

Reds in Congress

By J. HOWIE

**First Congress of the Red
International of Labour
Unions**

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P R E F A C E.

Communal ownership and control of industry is the objective of Labor everywhere. It is the declared objective of the Australian Labor Movement, industrial and political alike.

Five years ago, no Labor optimist imagined that the Communal ownership and control of industry would take place in his lifetime. Yet, to-day, in Russia, a working-class community, in spite of the armed attacks and sabotage of the capitalist world outside, is courageously and successfully building up on the ruins of Czarist capitalism the substance of Labor's age-long dreams; a society where the means of life belong to the people, and where every man has the right to work and a full life.

Around this, the greatest working-class experiment of all the ages, the representatives of International Capitalism have constructed a net-work of prohibitions and lies. The Australian Trade Union Movement, therefore, decided, at all costs, to cut through the barb-wire entanglements of capitalism, and get the truth about Russia.

J. Howie, President of the Labor Council of New South Wales, was entrusted with the mission on behalf of the Australian Trade Union Movement. The personal risk and discomfort of the undertaking must be obvious, for the master-class has decided that it will leave no stone unturned to prevent its wage-slaves from learning the truth about the Russian Social Revolution and the new forms of industrial and political organisation that have in consequence arisen.

It is noteworthy that the President of the Trades and Labor Council the accredited delegate of the great Australian Trade Union Movement had to leave Australia disguised as a stoker. This will provide the future historian with ample scope for caustic comment on that "democracy" and "freedom" of the British Empire, about which Australian capitalists and Labor renegades are so loudly insistent.

During the course of his travels, Comrade Howie had these inestimable advantages:—

1. He has seen for himself during his voyage through Britain and Central Europe the irremediable collapse of capitalist machinery of production and distribution.
2. He has viewed concrete examples of the structure and working of modern industrial organisation, specially designed to deal with the working-class problems created by the world crisis.

In the light of the delegate's travels and experiences, one of the most outstanding facts which impressed itself upon

his mind was this: **that the capitalist system of production and distribution is breaking down throughout the world.**

This is a factor of revolutionary significance, and raises new problems of re-organisation and policy. The only general attempt that has so far been made to deal with this situation and with these problems is contained in the organisation and revolutionary policy of the Red International of Labor Unions.

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FOREWORD.

By J. HOWIE.

The serfs and handicraftsmen of feudal times had this advantage over the modern wage-workers, they had free access to the means of life, land and tools. The serf virtually owned the land he tilled; the handicraftsman the tools whereby he earned his living.

Apart from the social disadvantages of the period, both possessed a measure of economic freedom, which seems almost Utopian to-day. In those days, there was no unemployed problem. When a man desired certain of the goods of life, he worked his land or plied his trade, without asking the permission of anyone, and used, exchanged, or sold the products of his labor.

It remained for the modern capitalist system to secure that debasement of the worker's economic status, which the whole capitalist political state (the press, the schools, the churches, the law, the police, the armed forces, and parliament) conspires to stabilise, whereby the wealth-producing community must beg the few for the right to work and live, and submit to exploitation in the process.

The evolution from hand-power to steam-power, and from the simple hand tool to the complicated highly-productive machine in the second half of the 18th Century, was capitalism's opportunity. Capitalism seized the opportunity with both hands. The land-workers had by this time been deprived of their right to work the land by the wholesale "enclosures" of common lands, and the mass evictions from the lands drove the peasantry into the towns and into the factories, which were now springing up everywhere.

Thus rose modern capitalism, exploiting intensely the labor of the new wage-slaves by its control of the means of life: land and tools.

But it is the inexorable fate of every economic system that it gives birth to the elements of its own destruction. Obey-

ing the law, capitalism created the germ of its own destruction: the landless, toolless proletariat.

The struggle which ensued between the two classes: the master-class, owning and controlling the means of life, and the propertyless wage-workers, quickly forced the latter into defensive organisations in the form of Trade Unions.

The existence of the class struggle need not be emphasised here. Let it suffice to state that the recognition of its existence is the fundamental basis of working-class organisation, and should be, and is increasingly becoming, the starting-point of working-class policy. There is no proletarian organisation in any civilised state which is not based upon the recognition of the class struggle.

Even the Australian Labor Movement, which, since the war, by comparison with the rapid development of Labor organisations overseas, has become one of the most conservative Labor movements in the world, formally recognised the existence of the class struggle at the All-Australasian Congress of Trade Unions held in Melbourne in June, 1921.

The report of the Committee on Industrial Organisation, which was adopted by Congress, reads:—

We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that the struggle is caused by the capitalist class owning the means of production, to which the working class must have access in order to live.

The capitalist system of production will continue as long as it is able to assure the necessities of life to the bulk of the community. The revolutionary period inexorably will set in when the existing order is unable to do this.

The great strikes which took place in Britain, Sweden, Germany, France, Belgium, etc., in the few years prior to the outbreak of the war, together with the unprecedented unemployment crisis, seemed to indicate that the capitalist system was entering upon its period of disintegration.

The working-class organisations throughout the world prior to the war had been forced to the formal recognition that only through the communal ownership and control of industry can the workers secure emancipation from those forces in capitalist economy which were causing ever-increasing unemployment, misery, and destitution throughout the community. In almost every civilised country, working-class opinion was progressing inevitably towards the conclusion that reform measures and palliatives under the existing order of production and distribution bring no lasting benefit to the community, and that slowly but surely the standard of living of the workers for many years past was sinking lower and lower.

The orthodox Labor Movements in U.S.A. and Australia were exceptions to the rule, for the debasement of the standard of living of the workers in these countries was less perceptible

than elsewhere. We accordingly find the Labor movement in U.S.A. dominated by the most reactionary Labor organisation in the world, while the Labor movement in Australia is no less de-vitalised, its political wing, bourgeois to the core, selfishly engrossed in the pursuit of abundant and remunerative office; its industrial wing enervated in the hot-house of Arbitration.

Owing to the ever-growing economic pressure, organised Labor was faced with the necessity of a new development, i.e., to pass from defence to attack, from passive protective organisation to active aggressive combination.

The outbreak of the war, and the ease with which millions of workers were forced to unprecedented butchery of each other in the interests of the master-class, and the obvious utter impotence of organised Labor everywhere, brought into clear relief the fact that the working-class nowhere possessed any organisation capable of prompt united action.

The old Craft Union organisation, being forced to split up its ranks into ever more sections by the sub-division of labor in capitalist industry, was clearly unequal to any aggressive action or to any task requiring a united front.

Since the defeat of the organised workers in the 1917 strike, the Australian Trade Union movement has developed a militant centre in New South Wales. Since that year, an intense campaign has been conducted from this centre for the transformation of the old craft unions into an industrial organisation along the lines of the One Big Union advocated in America.

The signal failure of the Parliamentary Labor Parties, not only to secure any lasting material advantage for the workers on whose support they rely, but also their inability even to prevent the lowering of the standard of living (which has sunk over 30 per cent. since 1911) of the Australian workers, has widened the breach between the political and industrial wings and has induced the latter to concentrate its energies upon industrial organisation.

At the Melbourne Congress of Trade Unions, it was decided that the Socialisation of Industry shall be the political objective of the movement. It further decided to adopt the report of the Committee on the O.B.U. form of industrial organisation, and elected a Council of Action to carry its decrees into effect. What it did not do was to provide the Council of Action with the necessary means to do so.

In Australia, the unemployment situation is serious, but the economic pressure on the workers is light compared with that in other parts of the world. Yet here we see the industrial movement being driven by example and the logic of events steadily away from reformist craft organisation towards revolutionary industrial organisation.

This is the embryonic development of the new order, for it is the organisation of Labor along the lines of revolutionary industrial unionism, which will provide the working basis for that control of industry, which is the slogan of Labor everywhere to-day, and which is the historical destiny of the working-class.

Thus will the workers of the world, so long divorced from land and tools, once more regain control of the means of life and become masters of their own destiny.

There are two essentials to working-class organisation to-day. It must be:—

1. Revolutionary in purpose.
2. International in character.

There is only one International Industrial Organisation to-day: The Red International of Labor Unions.

By no stretch of imagination can the Amsterdam Yellow International justly be termed anything more than a collection of hide-bound nationalists. This pot pourri of Labor and Socialist Patriots, Labor-cum-Capitalist Cabinet Ministers, and decorated Trade Union Bureaucrats has but one connection and significance in the great Labor Movement; it controls the centre of Labor's obsolete and discredited "International" machine.

