for equal work;

2. Fixing of a minimum wage for piece and time workers, prohibition of piece work on conveyor system;

3. The re-conquest of the eight-hour day for all workers, and the seven-hour day for miners and the youth, the struggle for a further shortening of the working hours.

4. The far-reaching extension of labour protection, social insurance for all wage-earners at the expense of the employers and under the control of the working class, whilst the workers should be completely exempt from making any contributions whatsoever for this purpose; annual fortnightly holidays guaranteed by law to all workers, and one month's vacation for workers in unhealthy trades and in the mining industry, as well as for women and the youth;

5. The struggle against the restriction of the rights of the factory committees either by law or by the reformist policies;

6. The formation of industrial unions; the formation of fighting federations of trade unions in the essential branches of industry;

7. The development of the factory committee movement, the federation of the latter upon the territorial principle, according to groups of industries and according to industrial combines and trusts. The R.I.L.U. adherents should consider the winning of the factory committees—the most important and decisive organs in the factories constituting the basis of the future industrial unions—as their most serious task. The mobilisation of the

factory committee movement against the reactionary policy of the trade union bureaucracy;

8. The struggle against class collaboration, against the state arbitration machinery, against economic democracy; the struggle against arbitration constitutes just now the decisive question of the struggle of the German trade union movement.

The programme of action offers a general line for the work of the revolutionary opposition. However, the slogans of this programme, which still requires to be worked out concretely, must in no case be applied as abstract formula. They are always to be adapted to the conditions in the various branches of industry, to the local circumstances in the various industrial districts and to the conditions of the given moment.

It depends entirely upon the tactics of the opposition as to what measure its influence will be decisive upon the struggle of the working class. In all the struggles of the working class the opposition must strive to seize the initiative. The adherents of the R.I.L.U., in due time prior to the termination or expiration of a wage contract, must work out a practical programme of demands in which they take into consideration all the factors that may exert influence upon the movement (industrial condition, labour conditions, mood of the workers, organisational situation, ratio of forces of the opposition and reformists, and the general situation). At the same time the trade union opposition must study the questions that are bound up with the workers' struggle for an improvement of their working conditions during the term of a collective agreement, and must work out their practical programme on these questions.

As against the endeavour of the trade union bureaucracy to keep the working class away from working out the demands, and also from drawing up the tactical line, the opposition should from the very beginning draw the masses of the workers into the movement, and introduce their practical proposals in the organisational meetings in the factories, based upon concrete facts gathered in the respective factory or branch of industry. The opposition must present these demands to the workers for their adoption. From the very beginning of the movement there must be an energetic and determined agitation against resorting to the arbitration bodies, against their interference, and against the recognition of their decisions.

The preparatory agitational work must be tied up closely with the organisational preparatory work. For this purpose an intensive recruiting activity must be undertaken for membership in the free trade unions, and to establish a system of control over the union functionaries, above all in the decisive big factories, and a struggle must be waged for the replacement of the passive reformist elements by class-conscious workers. At the same time the organisational connections of the opposition

in the factories must be broadened by attracting all the workers who are in sympathy with the opposition.

Under certain conditions, when a large-scale struggle and major actions are necessary in the opinion of the opposition, strike slogans must be proclaimed by the opposition with full determination, it must urge the organisation of strike committees to be elected by the workers in the factories, and fight for the election of energetic class-conscious workers as members of the strike committees. The election of a central strike committee is likewise to be demanded.

The revolutionary trade unionists must never forget that the reformists are always striving to restrict the strikes to the narrowest limits in order to prevent any possibility of a broadening of the class struggle. Therefore the opposition must constantly maintain the workers in a state of the greatest activity, informing them regularly as to the situation and agitating them for a broadening of the strike front whenever the proper conditions prevail. In no case can the criticism and exposure of reformism be given up during the struggle on the part of the opposition.

As the result of the reformists' sabotage and the progressing class collaboration between the reformist leaders and the State arbitration organs, the task frequently confronts the opposition of initiating strike actions also against the will of the reformist leaders. The opposition must take this into consideration in its preparations for every movement, and must establish and assure the ideological and organisational premises requisite to this purpose. At the same time the opposition must in no way weaken the pressure of the masses and of the lower functionaries upon the leading trade union organs, it must at every moment formulate the tasks of the trade union leadership in the organisation and conduct of the struggle, and demand the execution of these tasks. Only in this way will the workers become clear as to the reformist sabotage, and will they accept the proposals of the revolutionary opposition and entrust it with the leadership of the struggle.

It is essential that the revolutionary trade union workers should realise the importance of the co-operatives as organisations likely to render support to the workers in their struggle. To this end it is essential to develop the most energetic activity in the co-operatives, endeavouring to get the latter to extend material aid to members of their organisations involved in strikes, as well as to extend assistance to all striking workers by allowing them foodstuffs on credit.

The progressive leftward development of the working class is to be furthered in every possible way, to be ideologically deepened and organisationally consolidated. However, this can be done only by systematic and practical struggle for the everyday interests of the workers, which will enable the revolutionary

trade union opposition to prove itself a better champion of the interests of the working class, and a better leader of trade union activity than the reformists, and secondly, its ability to link up the struggle for the everyday interests of the workers with the struggle for the ultimate goal.

A most urgent problem in the development of the Left Wing in the German trade union movement is the activity in the ranks of the social-democratic workers, and the attraction of the latter to the class struggle. The experience of the economic struggles teaches us that by carrying on the proper tactical course, the revolutionary opposition is able to attract the social-democratic workers to the active united front against the social-democratic leaders, to break down the sabotaging of the economic struggle by the reformist leaders and in the process of the revolutionary struggles, to educate the social-democratic workers in the spirit of the class struggle. Therefore the opposition should devote a considerable portion of its energy to persuading the social-democratic workers of the detrimental character of the social-democratic policy and tactics from the standpoint of the interests of the working class. By means of comradely elucidation and criticism, by drawing a sharp line of demarcation as between leaders and rank and file it is possible to achieve a demarcation between the social-democratic workers and their leaders, as well as to attract the former to the active class struggle shoulder to shoulder with the opposition.

The basis for the revolutionary policy of the united front with the social-democratic and non-party workers is furnished by the individual industrial establishment. From this standpoint it is essential, on all decisive questions of trade union activity and of the proletarian struggle, to aim at joint action with the social-democratic workers whilst assuring the observance of the revolutionary class line. Upon the joint unity organs (unity groups, trade union recruiting committees, factory committees, and unemployed committees, unity committees fighting for the reinstatement of expelled members), it is necessary to strive for the establishment of constant organisational contact with the social-democratic workers. It is necessary, in far larger measure than hitherto, to utilise the positions controlled by the revolutionary opposition as supporting points for the revolutionary trade union movement. It is necessary to utilise these organs, and the oppositional representatives in these organs, for purposes of systematic oppositional activity, for the propaganda of revolutionary trade union policies, and for the struggle against reformism.

The struggle for gaining the trade union official positions in the lower units of the trade unions, in the factories, and in the trade union organisations, and for their transformation into organs of the class struggle, should be waged with particular persistence and in accordance with set plans, particularly in the

large factories and in the essential branches of industry. In this manner the opposition strengthens its influence among the masses and creates favourable conditions for the combat of the splitting policy of the reformists. This work should be particularly strengthened in the mining enterprises, in the chemical trades, in the heavy industries, and on the transport.

Energetic activity must be carried on in the villages in order to emancipate the agricultural workers from the influence wielded over them by the landlords and the patriotic associations, and to weld them together with the revolutionary workers of the towns upon a common fighting front.

Systematic work should be carried on among the workers organised in the Christian and Hirsch-Dunker trade unions in order to effect their transfer into the ranks of the free trade unions. Chief importance in this respect should be attached to the transfer of the larger groups of workers into the free trade unions, preparing this process by means of forming oppositional groups within the Christian and Hirsch-Dunker organisations. Such work should be primarily linked up with the struggle for the amelioration of working conditions.

The revolutionary propaganda among office workers and state functionaries should also be considerably strengthened. To this end, it is essential to carry on systematic activity not only in the free trade unions of office workers and functionaries, but also in the bourgeois and neutral organisations of staff employees, in which the bulk of them are organised.

In all the enterprises it is essential to wage an energetic fight against all the fascist elements. The yellow trade unions, the patriotic societies, the company unions, the sports circles organised by the bosses in the factories, constituting a militant force of the employers, should be banished by means of intensive activity of the opposition.

In order to strengthen the revolutionary trade union work of the opposition and to lead it according to plan in all its parts, it is urgently necessary that: (1) all adherents of the R.I.L.U. who are not yet trade union members must join the unions and carry on active trade union work, strengthening the forces of the opposition in the locals and districts; (2) the oppositional groups in the various unions and factories shall be strongly organised, developing broad initiative from bottom to top on all questions; (3) all necessary measures shall be taken to get the workers who support the opposition to regularly attend the meetings and conferences of the unions so that it will not be possible for the reformists to defeat proposals of the opposition on account of poor attendance by the latter, as has already occurred, even in such localities where the oppositional influence exceeds that of the reformists (the Lein works); the oppositional meetings shall be systematically prepared for, so that the agenda shall not deal merely with

abstract trade union questions, but that such meetings shall carry decisions on actual problems confronting a given organisation or organisational unit of a given trade union.

The struggle of the unemployed, their organisation in the trade unions, the unification of their ranks, and their leadership through the unemployed committees, as well as the contact between the latter and the factory committees, should be considerably strengthened. The unemployed should serve again as an active revolutionary factor in the labour movement.

The oppositional groups, in their structure as well as in their activity, must be concretely adapted to the structure and practical tasks of the trade unions. In support of the oppositional trade unionists holding responsible positions in the trade unions, the leading organs of the trade union opposition must establish constant and systematic co-operation with these functionaries, arranging regular joint conferences on momentous questions of trade union work, and giving constant practical support to these comrades in their work. Furthermore, the leaders of oppositional activity in the respective branches of industry should be given the opportunity of carrying out a thorough study of their particular branch of industry and of the condition of the workers employed therein, in which connection a frequent interchange of leaders among the various branches of oppositional trade union activity should be avoided.

Especially important is the systematic education and training of a body of leading oppositional trade union functionaries, who should fully answer all the requirements of class conscious revolutionary trade union activity in regard to all political and practical questions of the trade union movement.

THE TASKS OF THE R.I.L.U. ADHERENTS IN HOLLAND.

The scattered and craft nature of the Dutch labour movement has not diminished, regardless of the growing concentration of capital and the increased offensive of the employers against the working class: on the contrary, it has even further increased.

As an expression of this increase in the scattered nature of the movement should be considered the decision of the leaders of the N.A.S. (National Labour Secretariat) to detach the N.A.S. from the R.I.L.U. and at the same time to amalgamate with the remnants of the disruptionist Lansink group.

The amalgamation of the N.A.S. with the N.S.W. (National Syndicalist Federation) signifies the relapse of the revolutionary trade union into antiquated, narrow-national anarcho-syndicalism.

Notwithstanding this "amalgamation," there has been formed a new, purely syndicalist group, which is bound to increase the confusion in the minds of the Dutch workers and intensify the scattered nature of their organisation.

In order to counteract this scattering and to unite the Dutch workers for the struggle against reformism, anarcho-syndicalism, and the employers, the R.I.L.U. supporters in Holland should carry out the following tasks:—

1. Within the N.A.S. it is necessary to carry on systematic educational activity by way of exposing the N.A.S. leaders before the N.A.S. members and before the large masses of the workers. The workers should be made to realise that the N.A.S. leadership, by its vacillating trade union policies and political adventures has demonstrated its inability to carry out real revolutionary trade union policies.

2. It must be explained to the Dutch workers that the disaffiliation of the N.A.S. from the revolutionary international trade union movement carried out by the group of the N.A.S. leaders at the very moment when all the reformist and reactionary forces are uniting against the R.I.L.U. and the Soviet Union will have a strong adverse effect upon the Dutch working class.

3. It is necessary to strengthen and extend the Committee of Action in the N.A.S. for the purpose of active propaganda for re-joining the R.I.L.U.

4. In the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions the R.I.L.U. supporters should carry on an extensive educational campaign of exposing the reformist leaders in Holland who

have become the mainstay of the employers and of the bourgeois State, who evade any serious fighting, who advocate industrial peace, who pursue the policy of business co-operation with the employers, and who support the exploitation of Indonesia by Dutch Imperialism. The R.I.L.U. supporters should make a determined stand against the alliance of the leaders of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions with the social-democratic party Executive, which is openly heading for a government coalition with the Catholic Party. Such policies of the reformist leaders will convert the N.F.T.U. into an adjunct of the bourgeois State.

The R.I.L.U. adherents should support in the N.F.T.U. any opposition of the rank and file against the reformist leaders, endeavouring to render it more profound, so that this Opposition might deliberately head for the restoration of the militant class character of the trade unions. At the same time they should advocate the idea of the reconstruction of the unions into militant industrial unions, upon the basis of democratic centralism.

5. The R.I.L.U. adherents in the N.F.T.U. should in every way support the Committee of Action, which should be considered as the central point for the gathering of all the revolutionary forces in the Dutch trade union movement. The organised Left Wing should become the vehicle for increasing the struggle for unity.

6. Simultaneously it is necessary determinedly to renounce the policy of Wynkoop and his adherents in the Unity Committee advocating the unconditional unification of the N.A.S. with the N.V.V., as this policy runs counter to the decisions of the R.I.L.U.

7. It is necessary to strengthen the connections with the Labour movement in Indonesia, whilst it is essential, in the trade unions and in the Labour movement in general, to carry on serious propaganda in support of the slogan of the emancipation of Indonesia from Dutch rule.

8. The R.I.L.U. adherents should carry on in the Dutch trade unions and in the factories to begin with, an energetic and systematic campaign for the creation of a militant united front, and for the unity of the scattered Dutch trade union movement upon the basis of the revolutionary class struggle, and the free expression of opinions within the unions.

9. To this end they should form in the factories Mixed Committees having for their purpose the creation of an united front of all the workers against the employers upon the basis of the concrete programme of action arising from the practical every-day demands.

10. In order that the Committee of Action might carry out the tasks which it has in hand, it is necessary to publish a periodical oppositionist trade union organ on questions of the Dutch Labour movement.

ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

1. The young trade union movement of India already constitutes a powerful social-political factor. The growing significance of the proletariat in India's anti-imperialist movement is most clearly shown by the events arising out of the visit to India of the Simon Commission (mass meetings of workers, demonstrations, strikes in token of grief).

2. Yet the Indian trade union movement suffers from one main defect—its bourgeois leadership. From the outset the movement has been headed by bourgeois-nationalist leaders who have systematically tried to sidetrack it from the class struggle and independent political action, and get it pledged to class collaboration and support of the policy of compromise with British Imperialism on the basis of the native bourgeoisie's participation in the government on the footing of a junior partner.

Occupying positions of leadership in the trade union movement the reformist representatives of the national bourgeoisie have acted throughout as a brake on the development of the trade unions! It has been their constant tactics to localise strikes, when circumstances have favoured their extension—as in the recent case of the railway strike at Karagpur on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the autumn of 1927. In the case of every considerable strike, these bourgeois leaders have worked from within to betray the cause of the workers, and have stood by with folded hands, while workers have been shot down by the bullets of the British police and military.

3. Together with the Indian bourgeois-nationalist elements, efforts have been made in recent years by British reformism, viz., by the General Council of the T.U.C. and the British Labour Party to gain possession of the trade union movement of India for the purpose of emasculating it, always acting from the viewpoint of British Imperialist interests.

While expressing the liveliest sympathy with the "extremely appalling" living and working conditions of the Indian workers, the emissaries of British reformism do everything they can to assist the Imperialist of Britain to consolidate in the country the very system which creates these appalling conditions for the Indian workers.

4. One of the most imperative tasks, therefore, of the Indian trade union movement is to fight determinedly for changing the leadership. Every opportunity must be used to expose the reformist leaders and to make the treacherous character of

their activities plain to the broad working masses. The object should be achieved not only by verbal criticism, but first of all by criticism embodied in action, by participation in the everyday economic struggle of the workers. This the Left Wing of the Labour movement is doing.

5. The Left Wing must press forward its work in this direction. It must take the leadership of strikes into its own hands; it must dissociate itself entirely in the eyes of the working masses from the reformist leaders not merely by advancing more radical demands, but by taking part in the struggle for these demands. Such Left Wing activity must lead to the extension of its influence among the masses. With the backing of the masses it must lead the struggle against the reformist leaders from below, from the local trade unions through the provincial federations right up to the national body, the All-India Trades Union Congress.

6. The strength of the bourgeois leadership in the Trade Union movement is to be explained to a considerable extent by the composition of the trade unions. The higher paid workers and office employees (mostly in government enterprises) show a higher percentage of organisation than the general body of workers in the chief branches of industry. Cut off from the general body of workers, the office employees and privileged workers form a "labour aristocracy." Thus the direct fight against the bourgeois reformist leadership can succeed only as a result of a parallel change in the composition of the trade unions by bringing into them the broad masses of the industrial proletariat.

7. Therefore the main task confronting the Left Wing is the extension of the trade union movement and the reorganisation of the existing trade unions, which are structurally incapable of directing any broad class struggle. While the main mass of the workers in the key industries are either completely unorganised or badly organised. In some branches of labour there is a great number of small dual unions. This lack of cohesion greatly handicaps the economic fight as well as the general direction of the trade union movement.

The concrete tasks in the extension and reorganisation of trade unions are :—

(a) To organise the unorganised, specially in the key industries (metal trades, mining, textile).

(b) To organise trade unions for agricultural labourers and plantation workers. Steps should be taken to establish contact with the peasantry and the agricultural labourers through the migratory factory-workers who work part-time in town and part-time in the country.

(c) At moments of increased activity on the part of the masses, as, for instance, during strikes, must be utilised for broad recruiting campaigns.

(d) To enrol into the existing trade unions the main cadres of workers (lower paid and unskilled in each respective industry) and their representatives to take up responsible work in the trade union organisations.

(e) To organise the young workers in the trade unions on an equal footing with adult workers.

(f) To form factory committees.

(g) To form trades councils in the principal industrial centres for the co-ordination of mass action.

(h) To take steps to have workers elected as representatives and delegates to all trade union organs—including provincial and national organs as well as to all conferences and congresses.

(i) Generally to put the trade unions on a proper working basis. Issue of membership cards, regular collection of membership dues, careful book-keeping, democratic election of officers, and regular meeting for the hearing of reports by delegates.

(j) To publish moderately priced organs in the vernacular of the province, to carry on general propaganda work by frequent meetings, and to raise the ideological and cultural level of the workers by the organisation of night schools and study circles.

8. Propaganda must be carried on throughout all India for the popularisation of a programme of immediate demands affecting the general body of workers. During strikes, attempts should be made, in accordance with local conditions and development of the strike, to put forward the whole or part of the general programme of immediate demands. This programme of immediate demands may consist of:—

(a) Eight-hour day (two weeks' holiday on full pay per each year).

(b) Abolition of employment of children under fourteen years of age.

(c) Abolition of underground work by women and children in mines.

(d) Abolition of system of fines.

(e) Minimum living wage.

(f) Abolition of compulsory arbitration.

(g) State support for unemployed, old-age pensions, maternity benefits and protection (including the right to leave on full pay one month before and one month after confinement), and sick benefits.

(h) Improvement of laws regarding workmen's compensation and employers' liability.

(i) Adoption of effective safety measures in factories, mines, etc.

(j) Abolition of the system of sub-contracting.