From this centre, it issues capitalist dope to the workers, and with the funds of the workers issues costly world-wide propaganda against any militant individual who attacks the existing capitalist order in the continuance of which it has so deep a vested interest. The Amsterdam "International" was never constructed for action. It possesses no machinery for mass action, as the war clearly demonstrated. Its existing machinery carries no farther than resolutions and—an innovation since the war—reactionary propaganda.

On the other hand, the Red International of Labor Unions is specifically constructed for mass action. It groups all the militant working-class organisations of the world into one aggressive organisation on the basis of the class struggle, and the communal ownership and control of the means of life.

The Red International of Labor Unions will stand behind the workers in their daily struggles against aggressive capitalism. It is the General Staff of the workers' army in the class war. It will shirk no issue and betray no trust. Its militant policy is based upon the recognition that the present capitalist order of production and distribution is rapidly disintegrating, and that the workers of Australia and every other capitalist land will soon be faced with the necessity of overthrowing the remnants of moribund capitalism and organising for communal ownership and control of industry.

Report of Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions

The Sydney Trades and Labor Council, in March, 1921, received an invitation from Moscow to elect representatives to attend the First Red International of Labor Unions, the provisional date of opening being fixed for June 15th, 1921.

On receipt of the invitation, a special Executive meeting was called to consider whether the same could be complied with. It was unanimously decided that a delegate be sent immediately. Two outstanding reasons were given:—

1. The changed economic conditions confronting the working class in all countries, arising out of the war, and also the realising of the great importance of linking up the working class movement of Australia on an international basis.
2. The Labor Council, by manifesto and resolution, had defended the Soviet Government against the bitter attacks of the capitalist press of Australia, and was anxious to have first-hand information as to the conditions existing in Russia.

By unanimous decision of Executive, I was elected to represent the Council at the International Congress, and fully credentialled to act on their behalf.

The President of the Brisbane Trades Council happened to be in Sydney about the time of my departure. He informed me that the Brisbane Council, on his return, would consider the question of having a representative present at Congress. Failing the appointment, he would recommend that I be empowered to act on their behalf.

In the company of W. P. Earsman, who was also going to Moscow, I left Sydney on April 2nd, 1921.

With the assistance of J. P. Holloway, Secretary of Melbourne Trades and Labor Council, and also the Secretary of West Australian Industrial Council, we were able to place before their Executives the object of our mission. Both organisations agreed to forward their decisions to our London address.

On arrival in London at the end of May, and on receiving our mail, credentials were received from Melbourne Trades Hall Council and Perth Industrial Council. No information from Brisbane Council was then to hand.

Leaving Great Britain, we travelled through Holland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, arriving on the Russian frontier about 10th June, finally reaching our destination, Moscow, about June 13th, 1921.

The next day we were introduced to Comrade Losvosky, Provisional Secretary of the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions. During our interview, I was surprised to find Comrade Losvosky well informed of the Australian industrial movement. Our credentials were examined and forwarded

to Credential Committee, and accepted. Comrade Watkins, British Miners, being English representative.

From enquiries made, I found several Committees sitting, preparing the business for Congress. In fact, most of the countries had been represented in Moscow by one or two Comrades from three to six months, acting as advance agent of their delegation. Our late arrival placed us somewhat at a disadvantage. I made application for permission to sit on all Committees, which was granted. I was also supplied with a copy of the minutes of the Provisional Executives of the R.I.T.I.U.

The Opening of Congress—First Session, July 3rd, 1921.

On July, the 3rd, in the famous Hall of Columns, Moscow, the first session of Congress was opened. It must have been an inspiring sight to Comrade Losovsky, and also some reward for the efforts extended by the Provisional Executive of the R.I.T.I.U. to see representatives at the Congress of 40 different countries assembled together for the purpose of laying down a foundation whereby the revolutionary workers of the world could march in a united body to the emancipation of the workers of the world, not only from their life-long chains of wage-slavery, but also from the terrible situation created by the present economic crisis caused by capitalism and intensified by the war.

Comrade Losovsky, leader of the Russian Trade Unions, and chairman of Congress, as he rose to greet the delegates present from every country in the world, struck one as a very powerful leader, in the calm and deliberate manner in which he faced that vast audience, representative of every revolutionary school of thought in the world. Allow me, on behalf of the Provisional Executive, he said, to extend a welcome to delegates. Our organisation is a young one, brought into being by the initiative of the All-Russian Trade Unions, who realised the futility of the policy of the Amsterdam International, formulated in July, 1919. The Amsterdam International is based upon old discredited theories, such as the collaboration of classes, and seeks a peaceful solution of the conflict, linking itself up with the capitalist League of Nations. Such an organisation, in view of the sharpening of the class struggle arising out of the war, could not embrace the revolutionary workers of the world.

Continuing, he told of the desire of the Russian Trade Unions to form a new Trade Union International, but their efforts had been delayed owing to the difficulty, arising out of the blockade of Russia, of placing before the workers of the world their decisions. An opportunity presented itself in July, 1920, a Provisional Executive being formed. The

results of its eleven months' operations are evidenced by the large number of countries represented at this, our first, Congress.

Continuing, Losovsky said:—Our Congress has an international historical significance, because it occurs during the transition period from one epoch to another. Out of 40 million organised workers in the world, we claim in our ranks 16 millions. It will be the duty of our International to inspire the 40 million organised workers with the spirit of the class struggle. Unfortunately, our Trade Unions contain many of our enemies. Therein lies the great advantage of the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the bourgeoisie present a united front, and advance against the working-class in a united mass.

I feel convinced, he said, in face of the unfolding grandeur of the social conflict, following the tremendous strikes and millions of workers being thrown out on the streets, that the first International Council of Trade Unions will serve as a guide to the Labor movement of the entire world.

No doubt, in the course of our deliberations, in agreeing to a policy for the guidance of the world-workers, varied opinions as to policy will be placed before Congress, considering that we have representatives from organisations which do not accept co-operation of the Communist Party. Others disagree with the policy of working inside the present Trade Unions, believing it to be correct to build up separate revolutionary organisations outside.

It is only by a frank discussion of these methods that we will be able to arrive at an understanding permitting us to link up our forces in a united International.

Before taking his seat, Losovsky announced, on behalf of the Executive, a recommendation to elect a Presidium, Secretariat, and Editors, to carry out the business of Congress. He suggested eleven members to Presidium, six members to Secretariat, and four Editors, in the four official languages of Congress.

Presidium.—Losovsky (Russia), Knight (America and Canada), Heckert (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland), Tom Mann (England and Australia), Rosmer (France and Belgium), Masievsky (Poland), Neen (Spain), Pavlovitch (Balkan States), Hampe (Czechoslovakia).

Secretariat.—Schmidt, Kosperson (Russia), Mayer, Kolan, (Germany), Godonnecke (France), Ballister (England).

Editors.—Zyperonvitsch (Russia), Melcher (Germany), Godonnecke (France), Ballister (England).

Rykov (Russia), on behalf of the Russian Trade Union movement, thereupon addressed Congress:—I extend a welcome to the Comrades assembled here, to take part in our First Trade Union International Congress. Then he outlined

the remarkable work being carried on by the Russian Trade Unions, reorganising the economic and industrial life of their country. Notwithstanding the great advances made in this direction, the Russian Trade Unionists realised that the success of their revolution can only be fully accomplished by the workers of the world rallying to their banner. I believe, he said, that this vast gathering, assembled from all corners of the earth, augurs well for the future.

Comrade Tom Mann next addressed the Congress, on behalf of the English-speaking delegates. Australians will remember the visit to Australia of Tom Mann, a few years ago. He still retains his vigor and wonderful power as a platform speaker:—I desire, he said, that my first words shall be to express my most sincere admiration and joy at the stupendous work the Russian Comrades have carried through, an example to be followed by the rest of the workers of the world.

I have the honor to speak not for the British Isles only, but also for America, South Africa, and Australia. Continuing, he gave a brief outline of the industrial movement in each country, finally concluding by expressing a desire that the results of the deliberations will be the formation of an International which will lay down a policy and tactics for the guidance of the revolutionary workers of the world.

The first session of the Congress had concluded. I was well impressed with the methodical businesslike arrangements of the Congress, each delegation appointing a secretary to act on its behalf in all matters dealing with the presidium. Several committee meetings were held before the next session of Congress.

Second Session of Congress.

The distribution of votes was the next business on the Agenda. Losovsky, in chair, stated:—Assembled at our first Congress were delegates, representative of entire organisations, minority representatives, and representatives of separate groups in the Labor movement of different countries. Some countries are fully represented; others possess only small representation. On this account, it was thought advisable to adopt a special system of voting for this Congress only.

The Presidium recommends the following:—(1) All countries to be divided into four groups, according to the size and importance of the country, and of the Trade Union movement in it.

2. Each country of the first groups obtains 16 votes, of the second 12 votes, of the third group 8 votes, of the fourth, 4 votes. Where a country is represented by two organisations, such as the I.W.W. and the American Federation of Labor, provision is made for the delegation to divide the votes they are entitled to.

Group 1, 16 Votes.—Germany, France, England, Russia, United States, Italy, Spain, Poland, Eastern Galicia, Czecho-Slovakia.

Group 2, 12 Votes.—Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Ukraine, Norway, Australia, Argentine.

Group 3, 8 Votes.—Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Rumania, Ireland, Canada, Mexico, Greece, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Eastern Republic, Azerbledjan; all other countries 4 votes each.

After the rules of procedure had been accepted by Congress, Comrade Rosmer was given the floor. He informed delegates present that news had just been received, that the brother of Comrade Arlandis (delegate of the Spanish C.G.T.), Evilio Boul, Antonio Felin, Domingo Rodrigues, of the same organisation, while on their way home, were assassinated in Spain by unknown murderers. The Congress stood in silence in honour of their memory.

Report of Credentials Committee.

Reinstein, on behalf of the Committee, reported to Congress, that they were unable to give a full report, as all questions had not yet been decided. He said there were 320 delegates present at Congress, representing 38 countries. The different countries were represented as follows:—Azerbledjan, 1 decisive vote; England, 7 decisive, 4 consultative, 1 guest; Austria, 10 decisive, 2 consultative, 1 guest; Australia, 3 decisive; Abkhasia, 1 decisive; Armenia, 2 decisive; Bulgaria, 13 decisive; Hungary, 3 decisive; Holland, 7 decisive; Georgia, 4 decisive; Germany, 60 decisive, 7 consultative, 7 guest; Denmark, 2 decisive; Far Eastern Republic, 3 decisive; Spain, 5 decisive; Italy, 1 decisive; Norway, 10 decisive; Canada, 1 decisive, 1 consultative; Korea, 1 decisive; Latvia, 5 decisive; Luxemburg, 4 decisive; Mexico, 1 decisive; Lithuania, 1 decisive; Poland, 9 decisive; Palestine, 2 decisive; Russia, 58 decisive, 1 consultative; United States, 6 decisive, 8 consultative; Turkey, 1 decisive; Ukraine, 2 decisive, 1 consultative; France, 12 decisive; Finland, 12 decisive; Tcheco-Slovakia, 2 decisive; Switzerland, 11 decisive, 5 consultative; Esthonia, 3 decisive; Jugo-Slavia, 10 decisive; South Africa, 1 consultative, 1 guest; Greece, 1 consultative; Rumania, 5 decisive.

Report of Provisional Executive.

Comrade Rosmer (France) reported to Congress the activities of the Provisional Executive since its formation in June, 1920. He told delegates how, in 1917, under the Kerensky regime, the Russian Trade Unionists had considered necessary the formation of an International of Labor Unions. At this time, the imperialist war was still raging. The working masses and their leaders in other countries were intoxicated with the war fever. The idea lay dormant during the strenuous struggles which the Russian working class were

called upon to undergo. It was not till June, 1920, three years later, that an opportunity was afforded the Russian Trade Unionists to place their ideas before the working class of the world.

About this time, two Labor delegations were paying a visit to Soviet Russia, comprising R. Williams (Transport Workers, Great Britain), and A. A. Purcell (British Trade Union Congress, and Parliamentary Committee), and several representatives of the Italian Confederation of Labor. The Russian Trade Unionists invited the above-named delegates to a conference to discuss with them the formation of an International of Labor Unions.

Comrade Zinovief occupied the chair at the formal gathering of delegates. He informed them of the danger surrounding the working class in the form of the Amsterdam International. Closely bound to the League of Nations, and the Washington Bureau, the Amsterdam International had become a political weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Continuing, Zinovief said it is the task of the revolutionary proletariat to wrest this political machine out of the hands of the bourgeoisie. How can we achieve our aims? By building a communist nucleus within the Amsterdam International, in order to blast it from within? Or, shall it be by the formation of a section of Labor Unions within the Communist International, or by the formation of a separate Red International?

Robert Williams (Great Britain, Transport Workers), endorsed the basic principles outlined by Zinovief, and proposed that the present gathering should form themselves into a Provisional Executive. Shortly after this conference, the Russian Trade Unionists had an opportunity of conferring with American and German Trade Union leaders.

The task before the Provisional Council was to acquaint the workers of the world with their intention to hold an international Congress. Although this was retarded somewhat by the restrictions of capitalistic countries, ways and means were found to carry out the work.

A Russian delegation, including Losovsky, had applied for permission to pay a return visit to the English delegation, who had visited Soviet Russia. Permission having been granted by the British authorities, the delegation set out for Great Britain, but Lloyd George withdrew permission, and refused to allow delegates to land. They turned their attention to Germany, and carried on a huge propaganda against the Amsterdam International. Finally, Losovsky was deported by the German Government.

Comrade Rosmer continued, and gave a detailed list of countries and the numbers of organized workers, adherents to the Red International. Trade Unions, he said, have developed

in their respective countries under entirely different conditions and epochs. In some countries, they are very weak organisations; in others, very old organisations, with old traditions. We must find a way to unite in our International of Trade Unions, all organisations with revolutionary tendencies, and direct their activities in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism.

Comrade Reichann, Switzerland, opened discussion on Rosmer's report. He said:—It is indeed an achievement, and also an indication of the growing strength of the revolutionary movements of the world, to find, during the short period of eleven months, an organisation such as the Red International, claiming, as Comrade Rosmer's reports indicate, sixteen million workers within our ranks. I realise the difficulties confronting our Comrade in drawing up his report. In many instances, the strength of the organisations in other countries leaning towards the Red International have been collected under very difficult circumstances, such as the blockade and other restrictions of capitalist Governments. I, therefore, suggest to the Presidium, that all delegates be requested to supply as correct as possible an estimate of the number of adherents to the Red International of their respective countries.

Comrade Murphy (England), whose associations with the Shop Steward movement in England is well known to the Australian movement, stated that he was closely associated with the formation of the International, he being in Russia shortly after the formation of the Provisional Executive. He stated that there were important questions which had arisen in the Provisional Executive of which no mention had been made in the report. It was a well-known fact, he said, that Italy, notwithstanding its close association with the formation of the Red International, had still maintained its affiliation with Amsterdam. He was anxious to know what was the result of the letter drawn up by the Executive, calling upon the Italian movement to withdraw from Amsterdam. Was it ever delivered? If not, why is there no information in the report on such an important question? The report informed delegates what the Executive had done, but he was of the opinion that to be complete it should have given in detail the results of its work. There was no mention of the literature published by the Executive. To what extent did that literature reach the workers of other lands? What was the effect of the manifesto issued to the Western workers? I, for one, must say, contrary to our expectations, it failed to arouse the workers of those countries. Concluding, he said, to be complete, the report should fully explain these points.

Comrade Losovsky took the floor to reply to the criticism of Rosmer's report. According to the critics, he said, the defects in the report are many. Comrade Murphy stated

that nothing has been said about the relations existing in different countries, and of the American difficulties. According to others, some of the most important and more practical questions have been omitted.

Several Comrades, during the debate, have questioned the correctness of the estimate of the number of adherents to our International, given by Comrade Rosmer in his report. Those figures are not our own figures. They have been supplied by each delegate from the various countries represented here. Comrade Reichann made a suggestion that the Presidium should avail itself of all the delegates present to get a correct estimate. I again invite delegates to make a return. Rather should the figures be smaller, than exaggerated. It is necessary that accurate figures should be given on the authority of each organisation.