9. In putting forward these demands, special care should be taken to explain that the whole programme, and much more, has been realised by the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., and that the Chinese proletariat and the working class in other countries are fighting for similar demands, thus establishing in a concrete form

the organic unity of the struggle of the world proletariat. The need should then be pressed for contact with the organised proletariat in the rest of the world (first of all between individual industries).

10. While dwelling specially on the need for contact with the organised workers of Great Britain, the Left Wing in the Indian trade union movement must expose the treacherous character of the reformist leadership in the British Trades Union Congress, the British Labour Party (and its so-called Left Wing, the Independent Labour Party). The Indian Left Wing must insist that the Workers' Welfare League on India in London (which is the official representative in Great Britain of the All-India Trades Union Congress) should widen the scope of its work and seek to bring the Indian trade union movement into close contact with the Left Wing of the trade union movement in England organised in the Minority Movement. In India the Left Wing must point out to the organised workers that the Minority Movement in England is the proper movement with which to establish contact, as the movement expressing the sincere desire of the best British workers for active solidarity in common action with their fellow-workers in India.

11. The necessity of contact with the exploited proletariat in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries should be emphasised as a specific task in the present stage of the struggle of the Indian workers. Stress should be laid on the necessity of establishing, through the emigrant Indian workers, contact with the Negro workers in South Africa and other places, and with the workers' movement in the Philippines, Indonesia and the countries of the Near East. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat provides a basis for the united front of the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries bordering on the Pacific, and is the channel along which the first attempts for extra-Indian affiliation on the part of the Indian trade unions to establish organisational ties outside of London should be directed.

12. Contact would be sought with the International Propaganda Committees of the R.I.L.U. Finally, the organised trade union movement, freed from the reformist leadership and strengthened in its external organisation and its class character by an influx of the most exploited workers, must be prepared to come into line with the Red International of Labour Unions representing the most revolutionary working-class elements throughout the world.

13. In the work and struggle for the building up of the trade union movement in India, the Left Wing, on whose shoulders there rests an enormous responsibility, must constantly keep these perspectives in view. By developing along these lines, the young and militant proletariat of India, organised in its trade unions, will fulfil its historic rôle in the liberation of India from British imperialism and the emancipation of labour which will be crowned with the final establishment of socialism the world over.

ON THE IRISH LEFT WING FOR TRADES UNIONS AND IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE WORKERS' UNION OF IRELAND.

1. It is understood that the Workers' Union of Ireland, as a revolutionary trade union organisation, is the original union affiliated to the R.I.L.U. It therefore becomes the task of the Workers' Union of Ireland to strengthen its organisational hold upon the mass of the Irish working class, broaden its sphere of activity and its ideological influence, with the ultimate aim of establishing one united revolutionary trade union movement of Ireland based on the principles and doctrines of the R.I.L.U.

2. To achieve this, the Workers' Union of Ireland must proceed in the following two ways : (a) by strengthening the Workers' Union of Ireland itself, organisationally and otherwise (b) to win the masses of workers organised in the trade unions and labour bodies to the principles of the class struggle through the development of an all-inclusive Left Wing trade union movement in Ireland.

3. The Workers Union of Ireland shall carry on a campaign to expose the class collaboration character of the reformist unions in Ireland, English as well as Irish. The campaign must be carried on both outside as well as within these unions. The W.U.I. shall form revolutionary groups within the existing reformist unions in order to fight within them for the freeing of the workers from reformist influence, for the final ousting of the treacherous reformist leaders from their official positions, and for the withdrawal of the English unions from Ireland.

4. These groups must work in close touch with each other and form the basis for a Left Wing.

5. A concrete programme of immediate demands for each industry and branch of industry must be worked out. This will facilitate the work of mobilising the organised as well as unorganised workers against the traitorous reformist leaders, and for the formation of a Left Wing trade union organisation. This Left Wing trade union organisation must be developed and given organisational form at the earliest possible date.

6. Such an organised Left Wing in the trade unions and labour bodies must be broad enough to embrace all revolutionary workers in the Irish trade unions organised in the Irish Trades Union Congress sections of the British unions now in Ireland, and the Workers' Union of Ireland.

7. To facilitate the work and obtain a correct perspective

for the development of the Left Wing movement, close attention must be given by the R.I.L.U. adherents for the purpose of obtaining further trade union information, forming a correct estimate of all available forces for revolutionary work in all the trade unions and labour bodies.

8. After having obtained a correct estimate of all the available forces for forming a Left Wing trade union movement, an informal conference should be called of all our class-conscious contacts, to discuss conditions then operating in the trade union movement. This conference should elect a committee to draft a provisional programme to be submitted for its further consideration, paying special attention to the organisation of the unorganised.

9. Having agreed upon a provisional programme, the provisional committee must take steps to summon an all-inclusive trade union conference, consisting of delegates elected by the rank and file from all existing trade unions and labour bodies, co-operative guilds and unemployed organisations, etc., in Ireland, the purpose of this conference being to establish a Left Wing organisation of revolutionary trade unionists who accept the principles and platform of the R.I.L.U.

10. It must be understood that the Workers' Union of Ireland and the Left Wing organisation must carry out an intensive campaign for the complete independence of the Irish trade union movement. This campaign must be carried on in the press, through the trade union branches, labour bodies, trades councils. It must become a part of the programme and platform of all organisations affiliated to the Left Wing.

11. In line with this policy of independence of the Irish trade union movement, the Workers' Union of Ireland as well as the newly formed Left Wing shall maintain direct connections with the Minority Movement in England. A conference of representatives of the two bodies shall be called in the near future to work out a common plan of action for the withdrawal of the English unions from Ireland, and transference of the members to other trade unions.

12. Having worked out such a plan, the Minority Movement of England shall work in the British unions for the withdrawal of the British unions from Ireland. The Minority Movement, utilising its advantages in Northern Ireland, shall, in collaboration with the Irish section of the R.I.L.U., help to establish the Irish Left Wing in *Northern Ireland*.

13. One of the most important and immediate tasks of the Left Wing organisations, more particularly the task of the Workers' Union of Ireland, is:—

(a) The intensification of the work and agitation for the closer alliance between the agricultural and industrial workers. This agitation to be based upon the mutual economic interests of the agricultural and industrial workers with a view of organising them into the unions, and particularly, through strengthening the

agricultural workers' organisations, for the joint class struggle against British imperialism and the overthrow of capitalism.

To fight against all attempts to form Catholic or other religious unions.

(b) An intensification of the struggle for the immediate economic demands of the workers, such as the struggle against offensive of the employers, reduction of wages, lengthening of hours, worsening of conditions of labour, etc.

(c) Commence an agitation for the organisation of the unemployed, formation of factory committees, re-organisation of the trades councils, trades union congress and the re-organisation of the trade unions into industrial unions with one national centre, inclusive of the Free State and the Northern Government.

(d) To carry out the united front tactics as laid down in the resolutions of the R.I.L.U. The question as to the tactics of the Irish Workers' Union in regard to the movement towards the amalgamation of the two unions at Dublin, should be considered separately, after an investigation by the R.I.L.U. representative into the condition of the trade union movement and of its Left Wing in Ireland.

14. The newly established Left Wing must be based on individual as well as collective membership. It must carry on campaigns to enlist into its ranks the most active and militant workers as individual members; it must aim at securing the affiliation of unions which are still controlled by the reformists. And by building up effective and militant groups in all the existing unions, by participating most actively in all the economic as well as political campaigns of the working class, by continually providing from the ranks of the workers a new and revolutionary leadership able to carry on the every-day work of the unions—the Left Wing shall proceed in ousting the reformist leaders from the unions and transform the trade union movement of Ireland into a United Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

15. It shall be one of the immediate tasks of the Workers' Union of Ireland and of the Left Wing to issue a weekly trade union paper, which must become the organ of all militant workers of Ireland.

16. The day-to-day struggles of the Irish Workers' Union must be conducted in accord with the policy and programme laid down by the R.I.L.U. Furthermore, in order to break down the insularity of the Irish labour movement, the following steps must be taken:—

(1) That continuous and regular contact be maintained with the R.I.L.U. through monthly reports, forwarding of literature, manifestoes, etc.

(2) The Workers' Union of Ireland as well as the Left Wing organisations must establish close contact with the revolutionary organisations in all other countries affiliated to the R.I.L.U., especially with Minority Movement in Britain.

(3) The various industrial sections must establish close contact with the respective International Propaganda Committees through the regular exchange of information, etc.

(4) Closer contact must be established with the British Minority Movement with the trade unions and labour bodies of British colonies and dominions with a view to establishing a united front against British imperialism.

17. The Irish revolutionary labour movement to be **autonomous** and *responsible* only to the R.I.L.U.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN CHINA.

The Chinese trade union movement, which took up the course of the revolutionary class struggle from the very outset, constitutes, both by its numbers and fighting qualities, one of the best detachments of the R.I.L.U. At the same time, none of the sections of the R.I.L.U. have had to experience such cruel persecution as the Chinese. The ruling classes of China, in league with imperialist capital, have taken up the course of the **PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION** of the vanguard of the working class. Under such circumstances it is the fundamental task of the revolutionary trade unions in China to **MOBILISE THE PROLETARIAT** around its class organisations, without which the relentless struggle against the Kuomintang and the other reactionary groups in China, the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary régime, and the emancipation of China from the yoke of imperialism cannot be achieved. To this fundamental task are subordinated the organisational and practical tasks of to-day: the organisation of the every-day struggle of the proletariat, the fight against the reactionary unions, and the organisational building up of the revolutionary trade unions.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS.

(1) After a number of defeats, under the conditions of wild terror, the labour movement is passing through a period of certain depression, and in some working-class quarters there has become manifested a spirit of disappointment and fatigue, coupled with an improper conception of the fighting methods under the new circumstances. In order to overcome these moods, a persistent work of agitation, propaganda and organisation must be conducted by the revolutionary trade unions in the factories, directly among the workers. Under these circumstances it is necessary to endeavour to obtain the maximum organisation in all the actions of the working class; it is necessary to attract into the trade union organisations all, even the most backward, elements of the working class, since only by a high state of organisation and by the participation of the widest masses will it be possible to secure the successful course of the struggle of the working class. Upon the questions which stir the workers day by day, the revolutionaries should arouse the class-consciousness of the workers, demonstrating that the Red trade unions are the only

organisations which defend the interests of the proletariat. It is essential to make it widely clear to the workers that the Red trade unions do not at all constitute purely political organisations, **MINORITY—TEN**

but that, **IN THE FIRST PLACE**, they are organs of the economic struggle of the workers, which stand at the same time upon the revolutionary standpoint of the class struggle.

(2) The revolutionary unions should **PLACE THEMSELVES AT THE HEAD OF THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE**. The demands made in time of strikes should be thoroughly discussed by all the workers. Only when the bulk of the workers will clearly understand the sense and content of the struggle will it be possible to attain success. Any compulsion in regard to the masses of the workers hesitating to join the struggle is not only inexpedient, but also harmful. It undermines their confidence in the labour organisation, and facilitates the work of the **REACTIONARY UNIONS AND THE EMPLOYERS IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS**.

(3) The fundamental economic platform around which the revolutionary unions ought to mobilise the masses should be the decisions of the Fourth All-China Trade Union Congress: the eight-hour day, the shorter day for miners and for workers in unhealthy trades, the weekly day of rest with pay, the abolition of the periodical turnover of workers, the annual holiday, the minimum wage, the increase of wages, discharge benefits, the prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen, the six-hour day for youths, the prohibition of night work for women and minors, paid rest periods for pregnant women, equal pay for equal work; the organisation of sanitary inspection in the factories, benefits to sick and injured workers at the expense of the employers; relief for the unemployed at the expense of the State and the employers under the control of committees elected by the workers; the abolition of the system of unpaid apprenticeship, the abolition of fines and black lists, the prohibition of corporal punishment of workers, the abolition of the system of foremen, and so forth. This economic platform should be modified, itemised and adapted to the peculiar features of each separate district and of each separate industrial group of workers.

(4) In the case of a strike, there should be only such demands raised which can be obtained by the workers under a given economic and political situation, and **AT A GIVEN DEGREE OF FIGHTING ABILITY** on the part of the workers. It is necessary to limit the number of the workers' demands, not raising them by the score, but concentrating the whole struggle around two or three **BASIC** demands. In South China, under the circumstances of the severe reaction, the most vital and popular demands among the workers are: The retention of the conditions previously won with the aid of the revolutionary

unions, the struggle against lengthening the working day, against reducing the wages, against the intensification of labour, against discharges and curtailment of staffs of employees, against compulsory arbitration, against the payment of wages in depreciated currency, and so forth.

(5) The protests against execution and arrests of workers, the demands for the liberation of arrested comrades, the recognition of the right to strike, and the freedom of assembly and combination should be launched as part of wide mass movements involving tens of thousands of workers.

(6) Whilst laying stress upon the defence of the economic interests of the working class the revolutionary trade unions should wage a fight against any open or covert forms and tendencies of class collaboration; against the deceptive ideas of participation by the workers' organisations in raising the productivity of labour, against company unions, profit-sharing schemes for the workers, the system of labour shares, the formation of labour banks, insurance companies, co-operative factories and workshops, etc., which are so diligently preached both by the foreign and Chinese capitalists, as well as by the Kuomintang and the reactionary trade unions.

(7) The Chinese bourgeoisie, the Kuomintang, and the reactionary trade unions, are telling the workers in one voice that the conditions of labour in Chinese factories are better than in those owned by foreigners, endeavouring in this manner to paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the workers. The red trade unions should expose this deception, explaining to the workers that all capitalists, whether Chinese or foreign, are exploiting the workers with equal cruelty, and are to an equal extent the class enemies against whom the most relentless struggle ought to be fought.

(8) If, on the one hand, there is danger of being isolated from the working masses, in the refusal to lead their economic strikes; the present conditions, on the other hand, may bring about a deviation towards excessive interest in minor matters, towards a fear of political action, towards a policy of crumb-picking. The objective circumstances at present are such that among certain elements of the workers there may temporarily arise the sentiments of narrow guild interests. Such sentiments should be overcome by linking up every economic struggle with the general class tasks of the proletariat. Step by step, the revolutionary trade unions should demonstrate to the workers, upon real examples, the inevitability of the transformation of the economic struggle into a political one, and in the long run into the struggle for power.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE REACTIONARY TRADE UNIONS.

(9) The reactionary trade unions in China, except the Kwangtung Federation of Labour and the Mechanics' Union,

were created after the counter-revolutionary feats executed by the Chinese bourgeoisie in 1927 (the Kuntunhwei and the Kuntsunhwei in Shanghai, the Trade Union Reorganisation Committees in Hunan and Hupeh, etc.). Therefore, they rely above all upon the military and police machine, and upon the foremen, contractors, lumpen-proletarians, and strike-breakers, and therein is their chief source of power just now. The reactionary unions have managed somehow to rally a portion of the workers and to keep them in their ranks by resorting **NOT ONLY TO COMPULSION, BUT ALSO TO REFORMIST METHODS**, securing some petty concessions from the employers for separate categories of workers, whilst at the same time refusing to fight against the general worsening of the living and working conditions of the workers. Therefore, the struggle against the reactionary unions is a profoundly political one, since the revolutionaries will have to overcome not only the resistance of the apparatus of the military and the police, but also the backwardness of a certain section of the workers, and the remnants of their faith in the Kuomintang.

(10) For the struggle against the reactionary unions the organisation and class education of the wide masses are essential, and for this reason the methods of individual terror against reactionary trade union leaders are extremely harmful. Terror cannot serve as a means of **CONVINCING** the workers. Individual terror can only divert the attention of the revolutionaries from their fundamental task—the emancipation of the masses from the influence of the reactionaries. Such terror can only scare the workers without convincing them that the revolutionary trade unions are right.

(11) Many workers in the Chinese trade union movement in the past considered it necessary either to limit or to discontinue sending comrades into the reactionary unions, because they would become demoralised there; this may be interpreted as a **REFUSAL TO WORK WITHIN THESE UNIONS** in order to break them up and to win away the masses from them. Without taking any part in the leading organs of the reactionary unions set up by the military authorities, our comrades should work among the masses who are organised in these unions. Whilst refusing to send workers into the reactionary unions, they would thereby leave the whole strata of workers under the influence of the reactionaries. Whilst relentlessly exposing the corruption of the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, whilst showing up their real fascist face before the masses, the revolutionary unions should at the same time win the members of these unions and utterly destroy the reactionary unions.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS.

(12) The illegal conditions of activity create the danger of

replacing the revolutionary trade unions by political party organisations. **THE ORGANISATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS MUST BE ASSURED.** The complete fusion of the illegal apparatus of the Communist Party with the apparatus of the trade unions, the fusion of the Party nuclei with those of the trade unions in the factories, result in the fact that the trade unions cease to be wide mass organisations which can be joined by any worker irrespective of political or religious convictions, who observes the class solidarity and subscribes to the trade union rules.

(13) The revolutionary trade unions of China should at all costs embrace, in the first place, the categories of the **INDUSTRIAL** workers: the textile workers, the railwaymen, the miners, the metal workers, the seamen, the tobacco workers, etc. This should be particularly emphasised, since at the present time, owing to the tremendous difficulty for the revolutionary unions to be active in the large factories, there arises a tendency of **FOLLOWING THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE**, transposing the centre of gravity to the small enterprises of the artisan and trading type, and to the scattered groups of common labourers. The revolutionary unions should not fail to develop vigorous activity among the **WHOLE** of the Chinese proletariat, but the activity among the industrial workers should constitute the basis, particularly in those places where they are under reactionary leadership, *e.g.*, at Canton (the mechanics, the electricians). A relaxation in the activity among the skilled workers may lead to the strengthening of the reactionary unions.

(14) There should be a systematic distribution of the forces of the revolutionary trade unions to serve all the important industrial districts of China. In the *North*, until very lately, the work was suffering greatly on account of severe repression, as well as owing to the insufficient activity of the revolutionary trade unions. There are still unorganised the seamen of the North, the workers of Dairen, Tientsing, Tsintao, and nearly all the large industrial centres of Manchuria, whilst the Tanshung workers and the railwaymen are feebly organised. And yet this activity acquires exceptional importance in view of the revival of the labour movement in Manchuria. In *Shanghai*, the revolutionary trade unions will have to wage a fight against the ostensibly reformist Labour Federation for the influence over some section of the industrial workers. Exceedingly important is the work among the proletariat in the districts adjacent to Shanghai—in the towns of Hanchow, Wusi, Suchow, Nanking, Nantunchow, Chekiang, etc., where there are hundreds of thousands of industrial workers and trade union organisations which can be joined by any worker irrespective whose members can be easily won over to the side of the revolutionary class struggle. In *Hunan* and *Hupei*, particular attention should be devoted to the organisation of the railway-

men of the Peking-Hankow and Canton-Hankow lines, the metal workers, the textile workers, the Wuhan municipal employees and porters, and the miners of the four principal mining districts: Pingsian, Taye, Suikowshan and Sikuanshan. In *Hong-kong* a fresh revival of the labour movement is emerging and the revolutionary unions are confronted with the task of restoring the organisations of the seamen, metal workers, shipbuilders, port labourers, and other detachments of the industrial proletariat. In *Canton* the situation is a most difficult one, but even here there is a favourable ground for intensive activity among the proletariat as a whole, and even among the members of the Mechanics' Union and those categories of workers which hitherto served as the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary organisations.

(15) The revolutionary trade unions should have their basis in the factories, in the workshops, in the enterprises. Under the present circumstances of illegal activity, the lower organs of the red trade unions are no longer the factory committees, but the factory nuclei of the trade unions, which should be organised in the first place.