In reply to Comrade Murphy, re his criticism of our action in relation to the Italian Confederation of Labor, it is true, as stated by Comrade Murphy, that the Italian Confederation belonged to Amsterdam. We purposely refrained, during the initial stages of our organisation, from asking the Italian organisation to withdraw from Amsterdam. After the Russian Trade Union delegation arrived in Berlin, we then, in our open letter to the Italian Confederation of Labor, raised the question of dual affiliation. This Congress will have to convey its decision to the Italian Confederation of Labor on the question of Amsterdam and the Red International.

As to Germany, the situation is more complicated. The passionate debates between the German Comrades which we witnessed here, are the echoes of the painful process which the German movement is now passing through.

At this stage, the discussion developed into the question of tactics. Several other Comrades took part in the debate, but failed to bring any new facts relating to Rosmer's report. On the motion of Comrade Tomassi (France), the debate was closed. The Congress adopted the report, with slight amendments.

The World Economic Crisis.

Comrade Varga is an Hungarian professor of economics, now in charge of the Research Dept. of the Communist International, and a very able scholar. He and Comrade Trotsky had already presented theses on this subject to the Communist Congress, and therefore much was expected from him. We were not disappointed. He gave a most exhaustive survey of the world situation, and presented much data to bear out his contentions. (A copy of his speech is not yet to hand or translated into English. The following, which I think will give a fair representation of what he presented to the Congress, is

based upon the theses as presented to the Communist Congress, and the notes gathered by my colleagues and myself from the verbal translations of the speech.)

Capitalism, he said, reached its high tide in the two decades preceding the war. The intervals of prosperity were superseded by periods of depression of comparatively short duration and intensity. The general trend was that of an upward curve; the capitalist countries were growing rich.

Having scoured the world market through their trusts and consortiums and cartels, the masters of world capitalism well realised that this mad growth of capitalism would finally strike a dead wall confining the limits of the capacity of the market created by themselves. They, therefore, tried to get out of the difficulty by a surgical method. In place of a lengthy period of economic depression, which was to follow and result in wholesale destruction of productive resources, the bloody crisis of the world war was ushered in to serve the same purpose.

But the war proved not only extremely destructive in its methods, but also of an unexpectedly lengthy duration. So that besides the economic destruction of the surplus productive resources, it also weakened, shattered, and undermined the fundamental apparatus of European production. At the same time, it gave a powerful impetus to the capitalist development of the United States and quickened the aggrandisement of Japan. We have, therefore, to consider that Europe is ruined: that its productivity is much smaller than before the war, and that America has become the centre of industrial gravity, not through a process of gradual development, but through the exploitation of the European war market. This is an unprecedented historical situation, which can never be repeated: a situation in which, for a period of four and a half years Europe has been putting all its life and strength into the war, which has served as a basis for the development and ascendancy of America.

The period following upon the termination of the four years' slaughter, the demobilisation of the armies, the transition to a peaceful state of affairs, and the inevitable economic crisis coming as a result of the exhaustion and chaos caused by the war—all this was regarded by the bourgeoisie with the greatest anxiety as the approach of the most critical moment. As a matter of fact, during the two years following the war, the countries involved became the arena of a mighty movement of the proletariat.

It was a critical period, but the bourgeoisie preserved its dominant position by cleverly stimulating an apparent economic revival whilst they dealt with the political crisis consequent upon the demobilisation and the first squaring of accounts.

This commercial and industrial revival of 1919 and 1920 relieved to some extent the tension of the post-war period, and gave the bourgeoisie the confidence to proclaim the **advent of a new era of organic development of capitalism**. The expansion, however, was artificial: only a continuation of the war inflation methods and practice. The financial, economic, and industrial crisis was inevitable. It began in March, 1920. Japan saw the beginning of it in the month of April. In the United States, it opened by a slight fall of the prices in January. Then it passed on to England, France, and Italy (in April). It reached the neutral countries of Europe, then Germany, and extended to all the countries involved in the capitalist sphere of influence during the second half of 1920.

Thus the crisis of 1920 is not a periodic stage of the "normal" industrial cycle, but a profound reaction consequent upon the artificial stimulation that prevailed during the war and during the two years thereafter, and was based upon ruination and exhaustion. The upward curve of industrial development was marked by turns of good times followed by crises. During the last seven years, however, there was no rise in the productive forces of Europe, but, on the contrary, they kept at a downward sweep. The crumbling of the foundation of industry is only beginning, and is going to proceed along the whole line. European economy is going to contract and expand during a number of years to come. The curve marking the productive forces is going to decline from the present fictitious level. The expansions are going to be short-lived, and of a speculative nature to a considerable extent, while the crises are going to be hard and lasting. The present European crisis is one of under-production. It is the form in which destitution reacts against the striving to produce trade and resume life on the usual capitalist level.

Briefly, therefore, we are faced with this position. The crisis embraces the whole world. It is not an accidental crisis, but one arising out of the war. Capitalism must try to save itself: this it can do only by finding new markets or cheapening the cost of production by increasing production per worker employed. Capitalism cannot find new markets, and it is driven, therefore, to increase the productivity of the workers. Against this we have the new psychology of the workers, who are not prepared, after all the sacrifices of recent years, to be driven down to lower standards of life and harder conditions of labour. Nor must it be forgotten that the physical condition of the workers will not permit increased productivity. The physical standard of the workers has deteriorated enormously during the last seven years. Especially is this the case in Europe, and it is impossible to get increased productivity with the general decline of human vitality through starvation and poverty. It is impossible for the capitalists to get

out of the present crisis. They cannot crush the workers. They cannot find markets. They cannot deal with the many and varied factors which they are up against. During the war, the workers learned to shoot. During the war the workers learned how to suffer privations, and the effect of the Russian Revolution upon them is to perpetually inspire them to challenge the continuation of capitalism. We are in for a period—it may be a long one—of persistent struggle, in which the Unions will be called upon to play an important part. It was, therefore, necessary to push on rapidly with the work of revolutionising them, and he believed to do that the best policy was that of working within the Unions rather than attempting to build new competitive organisations.

This speech was well received by Congress, and accepted as an agreed upon thesis. It is a pity that the Congress did not give this speech a thorough discussion. But its importance was overshadowed by the keenly anticipated struggle on the

Relationship of the Red Trade Union International to the Communist International.

The question of relationship to the 3rd International was a burning one. For days before Congress opened, one could hear the various groups discussing the question. The I.W.W. and Syndicalists' representatives appeared to have formed a bloc on this question. The Presidium had elected Rosmer and Tom Mann to present to Congress the Communist International attitude towards the Red International. Comrade Rosmer spoke first. He stated that developments in the past few years, both political and industrial, compelled revolutionary workers to reconsider their past policies and activities, and ask themselves whether their army, the rank and file, is organised and capable of meeting the new situation confronting them.

There are delegates amongst us who honestly believe that the bourgeoisie can be overthrown with weapons forged years ago, such as the Amiens Charter, drawn up in 1906, which provides the Syndicalists' movement with a basis of struggle. The I.W.W. of America allies itself in this respect with the Syndicalists' movement, claiming that the economic organisation should have nothing in common with political parties.

Economics and politics are so closely connected, especially in the epoch that we are now passing through, that there is not a single important question of political life which does not concern not only the Labor party, but every Trade Union.

Take, for example, the lock-out of the English miners, a purely economic struggle. Can the revolutionary political parties declare that it does not concern them, claiming that it is purely a Trade Union question?

At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the daily lot of millions of workers, when the hard facts of life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of arming the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period, the political parties must take no part in the struggle, and remain neutral, which really means that they must assist the bourgeoisie?

Trade Unions include in their ranks not only the rebel worker, but also the medium and backward worker. Before securing of power, the truly revolutionary Trade Union must organise the worker on an economic basis, to fight for improvements that can be obtained before capitalism is completely destroyed. The principal aim should be to direct the mass against capitalism, and for revolution. After power has been secured by the proletariat, the Trade Unions must concentrate the greatest part of their activity to organising economic conditions on a Socialist basis.

In the light of present-day developments, I ask all present to work in close accord with the Communist International.