(16) It is essential to wage an energetic struggle for the open existence of the revolutionary trade unions.

(17) The question of preparing a cadre of capable union leaders constitutes one of the sorest questions in the Chinese trade union movement. Hitherto the trade unions have quite inadequately attracted the rank and file members to the leadership of the unions. Among the leading organs the percentage of rank and file workers was very small. This defect should be remedied at all costs. Otherwise the trade unions will remain top organisations isolated from the working masses. Workers from the factories should be attracted to all the leading trade union organs, as people who are intimately connected with the masses and know their moods, customs, traditions, etc. On the other hand, it is essential that each trade union official, even if he is not directly employed in production (it is essential that some portion of the trade union officials should be engaged in production), should constantly come into direct contact with the workers. Wherever the circumstances do not permit the opening of trade union courses, it is necessary to publish special literature for the training of the old and the preparation of the new trade union officials. To all leading organs of the trade unions, from the bottom to the top, including the Executive of the All-China Federation, the representatives of the youth and the women workers should be attracted.

(18) When organising the workers employed in ARTISAN WORKSHOPS and PETTY TRADES, it is essential to pay the utmost attention to the old-established organisational traditions (countrymen's groups, etc.), endeavouring to utilise them

as PROVISIONAL, transitional forms of organisation. At the same time it is necessary to wage a campaign against PROVINCIALISM and the group prejudices of the workers, endeavouring in every case to expose and eliminate the causes of friction among different groups of workers (the differences in skill, the intrigues of the employers, etc.).

(19) The WORKING YOUTH has always played, and always will play, a tremendous role in the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary trade unions, besides protecting the working conditions of the working youth, should carry on educational activity among that section of the adult workers which is opposed to the amelioration of the conditions of the young people. The youth should be attracted into the trade unions on the same rights as the adults. The trade unions should also assist in every way in the development of the pioneers' organisations, which, under Chinese conditions, consist almost entirely of young workers.

(20) The WORKING WOMEN constitute a very high percentage among the Chinese industrial workers. They experience with particular poignancy the yoke of exploitation, and are more oppressed and degraded than all the other workers. The revolutionary trade unions, as in the past, should firmly protect the working conditions of the women and attract the largest possible numbers into their ranks.

(21) One of the most essential tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement is the ORGANISATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED. If hundreds of thousands of the unemployed will not be embraced by the influence of the Red trade unions, the unemployment may be turned into a great danger to the revolutionary labour movement; the unemployed may be utilised by the capitalists and by fascism for their fight against the revolutionary organisations, in the capacity of hooligans, strike-breakers, etc. The struggle against the scattering and declassing of the Chinese proletariat will be possible only in the event that the revolutionary trade unions will maintain the contact with the workers who have been thrown out of the factories, creating special organisations for this purpose, and Unemployed Committees working under the leadership of the trade unions.

(22) The trade unions in China should establish even closer contact with the peasantry, organising the backing of the workers' actions by the peasants, and *vice versa*. The trades councils in the districts have been in the past, and should be in the future, the organising centres for the peasantry of the whole district. It is necessary that the district trades councils should proceed to the organisation of the agricultural labourers, the transport workers, the building workers, the artisans, and other working people in the villages, whilst these newly-formed organisations should work in close contact with the peasant

unions. The concrete methods of organising these workers should be worked out in the immediate future by the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. jointly with representatives of the All-China Federation.

(24) The *All-China Federation of Trade Unions* constitutes the only supreme organ of the Chinese trade union movement; yet in view of the civil war and the lack of roads, the intercourse among the different districts has been rendered extremely difficult, and the whole burden of the leadership in the local movements falls upon the local trades councils, the strengthening of which is a task of the utmost importance. It is therefore necessary to form at the Executive of the All-China Federation a staff of travelling instructors who should pay regular visits to the districts.

(25) It is essential to do everything possible to transform the unions of the RAILWAYMEN AND OF THE SEAMEN into genuine All-China organisations. It is also necessary to restore the union of post and telegraph workers, and to prepare for the amalgamation of the unions of miners and textile workers upon an All-China scale.

(26) The All-China Federation of Trade Unions should keep in fraternal contact with the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and collaborate with the latter. It is also necessary to establish regular contact between the revolutionary trade unions of China and other countries, especially with the Minority Movement of Great Britain.

(27) The IV. World Congress instructs the incoming Executive Bureau to work out a detailed programme of assistance to the Chinese movement by all sections of the international, and instructs also the holding of a "Week of Help to the Chinese Workers" in the very near future.

THE TASKS OF THE R.I.L.U. ADHERENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. The growing industrial depression in the U.S.A. is determining the capitalists and the Government to attack the unions (mineworkers, needle trades, etc.) to speed up the process of production in all industries, and to make extensive preparations for war.

Such military preparations by American imperialism indicates a more aggressive role on the part of the U.S.A. in the struggle for markets, raw materials and spheres of influence. All points to a sharpening of the class struggle and intensification in its conduct. It is therefore necessary to prepare for more frequent clashes between the working class and the capitalists, and the T.U.E.L. as the leader in the struggle of revolutionary trade unionism in the U.S.A. shall build its programme upon such a perspective. It is the main task of the T.U.E.L. to organise and lead the workers in these struggles; in order to successfully accomplish this task it is necessary:—

(a) To expose to the masses the reactionary character of the leadership of the A.F. of L., the Railway Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, etc., who betrayed the interests of the workers, and do not even struggle for the most elementary demands. On the contrary, they act jointly with the capitalist and the capitalist State against the workers.

(b) Refusal of the bureaucrats and the socialist leaders to organise the masses in the last five years of unprecedented capitalist prosperity in the U.S.A. in order to resist the attacks upon the living standards of the workers, reproductive efficiency unionism and class collaboration policy has the inevitable result of reducing the membership of the unions whereas these objective situations should have resulted in large increases in the membership.

(c) The existing membership of the trade unions in the U.S.A. is made up mainly of skilled and privileged workers.

Notwithstanding that there are approximately thirty million organisable workers, of whom approximately nineteen million are industrial workers, less than three million are actually organised. This decisive factor must determine the orientation of the T.U.E.L. towards the masses of unorganised workers.

The development of the productive methods in the U.S.A. has given a decisive role to the masses of semi-skilled and

unskilled workers employed in the basic industries, who are entirely or almost entirely unorganised, and whom the trade union bureaucracy refuses to organise.

A whole series of big and small struggles which have taken place since 1925 (needle trades, Passaic textile, coal mining, Pennsylvania and Colorado, and Haverhill shoe workers) show that the masses are more and more willing to fight against the capitalists, the capitalist state and the bureaucrats.

The T.U.E.L. united front policy shall be based upon the united front from below and mass pressure on the so-called progressives to involve them in the struggle.

STRUGGLE AGAINST CLASS COLLABORATION.

2. The T.U.E.L. shall immediately launch a wide campaign amongst the broadest masses of workers, against the class collaboration policy of the treacherous reformist leadership, now utilising the unions as instruments of capitalist production. It shall lead in the fight for the defence and improvement of the workers living and working standards, and shall fearlessly expose the harmful effects of Trade Union Capitalism, and management co-operation plan, which are demonstrating themselves to be bankrupt and futile. (Locomotive Engineers' Bank, B.L. & O. Plan, etc.)

3. PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

(a) ORGANISATION OF UNORGANISED.

The vital and immediate task of the T.U.E.L. is to become the leading organisation struggling to organise the unorganised, concentrating especially in mining, steel, oil, automobiles, rubber, textile, chemicals, marine transport and lumber industries. In all of these industries definite plans of work must be drawn up and carried out around programmes of concrete and immediate demands.

Failure on the part of the T.U.E.L. to take the leading role in this task will lead to a repetition of the recent Colorado strike experience, where the I.W.W. took over the leadership of the struggle, and to failure to organise resistance to wage cuts such as have taken place in the textile industry.

The organisation of the unorganised is the most vital task which the T.U.E.L. has now to face. At the same time it must use all the possibilities of working inside existing unions, participating in the daily life of these unions and fighting for the leadership (the workers organised) in them. The members of the T.U.E.L. must undertake this two-fold task under the slogan of "No task too big, no task too small." This means they must train the revolutionary workers to be able to effectively participate in local and national trade union work, and to lead the workers in the struggle against capitalism.

This main line in the carrying out of our policy in relation to the unorganised must not be one-sided. Further appeals to the bureaucracy and dependence upon the so-called progressives in the reactionary unions is useless and wrong. The T.U.E.L. must itself become the basis organisation for the organisation of the unorganised. It must openly and definitely occupy the leading role and be the arming force concentrating especially in such industries where the workers are not organised at all, or are very badly organised. The T.U.E.L. when necessary may fight for the affiliation of the organisations to the A.F. of L., but only on conditions which guarantee class leadership and a militant programme.

(b) NEGRO WORKERS.

In the work of organising the unorganised, great attention must be paid to the organisation of Negro workers. Owing to the refusal of the majority of white unions to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for Negroes. At the same time, however, the struggles for the inclusion of Negro workers into the existing unions must be intensified and concentrated upon, special attention being given to those unions in which the statutes and rules set up special limitations against the admission of Negro workers. In places where the Left Wing is in control of the local section of the existing unions, Negroes must be admitted to membership on the basis of equal rights, notwithstanding any barrier which constitution of the union might contain. In industries in which Negro and white workers are at present organised into separate unions, efforts must be made to secure the amalgamation of such unions on the basis of equal rights. In those industries where new unions are being set up, Negro workers must be included in the same unions as white workers.

(c) LATIN AMERICA.

The T.U.E.L. must maintain in close organisational relations with the Latin-American Secretariat and in co-operation with this body it must conduct special work amongst the large masses of Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S.A., especially those engaged in the metal, oil and railway industries, the T.U.E.L. must fight against discrimination against Mexican workers by American unions.

(d) CANADA.

There must be the closest relations between the R.I.L.U. Sections in the U.S.A. and Canada, especially for work in those unions having members in both countries, such as the A.F. of L., Railway Brotherhoods, etc., the T.U.E.L. of the

U.S.A. must support the fight of the T.U.E.L. of Canada for the independence of Canadian Trade Unions, and autonomy of the Canadian locals. In carrying out the task of organising the unorganised sections should assist each other, but under no circumstances shall new organisations which may be set up in the U.S.A. by the T.U.E.L. bring into existence Canadian locals in initiation of the practices of the reactionary A.F. of L.

(e) MINING.

In the mining industry of the T.U.E.L. must at once commence to organise new local unions in the unorganised districts, and in these sections where the reformist union has disintegrated. These local unions should demand affiliation to the U.M.W., in no case sacrificing the Left Wing leadership and programme. If this is refused the local sections must be linked into independent district organisations for common action.

(f) NEEDLE TRADES.

In the needle trades consolidation of the Left Wing must be secured; only on such a basis can the left wing in those unions face the attacks of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the demagogues and socialist leaders in these unions.

(g) AGRICULTURE.

The T.U.E.L. must give attention to the organisation of the agricultural workers. This is a field for work which is not utilised by the reactionary unions, or the T.U.E.L., notwithstanding that there are millions of these severely exploited wage-earners. A definite policy for work amongst this exploited section of workers must be drawn up and operated.

(h) WOMEN AND YOUTH.

American rationalisation of industry to an ever-increasing degree tends to utilise women and youth in industry at the expense of a reduced standard of living for the working class as a whole. Women and young workers are discriminated against by the trade union bureaucracy in many ways. The T.U.E.L. must immediately organise these workers, giving special attention to the trustified industries. Our chief slogan in this work must be "Equal pay for equal work."

1. STRIKE STRATEGY.

Strikes of a national or local character must be actively supported by the T.U.E.L. The categories of strikes we must expect in the present circumstances can be summed up in the following groups :—

(a) More or less sporadic strikes amongst unorganised workers, mainly in large trustified industries.

(b) Strikes by organised workers conducted in spite of and in opposition to the trade union bureaucracy (so-called outlaw strikes).

(c) Strikes into which sections of the bureaucracy may be forced by rank and file pressure.

It is mainly with the first two categories that we will be faced in the immediate future, and of these the first will be the most frequent, and of greatest value to us in our efforts to organise the unorganised. In such struggles the T.U.E.L. must come forward as an organisation and as the organiser of these strikes, and must avoid the mistake of coming in only after the revolt of the workers had actually taken place. The T.U.E.L. must, whilst assisting in the conduct of the strike and its direction, at the same time build up definite organisations of the T.U.E.L. Due to our weakness among the unorganised at present we shall not, for some time, be able to determine or manœuvre time and place of these strikes in accordance with our conceptions of strategical advantages. We must, however, utilise these strikes to establish and consolidate our influence among the workers in the particular industry affected. But we must make it clear to the workers that fundamental demands can only be realised by strong national organisations covering each industry linked up with strong bodies of industrial workers and having effective revolutionary international connections.

5. COMPANY UNIONS.

The T.U.E.L. must struggle against company unions. The slogan "smash the Company Unions" and the mere issuing of literature on the subject is not sufficient. Concrete organisational steps in which the shop and factory committees should play a leading part must be taken, and a flexible programme of action adopted. The T.U.E.L. must follow two tactics with the same objective; penetrate to destroy them wherever they have a mass membership, and smash them by pressure from without, or both.

6. SAVE THE UNIONS.

The slogan "Save the Unions" is no longer correct. It is incapable of rallying broad masses for decisive struggles in the U.S.A. Our policy must be to fight against the treachery of the trade union bureaucrats and the attacks of the capitalists. Our slogans must be in accord with these objectives. "Save the Unions" from the corrupt trade union bureaucracy and organise the workers against the capitalist offensive.

The T.U.E.L. must now become the genuine organisational centre of the unorganised workers as well as being the centre of the left wing in the reformist unions.

The amalgamation movement must be stimulated locally and sectionally, as well as nationally. Wherever it is possible to amalgamate local unions and sections of the unions it should

be done without waiting for the national movement to come to its full development.

7. UNEMPLOYMENT.

In face of the rapid growth and permanent character of unemployment in the United States in consequence of the rationalising processes adopted in American industry, the T.U.E.L. must take definite action in order to organise the unemployed workers into Councils of the unemployed. They must be rallied around such slogans as: "Work or full maintenance at trade union rates," etc. The closest possible relations must be maintained between the employed and unemployed workers.

8. ORGANISATION.

We must pay great attention to the task of creating and building up shop and factory committees which are capable of becoming vitally important factors in the organisation of the unorganised, and can be the basic units for the industrial unions. Every endeavour must be made to make these committees the organisational units in the respective localities.

The National Committee of the T.U.E.L. should at once intensify the work in metal transport, mining, food, textile and needle industries. The local groups in the T.U.E.L. must be strengthened in every possible way. They must admit into membership all workers prepared to fight against capitalism and the bureaucrats. The local general groups of the T.U.E.L. must be established in every industrial centre.

The National Industrial Committees of the T.U.E.L. must be made to function as the actual leading organs in the respective industries with which they are connected. They must include in their composition representatives of the unorganised workers, both Negro and white as well as representatives from existing separate Negro and white unions. The steps taken in the recent National Convention of the T.U.E.L. in this direction must be continued and strengthened.

Each industrial section must establish its own mass paper.

Industrial conferences of union members, together with the unorganised workers, must be held regularly under the auspices of the industrial sections of the T.U.E.L., and systematic reports presented to the appropriate sections within the organisation.

The central organ of the T.U.E.L. must be expanded to become a weekly agitational and propaganda publication.

The whole apparatus of the T.U.E.L. from top to bottom must be broadened and strengthened, and the forces consolidated under the direction of the National Committee of the T.U.E.L. Immediate preparations must be made for the calling of the

next National Conference in order to deal with the urgent problems now facing the workers in the U.S.A. The National Conference should be preceded by Conferences called by the National Industrial Committees. Every effort should be made to draw into the conference more organised workers from the reformist unions, as well as unorganised workers from the reformist unions, as in addition there should be conferences of the local general groups along the same lines, thus preparing for the National Conference, out of which should be gathered new elements to assist in the conduct and direction of the work of the T.U.E.L. For these conferences new slogans and programmes should be worked out. They should be of a positive and concrete character in keeping with the actual issues facing the workers, and calculated to raise the level of their class consciousness. (Examples—organise the unorganised, fight wage cuts, build militant unions, one industry one union, smash the capitalist offensive.)

9. INTERNATIONAL.

The T.U.E.L. must maintain and strengthen its international contacts. It must point out to the workers of the U.S.A. that it is the only organisation with organisational contact with the workers of other countries. It must show that affiliation to Amsterdam is not a step towards international solidarity, and must point out that in the countries where the workers' organisations are affiliated to Amsterdam, the leadership of the trade unions is adopting American methods of class collaboration. The T.U.E.L. must maintain in the closest possible relations with the R.I.L.U., and the National Industrial Committees must have close organisational contact with the I.C.C.'s. The reports to the I.P.C.'s. and the National T.U.E.L. from the National Industrial Sections must be more systematically organised.

The T.U.E.L., together with the Latin-American comrades, should develop a fight against the Pan-American Federation of Labour, dominated as it is by American imperialism. It must be regarded as an instrument of imperialism and an agency of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the Mexican labourists now leading the C.R.O.M. The T.U.E.L. must render all possible assistance to the workers and peasants of the Philippines and Hawaiian Islands, and must maintain close organisational contact with the workers there.

The T.U.E.L. and its adherents must co-operate fully with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, bringing to the attention of all workers in America the struggle of the masses of the Far East against American imperialism.

10. The U.S.A. section of the R.I.L.U., the T.U.E.L., is now faced with extremely difficult circumstances, but if the

above programme is serious applied to the rapidly developing class struggle it will rally important sections of the masses to its support, and thus be enabled to direct the resistance to all phases of the capitalist imperialist offensive. It will strengthen the whole labour movement of the U.S.A., which is urgently necessary to resist the attacks on the workers at home and the impending war danger. It will root itself deeply in the masses to be a resolute force in the struggle against Capitalism at home and in the struggle as part of the world proletariat against world imperialism.

IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE UNITARIAN GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (FRANCE).

I. Since the time of the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U. profound changes have taken place in France's economic and political situation, which are characterized by the transition from the period of inflation to that of the stabilization of the currency.

Stabilization has led to a profound crisis in France's national economy, a crisis which is due to the disproportion between the volume of production and the capacity of the home and foreign markets.

The crisis has prompted the French manufacturers to undertake a prolonged and relentless offensive against the workers.

The crisis now experienced by France is but part of the international and impassable crisis of the capitalist system. One ought to expect the employers' offensive, which has already been started against the working class, to go on increasing.

II. Whilst these events are developing, the reformist bureaucrats—who during the period of inflation, being tied up with the bourgeoisie, occupied a demagogical position towards the workers—are now openly going over to the side of the Government and employers' bloc.

The fact of the reformist bureaucracy becoming an integral part of the capitalist system is shown in the class collaboration which is taking place upon the National Economic Council and in the attempts at extending the liaison between capital and labour from the upper to the lower stages of the system of production (against the interests of the workers—through collective agreements and compulsory arbitration).

III. Such a situation leads to the intensification of the class struggle and to a concerted offensive by all the reactionary forces (the government, the employers, the reformists, etc.) against the Unitarian trade unions, whose destruction is sought by the bourgeoisie as a matter of urgency.

The blow directed against the Unitarian trade unions has for its purpose to clear the path for the bourgeoisie towards bringing down the living standard of the whole working class and towards the further enslavement of the masses by the powerful organizations of the employers. In view of this fact, the struggle for the existence of the Unitarian trade unions is the task of prime urgency for the whole of the labour movement in France.

IV. The struggle for the existence of the Unitarian trade unions comprises, first of all, the struggle for the right of employ-

ment for members of Unitarian trade unions in the factories. It is upon this very struggle that the U.G.C.L. should concentrate the whole of its energy. The discharging of adherents of the Unitarian trade unions from the large factories, and their ousting from the heavy industries, is fraught with exceedingly grave consequences to the revolutionary movement as a whole.

V. The French revolutionary trade unions should base all the aspects of their activity upon the incontestable assumption that the pressure against the revolutionary organizations will even further be increased, and that the bourgeoisie, acting upon a united front with the reformists, will attempt the smashing of the Unitarian trade unions.

It is necessary to prepare all the organizations, and, above all, the large masses of the workers, to take a firm stand against the economic and political offensive which is waged against the elementary rights of the toilers and against the living standard which has been won in the preceding years.

VI. The U.G.C.L. has great deserts before the French labour movement, but it is also charged with tremendous responsibilities towards the latter. It is the only organization which carries on the economic struggle, and which organizes the masses against capital. Just because the U.G.C.L. constitutes at the present time the only class trade union organization in France, it is essential to study with particular thoroughness all its mistakes and shortcomings, and to do everything possible to put them right. The shortcomings of the U.G.C.L. may be summarized as follows :

1. The prevalence of agitation and propaganda over organizational work. Hence the appreciable discrepancy between the political influence and the organizational consolidation of this influence.

2. The insufficient contact of the leading organs of the trade union movement with the lower organizations and the workers in the factories.

3. The insufficient centralization, which does not do away with the survivals of federalism, with the result that the different federations show an inclination towards taking upon themselves the solution of serious problems, without the proper supervision on the part of the leading organ of the U.G.C.L.

4. The considerable turnover in the membership, the stagnant position in the Unitarian trade unions. This is due to the poor organization of mass activity, the defective structure of the lower organizations, the absence of control on the part of the federations, and the defects in the financial system.

5. The absence of definite aims in the activity pursued, and the insufficient concentration of the forces in the particularly essential industrial branches and regions. This is frequently due to inadequate activity and to the system of collective respon-

sibility in taking charge of the various aspects of the trade union movement.

6. The existence of reformist and anarcho-syndicalist deviations in some of the organizations, which is favoured by the considerable weakness of our militant trade unionists.

7. The weakness shown by the U.G.C.L. on the question of strikes, which is due, in its turn, to three principal causes :

(a) The lack of sufficient contact between the leading organs and the lower organizations ;

(b) The low ideological level of our militants ; and

(c) The lack of unity and co-ordination in the actions that are undertaken.

8. The feeble scope of the agitation, which is due to three chief causes :

(a) The insufficient numerical strength of our militants ;

(b) The inability of the latter to approach trade union problems and immediate demands from the standpoint of the national and international situation ; and

(c) The stubborn use of agitational methods which are not backed by serious educational and organizational activity among the rank and file.

9. The weakness in regard to organization, which is chiefly reflected in the fact that the re-organization of the trade unions upon local industrial lines is proceeding too slowly.

10. Among all the trade unions affiliated to the U.G.C.L. there is only an insignificant minority with a permanent militant leader ; among all the local trade union bodies affiliated to the U.G.C.L. only a few have their permanent leaders, whereas the importance of the local organization peremptorily dictates the need for constant agitational and organizational activity among the rank and file, an activity which now devolves almost entirely upon the district federations of the trade unions.

11. The under-estimation of the repressive measures employed by the government and the manufacturers, which involves an insufficient struggle for the rights of the trade unions.

12. The too abstract character in the treatment of the question of unity, without connecting it with the struggle for the immediate demands of the working class.

VII. The Unitarian trade unions in France should concentrate their attention upon the problem of recruiting new members. Since there are 90 per cent. unorganized workers, the recruiting campaign constitutes the fundamental task of the moment, whilst this campaign should be concentrated in the more important industrial branches and regions. The current slogan should be : To win the big factories, particularly in the heavy industries (metallurgy, mines, chemical plants, etc.), and also the public utility enterprises (transport, gas works, electric power stations, etc.).

VIII. One of the immediate tasks is to take up the goal of doubling the membership of the U.G.C.L. in the course of the next twelve months. To attain this, it is necessary to strain all efforts, whilst the whole of the organizational activity should be subordinated to this fundamental task. In order to achieve this goal, it is essential to attract into the movement fresh elements among the common labourers, semi-skilled workers, unskilled, etc. It is necessary to renovate the militant body of trade unionists by attracting workers from the bench, to enroll young workers and women in the trade unions, and to attract them to activity in the leading organs of the trade unions.

IX. However, the enrolment of the unorganized is not merely an organization problem, it is one of the most essential questions. It is necessary to take stock of the social composition of the existing trade unions and to take up vigorous activity among the more exploited masses, including the women, the working youth and immigrant workers. If the Unitarian unions will prove unable to attract hundreds of thousands of new workers to the active struggle, they will be unable to reflect the interests of the large masses, and will have to sustain alone all the blows of the growing reaction.

X. The attraction of the masses into the struggle can be achieved only upon the basis of a concrete program of demands; hence the tremendous importance of the task of working out such a program of demands for the whole country, the different branches, or the different enterprises. The program of demands should cover all questions of wages, insurance against sickness, accidents and unemployment, the protection of women and children, the defence of the interests of the immigrant workers. In working out the program of demands, it is necessary to exercise the minutest care in pointing out all the little and big difficulties caused by capitalist rationalization. It is necessary to begin with specific local demands, linking them up with questions of a general order.

XI. The objectives of the whole activity in the factories should be: (a) to select within the factories some militant workers for carrying on agitation, propaganda and organizational activity; (b) to make use of meetings in factories and workshops and at factory gates to discuss questions in which the masses of the workers are interested; and (c) to arouse discussions among the workers on the more essential problems of factory life.

XII. The consolidation of the Unitarian trade unions should take the following forms: (a) a revision of all the militant cadres from the standpoint of their contact with the masses; (b) from the standpoint of their taking care of the needs and interests of the workers; (c) from the standpoint of their ability to voice the aspirations of the masses; (d) from the standpoint of increasing the prestige of the representatives of the Unitarian trade unions among the masses; (e) from the standpoint of their firmness in

conflicts with capitalism, and so forth. It is necessary to declare war on empty phrase-mongering, on the attempts at dismissing grave subjects with meaningless formulæ and discussion which cannot arouse any interest among the workers.

XIII. Wherever factory delegates are elected, the Federations should utilize the Unitarian delegates for purposes of propaganda, agitation, organizational activity, recruiting activity, the preparation and conduct of strikes, and so on. It is extremely important and necessary that the Federations should carefully check up the work done by the delegates in the discharge of their functions.

XIV. Further, the consolidation should be carried out with the aid of: (a) control of the district organizations by leading comrades from the Federation, so as to watch how they are coping with the work entrusted to them; (b) serious checking up of the activities of the different Federations by means of discussing the more important problems within the Executive of the Confederation; and (c) the promotion of militant comrades from the bench to all the local as well as the central organs of the trade unions.

XV. It is essential to extend systematically the initiative of the U.G.C.L. in the working out of organizational methods. Energetic concentration is essential on: (a) the organization and training of the lower cadres in connection with the organizational tours of the trade unions; (b) the selection of fresh cadres among the militant elements in the factories for the purpose of attracting them to responsible work and to leadership in the trade union movement; and (c) the framing of an educational program which would enable the utmost development of organizational talent among the militants.

XVI. The U.G.C.L. Executive should strengthen in every way its contact with the Federations and the district organizations. Responsible officers from the U.G.C.L. Executive should represent the headquarters of the U.G.C.L. upon the executives of the local Federations. Such a method should be applied through all the stages of the organization.

XVII. It is desirable that all the momentous questions relating to one or another branch of industry should be discussed at joint conferences of the U.G.C.L. Executive and the executives of the Federations concerned.

XVIII. The leaders of the trade union organizations should convene informative conferences and resort to frequent consultation of qualified militant workers for the purpose of studying all the essential questions of interest to the labour movement. Such informative conferences and meetings may serve to amplify the regular and broad application of the principle of trade union democracy, which requires that all trade union questions should be discussed by the rank and file of the trade union movement and by the masses of the workers concerned.

XIX. A central Strike Committee should be formed at the U.G.C.L. Its duties should comprise the systematic organization of strikes, and in the event of partial strikes, the extension as well as concentration of the struggle by methods of agitation and organization adapted to the existing form of capitalist concentration (trusts, cartels, etc.). The central Strike Committee will take part in the preparation and conduct of strikes, and will also analyse and study each conflict in order to draw those conclusions which might form the basis of real strike strategy.

XX. The financial commissions in all the links of the U.G.C.L. organization should ensure the best utilization of the funds for carrying out the most urgent tasks. The role of these financial commissions implies also the study of possibilities towards increasing the resources of the trade unions, the question of increasing and distributing the contributions, extraordinary sources of income, etc.

XXI. In order to help the co-ordination and orientation of the activities of all the organizations affiliated to the U.G.C.L., a Bureau for the Collection of Material and Information should be formed at the headquarters of the Confederation.

XXII. The U.G.C.L. should devote ever greater attention to questions relating to the organization of the numerous foreign workers employed in France. The extension of the methods of organization and propaganda already applied in this respect, and the defence of the demands of the foreign workers by all the Unitarian trade unions, will open the possibility for extensive recruiting activity among the immigrant workers.

XXIII. The working women and young workers, who are more and more ruthlessly exploited as the process of rationalization develops, constitute a labour force which it is absolutely essential to draw into the trade union movement. In this respect the U.G.C.L. should increase its activity, working out general methods upon the basis of the experience of the different districts.

XXIV. The clear-cut definition of the tactics of unity, which was given by the Congress of the R.I.L.U., is of quite exceptional importance to France. The general line of activity of the U.G.C.L. as regards the reformist organizations should continue to consist in strengthening the Left Wing within the reformist G.C.L. There is no room for doubting that the leftward trend of the masses, already now observable, will intensify in the near future the cleavage between the reformist bureaucracy and the workers who are still under their influence. It is for this reason that our activity for strengthening the Left Wing within the reformist trade unions should not be carried on upon the platform of sentimental and abstract unity, but rather along the line of combating the class collaboration of the Confederation leaders upon the program of the united front between the Confederal and Unitarian rank and file organizations having for its purpose

the development of the class struggle for the immediate demands of the proletariat.

The attraction of fresh forces into the ranks of the U.G.C.L. should not be imagined in the shape of absorbing the reformist workers wholesale by capturing one organizational unit after another. The Unitarian trade unions should direct their energy, first of all, towards recruiting activity among the 90 per cent. of the still unorganized workers. It is clear, however, that, under certain circumstances that are particularly favourable to strike movements, every time that the reformist leaders openly betray the interests of the workers, it is permissible to enrol in the ranks of the U.G.C.L. entire trade union bodies captured from the reformists.

At all events, each individual case of this kind should be examined by the U.G.C.L. Executive; the affiliation of reformist trade unions to the U.G.C.L., as well as the formation of Unitarian trade unions in opposition to parallel confederal unions, may take place only upon special decision.

XXV. Nevertheless, all these tasks cannot be achieved unless the working methods of the Unitarian trade unions will be radically changed.

The present working methods of the Unitarian trade unions are such that, disposing of insufficient forces, they are trying to distribute these forces among the largest possible number of districts. The result is that the agitation, propaganda and organizational activity does not penetrate sufficiently into the masses even in the best cases.

Thus, having a limited body of militants and an insufficiency of forces, it is necessary to charge each Federation with the definite concrete task of winning the most essential districts and enterprises. It is best to work rather seriously in one district than to cover a score of districts without leaving organizational traces anywhere.

XXVI. *CONCLUSION.* The present economic situation in France is favourable to the development of the Unitarian trade unions and of the mass trade Union movement. The demands raised at the Bordeaux Congress have shown that the U.G.C.L. is alive to the need of putting in the foreground of its activity the immediate concrete demands of the masses of the workers, linking them up with the aims of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against the capitalist system.

The development of the U.G.C.L. activity shows that it is exerting ever greater efforts to follow this path.

The employers' offensive, rationalization, and the treacherous work of the reformists—all this will drive towards the Unitarian trade union movement ever larger masses of the proletariat which are striving to unite for concerted resistance.

The R.I.L.U. Congress entertains no doubt whatever that the U.G.C.L., having improved its working methods and its organizational structure, will be able to organize the working masses and lead them on to struggle and victory.

ON COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS IN FRANCE.

I. A collective agreement signed by a revolutionary trade union constitutes the juridical expression of the real correlation of forces which develops in the process of the struggle between organized labour and organized capital. This is merely a brief spell of armed truce in the constant and unending class war between labour and capital. As against this, a collective agreement signed by the reformist trade union bureaucrats does not reflect the real correlation of the class forces; it implies merely the juridical consolidation of the united front of the trade union bureaucracy and the employers against the workers.

II. The legal aspect of the collective agreement is of secondary importance. The main thing is the organization, fighting ability and solidarity of the workers, the strength of the trade union, and the readiness of the masses to defend at any moment the captured positions by means of a strike.

III. It is for this very reason that the most determined fight ought to be waged against all attempts of the reformists to picture collective agreements as implying peace between labour and capital; a determined fight ought to be waged against long term collective agreements which curb the fighting ability of the workers by legal regulations.

IV. Particularly harmful are the attempts made by the reformists to have the collective agreements sanctioned by the bourgeois courts and other institutions, and to associate the collective agreements with compulsory arbitration. Framed in this manner, the collective agreements constitute a dangerous weapon for subordinating the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie.

V. For these reasons the collective agreement cannot be the militant slogan of the revolutionary trade unions. The central attention of the workers should be drawn to the programme of practical demands—(1) against prolongation of the working hours; (2) against cutting and for increasing the wages; (3) for thorough protection of labour; (4) for full insurance at the expense of the employers; (5) for the freedom of meetings, strikes, the press, the trade union movement, etc.; (6) for the recognition of the revolutionary trade unions; (7) for the penetration of the trade unions into the factories and workshops, and so on.

VI. Notwithstanding the fact that the reformist leaders have converted the collective agreement into a tool of class collabora-

tion and of stifling the proletarian struggle, the R.I.L.U. adherents and the revolutionary trade unions should not rush to the other extreme of denouncing the very principle of the collective agreement.

As against the primitive state of affairs when each worker makes an individual bargain with the employer and is entirely dependent upon his good will, the collective agreement may contribute to the consolidation of the class solidarity of the workers for the purpose of defending the living standard gained by them in the course of the struggle, whilst getting the workers attached to the trade unions and extending and deepening the ideological and organizational influence of the trade unions among the masses. All this cannot be achieved unless the trade unions will be active, will be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle, will take advantage of a brief respite for the purpose of preparing for fresh fights, will mobilize the masses to see to the observance of the terms of the agreement, and will actively go on with their organizational work.

VII. In the event of a successful strike on either local, district or national scale, not only may the trade unions endeavour to obtain a collective agreement, but they should also do so, whilst in such case they should insist upon: (a) the short duration of the term of the agreement; (b) the non-interference of bourgeois courts in the matter of collective agreements; and (c) two or three weeks' notice as to the cancelling of the agreement.

VIII. Yet even in this case the essential thing is not to lose sight of the fact for a single moment that the collective agreement is neither the postulate nor the basis for class collaboration (as is asserted by the reformist exponents of the theory of so-called "industrial democracy"), but a brief respite which should be utilized by the proletariat for the purpose of vigorous preparation for new class wars. The revolutionary unions should not relax for a moment in the constant effort to improve the activity of their organizations, to attract ever new masses into the trade unions, and to prepare the army of labour for the coming clash. The thing which matters is not the juridical expression of the correlation of forces, but the stubborn and persistent activity constantly directed towards changing the correlation of forces in favour of the proletariat.

THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

RESOLUTION ON THE CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN QUESTION.

1. In accordance with previous decisions of the R.I.L.U. Congress, it shall be recognised that the course of the revolutionary trade union movement towards the setting up of industrial unions shall, as hitherto, continue to be obligatory for Czecho-Slovakia as well as for other countries. However, having regard to the specific conditions of the trade union movement's development in Czecho-Slovakia, mentioned in Section I of the Resolution on the Czecho-Slovakian question adopted by the III. R.I.L.U. Congress, it shall be considered provisionally permissible to retain the present structure of the One Big Union as the only union with industrial sections.

2. Noting the fact that Point "a" of Section 2 of the Resolution of the III. R.I.L.U. Congress on the tasks of the R.I.L.U. supporters in Czecho-Slovakia has not yet been carried into effect, the One Big Union shall be urged immediately to reorganise the existing sections into industrial sections on the principle of: "One factory, one organisation; one branch of industry, one industrial section." Everything must be done to get rid of all remnants of craft sentiment still remaining, which hampers the carrying into effect of this principle.

The basis of each section shall be the factory organisation. This principle must be mostly strictly carried out by all sections. In those localities where there are several organisations in enterprises of a homogeneous branch of industry, local organs of the given trade union section must be set up. All local organisations are subordinated to, and guided directly by, the central managements of the respective sections if the local organisations of the given section are not yet organised on a district or regional scale. In the latter case, the Central Executive of the Section shall direct the local organisations through the regional or district management. The Central Executives of the sections are in duty bound to look attentively after the work of the regional, district and local organisations of their section, see to the selection of the lesser trade union officials, and direct both the general and current activities of the sections, particularly with regard to the campaign against the fluctuation of the membership. This leadership must be conducted in such a way that the groups.

and local organisations shall become to a greater and greater extent initiatory organs, and be able in the future to work independently on the basis of general rulings by the sections and by the Central Executive of the One Big Union.

3. The Industrial Sections must work on the footing of independent unions within the limits laid down by the rulings of the Congress of Red Trade Unions of Czecho-Slovakia, and of the One Big Union Central Executive and its Congresses.

Note.—The managements of the Industrial Sections are to be elected by, and report to, their Congresses.

4. While uniting all the Industrial Sections, the One Big Union is to remain the leading centralised organ of the Red trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia. On no account must the centralised unified leadership be expressed in minor administrative and petty interference in respect of the various sections. The One Big Union Central Executive must furnish the various sections only with general instructions on important questions of union activity, leaving it to the sections to display the maximum initiative in all other matters.

5. To consider it expedient to lay down the following basic rules regulating the finances of the One Big Union :

(a) Membership dues to be collected by sections. From the local groups the membership dues are passed on to the central managements of the sections. The central managements of the sections shall allocate 70 per cent. of the total receipts from membership dues to the One Big Union Central Executive, the other 30 per cent. being left at the disposal of the section.

(b) The strike fund and the fund for assisting the unemployed are to remain centralised by the One Big Union.

(c) The One Big Union to retain the right, in cases of extreme need (strikes, etc.), to mobilise all existing funds in the sections.

(d) The largest sections shall be permitted to publish independent papers. In such cases the sections concerned shall increase the percentage remaining at their disposal at the expense of a corresponding decrease of Press Expenditure in the books of the One Big Union Central Executive.

(e) The Central Executive of One Big Union shall exercise general control over the expenditure by the various sections of the funds left at their disposal, retaining also the general ideological guidance of the press of those sections permitted to publish independent papers.

(f) The sections shall be entitled, in accordance with the decisions of the corresponding conferences, and with the sanction of the One Big Union Executive, to introduce separate contributions for their own funds.

(g) In order that the sections may be kept informed of the One Big Union's financial position, the Central Executive shall submit reports on the general financial situation at stated periods.