Tom Mann (England). Great interest centred around Tom Mann upon this important question. He had, for many years, endorsed the Syndicalist movement, in fact, agreed with them in their outlook in relation to political parties. It must have been disappointing to them to hear him outline his views in the light of present-day developments. He commenced by asking what is the force driving us to link up our working-class organisations internationally? Almost all workers of intelligence in any industrial country know that the owners of big industry, no matter what it may be, are interested financially with similar institutions in other countries. This enables them to exhibit solidarity on an international scale in a manner never previously known in the world. This one fact will be sufficient reason why international action on the part of the workers is essential. The question as to which International organisation we should link up with is a question of supreme importance. The Amsterdam International claims to represent the working-class, but everyone knows the failure of the leaders during the greatest period the working class has ever known, how they brushed aside the workers' international ideals in 1914, and became recruiting agents for the capitalist class. Then, at the termination of the war, through the agency of the capitalist League of Nations, they came to light again, ready and willing to assist the bourgeoisie in the reconstruction of capitalist society.

The Red International comes into being basing its future on revolutionary action, with a new objective, the overthrow of capitalism. It is this new International that the workers will have to rally to for their emancipation. Speaking on the

question of the relationship of the Red International with the Third Communist International, I would like to briefly outline the position of the Labor Party in England. Some of their members claim they are out for a change in the system, but claim it can be done through Parliament. They only make use of their Unions to achieve economic or other changes when it suits their individual purpose. Many years ago I came to the conclusion that the State machine as we know it to-day would have to be destroyed. Speaking of England, I challenge anyone to show me, after 600 years of Parliament, where they have ever passed any legislation beneficial to the workers. In each period up to the present day the worker received food, clothing and shelter.

For many years I directed my efforts to pointing out to the workers of England the futility of depending upon Parliamentary action. In fact, I was a strong admirer of French syndicalism. Believing that more than 95 per cent. of the troubles confronting the workers were economic in character, and that economic difficulties would be best solved by economic agencies, I therefore supported direct action, and shop organisation, believing by such to have the power transferred from the executives to the shop organisation. The Labor Party think that the Capitalists have succeeded in obtaining the position they occupy by first exercising political power. In the early stages of machine industry, having obtained control of industry, and thereby control of the men and women who created the wealth of industry, that economic fact gave them political power. I know of nothing in connection with Parliament institutions to command my respect. If I had reason to believe that the Communist International would lay down such a policy, I have no hesitation in saying right here I would not accept it. I understand political activity does not mean to rely solely on Parliamentary institutions. Such being the case, I find myself in agreement with the policy of close relationship between the Red International and the Communist Party.

The following Comrades opposed the suggestion of a working agreement being arrived at between Third Communist International and Red Trade Union International:—Comrade Arlandio (Spain), Bergman (Germany), Boisson (France), Williams (I.W.W., U.S.A.), Disch (Germany), T. Barker (Argentine), Boumann (Holland), Sirolle (France).

The Syndicalist speakers pointed out their objections to political parties, claiming that the political parties are not in touch with the masses. Included in their ranks, they said, are individuals with peculiar affinities, coming from different classes and different environment. Because of this, they do not understand the every-day struggle. These parties cannot carry the necessary influence with the masses, and direct them

to their emancipation. They believe that we alone, working with the masses and among them, can really lead them in this direction. The driving power of our organisation is indisputable. Our reasons for claiming complete independence from the Third Communist International arises from higher motives than we are usually credited with. We consider the interests of the revolution before the interest of the party. The I.W.W. of U.S.A. advanced as a reason for independence, "We can all agree," Comrade Williams, speaking on their behalf, said, "that the revolution is to emancipate the worker from the capitalist system, a system that Marx points out robs the worker of the full results of his toil. On that ground the I.W.W. stands and says that since the workers are robbed of their surplus production, and not the State, it should be a workers' revolution. It should not be and cannot be a political revolution. Because the State is subordinate to the economic power. It is because of these facts the I.W.W. stands for complete independence."

Other speakers who took part in the discussion, and who were in favor of close relationship, were Comrade Zepervitch (Russia), Glensky (Poland), Schonbeck (Germany), Losovsky (Russia), Bella Syarto (Hungary), Murphy (England), Tomassi (France). They pointed out to the Syndicalists that the basis of their criticism of political parties was false. They really were not able to differentiate between Parliamentary and political action. They considered politics means Parliamentary struggle, Parliamentary negotiation, and nothing else, while mass action is purely economic. But why should a mass demonstration protesting against the mobilisation in some country be considered economic action? If you ask a Syndicalist to answer the question he hesitates. Why? Because it is clear to everyone that activities by appeals or by agitation connected, say, with the occupation of the Ruhr Basin is a political act. All this concerns the working class as a whole, and opposes the proletariat as a class to the State. Every working class movement embracing large masses, directing them against another class, is political action.

There may be different developments in each country, but in principle it will be the same everywhere. The mistakes of our Comrades consists in their unwillingness to see that the Communist International is the worst enemy of the Capitalist system. This mistake shows that they have not learnt anything for the past 10 years. Comrades, it is time to cast aside the silly theory of independence from political parties. We are living in a period when all who believe in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie should unite under one common banner.

A resolution to close the debate being agreed upon, the Chairman submitted the following motion:—"All those in favor of harmonious relations between the two Internationals

being established." On the votes being counted, the resolution was endorsed by an overwhelming majority—285 votes for and 35 votes against.

The Syndicalists' delegates fought hard to have incorporated in the Red International their ideas relating to political action, but having failed to convince the majority of delegates, they accepted their defeat and issued the following manifesto:—

"The Red Trade Union International has been formed. From now on, all those Trade Unions of the whole world who wish to bring about the overthrow of capitalism will crowd to this organisation.

"We, the Revolutionary Syndicalists, came to Moscow to defend our principles in the inaugural Congress of the Red Trade Union International. However, our tendency did not prove to be the strongest. The trade union organisations of Central Europe do not fully agree with our syndicalism, but nevertheless they are distinguished by great revolutionary strength. The proletariat of Russia, Germany, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia, and Czecho-Slovakia can point to splendid pages of revolutionary history. We are separated by varied opinions on certain phases of the struggle, but we are united by the same revolutionary fire and the same belief in the triumph of the proletariat. The division of the revolutionary Trade Unions into two internationals would be a crime against the whole proletariat, whose efforts would be powerless against the coalition of the bourgeoisie and the Yellow International of Amsterdam. The formation of a united front is the duty of the hour, when the capitalist world is shaking to its foundations. The creation of the Red Trade Union International is an event of the greatest moment, for it signifies the complete fusion of the workers who are struggling for the final liberation. Fifteen million workers are to-day standing round the banner of the Revolutionary International.

"They will see the numbers of the proletarian army grow, and from it will come the battalions for the deciding battle. The Red Trade Union International, which has been formed in the revolutionary furnace of the Communist International, sets itself the immediate task of uniting all the revolutionary masses for the revolution. Your autonomy can be preserved and your independence ensured by the union of all the revolutionary syndicalist groups. It is self-evident that we have not been satisfied by all the decisions of the Congress, and that new mutual concessions will be necessary. Nevertheless, we hold it to be necessary to remain in the Red Trade Union International, and to strengthen it if we wish it to accomplish really revolutionary work. Therefore, we address this manifesto to all Revolutionary Syndicalists of all lands who have not united, so that they will remain in the International with

the firm will to defend our principles and to co-operate in the triumph of the revolution in all lands.

"Long live the Red Trade Union International!

"Long live Revolutionary Syndicalism!

"Long live the Social Revolution!

(Signed)—

RAMIREZ (Confederacion General des Trabajadores, Mexico);

ANDRES NIN (Confederacion Nacional des Trabajadores de Espana);

JULIO MARINO (Union Sindicale Italiana);

SIROLLE (Delegate of the French Syndicalists);

LORCH (Dutch Federation of Transport Workers);

POSTHUMER (Dutch Labour Secretariat);

GEORGE ANDREITSHIN (American Delegation,

TOM MANN (Great Britain).

The President presented a resolution to Congress, based upon Congress' decisions in relation to the Communist Party.

The next question for discussion being the aims and tactics of the Red International of Labor Unions, Comrade Losovsky introduced to Congress in the form of a thesis the question of tactics.