6. It is necessary that the Central Executive of the One Big Union shall take up serious study of the questions connected with the strike struggle, with the economic position of the working class and its conditions of labour. In connection with this point the participation of the One Big Union and its sections in all negotiations with the employers regarding the concluding of collective agreements should be aimed at in every way, including the right to sign collective agreements. To this end the One Big Union must first of all appeal to the large masses of the workers, bringing pressure to bear on the reformist organisations through the factory committees. The best, most authoritative and most popular trade union workers must be selected for negotiations with the employers. At times of acute and extensive strike struggles, it is essential to attract indeed the factory committees to the work of organising the united front from below, embracing the workers belonging to the different unions, including the reformist unions, upon the grounds of the common demands. Strike strategy and tactics must be determined by the One Big Union Central Executive, notably the latter shall have the last say on the declaration of strikes by individual sections.

7. The considerable disparity observable between the ideological influence of the One Big Union and its organisational state is most clearly expressed in the fact that no tendency can be seen in recent years towards an appreciable increase of its membership. In future it will be necessary to carry out a series of measures to secure a steady increase in the membership of all One Big Union sections, and to reduce the fluctuation to a minimum. It is necessary: (a) to study thoroughly the reasons which prompt workers to quit the One Big Union; (b) to carry out a series of measures to retain in the One Big Union those members who have been thrown out of work, by establishing for them reduced membership dues; (c) to place the work of the One Big Union Wage Agitation Commission upon the proper level by reinforcing it with good militants from the ranks of the workers; (d) to prepare a new recruiting campaign, all the defects of previous campaigns being duly considered. In doing this, the question must be thoroughly studied as to which sections of the One Big Union should be enlarged by the increase in the membership; (e) the central, regional and district managements of the sections must instruct their members as to how they should behave in cases of economic terror (victimisation) on the part of the employers and the reformists.

8. In order to strengthen the organisations and heighten the activity of the whole of the revolutionary trade union movement, it is necessary to take energetic steps to democratise the One Big Union from the bottom to the top, to create forms for the collective discussion of questions and for comradesly co-operation,

and also for collective leadership in all the links of the One Big Union organisation.

Central attention must be focussed on the development of the mass forms of activity, on getting large numbers of union members to take part in the discussion of decisions affecting the most important union questions. It is essential to work for the activation of the whole mass of the One Big Union membership by developing initiative in the factories so as to win the sympathies of the workers for the One Big Union and to increase its membership. In this respect it is necessary to improve the work of general meetings and conferences in the localities, to extend the actual accountability of the leading union organisations, and to foster a lively exchange of opinion, tending to ascertain the local experiences and sentiments.

9. A collective leadership must be created in the One Big Union, at headquarters and in the locals, and on the central and local managements of the industrial sections. The Presidium members in the respective trade union organs, both centrally and locally, must guide the most important branches of union activity. The One Big Union Congress shall elect an Executive which shall appoint from its midst a Presidium representing the collective leadership of the One Big Union, with the following departments: (a) organisation, social-political, and economic; (b) disputes and strikes; (c) propaganda and education; (d) factory committees and the united front. Each of these departments shall have a Presidium member at its head.

The conferences of the various sections shall elect their managements, which shall appoint from their midst their respective Presidiums representing the collective leadership of such sections. As far as possible, each section shall set up the separate departments, to be directed by Presidium members. The One Big Union Executive and the managements of the individual sections shall also elect, besides the Presidium, the Chairmen and secretaries of the managements.

10. The One Big Union must train the best non-party workers, as well as Left Wing social democratic workers, in the revolutionary spirit by drawing them into the elected and directing organs of the union. It is necessary to mobilise the activity of the masses for the struggle against the demoralising influence and treachery of the reformists by exposing to the workers the provocative nature of the insinuation made by the employers and the reformists who try to scare the workers by the cry about the Communist character of the One Big Union.

11. The independent transport workers' and woodworkers' unions must enter the One Big Union as sections in accordance with clause 2. The independent unions must immediately inaugurate a wide campaign among their members in favour of joining the One Big Union, and, if possible, carry a decision as to joining the One Big Union at their next conferences.

12. The One Big Union and its sections must intensify and improve their work in districts with a mixed population, and particularly strengthen their struggle against the policy of nationalist antagonism carried out by the reformists and bourgeoisie, and must also fight for the close co-operation of the workers of various nationalities.

13. It is necessary to give effect to the actual unification of the Textile Section, to the liquidation of the existing dualism between the Czech and German parts of the section, and to the creation of an united leadership for this section with headquarters in Prague. To this end it is necessary to secure suitable conditions for the work of the Textile Section.

14. Particularly serious attention must be paid to the work of the factory committees and their federations. A great many factory committees are already under the influence of the One Big Union; yet in many cases the work of these factory committees is hardly distinguishable from the work of factory committees where the reformists are in the majority. In a number of working-class districts, conferences of the factory committees have been convened at very rare intervals. The federations of the miners' Pit Committees have worked rather badly. It is essential to do everything possible to transform these federations into genuine revolutionary directing organs of the mine workers. The One Big Union must do everything to enliven and strengthen the work of the factory committees and their federations. The latter constitute the forms of organisation by means of which the One Big Union can extend its influence and establish the closest connections with the large masses of the workers, particularly with those masses of the trade union members who still follow the reformists. Upon questions of both an every-day and general nature affecting the interests of the large masses, the whole activity of the factory committees should be built, in so far as this activity is concerned, with drawing the masses into the struggle, bestirring the whole mass of the workers to activity, and popularising among them the revolutionary ideas of the One Big Union. It is necessary, at all costs, to renew and strengthen the work of the Central Federation of Factory Committees and also of the industrial federations covering the various branches of industry.

15. In the work of the One Big Union and its sections serious attention must be given to the working youth and women workers. It is essential to take into consideration the specific conditions under which the trade unions have to labour among these groups of the workers. The tremendous interest shown by the youth in the pursuit of sport and recreation, and also the specific conditions of the work among the women, particularly in the textile regions, must be fully utilised for the purpose of drawing these groups into general trade union activity.

16. Having regard to the large number of unemployed, both among the unorganised workers and the members of the One Big Union sections, the One Big Union Executive and all its sections must take the initiative in the matter of organising all the unemployed for the fight to improve their living conditions, and must conduct cultural-educational activities among them. In this way the One Big Union organisations will be able to extend their membership at the expense of the unorganised workers upon their taking up employment. Everything must be done, furthermore, to link up the struggle of the unemployed with the struggle of the whole working class of Czecho-Slovakia.

RIDER TO CECHO-SLOVAKIAN RESOLUTION — —

The IV. Congress of R.I.L.U., believing it to be quite timely to adopt a normal financial system in the Red trade union movement in Czecho-Slovakia, as indicated in Clause 5 of the Resolution on the Czecho-Slovakian question, recommends the One Big Union Central Executive to give effect to this decision in regard to the industrial sections affiliated to the One Big Union. However, since a majority of the Czecho-Slovakian Delegation (14 against 11, with one abstaining vote) categorically objects to the introduction of the new method of collecting and distributing of membership dues, the IV. R.I.L.U. Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to arrange jointly with the One Big Union the question as to the form, periods, and in which sections to begin with, the introduction of the new financial system as recommended by Clause 5 of the Resolution on the Czecho-Slovakian question should be proceeded with.

STRUGGLE FOR COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

Social Legislation Programme.

The position of the working class in the present situation is characterised by:—

(1) Abolition of the 8-hour day in those countries where it was proclaimed after the imperialist world war; extensive abuse of overtime work.

(2) Increased exploitation of women, children and youths.

(3) The enactment of legislation against trade unions and against strikes.

(4) Shifting the social burden to the shoulders of the workers.

The general tendency towards worsening the position of the proletariat is revealed with particular force in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, where capitalism is driving the workers to a condition of veritable slavery.

All these facts go to show that social legislation constitutes one of the important domains in which capitalism is waging the offensive against the working class.

The most important demands of the proletariat in regard to social legislation for the immediate period are the following:—

Working Hours.

The capitalist rationalisation of production in the bourgeois countries has resulted in acute deterioration of the conditions of the workers. The increased intensity of labour effects the tremendous wearing out of the organism of the worker on the one hand, and on the other hand, it displaces a good deal of labour power from the process of production, with consequent increase in unemployment among the industrial workers. Therefore, the trade unions ought to wage the struggle for the 7-hour day without wage reduction in industry, on the transport, in commerce, and in all the other branches of labour.

At the same time efforts should be made to secure a further shortening of the hours:—

(a) In unhealthy and onerous trades, as well as in those dangerous to the health of the workers, particularly for underground work, in mines (by day), in chemical works, etc.

(b) On night work.

(c) For all juveniles under 18 years of age.

In carrying out such work as involves greater intensity (working under conveyor, etc.), it is essential to establish obligatory hygienic rest pauses at the expense of the employers, which should be paid for as working time.

The struggle for the shorter working day should be reinforced by the simultaneous campaign against overtime hours and shifts. Overtime should be forbidden, except in cases when natural calamities or danger to life are involved.

Whenever overtime has to be worked, it should be paid for at least by a double rate of pay.

Whilst regulating the working hours, the trade unions should also demand legislative regulation of the annual vacations with full pay at the expense of the employers. The duration of such vacations for all wage earners should be at least 14 days in a year. For persons employed in particularly unhealthy and onerous trades, as well as for all juveniles under 18 years of age, a longer vacation period (at least one month) should be asked for.

Labour Protection.

In this respect demands should be made for improved legislation for the prevention of accidents and cases of occupational poisoning and diseases. Notably, the employers shall be forced, when employing workers on unhealthy jobs, to provide protective clothing, footwear, etc., at the expense of the factory, whilst the workers should also get free supply of neutralising food substances (milk, etc.).

For the practical enforcement of the labour protection regulations, there should be fines and increased material responsibility imposed upon the employers in the event of violation of the rules of labour protection, or neglect to take the necessary measures to prevent accidents, poisoning, and diseases.

In order to exercise real control over the observance of the regulations for labour protection, the trade unions should demand the creation of the institutes of labour inspectors annually elected from among the workers and the investment of these inspectors with the powers of official organs.

The Labour of Women and Juveniles.

The extensive employment of women and children in industry is fraught with evil consequences to the health of the rising generation of workers. Therefore, the trade unions ought to wage a determined fight:—

(1) For the prohibition of the employment of juveniles under 16 years of age.

(2) For the prohibition of the employment of women for dangerous, difficult and unhealthy work, particularly in mining and in elevated and underground building work :

(3) For the prohibition of night work for women and juveniles.

(4) For the protection of pregnant women and mothers and the allowance of at least eight weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth of a paid rest period for prospective mothers; for the establishment of day-nurseries for the children of the working women at the cost of the employers; for one half-hour rest pause

after three hours' work for mothers nursing babies, such pauses to be paid for as working time.

(5) For the prohibition of the employment of apprentices without the payment of wages;

(6) For the organisation of factory and workshop schools at the expense of the State and municipalities.

(7) For equal pay for equal work for women, youths, and adult working men.

LEGAL RECOGNITION OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

Conflicts, Hiring, and Discharging.

The level of wages in the capitalist countries is only formally established by the mutual contract of employers and employed. In reality, the bargain has to be made under conditions when the capitalists own the means of production, whilst the workers have to sell their labour power, so that there can be no talk of equality between the parties.

The working class must therefore fight for:—

(1) Legal recognition of the trade unions as the representative of the whole of the workers.

(2) Exemption of the trade unions from material responsibility under the contract.

(3) Unreserved recognition of the right to strike.

(4) Recognition of the rights of the trade unions in the fight against strike-breaking (picketing, etc.), and the prohibition of strike-breaking organisations of all kinds (technical emergency aid, etc.).

(5) Guaranteed inviolability of the strike fund.

(6) The abolition of compulsory arbitration for the workers.

By the side of the above-enumerated demands, the revolutionary trade unions should also fight against the uncontrolled right of the capitalists in regard to the hiring and discharging of workers. The practical demands in this respect are the following:—

(a) The establishment of employment agencies managed by elected representatives of the labour organisations at the cost of the State and municipalities, and the introduction of obligatory employment of workers exclusively through these employment agencies.

(b) The prohibition of all other employment agencies (private employment offices).

(c) No recommendation of workers for jobs which do not suit the individual working capacity, or which are injurious to the working capacity of the individual employee.

(d) The discharge of factory and office workers to take place only with the consent of the factory councils and the trade unions. The prohibition of discharging workers on political grounds or for taking part in the economic struggle of the workers, and so on.

Relief for the Unemployed.

The tremendous unemployment rampant among industrial

workers, which involves millions of workers, calls for particular examination and for the framing of remedial measures.

All the unemployed workers should receive State benefits during the whole period of unemployment. The benefits should be of such an amount as to secure the existence of the unemployed and their dependents. The costs of these benefits should be raised to the full extent by taxing the employers. The management of the State funds for the relief of the unemployed should be in the hands of organs elected by the workers.

As long as the unemployed do not receive the full wages in the shape of unemployment benefits, they should be exempt from the payment of rent, taxes, debts, light and fuel charges, etc., during the whole duration of the unemployment.

Besides the State benefits for the unemployed, demands should be made also for the establishment of lodging houses, dining rooms, shelters, rest rooms, etc.

The Combat of Unemployment.

For the combat of unemployment the following measures should be urged :—

(1) The providing of work for the unemployed in the industries through extensive shortening of the working hours in all the factories.

(2) The institution of public works by the State and municipalities, paying the normal rates of wages for such work. The application of all the laws concerning labour protection and social insurance to the people employed on public works.

(3) The establishment of new factories and re-training schools for the unemployed, by the State and municipalities.

Social Insurance.

In all countries there should be established at the cost of the employers, and under State guarantee, a system of insurance for all wage earners and their dependents against all social risks (sickness, invalidity accidents, etc.), and of providing for their general welfare.

The social insurance for the wage-earners cannot be considered as charitable work. The social insurance system gives back to the worker only an insignificant portion of the wealth which he creates for the capitalists by his labour. Therefore the wage-earners should be entirely exempt from making any contributions to the social insurance scheme, which should be borne entirely by the employers.

It is the task of the revolutionary trade unions to work for the extension of the social insurance scheme to all wage earners, including agricultural labourers, and temporary workers (seasonal workers).

The concrete demands in the domain of social insurance should be the following :—

(a) All wage-earners must receive maintenance benefits from the insurance organs in the event of temporary disability and acci-

dents, invalidity and old age. The same benefits must be enjoyed by the dependents of deceased wage-earners.

(b) Working women and wives of employers should receive lump sums in the event of maternity for babies' clothes, and an extra allowance for babies' food during a period of 9 months after birth.

(c) The insurance locals should defray the cost of funeral of deceased wage-earners and their dependents.

(d) All wage-earners and their dependents should enjoy free and qualified medical aid.

(e) All wage earners should be considered insured persons from the moment of being employed, and the insurance benefits should be paid regardless of whether the contributions were made by the employers or the latter were in arrear, and regardless of the period during which the wage-earner has been insured.

In order to retain the living standard of the wage-earners, the insurance benefits and pensions to the wage-earners as well as to their survivors under the insurance scheme should be fully equal to the past earnings of the insured.

The benefits for babies' clothes, babies' food and funeral expenses should be paid in amounts to cover fully the expenses involved.

Temporary incapacity benefits should be drawn by wage-earners on the very first day of sickness until complete recovery. In the event of a temporary sickness becoming transformed into permanent incapacity, the wage-earner in question shall be entitled to a life-long pension. Benefits should also be paid in cases when a wage-earner has to keep away from work in order to tend to a sick member in the family, or if detained in quarantine (in the case of contagious sickness in the family).

Working women should get their full wages during the rest period allowed them in the case of maternity, i.e., during eight before and eight weeks after childbirth.

The social insurance scheme must be built upon the principle of the complete self-management of the insured, without any participation whatsoever by the capitalists or by the State in the management of the insurance funds.

1. Rationalisation is the determining economic and social factor in the period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. Its purpose is to reduce the cost of production in order to raise the competitive ability in the world market. This rivalry is the cause for the introduction of rationalisation in all countries.

In the period when capitalism is on the downward path, the scope, pace and extent of rationalisation is felt by the working class more intensely and painfully than in periods when capitalism is in its ascendancy.

CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION.

Rationalisation covers social conditions, organisation of labour, as well as the technical and economic fields.

2. The social consequences of rationalisation are as follows :

(a) Increased intensity of labour by prolongation of the working hours and speeding up; overtime work; shortening of the rest pause; shortening of the vacation periods; unlimited application of piece-work; increased application of the bonus system; excessive fines; direct cutting of wages, and intensified control.

(b) The ever-increasing productivity of labour is further stimulated by measures of labour organisation in the shape of extensive sub-division of labour, conveyor system, improved means of transportation within the factory, and so on.

(c) In connection with rationalisation in the organisational field, there is further rationalisation of a technical nature (introduction of new machinery, electrification, etc.).

(d) This organisational and technical rationalisation is accompanied by the concentration and centralisation of capital going on at an extremely accelerated pace (cartelisation, trustification), as well as by the increased introduction of standardisation.

All these factors lead in reality to unparalleled exploitation of the working class upon a gigantic scale. Whilst the productivity of labour increases to an extraordinary extent, the share of the wages in the product is dropping, the profits increase, whilst the living standard of the workers is growing ever worse.

3. Capitalist rationalisation effects, furthermore, a series of far-reaching structural changes within the working class. Among the particularly important structural changes are :

(a) The discharging of old workers, and the increased replacement of skilled workers by young semi-skilled and female labour. Constant decrease of the scope of labour aristocracy, increase in the contrast between the latter and the large masses of the workers owing to the systematic growth of the discrepancy in the comparative wages. In spite of the absolute decrease in the actual number of employees, a relative increase is to be observed in the proportion of office employees, masters and supervisors.

(b) Ever-increasing discharges of workers, particularly of the so-called "non-productive" workers—watchmen and gate-keepers, workers engaged in factory transport, etc. ; discharges of employees in commercial, banking, insurance, and administrative offices. At the same time it is extremely difficult for the discharged workers to find employment. One part of them becomes temporarily unemployed, another part is working on short-time,

and finally, a third part becomes definitely classed in the category of the so-called superfluous labour power.

One of the direct consequences of capitalist rationalisation in the social economic field is the creation of a permanent army of unemployed workers, which does not disappear even in times of prosperity, whilst partly it becomes entirely pauperised.

4. The work in the rationalised factories leads to a far more thorough wearing out of the workers' organism. Proof of this is furnished by the increasing number of factory accidents, and particularly of fatalities; by the growth of occupational sickness and premature invalidity. Particularly hard and destructive is the effect of rationalisation upon the working women.

Although the existing social legislation provisions of bourgeois countries in no way answer the increasing requirements as to labour protection, nevertheless they are being further restricted in a number of countries.

5. All these effects of capitalist rationalisation, which are so detrimental to the proletariat, must be vigorously combated upon the grounds of concrete demands. At the same time it should be emphasised that along with rationalisation, there are particular political and ideological measures employed against the workers. It should further be emphasised that reformism fully supports the capitalist rationalisation, acting as the executive organ of capitalism in carrying out this rationalisation.

6. The cardinal concrete demands directed against the capitalist rationalisation may be formulated as follows :

(1) The maximum seven-hour day without a reduction in the wages, and the six-hour day for underground workers, particularly dangerous and strenuous occupations, as well as for workers under 18 years of age.

(2) The rejection of overtime work; early closing before Sundays and holidays; an annual holiday of a fortnight, and not less than a month for underground workers and for those engaged in dangerous trades and particularly strenuous occupations, with the payment of the full wages.