Losovsky: The questions of aims and tactics is an extremely complicated one, even when a single country is taken into consideration. How much more difficult it is when one is confronted with the task of drawing up a policy to apply on an international scale can only be realised after a close analysis of the various forms and activities of the Trade Union Movement right throughout the world. We are living in an epoch of Capitalist decay, a fact which arouses no discussion in the left wing of the International Labor Movement. Taking the right wing of the Labor and Socialist movement, it is true that we find that they are convinced that there is no sign of Capitalist decay, and that in general the alleviations of mankind from its present ills, brought on by the war, is possible only by the restoration of Capitalism. It must be admitted by revolutionary workers that the bourgeoisie is better organised, and has profited to a greater degree from the lessons of the Russian revolutions than the proletariat.

The creation of the white guard organisations, thus preparing the youth to fight against the revolutionists, indicates the new organisation of the bourgeoisie. In the face of this organised opposition, unity and organisation of the masses is undoubtedly the practical slogan for Trade Unions all the world over at the present time. But what do we organise them for? What are our slogans—for what purpose? How shall we approach these problems in each country, and what

would we suggest to each organisation as ways and means for the fight that is before them? It will be necessary to mention briefly the events that have taken place in this short but stormy period. Before the war we had three fundamental types of the Trade Union movement—the Anglo-Saxon, the Franco-Spanish, and the German-Austrian. Each one of these types had its own tactics and ideology, program and peculiarities, reflecting the social economies, and purely economic relations then obtaining in each country. The Anglo-Saxon group was out-spokenly anti-Socialist in its tendencies. Before the war the English and American Trade Unions took their bearings from the viewpoint of the every-day economic struggle, then drew a dividing line between economics and politics, holding that economics is one thing, politics quite another. Economic action was their daily task, fully absorbing all their attention. The Franco-Spanish Labor movement grew up in a different social environment, and bore the traits of revolutionary Syndicalism, which placed it in direct opposition to Anglo-American Trade Unionism. We met with the same basic tendencies of the French type of revolutionary Syndicalism. That Syndicalist movement is somewhat Utopian, and has a distorted notion as to what are the mutual relations of economics and politics. Notwithstanding this, Syndicalism shows genuine revolutionary activity. In this respect this tendency stands far above the Labor movement of any other country.

The German-Austrian type of Trade Unions developed under the influence of Social Democracy which for decades has been nursing their movement with its reformist ideas. As a result, the Unions have accepted the ideology of the Social Democrats, believing that it is possible to emancipate themselves through Parliamentary institutions.

It is curious that these three currents, expressing clearly the main tendencies within the world Trade Union movement, approached State Socialism and the practical problems in entirely different ways.

The outbreak of war in 1914 disclosed the degree of influence exercised by the bourgeoisie upon the working class. There is no doubt of the fact that Capitalist Society exercised an enormous influence and control over the conscience, feelings and education and inner life of the workers. When the National States were in peril, national feelings prevailed over class consciousness. All this has resulted in friction and quarrels which have not ceased up to now.

This heavy heritage left by the war, during which the Trades Union served as a tool for International profits, can only be gradually overcome.

Referring to this period, we must note that the feature in all countries is the growth of the Trades Unions. The

history of the working class cannot point to a single instance when wholesale joining of Trades Unions has ever equalled that of the past three years. This rapid growth is explained by the fact that the workers were forced out by the war from their usual path of life.

The abnormal increase of membership of the Trade Unions can be judged from the following figures:—Before the war there existed about $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions of organised workers. At present the total has reached 40 millions.

The most characteristic feature about the growth of Trade Unionism is the fact that it does not confine itself to European countries, but is also noticed in the countries of the Far East. The task that we have before us is to formulate a policy whereby the revolutionary workers can direct this huge proletarian mass in the Trade Unions along the path of revolution.

During a long drawn-out discussion, the delegates of the I.W.W. of America, also the Free Workers' Union of Germany, advocated the policy of withdrawing from the present Trades Unions, and the building up of separate revolutionary organisations. The majority of delegates to Congress were opposed to such action, and endorsed the following programme of action:—

PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

1.—The acute economical crisis spreading all over the world, the catastrophical fall of wholesale prices, the over-production of goods combined with the actual lack of sale, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie toward the working class, the tenacious tendency towards the reduction of wages far backwards, the growing exasperation of the masses on one side and the impotence of the old trade unions and their methods on the other, impose new problems on the revolutionary class trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required. Called forth by the decomposition of capitalism, a new economic policy for the Trade Unions is necessary in order to parry the attacks of capital, strengthen the old position, and pass over to the offensive.

2.—The basis of the tactics of the Trade Unions is direct action of the revolutionary masses and their organisations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. By "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State; boycotts, strikes, street demonstrations, seizure of factories, uprisings and other revolutionary activity, which tend to unite the working class in the fight for Communism. The aim of the Revolutionary Trade Unions is, therefore, to turn

direct action into a weapon of education, and to stimulate the fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3.—The last year of the struggle has shown, with a particular vividness, the impotence of the strictly trade union organisations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produces a weakening effect upon the struggle. It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—to pass from a strictly trade union to an organisation of trade unions for the struggle for control of production. "One Union for one Industry." This is the militant motto in the organisation structure. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way, putting this question directly before the members of the Unions in the factories, mills, etc., and also before district and regional conferences, as well as before the National Conference.

4.—Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the Union and the Union itself, such as money collectors, representatives, proxies, and others should be supplemented by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in a given enterprise independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of the Red Trade Union International is to involve all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative organ. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of the same party, and the casting aside of the broad non-party rank and file workers, should be severely condemned. This should only be a nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meeting as well as on committees of action and their rank and file members.

5.—The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee is the maintenance of the workers—discharged on account of unemployment—at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned with it. The owners must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed, and the Communists should approach these workers and explain to them at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist regime, and that the only way to abolish it is by social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6.—By closing down their mills and factories, by curtailing the workers' hours, the capitalists are able to clear

out of their establishments all revolutionary workers, and at the same time retain those reactionary labourers who are thus used as a lever to lower wages, to increase the working day, and to assist in depriving the masses of the right to strike. Lockouts are becoming more and more definitely the form of direct action on the part of the employers. For this purpose special controlling committees, composed of workers, should be instituted with regard to raw material and orders, in order to verify the quantities of available raw material necessary for the production, as well as money resources in the banks. Specially elected controlling committees must investigate in the most careful manner the financial co-relation existing between the given concern and other concerns, and the practical task of abolishing the commercial mastery should be imposed upon the workers for this purpose.

7.—One of the ways of struggling against such closing of concerns for the purpose of the reduction of wages and the standard of life, should be the taking hold by the workers of the factories and mills, and proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners. Owing to the lack of goods it is highly important to proceed with production, and the workers should therefore oppose the premeditated closing down of factories and mills by the owners. In connection with local conditions and the conditions of production, the political situation, the tension of the social struggle, should be observed—the seizure of the enterprise may, and should, be followed by other ways of pressure upon capital. When taking hold of the mills, etc., the management of the factories should be conferred on the factory and workshop committee and the representatives of the Unions specially appointed for the purpose.

8.—The economical struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvement of the labor conditions to a much higher degree compared with the pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to pre-war conditions of labour must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class during the period of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of labour conditions. The reference of the capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration. The revolutionary trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labour conditions not from the point of view of the rapacious capitalists of the various nations, but solely from that of the preservation and the defence of the living labour force.

9.—The tendency of reducing wages adopted by capitalists during the economic crisis should be met by the revolu-

tionary trade unions in their endeavours to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts. The workers engaged in the enterprises of public welfare such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns, and others, should be drawn in at once, in order that the struggle against the onslaught of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism. All ways of resistance from a separate intermittent strike up to a general strike embracing all large fundamental industries on a national scale are, in such a case, not only advisable but strictly necessary.

10.—The Trade Unions must consider it their practical task to prepare and organise international action in each separate industry. The interruption in transport or coal mining on an international scale is a mighty weapon against the struggle of reactionary attempts of the world bourgeoisie.

The Trade Unions must attentively study the course of events all over the world, choosing the most appropriate moment for their economic action, not forgetting for a single instant that international action is possible only in case of real revolutionary class conscious trade unions being formed on an international scale, and having nothing in common with the Yellow Amsterdam International.

11.—The belief in the absolute value of binding contracts and agreements between Labour and Capital, propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance on the part of the revolutionary trade unions. Such a policy is nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective contracts when the smallest opportunity presents itself for doing so. The respectful attitude towards such agreements only shows that the bourgeois conceptions are deeply inrooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions, without rejecting as a rule the contract stipulation, must realise its relative value, and clearly define the methods to abolish these stipulations when they cease to be profitable to the working class.