(3) The fight against wage reductions, the fight for raising real wages, the fight against the bonus and piece-rate systems, an increased struggle against piece-rates on the conveyor. Where piece-rates are in force it is necessary to ask for guaranteed minimum wages, the restriction of the rates of output in the terms of the wage agreements; the struggle against the arbitrary regulation of the pace of conveyors. Equal wages for equal work, for men, women, and youths.

(4) The limitation of the speed of work by the introduction of rest pauses. The right to change the place of work, the struggle against the stop watch system.

(5) A worker may be discharged only by consent of the factory council, or the union local, with the payment of the discharge benefits, which should be particularly high in the case of mass

dismissals; the shortening of the working hours in order to prevent dismissals, whilst paying the same wages as before. The struggle for enrolling the unemployed into the process of production; the payment of State benefits to the unemployed at the rate of the minimum living wage, without distinction of nationality and sex; the remuneration for so-called "relief work" at the current rates of wages.

(6) The introduction of legislative orders for the protection of the workers in the factories, as well as all kinds of social welfare measures.

(7) The prohibition of the employment of pregnant women and nursing mothers in hard and unhealthy work.

(8) The struggle against factory police, pecuniary fines, espionage, blacklists, etc.

Whilst in the capitalist countries the main purpose of rationalisation is to consolidate the capitalist system at the expense of the working class—rationalisation in the U.S.S.R. means the organisation and development of Socialist economy and the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship.

Diametrically opposite is also the significance of rationalisation from the standpoint of its effect upon the conditions of the working masses. Rationalisation in the capitalist countries represents a general means for the increased exploitation of the proletariat. In the U.S.S.R., to the contrary, it is the way towards raising the general living standard of the working class, towards shortening the working hours (introduction of the 7-hour day), towards increasing the wages, towards raising the cultural level, etc.

On the grounds of these indisputable facts, the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. fully approves the policy of support and assistance carried out by the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. in regard to socialist rationalisation in the Soviet Union.

ON COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

The employers and the capitalist states are trying to hinder the intensification of the class struggle by means of the establishment of arbitration courts. In the struggle against the labour movement, the state machinery of coercion is co-ordinated with the apparatus of arbitration boards during labour conflicts.

The forms of arbitration are :

- (a) Voluntary arbitration, and
- (b) Compulsory arbitration. In reality, however, the whole system of arbitration amounts to compulsion in order to crush the struggle of the workers (intervention by arbitration in the "public interests," rendering of arbitration verdicts obligatory, and so on).

The application of arbitration in the countries of "capitalist democracy" eventually leads to the same results as the complete chaining of the workers by Fascism (Italy, the Balkans, China : compulsory State arbitration in workers' conflicts).

The purpose of arbitration is to curb the social struggle of the proletariat and to deny the workers the right to strike.

Arbitration, in its present form, is forced on the working class by the active co-operation of the reformists, and it could not continue its existence without such co-operation. The support given by the reformists to the development of compulsory arbitration is tantamount to the betrayal of the working class into the hands of the capitalists. This has been demonstrated by the results of compulsory arbitration which has been in existence in Australia for 25 years, and also by the situation existing in Germany.

Each arbitration verdict, once declared obligatory, is considered by the reformists as sacred law. The reformists exert all efforts to curb any resistance on the part of the workers to the dictatorship of the arbitration judges. The fear of the reformists to fight is due to a considerable extent to their anxiety about strengthening the national industries and winning new positions in the world market, and about retaining their control over the trade unions, whose members in the process of the struggle are becoming revolutionised and emancipated from the reformist influence.

The rôle and importance of arbitration calls for the concentration of all the proletarian forces, and particularly of the workers who are organised in the trade unions, to combat this brake upon the class struggle in all its aspects.

It is necessary to wage a fight :

- (a) Against the least direct restriction of the right of combination and of strikes by means of legislation directed against strikes (compulsory arbitration, legal protection of blackleg labour, legislative sanction of Fascist methods for crushing the struggle of the proletariat) ;
- (b) against any indirect restriction of the right of combination and of strikes by means of declaring the arbitration verdicts obligatory, and of the interference of arbitration courts in labour conflicts ;
- (c) against the reformist leadership of the workers' struggle and for its conduct in the spirit of the revolutionary class struggle.

ON THE QUESTION OF EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

(1) The Third Congress and the Fourth Session of the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. have indicated the social, economic and political causes of the migration of workers. These causes will remain in force for some time yet. Nevertheless, during this period (since 1924) the factors contributing to the migration of workers from one country to another, far from diminishing, have further increased. Unemployment has certainly increased, and is growing ever more profound. On the other hand, the displacement and the shrinking capacity of the markets, the accelerated rationalisation, intensification of labour and mechanisation of production, are throwing out of the process of production some hundreds of thousands of industrial workers who find themselves in the category of "superfluous" labour power.

(2) Contrary to the pre-war situation, when large groups of emigrant workers in Europe were made up of unskilled workers, peasants, and agricultural labourers, we find at the present time that even large masses of skilled workers, owing to rationalisation and permanent unemployment, are drawn into the stream of emigration. At the same time the facilities for emigration have considerably shrunk in the post-war period. This is due both to the general decrease in the demand for labour power, as well as to the legislative restrictions, notably in the United States of America (the law of May 3rd, 1924). The coloured workers (India, China) are finding themselves in a particularly precarious situation; in virtue of the "Colour Bar Laws" they are forbidden to penetrate into the "civilised" countries of the white races. Emigration from Europe, and also from Japan to transoceanic agrarian countries like Argentina, Brazil, etc., is becoming extremely difficult, and for this reason it is tremendously diminishing. The special funds existing in very few countries (England, Japan, Italy) can only to a very limited extent satisfy the needs of the emigrants, who usually find themselves in very precarious conditions.

(3) One country—France—until very recently (1927) has been a vast reservoir for the absorption of surplus labour power from other countries (the reconstruction of the devastated regions, the development of new industries, chemical products, aviation, automobiles, etc.). But in France, too, a period of stagnation and depression has set in, and the effect has been to *reduce* even the opportunities of inland migration. All the above-described factors have resulted in an extremely complex situation which is

characterised by contradictions and antagonisms between the countries with a rapid increase of population and poverty of natural resources and insufficient development of the forces of production, on the one hand, and countries with wide opportunities for the application of labour power (e.g., between the United States and Japan, between France and Italy, etc., etc.) on the other hand.

By the side of the struggle for markets, raw material sources and spheres for capital investments, the struggle for the possibility of the application of labour power is becoming one of the additional factors in the preparation for future wars.

(4) The same as unemployment and other social and economic consequences of the capitalist system, the problem of emigration and immigration cannot be in the least satisfactorily solved within the confines of the capitalist system. The Congress on labour emigration convened by the Amsterdam International in 1926 has clearly shown that reformism is powerless to solve this problem, and that by taking part in the legislative work of the International Labour Office in the League of Nations it actually supports in every country the exploiting practices of the national bourgeois State.

The illusions nurtured among the working masses by the reformists, who believe the regulation of the migration of labour by the capitalist bourgeoisie to be just, should be resolutely shattered. The revolutionary workers should struggle for complete liberty of emigration and immigration of workers on condition that this shall be regulated by the trade unions of the workers based on the class-struggle. The R.I.L.U. adherents shall wage a determined struggle against a hostile attitude towards immigrants; they should attract the immigrant workers into the trade unions and convert them into trade union fighters for the workers' cause in the given countries. It is not enough to conduct a campaign against legislative restrictions; what is most important is to eliminate the hostile attitude towards immigrants among the masses of the workers.

(5) From this standpoint it is important to put into effect as quickly as possible all the measures decided upon by the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U., which tend to ensure the full protection of the interests of the masses of emigrant and immigrant workers, to prevent the capitalists from using them as a lever to bring down wages, to prevent or straighten out any discord between indigenuous and foreign workers, and to establish relations of comradeship and solidarity upon the basis of the common class struggle against capitalism.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. instructs the Executive Bureau to send out as quickly as possible a special circular to all its sections on the question of the migration of workers, and to take the necessary measures for the creation of an International Emigration Bureau, as well as for the publication of popular booklets for emigrants in various languages.

ON THE STUDY OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. observes the extreme complication of the economic situation in the different countries and the need of the evident economic orientation and information of the revolutionary trade unions and minorities in order to train them for class actions.

To this end the central organs of the revolutionary trade unions and minorities should closely study the basic economic changes taking place in their respective countries and industries, and in so far as possible, to watch the conditions of world economics and the situation of the working class in other countries.

This study should be along the following fundamental lines :—

1. A particularly attentive and systematic study of the conditions of the working class, and in the first place: (a) of the nominal and real wages, the typical budgets of working-class families, critical surveys of the official indices of the cost of living, etc.; (b) the condition and character of unemployment (unemployment perspectives, the composition of the unemployed, and their position); (c) the duration of the working day; (d) social legislation and labour protection; (e) the housing question; (f) the taxation of the workers, and so forth.

2. The study of new tendencies of the reformist trade union movement, and the methods used by the employers to influence the working masses, workers' shares, trade union banks, the forms of class collaboration in the factories and on a national scale, the formation of yellow trade unions and factory committees, employers' wall-newspapers, the influence of the Church, the Press, sports, etc.

3. The study of the experience of the strike struggle.

4. (a) The study of the social composition of the trade unions of all shadings and the composition of our organisations and minorities; (b) information as to the forces of the enemy, the study of new phenomena in the domain of the concentration of capital and the employers' associations (their organisational structure, their present condition and their methods of fighting against the labour movement, the blackleg organisations, insurance against strikes, etc.).

5. The effect on the composition and conditions of the working class which is produced by modern technical progress and by capitalist attempts in the sphere of industrial "rationalisation" (Fordism, Taylorism, etc.).

The whole of this activity should be based upon the information obtained as to the general economic conditions in the respective countries and branches of industry.

It should be closely linked up with the practical needs of the labour movement in the respective countries and its immediate and urgent tasks (the advancing of economic demands, the drawing up of programmes of action, the struggle for unity of the international trade union movement, the current propagandist activity of the revolutionary elements of the trade union movement).

In the particularly important industrial countries it is the task of the centres of the revolutionary trade unions or minorities to create special Labour Research Bureaux after the type of the "Labour Research Department" in Great Britain, and to publish special bulletins dedicated to social-economic questions of the labour movement. The need for the creation of such bureaux is particularly rife in France, Germany, and the United States. Such centres should proceed in the immediate future to select comrades who should proceed to the organisation of the aforesaid work, maintaining constant contact with the Social-Economic Department of the R.I.L.U.

In view of the difficulties involved in such work, the greatest care should be taken in the selection of workers for this sphere of activity; once this work has been commenced it shall not be allowed to fail for the want of support, initiative, and persistence.

The Social-Economic Department of the R.I.L.U. should lead, instruct and unite the whole of this activity in the separate countries. The "Social Economic Labour Review" bulletin should be of a more popular character, and be published also in the English and French languages.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. deems this activity particularly important to the proper definition of the tactics of the class struggle in the separate countries, to the drawing up of concrete programmes of action for individual countries and industries, and also to the whole propagandist activity of the revolutionary trade union movement.

THE WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVES AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

I.

1. The struggle of the workers for improving their working conditions and wages, as well as the struggle against the high cost of living and for the reduction of the prices of commodities, becomes more and more transformed into a fight against the consolidation of the economic and political might of capitalist monopoly. At a definite stage in this development, this struggle evolves into a political fight of the whole class of the toilers against the class of the exploiters who are organised in the trusts and concerns, and in the bourgeois states.

2. The fight against the high cost of living and for the reduction of prices is almost of the same importance to raising the living standard of the toilers as is the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of labour.

In view of this fact the trade unions cannot afford to limit their activity merely to the struggle for higher wages and better conditions of labour, since all the gains in this direction are under the constant menace of corresponding increases in the commodities. Therefore, the trade unions should wage a determined fight against the high cost of living and for the reduction of the prices of commodities. The postulate to the conduct of this struggle consists in the closest connection between the trade unions and the consumers' co-operative organisations, which have for their fundamental purpose to cheapen prices and to provide better services for the large masses of the toilers in the matter of supplying the necessaries of life.

Just as the trade unions are unable to realise their specific tasks in isolation, but only in alliance with the other class organisations of the proletariat, so the consumers' co-operatives will not be able to achieve their purpose unless they shall be ideologically and organisationally united upon the common front of the class struggle of the proletariat.

3. The consumers' co-operatives at the present time in the capitalist countries controlled almost exclusively by the reformist bureaucracy and partly by definitely bourgeois bureaucrats are not waging any serious struggle just now against the dictatorship of price fixing that is practised by monopolised capitalism.

The reformist leaders in the co-operatives are agitating for the capitalist methods of solving the crisis of capitalism, rationalisation at the expense of imposing worse conditions of

life and labour on the working class, and are applying these methods in their own industrial and trading enterprises. On the other hand, they are more and more determinedly rejecting the collaboration with the trade unions and with other mass organisations of the proletariat, the supporting of workers in the course of strikes, and so on.

The revolutionary wing of the trade union movement is therefore confronted with the task of rendering determined support to the revolutionary minority in the co-operative movement in its struggle for transforming the co-operatives into a militant organisation of the proletariat. To this end it is necessary that all the class-conscious members of the trade unions should join the mass organisations of the consumers' co-operatives and render every support to the revolutionary wing in the struggle against the reformist bureaucracy. Already, as a result of the aforesaid tendency in the development of the co-operative movement, the hostility of the co-operative bureaucracy against the opposition tendencies of the class-conscious section of the proletarian members of the co-operatives has considerably increased of late.

4. In the International field there is a growing rapprochement between the International Co-operative Alliance and the League of Nations, the Alliance taking part in the economic organs of the League of Nations. At the same time there is an increased offensive of the dominant right wing of the Alliance against the Soviet co-operatives, the only co-operative body in the Alliance which supports the standpoint of the revolutionary wing of the co-operatives and of the whole labour movement. The aggressive attitude of the right wing has lately taken the form of a systematic campaign, having for its purpose the expulsion of the Soviet co-operatives from the Alliance.

This campaign for a split constitutes a further stage towards the rally of the International Co-operative Alliance to the general international front of capitalism against the working class and against the vanguard of the world proletariat—the Soviet Union. The revolutionary wing of the trade unions should, therefore, include in the programme of its activity the struggle against splitting attempts of this kind.

II.

The Second and Third Congresses of the R.I.L.U. have drawn up directions concerning the attraction of the consumers' co-operatives into the common-class struggle of the proletariat. The Fourth Congress observes that the experience of the last few years has demonstrated the correctness of those directions.

The present situation gives rise to the following basic tasks which it should be the duty of revolutionary members of trade unions to carry out in connection with their activity, both in the trade unions and in the consumers' co-operative organisations:—

1. The consumers' co-operatives should support all the economic and political actions of the workers. To this end, the co-operatives should create special funds out of the profits of the co-operative organisations. This support may be organised in the following forms :—

- (a) material support to strikers and their families through the respective strike committees;
- (b) selling food products on credit;
- (c) the organisation of collection of money and foodstuffs in the co-operative stores;
- (d) the organisation of co-operative dining establishments;
- (e) the transfer of special funds from the municipalities and other organisations to the co-operatives for the purpose of organised distribution of foodstuffs among the strikers;
- (f) the organisation of the collection of agricultural produce in the villages, and the transportation and distribution of such produce through the co-operative organisations, at the same time establishing business relations with the organisations of the toiling peasants;
- (g) the lending of co-operative premises for the organisation of meetings of strikers, strike committees, etc., as well as the use of the means of transportation owned by the co-operatives.

By the side of the organisation of local co-operative relief funds, it is necessary to urge also the organisation of central funds in the different districts and provinces, as well as the creation of an International Strike Fund.

2. Active support to the demands of the unemployed and to the partly-employed workers on the part of the co-operatives, as well as material aid to the unemployed. Notably, the following measures should be urged :—

- (a) material aid to the unemployed through their elected committees; supplying the unemployed with prime necessities at cost price; the organisation of co-operative dining establishments for the unemployed;
- (b) supplying the unemployed with clothing and household goods on instalments;
- (c) the campaign for non-interest bearing loans from the State and municipalities for the purpose of supplying the unemployed and partly-employed with foodstuffs at reduced prices; the credits extended by way of selling goods to the unemployed on instalments should be guaranteed by the State and the municipalities;
- (d) making use of the co-operatives in the organisation of unemployed relief by the municipalities;
- (e) in those localities where there are State and municipal funds for unemployed relief, to advocate the extension of means from these funds to the co-operatives for the

purpose of enlarging the enterprises of the workers' co-operatives.

All these forms of aid to the unemployed should be established by the co-operatives jointly with the trade unions, and in conformity to the conditions existing in a given country.

3. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIGH COSTS AND FOR REDUCED PRICES.

(a) The struggle against customs tariffs and taxes which send up the prices of commodities of mass consumption.

(b) The struggle for the exemption of the consumers' co-operatives from taxes.

(c) The struggle for the extension of various privileges to the customers' co-operatives, privileged tariffs on the waterways and railways, the extension of land allotments to workers' co-operatives by State and municipalities on favourable terms.

(d) The struggle for favourable treatment of the consumers' co-operatives and against the efforts of the capitalist associations to dictate the selling prices to the co-operatives, notably the struggle against the employers' associations which release their goods from the factories with price labels.

(e) The establishment of constant contact between the consumers' co-operatives of the towns and the producers' co-operatives of the toiling peasantry for the purpose of mutual exchange of commodities, thus eliminating the capitalist middleman.

(f) The reduction in the selling prices on account of doing away with the distribution of premiums among customers.

4. The establishment of close collaboration between the co-operatives and the trade unions for the purpose of joint organisations and conduct of all measures for supporting the working class in times of struggle and in the event of strikes; the attraction of the assistance of various auxiliary organisations of the working class, International Workers' Relief, International Red Aid, etc.

5. In connection with the present methods of the employers directed towards corrupting the labour movement, the system of factory stores is becoming widely spread. Jointly with the trade unions and the factory committees the co-operatives should wage a determined fight against this system.

Where it is impossible to achieve the closing of the factory stores, a fight should be waged for handing over the management of these stores to the workers and employees of such factories, with a view to their eventual incorporation in the local workers' consumers' co-operatives.

6. The trade unions should refrain from carrying on any trading and economic enterprise, leaving such work to the co-operatives. It is necessary to get the existing trading and other enterprises of the trade unions transferred to the co-operatives.

On the whole, it is necessary to see to it that the free funds of the trade unions and the co-operatives should be centralised in joint establishments, as this will contribute to the strengthening of the revolutionary labour movement, and to strengthening the struggle of the working class.

7. All the above-enumerated tasks call for energetic activity within the co-operatives for the defence and extension of the rights of the members of the co-operatives, and for thorough control of the lower units over the leading organs of the co-operatives. To this end it is necessary to organise the corresponding commissions from among the rank and file members of the co-operatives, to combat any attempts at crushing the opposition minority by means of denying work or expelling, and to combat all attempts at splitting on the part of the co-operative bureaucracy.

8. *In the international domain*, to struggle for the close collaboration of the International Co-operative Alliance with the international organisations of the proletarian class struggle, and, above all, for the closest militant alliance with the international trade union movement in connection with the struggle for the international unity of the militant proletariat; to struggle against the collaboration of the Alliance with the organs of the League of Nations; to struggle against the attempts at splitting the Alliance by means of expelling the Soviet co-operatives; to mobilise the large masses of the members of the co-operatives for the struggle against the menace of imperialist war, jointly with the revolutionary wing of the whole labour movement.

9. The revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions should struggle jointly with the opposition in the co-operatives and carry on agitation:

- (a) for the establishment of friendly relations between the national co-operative organisations and the co-operative centres of the U.S.S.R.;
- (b) for the establishment and extension of the economic relations between the co-operative organisations of the capitalist countries on the one hand and those of the Soviet Union on the other hand;
- (c) for the establishment of fraternal relations between the lower units of the co-operative organisations in the capitalist countries and those of the Soviet Union.

III.

The realisation of the aforesaid aims will require the following organisational measures to be carried out:—

1. The revolutionary trade unions shall make it the duty of their members to join the co-operatives. Activity in a similar way shall be performed by the revolutionary minorities in the trade unions that are led by reformists.

2. The revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions shall appoint delegates for activity in the co-operatives.

3. The revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions shall take steps:—

(a) to create an independent revolutionary co-operative press, and where this be impossible, to contribute to the trade union press organs;

(b) to support the revolutionary co-operative movement by the discussion of co-operative questions in the columns of the trade union press.

4. The revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary minorities in the reformist trade unions, jointly with the revolutionary minorities of the co-operatives, shall carry on cultural and educational activity.

5. In the organs of the trade unions and the co-operatives there shall be carried out the principle of mutual representation, representatives of the co-operative within the trade union cartels, the representatives of the trade unions upon the leading organs of the co-operatives; reciprocal appointment of delegates to conferences and congresses.

6. The trade unions and the co-operatives shall organise, both locally and on a national and international scale, mixed committees for the discussion and realisation of the tasks in which these organisations are concerned, upon the grounds of a general programme of activity worked out for these purposes.

7. In those countries where special trade unions of employees and workers of co-operative enterprises exist (in Poland, partly in England), it is necessary to wage a campaign for the amalgamation of such with the other trade unions of employees.

ON CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

1. The most important problem confronting the R.I.L.U. adherents in the winning of the large masses is the revolutionary education of the masses of the workers, and a profounder theoretical and practical grounding of the trade union militants.

The revolutionary education of the workers furnishes also one of the best replies to the ever-increasing aggression of the employers and the reformists on the cultural front.

Notwithstanding the difficult conditions of the revolutionary struggle and the fact that the militant workers are over-burdened with work, the revolutionary T.U. organisations should devote particular attention to this aspect of militant training.

2. The fundamental principle of our activity in the training of militants should be :

(1) To endeavour not only to raise their practical skill, but also to extend and deepen their theoretical and revolutionary class-conscious training. This training, however, should under no circumstances be detached from the revolutionary movement, but should always and invariably be associated with the current practical work and be in every way connected with it.

(2) The most flexible and manifold forms should be adopted in conformity with the concrete conditions in the different organisations.

(3) It should be endeavoured to furnish not only a definite amount of knowledge, but also to train for independent continuation of study.

3. Arising from these fundamental principles, it is necessary to outline for the immediate future a series of concrete forms for the training of militants, beginning with the most accessible ones :

(1) Conducted reading (recommended lists of literature on separate questions, with notes and comments for the purpose of profound study) ;

(2) The organisation of various forms of self-educational activity, from the simplest and most accessible (newspaper circles, corners on self-study in the periodical publications, circles on current questions, etc.) to systematic self-educational activity on the various questions relating to the theory and practice of the T.U. movement ;

(3) Instructive reports and addresses by lecturers from the centre for the edification of district and provincial educational workers ;

(4) Schools and courses, primarily of short duration and held

weekly, in which the gravity centre of the work should be put on the self-study of the students;

(5) The organisation of itinerant schools for agricultural labourers, and the training of a body of leaders for such schools.

4. Each of these schools and courses should enrol a definite number of students sent up by the trade unions, and also a certain number of students individually enrolled from among the more militant comrades.

The central body in control of such schools should organise wherever possible a net of local and district schools which utilise the materials, programmes and leading forces of the central school.

5. It is necessary to establish, under the direct supervision of the Culture Secretariat of the R.I.L.U., summer schools for trade union militants. These schools should be established wherever possible on local, national and international scale. At the same time all efforts should be made to organise correspondence courses in connection with the summer schools to cater to those militants who are unable to attend the schools in person.

6. Bearing in mind the growing complexity of the international situation, Congress deems it necessary to create a body of leading workers who are well posted on questions of the international trade union movement, as well as on kindred political, economic and social questions. For the training of such a body of workers, Congress instructs the Executive Bureau of R.I.L.U. to study the possibility of creating a permanent International School of the T.U. movement.

7. *Activity among the youth.* Particular attention should be devoted to the young comrades in the establishment of courses and schools. With a view to these purposes it is necessary:

(a) To publish from time to time recruiting literature for young people, written in light and accessible form, in order to attract them to the trade unions.

(b) To publish youth supplements in the daily papers, for which purpose a permanent circle of collaborators from among the young comrades should be formed.

8. *Mass forms of cultural activity.* The revolutionary T.U. movement has been particularly backward in regard to the mass forms of cultural activity. Until very lately our organisations have not only failed to promote anything like self-relying forms of mass activity, but they have also been extremely feeble in the revolutionary fight against the new methods of mass propaganda carried on by the employers and the reformists. This may be explained by a whole number of obstacles, chief among which is police persecution, and the lack of qualified cultural workers. Nevertheless, a considerable obstacle is presented also by the distinct indifference in regard to this work on the part of the majority of our organisations, on account of which even the existing opportunities, little as they are, have not been utilised.

9. *Forms of Mass Activity.* The forms of mass activity

should be even more varied and flexible than the forms of the training of militants with which we have dealt above. This is dictated by two fundamental considerations. On the one hand, it is necessary to adapt our course to the concrete conditions of activity, which are either illegal or semi-legal in the majority of cases, and on the other hand, the variety of forms constitutes a factor of attraction and interest.

Depending upon the conditions of activity in a given organisation, the more suitable forms of mass activity from the following list should be taken up :

(a) *Oral agitation in the factories* (and also among the agricultural workers), for which purpose there should be trained a special body of rank and file agitators applying the various forms of both group and individual agitation, and taking advantage of each opportunity that may present itself.

(b) *Agitation through the mass press* (particular use should be made of newspapers in the factories, popular booklets on current problems, art, literature, etc.), leading the activities of the groups of worker-correspondents delegated by the unions or by T.U. organisations.

(c) *Various kinds of entertainments and utilisation of the workers' leisure* (physical culture, sport, workers' co-operatives, and clubs), which form the basis for various forms of recreation, as well as for edification (art performances, excursions, the widest possible use of the cinema, radio, etc.).

(d) Various forms of teaching (individual or group self-education, with the aid of special guidance by advisors, libraries, etc., and wherever possible the organisation of a net of elementary trade union schools, etc.).

10. In view of our lack of systematised and centralised study of the experience of the organisations in this kind of activity, Congress notes on the one hand, the need of our organisations taking up in the immediate period the study of those forms of mass cultural activity which are particularly applicable and practicable under the given circumstances. On the other hand the need for revolutionary trade union militants, particularly for cultural workers, to study the mass activities of the unions of the Soviet Union which have been so broadly and so splendidly developed.

Upon the basis of all the aforesaid, the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. should work out the plan and the system of organising mass activity in the most typical of our organisations, and send out concrete instructions to the separate organisations.

11. All the forms of the training of militants and of mass activity which we have examined, cannot be regularly carried out without a special leading apparatus, even if of a minimum size.

Congress instructs the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. to work out a general ruling for the leading apparatus, which might be applicable to the concrete conditions of the activity of our organisations.

ON THE TRADE UNION PRESS.

1. The trade union press should reflect the daily needs and aspirations of the large masses of the workers, inform them on important political events, clarify questions of economics, social legislation, and so on. At the same time the trade union press should carry out the thorough preparation for all the campaigns, strikes, etc., conducted by either revolutionary trade unions organisations or by oppositional minorities in the reformist trade unions.

2. The growth of the revolutionary trade union press does not correspond to the growth of the influence of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The revolutionary trade union press is still suffering from a number of defects which hinder its successful coping with its tasks. Chief among these defects are the following :

(a) The untimely and not always able clarification of important events ;

(b) The dry and frequently quite unpopular language in which the materials are published ;

(c) The feeble illustration of the trade union activity and of the life of the workers directly in the factories, and the lack of proper illustration of the home life of the workers ;

(d) The feeble and not always businesslike and concrete exposure of the actions of the reformist leaders of the trade unions ;

(e) The insufficient reflection of cases of expulsion of revolutionary workers from the reformist unions ;

(f) The lack of immediate attention to questions of organisation and the daily activity of the factory committees ;

(g) The inadequate treatment of the everyday questions of the Labour movement ;

(h) The inadequate elucidation of the activities of the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated bodies ;

(i) The absence of an extended network of worker-correspondents and of an efficient apparatus for circulation in the leading districts and in the largest enterprises.

3. The revolutionary trade unions should endeavour to achieve the widest circulation of their trade union press. In countries where the trade unions embrace workers of different nationalities, steps should be taken to publish trade union journals and newspapers in the respective national languages. By the side of press organs of the inter-union organisations, there should be published specific organs by the industrial unions (or

by the large sections of the O.B.U. in Czecho-Slovakia) adapted to serve the interests of the workers in the separate branches of industry and economy.

4. The publications published by the revolutionary trade unions should be intended not only for the militant trade unionists, but should at the same time be sufficiently popular and accessible also to rank and file.

The press of the revolutionary trade unions should endeavour to elucidate the questions relating to the attraction of the unorganised workers into the active struggle, as well as those workers who are still under the influence of the reformist trade unions leaders.

The revolutionary trade unions should assist in every way in the circulation and publication of trade union organs published by the International Propaganda and Action Committees, and establish with the latter the regular exchange of materials.

5. Against the reformist press which is poison for the workers and intended to prevent the class-consciousness of the proletariat, the press of the revolutionary minorities should wage a determined struggle by means of :

(a) Exposing the reformist handling of matters in the trade union papers, by systematic propaganda in the factories, at labour exchanges, in the homes, etc. ;

(b) Exposing the abuses which have taken place in the reformist trade union press, denouncing and condemning individual reformist articles, raising demands for the removal of reformist editors ;

(c) The adherents of the revolutionary minorities should demand the printing of their articles in the official organs, and the freedom of criticising the leading organs of the trade unions. For propaganda among the members of reformist trade unions the widest use should be made of the revolutionary newspapers. Care should be taken to have the revolutionary political newspapers possess special editors on trade union questions, attracting the workers and officials of both revolutionary and reformist trade unions to regular collaboration in the revolutionary press.

6. Since the organs of the trade union press and of the revolutionary trade unions are subjected in the capitalist countries to constant repression and persecution, the organs of the trade union press should attract the large masses of the workers to the creation of Special Press Funds organising mass campaigns of protest against persecution by the authorities, etc. The factory workers themselves should be organised to take part in the widest circulation of the revolutionary trade union press in the enterprises.

7. The revolutionary trade unions should take steps for the organisation of a broad worker-correspondent movement. The tasks of the worker-correspondents are : to illustrate the life of the workers directly in the factories, the activities of the factory

committees, the treacherous actions of the reformists, the activity of the revolutionary elements, etc. In connection with the revolutionary organs of the trade union press there should be organised special worker-correspondent circles, and arrangements made for the systematic holding of special worker-correspondent conferences. The editorial boards of revolutionary trade union publications should engage in the constant instructing of the worker-correspondents, and in improving the close contact with them. The organs of the revolutionary trade union press should promote and assist in every way the organisation of international contact among worker-correspondents.

8. Of late years there has been wide popularity gained by the factory newspapers, which enjoy great influence among the workers, as well as their confidence, playing a tremendous educational rôle. Whilst recording the incontestable successes of the factory newspapers one should at the same time draw attention to a whole number of big and minor defects which should be eliminated as quickly as possible. The chief defects of the factory newspapers consist in the drawn-out and abstract nature of the articles, the feeble reflection of the factory life, the lack of constant control and guidance on the part of the revolutionary trade union organisations or of the oppositional minorities in the reformist trade unions.

9. The Fourth Congress of R.I.L.U. instructs the Executive Bureau to see to the further improvement of the central organ of the R.I.L.U., "The Red International of Labour Unions," as well as of the weekly "International Workers' Movement," "Bulletin of the R.I.L.U.," etc.

The Fourth Congress deems it necessary that all the organs published by organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. should not fail to carry a special page dedicated to the International trade union movement and to the activities of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

10. Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to take steps for the improvement of the trade union press and for the planned publication of literature on questions of the trade union movement, primarily with a view to the need of catering to the requirements of the large masses of the workers. Congress instructs at the same time the Executive Bureau to proceed to the publication of special reference books on separate branches of the trade union movement to be of assistance to the militant trade unionists in their everyday practical work.

11. For the purpose of improving the trade union press issued by inter-union centres, as well as by the leading organs, of the industrial unions, there shall be created special Press Bureaux or Commissions for the guidance of the trade union press, which should look after its activity and work out measures for the further improvement of the trade union press and its circulation, for the detection of big and minor defects, and for their speedy removal.

12. Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to strengthen the leadership of the whole trade union press of the revolutionary unions and of the oppositional minorities in the reformist unions, as well as the organs of the I.P.C.'s, to work out the forms and methods for the improvement of the trade union press, for drawing in the trade union press organs lessons from the experiences of the international revolutionary trade union movement; to supply the T.U. press organs of the different countries with articles and materials on the questions of the theory and practice of the international labour and trade union movement. The exchange of information and materials between the separate organs of the revolutionary trade union press on the one hand, and the R.I.L.U. on the other hand, should be widely practised in the further activity of the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated bodies.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' SPORT MOVEMENT.

I.

The bourgeoisie, through the bourgeois sport organisations, are trying by all means to influence the masses of the toilers engaging in sport, and particularly the working youth.

The bourgeois sport organisations represent a school of nationalism, chauvinism, militarism, strike-breaking and recruiting agencies for Fascism.

The bourgeois sport organisations are opposed by the workers' sport organisations, forming a mass movement of the proletariat numbering many millions of factory and office workers in its ranks.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. deems it necessary for the revolutionary trade union organisations and R.I.L.U. adherents to intensify the struggle against the harmful influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers who engage in sport and to promote the development of workers' associations independent of the bourgeoisie set up independent workers' sport societies in Sweden, Britain, all over America, etc. The setting up of sport organisations for the toilers of the Eastern or colonial countries is of particular importance.

The workers' sport organisations form part of the line of defence of the working class against the bourgeoisie; for this reason one of the most important tasks of the trade unions is to strengthen the workers' sport organisations and get those workers engaging in and interested in sport to join them. It is also essential to fight the growing influence of the reactionary priest-ridden Young Men's Christian Association.

All trade unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. and all supporters must give their attention to the need for bringing the unemployed masses into the workers' sport associations.

The reformist leaders are trying to transform the workers' sport organisations into a means to advance their efforts towards business collaboration with the bourgeoisie decisions of the Lucerne Sport International on collaboration with the International Labour Office and the League of Nations.

The reformist leaders of the sport movement are carrying on disruptive activities to get rid of the revolutionary workers. Working jointly with the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, the reformist sport leaders are bitterly opposing the work of the Red Sport International in the cause of unity.

It is the task of all revolutionary trade unionists to combat the splitting activities of the reformists inside the workers' sport organisations and to support the efforts of the Red Sport International to bring about unity. Revolutionary members of trade unions within the workers' sport societies and circles should at the same time carry on recruiting activity for enrolling all workers who are engaged and interested in sport in the trade unions.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. addresses this appeal to all revolutionary trade unionists urging them to extend whole-hearted assistance to the international sport festivals, the so-called "Spatakiade," to take place this year (in July at Prague, and August in Moscow), as the counterpoise to the bourgeois Amsterdamite Olympiads.

COMPANY SPORT CIRCLES AND THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

II.

1. The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. notes that in most capitalist countries (Britain, Germany, France, Italy, North and South America, India, etc.) the employers, the banks, and representatives of the authorities, under the mask of "solicitude" for improving the welfare and improve the health of the workers, endeavour to form sport circles for factory and office workers at their place of employment. The purpose of these company sport circles "consists chiefly in the desire to establish bourgeois" control over the leisure time of the factory and office workers, to subdue the latter to their (the employers') ideological influence, to increase the material dependence of the factory and office workers, to keep them away from the trade unions, and to imbue them with the spirit of "industrial peace" and "business collaboration," instead of proletarian class consciousness.

2. The big sums of money assigned by the employers to the "company sport circles" clearly indicate that the latter consider the sport circles attached to their enterprises to be effective in the struggle against the trade unions, and in splitting the working class.

3. All their "solicitude" for the welfare and the so-called promotion of health through the cultivation of sport is nothing but a means for increasing the productivity of labour and affording wider opportunities for the exploitation of the workers in order to further rationalise production.

4. At the same time the company sport circles are utilised by the bourgeoisie also for the purpose of mobilising the youth for their own class aims. Thus, rifle range circles are considered by the employers as reserves to be mobilised in the event of an imperialist war, or for fighting the internal enemy—the working class.

4. The Fourth Congress of R.I.L.U. calls the attention of

all trade union organisations to the great menace to the trade union movement apparent in the aforesaid efforts of the employers, and urges them to conduct a vigorous struggle against designs of this nature.

The revolutionary trade union organisations must :

(a) Keep on explaining to the factory and office workers the real meaning of the company sport circles, as tools of the employers directed against the interests of the working class.

(b) Where such organisations have not yet been formed, it is necessary to exert all efforts to prevent the formation of such, and to attract the factory and office workers wishing to engage in sport, into the existing workers' sport circles; and where none exist, to proceed to form such workers' circles allocating the necessary funds for sporting grounds, equipment and contests.

The revolutionary trade unions should organise workers' rifle range circles and societies, in order to counteract the imperialist training of the youth.

(c) Where the employers and the organs of the authorities have already formed company sport circles, the trade unions should work persistently and energetically to wrest them from the control and influence of the employers, either bringing such circles under the control of the trade unions, or amalgamating them with the existing workers' sport organisations. To this end it is essential that all the factory and office workers organised in the trade unions should be members of workers' sport circles.

(d) The reformist trade union leaders have no desire (the resolution of the Federation of German Unions) to wage an active struggle against the company sport organisations, because any such a struggle would hinder the continuation of their policy of establishing business collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary trade unions in all countries should therefore wage a determined fight against the company sport circles.

5. The Fourth Congress instructs the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. and all its national sections, to extend in every way their leadership and aid to the Red Sport International and its local sections.

ON THE CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WORKERS.

The Fourth Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to call together the representatives of the Negro workers for the purpose of working out immediate practical measures for carrying into effect the policy laid down in regard to the question of organising Negro workers in the United States and in Africa.

ON SUPPORTING THE INTERNATIONAL RED AID.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. declares :

(a) That in the past the non-party mass organisations of the I.R.A. (I.C.W.P.A.) have developed a successful activity. As in numerous mass struggles against Reaction, against bourgeois Class Justice, White Terror and Fascism, so by their great relief activity for the victims, they have proved themselves to be **THE** united front organisation in the fight against Reaction, bourgeois Class Justice, White Terror, and Fascism. They have won the confidence of millions of proletarians.

(b) The I.R.A. has always tried—by numerous mass campaigns and by systematic propaganda activity—to mobilise the broad masses for the struggle against the emergency laws and against the oppression and persecution of revolutionary trade union organisations (as it was done in Rumania, Bulgaria, Norway, China, etc.), and has rendered great service in individual countries by supporting and rendering aid to the victims of bourgeois justice in their trade union fight.