12.—The struggle of the labour organisations against the individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to the national and local conditions, should utilise all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared, but simultaneously with the declaration of it, there must be organised special detachments for the struggle against scabbing, and for counter action, as well as the provocative movement on the part of all kinds of white guard organisations encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the Gov-

ernment. The Fascisti in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the Civil White Guard organisation, consisting of ex-commissioned and non-commissioned officers in France and England—all these organisations pursue the aim of the disorganising and forestalling all the actions of the workers, with the purpose, not only to replace strikers by scabs, but to materially destroy their organisations and kill the leaders of the labour movement. The organisation of special strike militia and special self-defence detachments is a question of life and death to the workers under similar conditions.

13.—These militant organisations should not only struggle against the attacks of the employed and strike-breaking organisations, but should take the initiative by stopping all the freight and products transported to their respective factories and all other enterprises, and the Union of Transport Workers ought to play a specially important part in this case. The task of stopping transportation of freights has fallen on their shoulders: it can be realised by the unanimous support of all the workers of the given locality.

14.—All the economical struggles of the working classes would gather round the slogan of the CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, which control ought to be realised as soon as possible, without waiting for the ruling classes and the Government to prevent an initiation of the same. It is necessary to carry on a merciless struggle against all attempts of the ruling class and reformists to establish intermediary labour affiliations and intermediary control committees. Only when that control is operated directly by the workers themselves will the results be definite. The revolutionary trade unions ought to fight resolutely against that perverted socialism and graft which the leaders of the old trade unions, aided by the ruling classes, are practising. All the talk of these gentlemen about the peaceable socialisation of industry is done with the sole aim to withdraw the attention of the working classes from revolutionary action and the Social Revolution.

15.—In order to withdraw the workers from their direct problem and instil in them the petty bourgeoisie aspirations, the middle-class-minded trade union leaders advance the idea of workers participating in the profits, which means the return to the workers of an insignificant part of the wealth created by them, which is called additional wages. This slogan, only meant for the demoralisation of the workers, should be met by severe and rigorous criticism. "Not the participation in the profits, but the entire elimination of capitalistic profit," is the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

16.—While carrying on the struggle for the improvement of labour conditions, the elevation of the living standard of the masses and the establishment of the workers' control, it is always necessary to remember that it is impossible to solve

all these problems within the limits of the capitalistic forms of government. Therefore the revolutionary trade unions, while wrenching concessions from the ruling classes everywhere, and forcing them to legislate socialistic laws, should always clearly explain to the workers that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve the social question. Therefore, every local uprising, every local strike, and every small conflict should be guided by the above-mentioned principle. The revolutionary trade unions ought to make these conflicts general, elevating the consciousness of the workers to the comprehension of the inevitability of social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

17.—Every economical struggle is also a political one, that is, a general class struggle. Such a struggle can only be adequately organised, no matter what large element of workers it may comprise in each respective country, and carried through for the greatest benefit of the entire working class, when the revolutionary trade unions will act in perfect unity with the Communist Party in each respective country. To divide the theory and the practice of the struggle of the working class into two distinct parts is extremely detrimental, especially at the present moment. Every uprising requires the maximum concentration of forces which is only possible by exerting the greatest revolutionary energy. It must not be divided into two separate parts, some for the Communist Party and some for the Red Trade Unions—such a policy is doomed to failure in advance. Therefore unity of action and the organic connection between the Communist Party and the Trade Unions is a preliminary condition leading to success in the struggle against capitalism.

The next business dealt with by Congress was the drafting of a constitution, and conditions of affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. The following was finally endorsed by Congress:—

XII. CONDITIONS OF AFFILIATION TO THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

39. In order that the revolutionary trade unions should be able to succeed in solving the aforesaid problems on a national and international scale, the following two conditions are necessary: A united understanding of the problems of the Red International and united action in each country. The Red International can fulfill its requirements only when it is based on clearness, and each union, joining the revolutionary International is informed of its duties and requirements and to what extent they are to be performed.

40. The Red International of Labour Unions has been created in order to put, in opposition to the ambiguous and bourgeois programme of the yellow Amsterdam International, a clear platform in revolutionary action. It is therefore clear that membership in the Red International is possible when certain obligations are fulfilled, without which the members may become as formal and inactive as is the case with opponents.

41. The first condition is, therefore, the recognition and the fulfilment of the principles of revolutionary class struggle; this means that only those trade unions can become members of the Red International which carry on the struggle against the system based on classes and against all forms of class co-operation; only those who combat, not by words,

but by deeds, the theory of social peace and the efforts to solve the social question by harmonious co-operation with the ruling classes; the revolutionary class-struggle is the basis of the Red International.

42. The revolutionary class-struggle must always be conducted with the constant aim in view of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the power of the toilers, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to bring about the social revolution and destroy class antagonism, the working class has to be organised solidly, and must create the means for its struggle, otherwise it will be defeated during the first days of the revolution. We must oppose the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the concentrated power of the working class which realises class aims and tasks. The recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the second consideration to be reckoned with.

43. At the first period of the existence of the Red International, in the period of organisation, there were cases of simultaneous affiliations of different unions to both Internationals. An end should be put to such "double allegiance." Breaking with the Amsterdam International is for the general labor union centres a prerequisite for the affiliation with the Red International, because such a simultaneous affiliation with two mutually antagonistic organisations is inadmissible in theory, and extremely detrimental in practice. In the countries where the general trade union centres belong to the Amsterdam International, separate unions, federations or national minorities may belong to the Red International and at the same time remain within the old trade union organisations.

44. The fourth condition for joining the Red International consists in the unity of action on the part of all the organisations affiliated with it in each country. If, as a transitional measure, we could allow the existence of several organisations affiliated with the Red International, it would only be on condition of their having concerted defensive and offensive action against the bourgeoisie. This condition is absolutely essential, as, otherwise, it might happen, as was the case in the March days in Germany, that some organisations belonging to the Red International carry on an armed fight against the bourgeoisie, while others attack our comrades in the rear.

45. An international organisation is only then properly established when its decisions are carried out by corresponding organisations in all countries. The experience of international organisations before, and especially during the war, shows that many organisations do not consider the decisions adopted by international congresses as binding on the national organisations. But the Red International cannot endorse their standpoint, and therefore establishes the necessity of international proletarian discipline, i.e., that separate national organisations must abide by the decisions of the International Congresses and Conferences.

CONSTITUTION OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS.

Introduction.

The class struggle has now reached such a degree of development and acuteness, that the working class, in order to successfully conduct and complete its struggle for emancipation, must fight as a solid revolutionary class power, not only on a national, but also on an international scale against the bourgeoisie, who, despite the severe competition on the world market, is closely united in its hatred of the proletarian revolution, and solidly welded against the slightest attempt of the proletariat to free itself from exploitation. Since the exploitation is international, the fight against it must have an international character. All internationals of labour unions, which existed up to the present moment, at best were but international statistical bureaus for mutual information. The International Secretariat of Labour Unions before the war was merely an information agency, it did not pursue any militant class aims. The Amsterdam International of labours union is even less fit to deal with the issues at hand than its predecessors. The first was but an information office, the latter occupies itself with politics of the worst kind, with antiproletarian, bourgeois politics. It sets forth the idea of class co-operation, social peace, and peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. In its essence it is an international of counter-action to the struggle for emancipation of the working class. Against this International of impotence, confusion, subservience to the bourgeoisie, such as the Amsterdam International is, we must oppose—an International of revolutionary vigour, of class activity; an International which, together with the Communist International, will organise the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of the bourgeois state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; an International which will seize all the means of production and establish the communist commonwealth.

Such a militant labour union International can be built up only by revolutionary class unions, conscious of the purpose and methods of the defensive and offensive struggle against the class enemy. The problem history has put before the revolutionary unions requires the utmost concentration of power, unexampled intensity, and the greatest self-sacrifice of the conscious vanguard elements of the working class.

I. Name.

The international congress of revolutionary, class-conscious trade and industrial unions, which unites the revolutionary labor union organisations of all countries, decides to create a permanent international organisation under the name: The Red International of Labour Unions.

II. Aims and Purpose.

The Red International of Labour Unions has for its aims:

- (1) To organise the large working mass in the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation, and the establishment of the socialist commonwealth.
- (2) To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda of the principles of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.
- (3) To fight against the corruptive ulcer, gnawing at the vitals of the world labour union movement, of compromising with the bourgeoisie against the ideas of class co-operation and social peace, and the absurd hopes for a peaceable transition from capitalism to socialism.
- (4) To unite the revolutionary class elements of the world labour union movement and carry on decisive battle against The International Bureau of Labour attached to the League of Nations, and against the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, which by their programme and tactics are but the bulwark of the world bourgeoisie.
- (5) To co-ordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries and organise international demonstrations each time, when the situation demands them.
- (6) To take the initiative of international campaigns about prominent events of class struggle, to open subscription lists for the benefit of strikers in great social conflicts, etc.

III. Membership.

Any revolutionary economic class organisation is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labour Unions if it accepts the following conditions:—

- (1) Endorsement of the principles of revolutionary class struggle.
- (2) Application of these principles in its daily struggle with capitalism and the bourgeois state.
- (3) Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism through the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition period.
- (4) Recognition and submission to the international proletarian discipline.
- (5) Recognition and application of the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.
- (6) The rupture with the Amsterdam yellow International.
- (7) United action with all the revolutionary organisations and the communist party of the country in all defensive and offensive activities against the bourgeoisie.

IV. International Congresses.

The International Congress of revolutionary class trade and industrial unions is the supreme organ of the Red International of Labour Unions. Congresses take place as much as possible at least once a year. They determine the general principles programme, tactics and statutes; elect the directing organ and decide all the questions connected with the orientation of the Red International of Labour Unions. Extraordinary congresses are called by the decision of the Executive Bureau or at the demand of organisations representing no less than one third of the members of the Red International of Labour Unions.

All trade and industrial unions which accept the programme and are following the directions of the Red International of Labour Unions have the right to send delegates to the congresses.

The representation is distributed as follows:—

Every national organisation of trade or industrial unions, having less than 10,000 members, receives one consultative voice on the congress; national organisations having from 10,000 to 25,000 members send one delegate with a deciding vote; from 25,000 to 100,000 members—two delegates with deciding votes; from 100,000 to 250,000—four delegates with deciding votes; from 250,000 to 500,000—six delegates, and for each additional 500,000 members one delegate with a deciding vote is added. International revolutionary class organisations by trade or industries have the right to two deciding votes each.

Organised minorities in countries have the same representation, but all the organisations of a given country affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions make up a single delegation, inside of which the votes are divided proportionally to the membership of the respective organisations. Organised minorities and fractions have representation on the congress only in the case when the general labour union organisation of that country is not affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions.

V. Organs of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Red International of Labour Unions has two organs: the Central Council and the Executive Bureau.

Central Council. The Central Council is composed as follows: England, United States, Germany, Italy, Spain, Chekho-Slovakia, Poland, and France have two representatives each; Russia has four; all other countries having more than 25,000 have one representative with a deciding vote; countries having less than 25,000 have one representative with a consulting voice, International organisations by trades or industries have one representative with a consulting voice.

The Central Council directs all the work of the Red International of Labour Unions from congress to congress; takes all decisions necessitated by the circumstances; represents the Red International of Labour Unions before the whole world; acts in its name; gathers in its hands all the materials and documents related to the international labour movement; manages all funds, including the International Fund of Militant Solidarity; publishes papers and magazines in different languages—in short, is the organ invested with the power to direct the work between the world congresses.

The Central Council meets at least twice a year, dealing mostly with the clearing of questions of principles, and leaving all current work to the Executive Bureau.

The Executive Bureau. The Executive Bureau consists of Seven members elected by the Central Council, including two members of the country where the Headquarters of the Red International of Labour Unions is located.

The Executive Bureau directs all the current affairs of the Red International of Labour Unions. It regulates the work of the departments and sections; publishes the official organs of the Red International of Labour Unions; represents the Red International of Labour Unions and the Central Council wherever and whenever it is necessary; and prepares all the questions for the sessions of the Central Council. The Executive Bureau meets at least once a week.

VI. Unity of Action and Unity of Organisation.

Minorities of general labour unions and of national centres affiliated with the Red International and separate organisations affiliated with it must co-ordinate all their actions. In case in a given country the general federation of all unions affiliates with the Red International; no other separate organisations can affiliate with it. The revolutionary organisations endorsing the stand of the Red International must join the general labour union organisation of their country.

VII. Funds.

The funds of the Red International are composed of regular dues paid by the national organisations affiliated with it, and of special contributions. The quota of the payments is established as follows: at least 1% of the total income of the organisations which receive into their central treasury 50% or more of the membership dues; at least 2% from those organisations receiving into their central treasury 25% to 50% of the membership dues; at least 3% from those organisations receiving from 10% to 25% of the membership dues, and at least 5% from those organisations receiving less than 10% of the membership dues. Until the creation of the necessary fund, all financial means will be furnished by the general labour organisation of the country where the headquarters of the Red International of Labour Unions is located.

VIII. The International Fund of Militant Solidarity.

For the purpose of supporting the militant revolutionary struggle of the workers in different countries the congress decides to establish an International Fund of Militant Solidarity.

This fund is composed of special receipts and special collections and transfer to it of sums from the general fund. Fifty per cent. of all the income of the Red International of Labour Unions are turned over directly to the International Fund of Militant Solidarity. This fund is disbursed at the disposal of the Executive Bureau, which gives regular accounts about the disbursements to the Central Council.

IX. Connections with International Trade and Industrial Organisations.

The Red International of Labour Unions admits to membership not only general labour union organisations by countries, but also international organisations by trades and industries.

The Executive Bureau shall create a special section of trade and industrial organisations for the purpose of serving the needs of separate industrial organisations and establishing closest possible connections with them. International trade and industrial organisations establish their connection with the Red International of Labour Unions through their special representatives at the International Congresses.

X. Relations with the Communist International.

To establish close and unbreakable connections between the Red International of Labour Unions and the Third Communist International, the Central Council:

(1) Sends three representatives to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with deciding votes and vice versa.

(2) Organises joint sessions with the Executive Committee of the Communist International for the discussion of the most important issues of the international labour movement, and for the organisation of common action.

(3) Issues, when it is warranted by the events, joint appeals with the Communist International.

XI. Relations with the International of Revolutionary Co-operatives.

For the purpose of co-ordinated action and mutual information the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions sends a representative with a consulting vote to the executive organ of the International of Revolutionary Co-operatives, as soon as it will definitely constitute itself.

XII. Expulsion from Membership.

Organisations, affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions, which by their action have violated the decisions of the congresses, or do not obey the decisions of the Central Council, can be expelled by the decision of the Central Council, on condition that the motion of expulsion must be carried by not less than a two-thirds vote.

In case the violation is done by the central organs of a given organisation the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions must call upon the membership of that organisation to consider, in a special conference or congress, the dispute at issue between their leading organ and the Red International of Labour Unions. The question of expulsion is taken up by the Central Council, only after the conference or convention of that organisation had reached a decision on the question at issue. The expelled organisation has the right to appeal from the decision of the Central Council to the next international congress, which may endorse or annul the expulsion.

XIII. Internal Structure.

The Red International of Labour Unions designated to direct the struggle of the proletariat, and to inform its members of the situation in different countries must adapt its apparatus to the work it must perform. For this purpose the Central Council develops its apparatus by creating such sections and departments as shall be necessary.

For the normal conduct of affairs and close contact of the Red International of Labour Unions with the labour union organisations of different countries, the Red International must establish monthly reports of all the organisations affiliated with it, and periodical trips to the most important countries by the members of the Central Council, especially in connection with the arising big economic conflicts.

XIV. Magazine, Bulletin and Information.

The Red International of Labour Unions is publishing its official organ in four languages (French, German, English and Russian) and a bulletin in the same languages. Besides those two organs for systematic information and ideological leadership, the Central Council of the Red International shall turn their attention to the system of circular letters and visiting trips to organisations.

XV. Auditing Committee.

The Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions elects an auditing committee of three, which supervises the correct expenditure of funds and gives periodical reports to the Congresses.

XVI. Location of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The permanent location of the Red International of Labour Unions is decided by the Congress. The time and place of the congress are designated by the Central Council.