The Fourth Congress therefore recalls to memory the resolution of the Third Congress—and calls upon all the workers organised in trade unions—and especially those organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. and the revolutionary minorities, to pay the utmost attention—more than previously, to the activity and hard struggle of the I.R.A., and to support—by active participation this great work of proletarian solidarity.

The Congress decided therefore to adopt the following practical measures :

(1) To call upon all sections of the R.I.L.U. to encourage the individual enrolment of trade union members in the I.R.A.

(2) To create a closer and more live connection with the I.R.A. by delegating representatives of the trade union organisations to the central and local committees of the I.R.A. organisations.

(3) To support fully the campaigns of the I.R.A. for amnesty and for the right of asylum in all countries through the trade union organisations.

(4) In compliance with its previous decisions, the Congress calls upon the trade union press to place itself at the disposal of I.R.A.—in its struggles generally and in its special campaigns, etc.

(5) The trade unions in the countries where the right of asylum exists must especially develop great activity in order to

help political emigrants procure work.

(6) In order to assist the I.R.A. (I.C.W.P.A.) in its material tasks it is necessary in every way to support the collections of I.R.A. organisations :

(a) By placing the subscription lists of the I.R.A. (I.C.W.P.A.) in trade union offices and meeting places.

(b) Through the support of the I.R.A. collections in the shops and factories by the trade union shop functionaries.

(7) In conclusion—the Congress also recommends the carrying out of all special campaigns of the trade unions for the victims of the Fascism, White Terror, Class Justice, etc., only in conjunction with the I.R.A. organisations, or directly through these. In order to secure the co-operation and the control of the trade unions in such campaigns, it is necessary to include representatives of the respective trade union organisations in the campaign committees of the I.R.A.

**DRAFT OF THE NEW EDITION OF
PARAGRAPHS VII. AND VIII. OF THE RULES AND
REGULATIONS OF THE R.I.L.U.**

The Finance Commission proposes the following alteration of Paragraphs VII. & VIII. of the R.I.L.U. Rules and Regulations. It is proposed to substitute the former text of these paragraphs by the following :

VII. FINANCIAL MEANS;

(a) CONTRIBUTIONS FROM AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS.

All organisations, affiliating themselves with the R.I.L.U. are to contribute to the R.I.L.U. funds 0.5 American cents per year per member, in accordance to the information of the membership, supplied at each Congress.

(b) INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND.

For the purposes of giving material support in times of conflicts between labour and capital, etc., an international solidarity fund is established under the management of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. This fund is composed of :

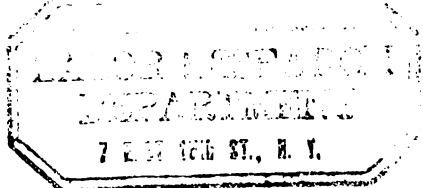
(a) Contributions made by the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. from its own funds;

(b) Funds, created by special annual subscriptions to the I.S.F. (by means of selling special stickers, etc.).

(c) Voluntary contributions.

CONCERNING THE DATE OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

Whereas the Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the R.I.L.U. will take place on July 15th, 1930, the Fourth Congress resolves to hold the next Congress on the date of the Tenth Anniversary of the Red International of Labour Unions. The selection of the place for the Congress is left to the Executive Bureau.



TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE U.S.S.R. I

The representatives of the revolutionary movement of the whole world, gathered at their Fourth Congress, send you, the toilers of all the Soviet Republics, their hearty greetings, and declare that, together with you, they will struggle against the attempts of the international bourgeoisie to stop, either by economic or military intervention, the successful construction of your Socialistic economy. Alarmed by the sympathy shown by the wide masses to the U.S.S.R., and the sincerely peaceful policy of the latter, expressed in the proposals for radical disarmament, the international bourgeoisie has begun a frantic campaign against the U.S.S.R., attempting by economic and financial blockade to weaken the growing socialistic economy of the republic built up by your hands. To this attack of the ruling classes of England, France and America, the German bourgeoisie has now also joined, desiring to receive from the creators of the Versailles Peace some concessions in exchange for their help to international reaction, coming out against the U.S.S.R. International reaction, now conducting a frantic campaign against the U.S.S.R., meets with full sympathy and support on the part of international reformism, namely of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. The whole of the international social-democratic press, all reformist papers, are full of unheard-of slanders against the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., against the Soviet power, and by these means are disarming the masses in the face of new wars, new interventions.

We, the representatives of the revolutionary trade union movement of the whole world, herewith declare that we will do all in our power to upset this new plot against the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., and against the international proletariat, for we recognise that the attack on the U.S.S.R. is organically connected with the attack of international capital upon the working masses of the whole world. It is clear to us that the economic attack and financial blockade of the U.S.S.R. go hand-in-hand with the economic attack upon the elementary gains of the working masses, that international reaction is conducting a slanderous campaign against the U.S.S.R. for the victorious October Revolution is a vivid symbol for all exploited classes and oppressed nations.

Greetings to you, Builders of Socialism !

Greetings to you, Fighters in the Cause of the International Proletariat !

Down with the inciters of new wars and interventions !

**FOURTH CONGRESS, RED INTERNATIONAL OF
LABOUR UNIONS.**

IN DEFENCE OF THE TOILING MASSES OF CHINA AGAINST THE BLOODY TERROR.

To the Workers of All Countries!

The Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions attended by the representatives of 50 countries of Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Australia draws the attention of the toilers of the whole world to the fact that in China the incredible bloody terror is still going on. Thousands and tens of thousands of the best sons of the Chinese people have been killed, tortured and torn to pieces; with fire and sword the blood-glutted militarists and the fury-mad Chinese bourgeoisie are uprooting the labour and peasant movement. Throughout China's vast length and breadth mass murders and executions are going on with the direct help of Britain, France, America and Japan. These mass executions and shootings are for the purpose of suppressing and destroying the labour movement, of inflicting punishment on the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, and for the purpose of throwing the movement back for many decades.

Whilst the whole of China is marked by the blood of the workers and peasants' martyrs, while the vicious terror is exterminating thousands and tens of thousands of men and women workers and peasants, while in China the heaps of corpses testify to the bloc of the Chinese reaction and world imperialism—the official leaders of the labour movement in the imperialist states continue to ignore what is happening in China as if no terror existed there. The Labour Party and the General Council of Britain, the American Federation of Labour, the Reformist Confederation of Labour of France, the reformists of Japan—not one of them has done anything to help the workers and peasants of China, or moved a finger to stigmatise the shameful rôle of the imperialist governments in this bloody terror of the blood-maddened Chinese counter-revolution. The Second and Amsterdam Internationals representing international reformism also stand silent. What does it matter to the reformists that thousands upon thousands of workers are being murdered? They have thus shown once again that they are the hirelings of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the allies of the counter-revolution.

But if the reformists keep silent, the working class of the whole world must not be silent. Action must be taken against the Chinese counter-revolution and its imperialist allies to defend the toiling masses of China. Throughout the world a protest must be voiced against the unheard of brutalities being inflicted

on the workers and peasants of China. Wherever an honest worker's heart beats true—in all countries, all towns, all factories, all mines—demonstrations must be organised to protest against the Chinese counter-revolution and its ally—Imperialism.

Down with the Chinese counter-revolution and its imperialist allies!

Up the fighting trade union movement of China!

Long live the Chinese Revolution!

Fourth Congress of the Red International of
Labour Unions.

TO THE WORKING CLASS AND THE TRADE UNIONS OF INDIA!

The Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress, in which representatives of the trade union movement of 50 countries of Australia, Asia, America and Europe participate, sends the expression of its ardent sympathy of the India proletariat, and regrets that the representatives of the Indian trade union movement did not participate in the work of the Congress in organising the masses for the struggle for the emancipation of the exploited peoples and the classes oppressed by imperialism. The Fourth Congress has given the question of helping the trade union movement of colonial and semi-colonial countries its chief attention, as also the question of how the workers of imperialist states should practically aid the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their emancipation. The Congress is sure that the place of the working class and trade unions of India is among those who are struggling against imperialism for the independence of the colonial peoples and for the emancipation of the toiling masses from the power of capital.

Congress expresses its assurance, that the trade unions of India will establish fraternal contact with the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated organisations in order to fight together for the unity of the world proletariat against the world imperialism.

Long live the working class of India!

Down with the imperialists, oppressing India!

AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR! AGAINST THE FASCIST REACTION!

To the Workers of All Countries!

Comrades, everyday that passes sees an increase in the fury of the white terror which is raging throughout the capitalist world. The bourgeoisie resorts to all means possible to crush the growing revolutionary forces of the working class, to curb its resistance to the capitalist offensive, to paralyse its struggle against the oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, against the preparations for new wars, and for a war on the U.S.S.R.—the world's first and only republic of the workers and the peasants.

The blows heaped upon the militant organisations of the working class, and upon its revolutionary trade unions, are becoming more and more brutal. All the gains of the working class are menaced. Tens and hundreds of thousands of the best representatives of the workers, and, in the first place, of the young workers, are languishing in the jails, tortured in the dungeons and penitentiaries, thrown out of the factories and workshops, and deprived of bread, work and free life. The prisons are crowded with workers, not only in the countries of the open rule of capitalist violence—the fascist dictatorship, but also in those countries where the capitalist dictatorship is still screened under the cloak of bourgeois democracy—in Germany, France, and in the other leading capitalist countries. The white terror accompanies each big strike and action of any considerable size of the workers.

Particularly brutal are the methods by which the class struggle trade union movement is persecuted in the countries of the fascist dictatorship and the sway of white terror—Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Spain, Roumania, Yugo-Slavia, etc. The suppression of trade union organisations and meetings, the closing of their premises, the ban on the workers' press, the outlawing of the class struggle trade unions, the wholesale arrests, the murdering of revolutionary trade unionists and militant workers (the murder of Comrade Sozzi in an Italian prison), the sanguinary crushing of workers' strikes—all these are of daily occurrence in these countries.

The fascist dictatorship, which has attained power in Italy, Bulgaria, Spain, Poland, Lithuania, and other countries, constitutes a menace to the workers of the whole capitalist world.

Its aim is to smash the entire revolutionary movement, the implacable war of the bourgeoisie against the rising proletarian revolution, and the preservation of the rule of the oppressors and the exploiters.

In the blood of the hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants who are killed and tortured to death, who fall in the battle against the blood-thirsty imperialists, capitalism is trying to drown the revolutionary movement of the toilers of China, India, Dutch, Indies, Syria, Egypt and Latin America.

Comrades and fellow-workers!

The leaders of the Amsterdam and the Second Internationals, aiding the bourgeoisie to maintain its existence by co-operating with it, have neither the desire nor the ability to fight against the violence of capitalism. Having set their faces against the class struggle and the revolutionary movement, they are now carrying on a campaign of falsehood and calumny against the U.S.S.R., they are acting as the aiders and abettors of white terror and fascism, and in reality they are the agents of the imperialist powers. It was for this reason that they kept silent when the R.I.L.U. appealed to them to fight against fascism.

The working class cannot get rid of the horrors of the white terror unless the masses will act upon an united front in defiance of their opportunistic leaders.

It can achieve emancipation only by a relentless struggle for its class interests, against the capitalist dictatorship, in close alliance with the toiling peasants and the oppressed peoples, under an united revolutionary leadership.

The masses of the workers throughout the world are becoming more and more class-conscious. There is a growing desire for the struggle a growing activity of the masses, and growing sympathies for the Soviet Union, which has shown the way of struggle and emancipation to the toilers and the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. calls the workers of all countries under the banners of the revolutionary trade union movement, because only by being organised in revolutionary fighting columns the working class will be able to wage a victorious fight. The Fourth Congress appeals to the workers to carry on an intensified struggle in the factories and workshops, in the towns and villages, against the white terror and the capitalist offensive, against the fascist dictatorship, for the liberation of all the prisoners of capitalism, for the elementary liberties of the working class, for the full emancipation of the proletariat.

The proletarians of England, France, America and Germany, struggling against the capitalist offensive and the fascist menace in their countries, should render the most determined support to the struggle of the workers in the countries of the fascist

dictatorship and the white terror, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and bring all their forces to bear against the support which is given by the imperialist governments to the fascist dictatorship and the regime of white terror. Only the real solidarity of the international proletariat in the struggle against fascism and white terror will secure the victory of the working class.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. calls the masses of the workers into the struggle for international unity, and for one revolutionary International, because only by united forces shall we be able to win the victory over international capitalism and imperialism.

The Fourth Congress calls upon all the workers to close their ranks for the forthcoming battles, and to strengthen the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants and the fraternal unity of the workers of the imperialist countries with the toiling masses of the oppressed peoples.

Glory to the fighters who fell in the workers' cause!

Down with the hangmen of the working class and their lackeys—
—the reformist leaders!

Down with the capitalist dictatorship!

Oppressed and exploited people of the world, unite!

THE IMPERIALISTS ARE PREPARING A NEW WAR! DEFEND THE U.S.S.R.!

To the Workers of All Countries!

Comrades, the Geneva comedy is over. The representatives of the bourgeois powers, after having indulged in bombastic speeches on the subject of disarmament, have revealed their real nature the moment that the Soviet delegates placed the question of disarmament upon practical grounds.

For many long years there have been speeches made at Geneva on the subject of disarmament. The League of Nations, formed by the victors, has created one commission after another; yet the more they talk disarmament at Geneva, the more rapid the growth of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, piled up by the bourgeois powers. All these disarmament commissions, like the other institutions created by the victors in the world war, have for their purpose to furnish a cloak of fine phrases for the incontestable fact that the so-called "last war" has not been followed by universal disarmament as had been promised by the Allies, but rather by universal increase of military budgets and by furious military rivalry among the victors. The whole hypocrisy of the bourgeois politicians was brought to light at Geneva when the time came to pass from loud talking to actual performances, when instead of promises it was necessary to give the practical answer: Disarmament or continued armaments?

Why was it that the Disarmament Commission went up in arms against the proposals of the Soviet Delegation? Why did the representatives of France, England, Italy, Japan and the lesser countries so unanimously oppose the Soviet project? Because none of the bourgeois powers has ever dreamed of disarmament; because all the pacifist talk is calculated merely to serve as a screen for the orgy of armaments. It was precisely for this reason that the representatives of the imperialist powers have so furiously attacked the Soviet proposal, and that the bourgeois press throughout the world is raising such a hue and cry about the alleged "demagogy," "utopianism," and "impracticability" of the Soviet proposals. No, the imperialists do not even think of disarmament. On the contrary, they are preparing for fresh wars, in order to smash the first proletarian State which constitutes a permanent menace to the rule of the capitalists, and a firm rock for the working class and the oppressed peoples; in order to continue the exploitation of

the colonial masses which are rising more and more against the imperialist yoke; in order to settle by force of arms the ever-growing rivalry among the big imperialist countries through a new redistribution of the markets and the sources of raw materials. Capitalism inevitably leads to war.

Characteristic in regard to the question of disarmament is the position of the German bourgeoisie. The German bourgeoisie, forcibly disarmed after its defeat, is only dreaming of getting armed again, and if the German representatives at Geneva come forward with pacifist phrases, their meaning is this: "Allow us to arm ourselves, and we shall join you in opposing the Soviet project."

What is particularly important in this case, is the position of international reformism. How many times did the leaders of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals talk about disarmament with tears in their eyes; how many projects and how many pledges were made in this sense by the reformists to their working class electors? Yet now that the question was practically put, when it was necessary to speak out clearly whether for or against disarmament, the leaders of international reformism have disappeared from the political surface. The Second and Amsterdam Internationals are stolidly silent. The Vice-President of the Amsterdam International, the paid representative of the Poincaré Government at the Geneva Conference, Leon Jouhaux, naturally sided with his government against the Soviet project.

At first the reformists tried to get up a conspiracy of silence around the project raised by the proletarian State, so as to conceal it from the masses of the workers. But on seeing the tremendous impression produced upon the large masses by the Soviet project in spite of their miserable manœuvres, they tried to represent this project in a ridiculous light, claiming that it was utopian and impracticable, in order to help the bourgeoisie to conceal the bankruptcy of the Geneva institutions and the miserable comedy of the disarmament conferences which are convened only for the purpose of gulling the peoples.

What does this conduct of international reformism, as represented by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, in connection with the Geneva negotiations imply? IT IMPLIES NOTHING MORE NOR LESS THAN THAT THE SECOND AND AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONALS AND THEIR NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS ARE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE RULING CLASSES, IN SOLIDARITY WITH IMPERIALISM, THAT THEY ARE IN FAVOUR OF CONTINUED ARMAMENT, CONTINUED MILITARY RIVALRY, CONTINUED OPPRESSION OF THE COLONIES, AND OF THE CONTINUED USE OF THE ARMY AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES. THIS IMPLIES FURTHER, THAT ALL THE

REFORMIST TALK ABOUT DISARMAMENT IS AS FALSE AS THE TALK OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS IN THE EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS: IT MEANS THAT INTERNATIONAL REFORMISM FORMS AN ORGANIC PART OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AS A WHOLE, ABLE TO MAINTAIN ITSELF ONLY UPON THE BASIS OF THE DISARMAMENT OF THE WORKERS AND THE ARMING OF THE RULING CLASSES. It means that the reformists—just as they were in August, 1914—are in solidarity with the bourgeoisie in the conduct of war. None other than the social democrat, Paul Boncour, the initiator of the disarmament farce, has framed and sponsored the Bill for the military reorganisation of French imperialism which proposed even the militarisation of women, children and aged people, and the subordination of the trade unions to the general staff of the army.

This example reveals the whole policy of the reformists: pacifist gestures and phrases for the masses, to conceal their full solidarity with imperialism and its preparations for new wars.

The Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, on behalf of the representatives of the class trade unions of 50 countries, directs the attention of workers throughout the world to the policy pursued by all the bourgeois governments at Geneva, and to the fact that the reformists, on the question of disarmament, as indeed on all other questions, invariably go hand in hand with the ruling classes against the interests of the large masses of the toilers.

Congress directs further the attention of the working class throughout the world to the proposals of the Soviet Delegation at Geneva, to proposals which could have been made only by a workers' State. The Geneva negotiations have demonstrated once again the difference of principle between the Soviet State and the whole of the capitalist world; they have demonstrated once again the difference between States that are built upon the exploitation of the working masses and the State built by the workers and for the workers.

The bourgeoisie does not wish to disarm: it is gathering forces for imperialist wars; it is gathering forces for the crushing of the world's first workers' state and for the suppression of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples. For this reason the workers of all countries should realise that the problem of disarmament is intimately connected with the very existence of the capitalist system, and that **THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR SHOULD BE WAGED, FIRST OF ALL, AND ABOVE ALL, AGAINST THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION, AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE OF THEIR OWN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.** The imperialists and their reformist satellites have been forced to throw off their masks, and it is now quite clear that only when the working class will

have overthrown the bourgeois domination and wiped out the boundaries among peoples, will war be vanquished and disarmament rendered possible. The struggle for disarmament, the struggle against war, can have no chance for success upon the grounds of pacifism. TO STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR, TO STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT, IMPLIES JUST NOW TO WAGE A REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. The ruling classes do not desire disarmament, they are gathering forces in order to plunge mankind into a new world butchery, they are preparing forces against the rising colonial peoples, against the growing discontent of the working masses. The reformists do not wish disarmament, because this weakens capitalism, whilst the consolidation of capitalism constitutes the supreme purpose of all their activities.

But the working class wishes and must achieve the disarmament of its class enemies. This it will achieve if it will be better organised, if it will be united and class-conscious, and will oust from its ranks all the allies and agents of capital.

Down with world war inciters and pacifist hypocrites!

Long live the united front of the proletariat in the struggle against imperialism!

THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS.