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No. 12

Resolutions and Decisions

Third World Congress

of the

Red International of Labor Unions

Held in Moscow, July, 1924

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RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF R. I. L. U., 1924

1. On the report of the Executive Committee.
2. On the immediate problems of the revolutionary labor movement.
3. The struggle for the unity of the international labor movement.
4. The international struggle for the eight-hour day as a maximum.
5. Labor unions and factory and shop committees.
6. On International Propaganda Committees.
7. On strike strategy.
8. Problems of the R. I. L. U. in colonial and semi-colonial countries.
9. On the agricultural proletariat and the peasantry.
10. Organizational construction.
11. On the struggle against Fascist labor unions.
12. On emmigration.
13. On work among women.
14. Role of labor unions in the labor sport movement.
15. Labor unions and co-operatives.
16. On the problems of the international revolutionary labor press.
17. On the International Workers' Aid.
18. On the International Red Aid.
19. Problems of the adherents of the R. I. L. U. in Great Britain.
20. Program of action for the Trade Union Educational League in the United States of America.
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22. On the work of the adherents of the R. I. L. U. in Czecho-Slovakia.
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27. On Latin America.
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APPEALS

1. The tenth anniversary of the world war.
2. Against the white terror.
3. Against the persecution of the revolutionary proletariat in Estonia, Latvia, Finland, and Poland.
4. Against the murder of violence upon the revolutionary workers in Jugo-Slavia.
5. Against the white terror in Bulgaria.
6. Against the persecution of workers in Turkey.
7. Against the persecution of Egyptian workers.
8. Against the terror in China.

No. 1.

Resolution on the Report of the Executive Bureau

HAVING heard the report of the Executive Bureau, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. states that the E. B. acted in the spirit of the decisions adopted by the previous congresses, and fully approves of its activity, and of all its work in directing the world revolutionary labor movement.

The congress considers it necessary that the organs of the R. I. L. U. should enforce more strictly the decisions of the international congresses. The congress considers it necessary that the coming E. B. should continue an energetic struggle against reformism and anarcho-syndicalism which demoralize and disintegrate the labor movement, for the purpose of further winning and organizing the masses, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of the proletarian dictatorship.

No. 2.

The Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Labor Movement

I. General Principles

THE world economic crisis, which started in the middle of 1920, facilitating the offensive action of the employers against the workers, is still in progress, though its forms have changed. The causes of the crisis are the world economic ruin, resulting from the war and the disorganization of the world economy by the reparations policy of the Entente. These basic causes continue to act with all their force, and temporary favorable conditions in any country or industry, temporary stabilization of currency in the defeated and war ruined countries do not therefore, remove from capitalist society the unremovable contradiction between the obsolete capitalist relations on the one hand, and the necessity of collective socialist production for the salvation of humanity on the other. Disintegration of capitalism, particularly of European capitalism, continues; but it should not be taken in a primitive mechanical sense, as it is a long process which has its ebbs and flows and is even sometimes accompanied by a revival of industrial and financial activities, capable of **RETARDING** the process of disintegration, though powerless to stop it. In this respect the analysis of the

state of world capitalism given by the first and second congresses of the R. I. L. U. is still correct.

However, the revolutionary labor movement is interested not only to know that capitalism falls to pieces, but to know HOW, IN WHAT MANNER this process of decay proceeds, to know to what extent the conscious activity of the bourgeoisie may retard this process, what it has done in this respect, and what we must do in order to intensify the process of disintegration and widen the schisms in capitalist society. If we view the present world economic situation from this angle, we would find that the disintegration of the capitalist system is now proceeding at a slower rate, that some industries have been partially rehabilitated, that attempts are being made to solve the insoluble reparations problem, and that there is a tendency to stabilize the capitalist world by the re-establishment of commercial and economic relations with Soviet Russia.

The labor movement has become considerably more active than it was in 1922 and 1923; instead of a general retreat, we observe in some countries and in some industries counter-offensives, earnest defensive battles, while at the same time the offensive of the employers continues. The situation has become more intricate; the picture of the international labor movement has become more diverse, but it is more favorable than it was in 1922-1923, provided, however, that we take the world labor movement as a whole rather than individual sections which have suffered defeat.

II. International Reformism on the Downgrade.

International reformism, in spite of a series of outward victories, (the MacDonald government, the Left Bloc in France, the Social-Democratic government in Denmark, etc.), continues steadily to decline. When the German Social Democrats were in power, they explained their impotence by the Entente policies; now reformism is in power in the mightiest country in the world. Yet socially, it is just as much the servant of the bourgeoisie and is just as powerless and futile as the German social democracy. The British proletariat needs this object lesson of democratic parliamentarism to become convinced of the illusory character of bourgeois democracy. The second youth of reformism thus coincides with the growth of the revolutionary movement, particularly noticeable in England. The Second and Amsterdam Internationals have never been Internationals in the true sense of the word. They have represented merely a sum of national organizations; this is why the Versailles Treaty, the occupation of the Ruhr and the struggle around the reparations questions have led to the intensification of nationalist friction within these organizations and manifested their helplessness, which facts could not fail to impress the masses. The Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International did not even attempt to make clear to itself the crisis which international reformism is undergoing. All the leaders of the Amsterdam International believed that it is possible to cover up by unanimous resolutions, the deep and daily widening gulf between the working class and the labor bureaucracy.

III. The Struggle Within The Amsterdam International

The discontent of the masses with the reformist policies found an expression, incomplete and unclear though it may be, in the left wing of the Amsterdam International. This left wing, which is still extremely

shapeless, which still adheres to the program of the Amsterdam International, is, in spite of its half-heartedness, inconsistency and readiness to compromise with the right wing, reflecting a profound change in the masses. If the struggle at the congress of the Amsterdam International was squeezed into the narrow confines of the organizational question, it was not the fault of the rank and file members of the union who are dissatisfied with the old policies, but the fault of the leaders who did not fully and correctly echo the true feelings of the masses. Though the struggle ended in the adoption of unanimous resolutions, it is merely a sham unanimity, for it is easy for the leaders to sign a resolution, but the rank and file workers will find it hard to understand why they should support the leaders of the labor movement who now play a purely strike-breaking role in the economic battles of the proletariat. The left wing of the congress of the Amsterdam International should be looked upon merely as a barometer, which in addition does not very truly reflect the changes in the political moods of the masses, and the situation of the Amsterdam International should be judged not by the words of its leaders, but by the deeds of the working masses, who are discontented with the old policies. This discontent finds an expression not only in the organization of a Left Wing, but also in the formation of minorities, groups and unions adopting the program and tactics of the R. I. L. U.

IV. The Struggle Against Reparations and Against the Experts' Plan

The war and the Versailles Treaty had the aim of disabling Germany as a competitor on the world market. The same aim is pursued by the reparations policy of the Entente and by the experts' plan. To completely break the productive and technical machinery of the German industries, or to make German production more expensive by means of contributions and levies, is the object of the experts' plan to which the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals are accomplices. The German bourgeoisie, supported by the Social Democrats and by the labor bureaucracy, is shifting the burden of reparations to the shoulders of the working masses; hence the lengthening of the work day, the abolition of a number of labor laws, etc. Thus are the bourgeoisie and labor bureaucracy of the Entente, together with the bourgeoisie and labor bureaucracy of Germany, shifting the burden of the war and the post-war crisis on the shoulders of the German proletariat. The accomplishment of this abominable conspiracy will mean not only the conversion of the German workers into coolies, but also A GENERAL LOWERING OF THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE WORKERS OF EVERY COUNTRY and particularly of the countries of the Entente. This mean conspiracy against the toilers of Germany represents also a conspiracy against the international proletariat. That is why the Red unions of every country must conduct a bitter struggle against the plan of the experts and against the labor bureaucracy which gave its sanction to this shameless document. The devastated regions must be restored, and the victims compensated AT THE EXPENSE OF THE RULING CLASSES OF ALL COUNTRIES, including the ruling class of Germany. The propaganda, agitation and general activity of the revolutionary unions of all countries should be centered upon, and all the international activities of the organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. should have as their principal slogans: "Down with the Versailles Treaty," "Down with the experts' plan," "Down with the enslavement of the German workers."

V. The Struggle for Unity

During the last months the tendency for the withdrawal from the unions has been strengthened in some countries. These moods were manifested particularly in Germany, in connection with the going over of the social democracy and of the union bureaucrats to the side of the Fascist reaction. No matter how much we understand these moods psychologically, a most determined and vigorous struggle should be launched against them. The R. I. L. U. remains on its old platform of **THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY**. The call for the destruction of the unions should be resolutely and emphatically repudiated; this should be done not out of a fetishist reverence for form, but because the **CONQUEST OF THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING CLASS IS SERIOUSLY HINDERED BY THE SPLITS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT**. The struggle for unity means also the struggle for the **RETURN TO THE UNIONS OF THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT THEM**. Where the labor movement has been split (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia) a bitter struggle for the **UNIFICATION OF THE BROKEN PARTS** should be conducted, and labor unity should be fought for at any price. This unity can be re-established after long struggles among the masses against the disruptive policies of the reformists and through the calling of general labor congresses where all the unions should be represented on the basis of proportional representation. On this question no concessions can be made.

VI. Conquest Versus Destruction of the Labor Unions

The struggle for the re-establishment of unity will be possible only if we clearly put before us the aim of winning the masses through the conquest of the labor unions. Under the conquest of the unions the followers of the R. I. L. U. never understood the conquest of the bureaucratic upper circles, of the halls and funds of the unions. **IT IS A QUESTION OF CONQUERING THE MINDS OF THE MASSES, OF WINNING THEM FOR THE IDEA OF COMMUNISM**. No matter how obnoxious the labor bureaucracy, and it is becoming more obnoxious every day, the revolutionary work within the labor organizations should be continued steadily and systematically. It is necessary to win the masses away from the reformist ideology (and reformist practice) and this is possible only in the every-day struggle within the labor organizations. Sensing the approaching danger, the labor bureaucracy sweeps away the remnants of democracy in the trade unions; everything is being decided by the officialdom. **IT IS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UNION OFFICIALDOM**, against the settling of all questions behind the curtains of bureaucracy, and to open a determined fight against the labor reactionaries. It is necessary to arouse the initiative among the masses and to make the rank and file interested in the activity of the chiefs. Whenever events take place which agitate the masses, special committees to control the activity of the union leaders should be elected. To the treachery of the labor bureaucracy we must respond not by the slogan of "Destroy the unions," but by the slogan, **"DOWN WITH THE BUREAUCRATS SELLING OUT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS."**

VII. The R. I. L. U. Adherents and the Opposition Movement Within the Reformist Unions.

The growth of the revolutionary labor movement is evidenced not only in the formation of R. I. L. U. minorities, but also in the appear-

ance of an unorganized opposition reflecting the dissatisfaction of the masses with the labor bureaucracy. The R. I. L. U. adherents who have a definite program and a definite tactic should take an attentive attitude towards all the opposition sentiments, remembering that the unorganized opposition reflects a left tendency among the masses and a steady transition from reformism to Communism. The growth of the opposition reflects one of the transitional moments of the labor movement, and the R. I. L. U. adherents have to introduce the greatest clarity into this opposition movement. This can be done only if the R. I. L. U. ADHERENTS WILL SUPPORT EVERY OPPOSITION MOVEMENT WITHIN THE LABOR UNIONS DIRECTED against the reformist bureaucracy. It is necessary to unite this opposition on a concrete program of action and try to get it to act unitedly during all the important events in the labor movement. Since the opposition has nothing but the R. I. L. U. program to choose, the R. I. L. U. adherents, acting persistently, vigorously and ably towards the formation of opposition blocs against the labor bureaucracy, it will be able to rally to their side all the honest and dissatisfied elements.

VIII. The Organization of the Unorganized

Frequently these opposition elements react to the treacheries of the labor bureaucracy by withdrawing from the trade unions. Thus a new category of persons appears in the labor movement, elements that were members of the organizations for some time and then withdrew from them. At the same time we have millions of workers who have never been members of any organization. This leads us to the necessity of launching a determined struggle for the organization of the unorganized. THE TRADE UNIONS ARE THE ONLY ASSEMBLING PLACE FOR ALL THE UNORGANIZED; this is why the R. I. L. U. adherents in every country should steadily work towards the winning over of more and more workers into the trade unions and combat the barriers set up by some of the reactionary unions against all outsiders. It would be entirely wrong to create special organizations of the unorganized, as this would merely mean formation of dual organizations under different names, and in an unfavorable situation. Only in the industries where no unions are in existence should the organization of the unions be launched, the name under which they should be organized to depend upon the local situation and the conditions of the particular workers. The attraction of the broad unorganized masses towards conscious political activity is possible through the correct application of the united front tactic and the organizations of the shop committees.

IX. The United Front

Experience shows that the united front tactic is a perfectly correct tactic, even though its application in some countries, due to a poor approach to the question, has not given very good results. In some cases the united front tactic was interpreted as a periodic dispatch of letters to the reformist chiefs. The united front tactic reduced to such a periodic correspondence is undoubtedly a distortion of the main idea of the struggle for the united front. The essence of the united front tactic consists in organizing mass campaigns on certain issues, in attracting the broad working masses to active participation in the proposed actions. In any united front proposal it is necessary to remember first of all and above all, the millions of toilers, and the necessity to

have them react in one form or another to the issue. If all our united front proposals are based primarily on joint action, and if around the question of joint action by the workers of all political tendencies a vigorous campaign is developed, then all our actions will bring favorable results. In putting the question this way, the formula of "a united front only from below" loses its meaning. **THE UNITED FRONT FROM ABOVE DOES UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES MEAN SECRET AGREEMENT AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REFORMIST LEADERS.** Everything must be done openly, in view of all the toilers, and what is particularly important, it should be accompanied by a wide campaign of agitation and propaganda among the masses; in doing all this the sharpness of our criticism and the intensity of our struggle against reformism must not be dulled for a moment. Under such conditions the united front from above will also produce favorable results for the revolutionary labor movement, and through the united front we will attract the broad unorganized masses to the struggle against capitalism.

X. The Struggle for the Shop Committees

The shop committee is the natural center round which all the organized and unorganized workers should be grouped. Even in the countries where the shop committee movement exists (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia), it is far from developed. This is due to the fact that the shop committees have had until this time no concrete militant aims. On the other hand, where no shop committees are in existence, only weak attempts at their creation are being made, and the big disputes between labor and capital, which are most favorable to the formation of the shop committees, are not being utilized at all. It is necessary to become imbued with an understanding of the great importance of the shop committees for the revolution; no opportunity for the creation of this national representation of labor should be missed. The unorganized must be gotten together and united by the shop committees. The shop committees should create special committees for the organization of the unorganized. The creation of shop committees is of particularly importance in the countries where the labor movement is split. There is no better way of creating the united front from below than through the organization of shop committees. Nor is there a better primary school for the unorganized. That is why the struggle for shop committees must become the principal aim of the R. I. L. U. adherents in the immediate future. Only the labor unions which will create true revolutionary shop committees, as a basis for the revolutionary labor union, will win over the masses, will be able to use the united front tactic to further the revolution.

XI. The Strike Strategy

Now more than ever the economic struggle is connected with the political struggle. Mighty centralized capital, supported by the entire machinery of the capitalist state, conducts a bitter struggle against the growing movement of the masses. Every economic dispute of importance involves the entire organized bourgeoisie which resorts to every sort of corruption, bribery and violence to break up the strikes and disorganize the labor masses. This organized power of capital meets with a split reformist labor movement, continuing its old habits and saturated with amateurism and the craft spirit. The idea of the international character of the struggle of the working class, the idea of the concentration of great masses for the struggle, of drawing the public utility

workers into the fight, has not yet penetrated the revolutionary workers. Revolutionary energy is frequently wasted in isolated efforts. The revolutionary worker has not yet come to the realization of the necessity of creating and developing a strike strategy and tactic which would utilize the experience of the world labor movement. However, now this question has been raised. The working class pays dearly for its insufficiently organized, scattered craft sections which are not yet reinforced by a unity of will. The R. I. L. U. followers must pay particular attention to the methods of the strike struggle. They should remember that an army marching to the battle without a plan, without centralized leadership, without the direction of its various sections by a single will, is doomed to defeat.

XII. The Militant Organs of Leadership

The difficulty of the situation consists in the fact that in many countries the R. I. L. U. adherents belong to the reformist unions. Since the leading circle of the reformist union is assuming a more and more strike-breaking character, the minority finds itself confronted with the complicated question of the creation of a militant leadership of the mass movement. It is necessary to train and educate our leaders, else the political sympathies of the masses will not be transformed into political action.

XIII. Economic Reconnaissance

We can direct the struggle of the working masses successfully only if we know the structure and power of our enemies. A thorough study of the employers' organizations and of their subsidiary bodies, of the connections between these organizations and the press, of the methods of bribery and corruption of the labor leaders and the penetration of their agents into the labor organizations, are preliminary conditions for any successful struggle against the employing class. All the organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. must follow the example of the employers in establishing economic reconnaissance work. Without an attentive collection and study of all the materials pertaining to the employers' organizations and to the state machinery which serves them, it is impossible to seriously conduct the class battle.

XIV. Concentration of Efforts Upon the Key Industries.

An equal distribution of the forces throughout the various industries will not produce the best results. The attention of the R. I. L. U. adherents should be focussed upon the organization of the workers of those industries which play a decisive role in the struggle of labor against capitalism (transport, mining, metal, chemical, electrical industries, gas works, telegraph, radio, etc.). **WITHOUT THE CONQUEST OF THESE KEY INDUSTRIES THE LABOR STRUGGLE IS DOOMED TO FAILURE.** Concentration of efforts along this line is dictated by the elementary consideration of the most effective application of revolutionary energies designed to strike at the most vulnerable and the most important points of the capitalist system.

XV. Internationalization of the Struggle

The struggle of the various sections of labor depends now not only upon the general situation in each particular country, but more frequently upon the international situation as a whole; it therefore, cannot

achieve complete success within national and state boundaries. The organization of simultaneous joint action on both sides of the boundaries is therefore the principal task of the revolutionary unions.

For this purpose it is advisable to create joint committees (Franco-German, German-Polish, German-Czech, Franco-Italian, Franco-German-British, Russian-German, Russian-Polish, etc.), of the workers of the most important industries for the joint conduct of campaigns and other activities.

XVI. The Struggle for Industrial Unions

Already the first congress of the R. I. L. U. raised the slogan of "ONE UNION IN EACH ESTABLISHMENT AND IN EACH INDUSTRY." The struggle for the re-organization of the craft unions along industrial lines is the most important task of the R. I. L. U. adherents in every country. This struggle should aim to re-organize the entire union movement, and not to make attempts to create local industrial unions isolated from the labor movement of the country. The organizational forms of the labor unions are important only if they have a revolutionary content. The form itself does not possess any mysterious power which might take the place of our revolutionary activity and struggle. **THE STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONS BASED UPON THE SHOP COMMITTEES** should be the slogan of the entire revolutionary labor movement. The attempts to create One Big Unions with industrial sections should be thoroughly studied. The Third Congress re-affirms the warning of the Second Congress against putting too much faith in the idea that this form of organization can become the prevalent form right now. Of all the attempts made along this line, the experience of Czecho-Slovakia is the most interesting. The congress calls upon the workers of all countries to study the experience of the Czecho-Slovakian comrades who will themselves very soon make the necessary correction in their organizational form in order to win a majority of the working class into one revolutionary organization.

XVII. International Industrial Committees

The struggle of the revolutionary unions for entrance into the International Labor Secretariats should be continued unabated. The Third Congress re-affirms the decisions of the first and second congresses in this respect. **THE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA COMMITTEES WERE FORMED FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF LABOR UNITY ALONG VERTICAL LINES**, and as long as revolutionary unions will not be admitted, no matter what the reasons, into the International Secretariats, the International Propaganda Committees must and will exist. As soon as the Industrial Internationals take in all the unions of the various tendencies, as soon as the revolutionary unions obtain the opportunity freely to advocate their ideas within these Internationals, the International Propaganda Committee will be dissolved.

XVIII. The National and Race Question in the Labor Movement

Traditions, particularly bad traditions, have great power. We observe this in the national friction existing even among the revolutionary unions. This must be put an end to. **THE REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS MUST NOT FORM SEPARATE UNIONS BY NATIONALITIES**, and where such unions exist, they should be merged as soon as possible within the boundaries of the state. The same principle should be en-

forced in the case of the workers of various races. NO SEPARATE RACIAL UNIONS, ALL THE WORKERS OF A PARTICULAR ESTABLISHMENT, IRRESPECTIVE OF NATIONAL AND RACIAL DIFFERENCES, MUST BELONG TO ONE AND THE SAME UNION. In countries such as the United States, where the labor bureaucracy categorically refuses to admit colored workers, the R. I. L. U. adherent should create Negro unions, making the chief point of their program the struggle for the amalgamation of all the unions of the same industry.

XIX. Work Among Immigrants.

The nationality question is closely connected with the question of the immigrants. In some countries (United States, France, etc.), this question is of immense importance, and a wrong solution of it may retard the development of the labor movement for many years. A classic example of it is the United States, where the bourgeoisie and the labor bureaucracy take recourse to every possible means in order to split the labor movement along this line. THE WORK AMONG IMMIGRANTS IS THE FOREMOST DUTY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LABOR UNIONS. This work is the more important since the rights of all these "foreign" laborers are limited to a much greater extent than the rights of the native workers, this circumstance being utilized by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of lowering the wages of both groups. A RESPONSIVE, ATTENTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE FOREIGN WORKERS MUST BE AN ELEMENTARY RULE AMONG THE REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS. NO UNIONS OF IMMIGRANTS, ONE UNION FOR ALL. It is necessary to make every immigrant see in the revolutionary union his protector and representative; thus the immigrants would be attracted into the revolutionary struggle of the country.

XX. The Struggle Against Fascism.

The struggle against Fascism and its attempts to penetrate the labor movement must be waged with increasing energy. Fascism in its most developed forms, Italian Fascism, has begun to crack. We must widen this crack. We must give special attention to the category of workers connected in any way with the Fascism, THE ORGANIZATION OF LEGAL NUCLEI IN THE FASCIST UNIONS IS THE BEST MEANS OF DISINTEGRATING THE FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS. Everything that leads to driving out Fascism and the Fascisti from the labor organizations should be utilized.

XXI. THE Unions and the Co-operatives.

The revolutionary unions, in spite of the decisions adopted by the Second Congress on this question, pay little attention to the workers' co-operatives. We must make it a rule that every member of a red union shall be a member of a workers' co-operative. THE R. I. L. U. ADHERENTS ARE EXPECTED NOT MERELY TO BE PASSIVE MEMBERS OF THE CO-OPERATIVES, BUT TO ACTIVELY ENGAGE IN THEIR WORK, IN ORDER THAT THE WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVES BECOME A WEAPON OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT. It is necessary to establish close connection between the revolutionary unions and the co-operatives and to secure their regular assistance in all the economic and political struggles of the proletariat. This will be possible only if the R. I. L. U. adherents will be organized in special groups within the co-operatives.

XXII. The Unions and the Workers' Sport.

Until very lately the red unions gave little attention to workers' sport. Yet millions of workers take part in the sport movement, which more than any other movement is dominated by the bourgeoisie. It should not be forgotten THAT THE WORKERS' SPORT SOCIETIES MIGHT FURNISH THE MAIN BATTALIONS AND YIELD MANY FIGHTING UNITS in all the decisive battles between labor and capital. The labor unions should extend their utmost support to the workers' sport circles and societies, and strive, without splitting the labor sport movement, to support the Red Sport International in its efforts to revolutionize the international sport movement.

XXIII. The Farmers' International and the Labor Unions.

The Farmers' International organized in Moscow last year, manifests the serious change that has taken place among the farmers. The poorest and most exploited section of the farmers cannot fail to seek for a solution of its problems along revolutionary lines. THE LABOR UNIONS MUST GIVE THE GREATEST ASSISTANCE IN SHAPING THE REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE POOREST CATEGORIES OF FARMERS. This can be done only if all the revolutionary unions will turn their attention to the work among the agricultural laborers, who might prove the best advocates of the communist ideas in the village. THE FARMERS CAN BE INFLUENCED ONLY THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FARM LABORERS. The Third Congress therefore calls upon all the organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. to give their attention to the support of the farm laborers' organizations.

XXIV. Work Among Women.

The tremendous part played by working women in branches of industry in every country and their significance in all the economic and political actions of the proletariat on the one hand, and the attempts of the capitalists, reformists and Fascists to use them as a strikebreaking force and a basis for the suppression of the revolutionary will of the proletariat, on the other, are very serious stimulants for the red labor unions and revolutionary minorities to take up systematic organizing activities among the working women. It is necessary to put at the forefront education of the masses of working women in the class spirit, the drawing of the working women into the general, economic and political life of the working class as active fighters for the dictatorship of the proletariat, electing them to office, both high and low, in all the leading union bodies. Owing to the economic, cultural and other peculiarities of the working women, this work should be conducted by special methods near and comprehensible to the tremendous masses of working women.

XXV. The Young Workers.

After the war period the young workers have become very susceptible to revolutionary ideas. The unceasing economic upheavals, the constant threats of war conflicts and clashes, impell the working youths to search for new ways and methods of struggle. The red unions of all countries have given insufficient attention and energy to winning over the young workers and drawing them into the active struggle. The role of the young workers in the economic and political battles will be the greater, the more attention the red unions devote to their training,

education and organization. The best means of training and educating the young workers in the class spirit is to draw them into the work of the shop committees and of the unions, to charge them with special union functions, to organize young workers' groups for the struggle against strikebreakers and Fascist bands, to create anti-militarist circles, etc. The red unions must fight for the economic program of the Communist Youths' International. Every young worker must be made to see that the red union is a real defender of his interests both within and without the workplace.

XXVI. International Workers' Relief and International Red Aid.

In its struggles, the working class creates subsidiary organizations, such as the International Workers' Relief and the International Red Aid. Both these organizations render substantial assistance to the revolutionary workers in their struggle. The reformists are now frantically attacking the International Workers' Relief for its assistance to strikers. Everything should be done to develop and regulate the work of these organizations and to direct them, through direct participation in their work, along proper channels. The utmost assistance and support should be given to these two organizations for their work is useful to the international labor movement.

XXVII. The Labor Unions of the Colonies and of the Mother Countries.

The revolutionary unions of the Metropolis should give the greatest support to the unions organizing in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. **THE WORK AMONG THE COLONIAL WORKERS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE SLOGAN OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIES.** It is not necessary to strive for the inclusion of the colonial unions into the labor movement of the Metropolis, for the oppressed workers might consider this another form of imperialist pressure. The more intensive the struggle of the revolutionary unions for independence of the colonies, the less suspicious will the colonial workers be towards their brethren in the Metropolis.

XXVIII. The Anti-Militarist Work.

The revolutionary unions have done very little in this field. Yet after the "last war" the armies and the navies of the various countries have greatly grown and are more and more frequently called upon to aid the bourgeoisie against the workers. **IT IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH CLOSE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE MOBILIZED MEMBERS OF THE LABOR UNIONS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS.** This connection could be maintained through special funds, societies, etc. but it must be maintained at any price. Propaganda among the soldiers should be conducted with a view towards demoralizing the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. **ALL THE SEAMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO CONNECTIONS WITH THE SEAMEN OF THE NAVY,** who might play in some countries an exceptionally important role during decisive battles.

Conclusion.

The gigantic task facing the revolutionary labor movement of all countries can be accomplished only if the greatest unity and a determination to fight and win prevails within our ranks. Discipline, based upon the decisions adopted, is the most important condition for success in any struggle. The congress calls upon all the R. I. L. U. organizations, upon the various members of the revolutionary unions, and particularly upon the leaders of the red unions, to raise their activity and

solidarity, to strengthen the unity between the various sections of labor within and beyond the boundaries of the state, and to keep in mind the every-day struggle, that the international revolution requires the greatest exertion of all the forces, energy and initiative, the greatest unity and solidarity in leadership. This will be possible only if the Comintern and the Red International of Labor Unions continue increasingly to co-operate, if the revolutionary unions and the Communist Parties establish even closer connections, and a relentless war is waged both against the bourgeoisie and the corrupting influence of anarcho-reformism upon the labor movement.

No. 3.

The Struggle for the Unity of the International Labor Movement

1. **R**E-AFFIRMING its decisions on the necessity to struggle for the re-establishment of a united workers' front in the interests of the development of the class struggle on an international scale and of a successful repulsion of the attack of capital, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. deems it its duty once more to state its firm decision to conduct its work in this direction.

2. Never for a moment stopping its determined fight against all manifestations of reformism within the international labor movement, mercilessly revealing all its treacherous substance, untiringly explaining this to all workers who do not understand yet the role of reformism as a brake to the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation, the Third Congress, in the interests of the concentration of the proletarian forces and in the interests of a united leadership in the struggle of the workers against the economic offensive of capital and fascist reaction, considers it the most pressing task of its activity to develop a widespread campaign among the working masses in favor of the unity of the international labor union movement.

3. This unity campaign, chiefly and first of all developed below among the broad masses, must put before them in all its proportions and with perfect clearness the question of creating one International of Labor Unions.

4. One of the further steps in this direction, following the corresponding preparation of the masses, could be the convocation of a General International Congress of Labor Unions to represent the organizations that belong to both Internationals (Moscow and Amsterdam) on the basis of proportional representation for the purpose of working out a common constitution and for the creation of the executive organs of the new United International. The Congress thinks, that only in this way can the simultaneous and complete amalgamation of the dual organizations be accomplished.

5. In fulfillment of the above the Congress considers it useful to get through its representatives, in touch with the Amsterdam International and with those British trade unions affiliated to Amsterdam which stand for a United International.

6. However, putting the interests of the international labor movement and the realization of its unity above the questions of a formal character, the Congress thinks that individual labor unions affiliated to

the R. I. L. U. must not miss any opportunity for negotiations with the Amsterdam International and with its separate sections on the question of retalizing unity and a united front, this to be done under the condition of a consent in each individual case on the part of the R. I. L. U. and under its leadership.

7. The Congress is unanimous in its opinion that now as before, every decisive step of every organization affiliated with the R. I. L. U. which has an international significance, can be undertaken only with the sanction and under the leadership of the R. I. L. U.

8. The Congress expresses its conviction that the untiring propagandist enlightenment work among the masses and the organizing of the masses under the slogan of the unity of the International movement, will create the necessary prerequisites for the realization in the near future and for the organizational consolidation of a united workers' front against international capital.

9. The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. not thinking it possible to confine itself to a unity declaration only, decided to create a UNITY COMMISSION OF THE WORLD LABOR UNION MOVEMENT of 17 members to conduct, under the leadership of the Executive Bureau, energetic activities in the direction indicated above. The commission as a whole or individual members delegated by it must get into contact with the British trade unions which raised at the Congress of the Amsterdam International the question of unity, study the situation of the union movement in those countries where the movement in favor of unity is the strongest, and, in case of necessity, start negotiations with the Amsterdam International for the aims and within the limits indicated in the adopted resolutions.

Long live the unity of the International Labor Union movement!

No. 4.

Resolution on Comrade Heckert's Report on the Eight-Hour Workday. The Struggle for the Maximum Eight-Hour Day in Capitalist Countries.

THE struggle for the eight-hour day is in the final analysis a struggle for power between labor and capital. It is decided not by industrial statistics, but by the development of the real forces (*). If the interests of capital demand the lengthening of the working hours, the interests of the proletariat demand the greatest possible shortening of the hours. The struggle for the maximum eight-hour day can under no circumstances take into account the interests of the nation as a whole, which in capitalist states are tantamount to the interests of the capitalist class. The social and cultural interest of the proletariat dictates a determined fight to the end for the eight-hour day.

The reformist bureaucracy, as well as representatives of capitalists, make reference to various difficulties preventing the introduction of the eight-hour day. Inasmuch as the reformists reveal no desire to conduct a struggle for the removal of these obstacles, it is quite comprehensible why they make no serious efforts to win the eight-hour

(*) The high technical standard already allows the introduction of a maximum work day of less than eight hours.

day, why they put up no fight for the eight-hour day when it is menaced by the capitalist offensive. All the statements and declarations of the Amsterdamers in defence of the eight-hour day are nothing but pitiful demagogic phrases which are not backed by any serious desire for struggle.

This is made perfectly clear by the resolution on the eight hour day adopted by the Council of the Amsterdam International on January 12th and by the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Unions, held at the beginning of June 1924. The deceptive nature of the Amsterdam resolution on the inviolability of the eight-hour day is manifested particularly by the activity of the German proletariat to the German capitalists. The approval of the experts' plan by the Amsterdam labor leaders, a plan which is based upon a proposal to shift the entire burden of reconstruction of the war ruined nations upon the backs of the working class, and particularly of the German workers, is further convincing proof of the fact that the reformists have no intention of fighting for the eight-hour day.

The conditions of the experts' plan can be fulfilled by the German capitalists only if the German workers are forced for a long time to work longer hours. This, however, will make it impossible for the workers of the other countries successfully to protect the eight-hour day against the encroachments of their employers. The struggle of the German workers for the regaining of the eight-hour day is a struggle against the execution of the experts' plan. This struggle can be successful only if conducted by revolutionary methods. But this struggle is at the same time a struggle of the widest international significance which makes it necessary for the workers of all other countries to join it.

The struggle for the eight-hour day can never be successful if conducted by parliamentary means or by strictly trade union methods. The reformist "struggle" for the ratification of the Washington convention, for the eight-hour day legislation, for the introduction of an eight-hour day by means of a so-called national vote, is nothing but a base attempt to evade the real struggle for the eight-hour day. The Red International of Labor Unions not only rejects these methods as entirely ineffective reformist methods, but declares them to be definitely counter-revolutionary. The eight-hour day can be won only by an unceasing and unconditional class struggle, and its consolidation is possible only through the establishment of workers' control over industry, through the proletarian dictatorship.

In view of the above, the congress of the Red International of Labor Unions proclaims the following militant slogans:

- 1) The eight-hour maximum work day, with no exceptions, and the struggle for further shortening of the work day.
- 2) Rejection of all overtime work.
- 3) Four shifts for the underground workers in the mining industry (a six hour shift each).
- 4) Three shifts in enterprises working 24 hours.
- 5) An average work day of eight hours in agriculture. The work hours during the various sessions to be regulated by workers' committees.
- 6) A maximum six-hour day in industries detrimental to health: in the chemical industry; for firemen; for telephone employees; in all night work; for young workers under eighteen years; for

pregnant and nursing women, etc., (absolute prohibition of work for children below the age of 14). A six hour day, including school hours for children between 14 and 16.

- 7) Free after dinner hours on Saturdays and on days preceding holidays.
- 8) Work for unemployed.
- 9) Shortening of the work hours during crises in a measure sufficient to provide all workers with employment; no closing of factories. Work in all closed factories to be resumed.
10. Guarantee of the inviolability of the maximum work hours through the establishment of workers' control over industry.

To put into effect the above demands, the congress of the R. I. L.

U. resolves:

- 1) The eight-hour day must not be surrendered without a fight in any establishment, trade or locality.
- 2) Where the capitalists have succeeded in abolishing the eight-hour day, a fight for its re-establishment should be organized and launched.
- 3) All collective agreements providing for the lengthening of the work hours must be rejected.
- 4) Systematic preparation, organization and prosecution of the struggle for the eight-hour day by means of:
 - a. Quitting work after the eight-hour day has come to an end.
 - b. Strikes.
 - c. Passive resistance.
 - d. Active resistance to lockouts, through drawing into the struggle the workers of other establishments and industries, particularly of the industries indispensable to the normal course of life.
 - e. Forcing the employers to run the establishments, by means of demonstration on the part of the locked out, the unemployed, and the wives of the workers affected.
 - f. Forcing municipalities to support the strikes by benefits and food.
 - g. Establishing of close connections between the revolutionary working masses and the revolutionary parties, concentrating and co-ordinating the forces.
 - h. An international campaign in the defence and for the regaining of the maximum eight-hour day or of shorter hours where such had been obtained, by means of protest strikes and demonstrations and mutual aid.
 - i. Organization of international strikes for the shortening of the work hours.
5. Creation of an International Committee of Struggle of the R. I. L. U. and of the Comintern.

No. 5.

Resolution on Shop Committees

THE creation of shop committees in all the industrial and agricultural establishments and the revolutionization of the existing shop committees is one of the most important tasks of the R. I. L. U. in every country.

The Congress of the R. I. L. U. states that insufficient attention has been given by the revolutionary unions to the organization of shop committees. Yet the shop committees and farm workers' committees may become the principal factor in the creation of genuine unity of the labor movement and one of the bulwarks of the working class in the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

A real winning over of the masses can be accomplished only when there is a basis in the form of shop committees organized in every establishment, particularly in the most important of them.

The shop committees must become a centre uniting all the workers of the establishment without exception, irrespective of whatever union they belong to or of whether they are organized at all.

The defense of the eight-hour day, the prevention of wage cuts, the struggle for higher wages and for better conditions—these are the most important tasks of the shop committees.

The shop committee is an organ for the protection of the interests of the workers of the particular establishments. It meets the employer in every important conflict. It must be an active participant in every strike.

The shop committee must react to all the issues confronting the working class, to all the questions of the everyday life of the workers in a particular establishment.

The question of the right of the shop committee to participate in the settling of who should be employed or discharged must also occupy a central place in the work of the shop committees. We must see to it that not a single worker is hired or fired without the sanction of the shop committee.

The shop committee can and must become a revolutionary factor in the realization of the slogan of workers' control.

In defending the interests of the workers, the shop committee must get acquainted with secrets of the management. It must know the entire life of the establishment, both the economic and the technical side of it, the commercial affairs of the employers and their profits. The shop committee must therefore struggle for workers' control. In conducting this struggle, the shop committee will become the centre of the struggle for the reconstruction of the unions on an industrial basis. The struggle for the creation of shop committees uniting all the workers of the establishment, is at the same time a struggle for the creation of an industrial union.

The shop committee must see to it that the young workers and the working women should be drawn into the shop committee movement through their representatives.

To resist counter-revolution and Fascism the shop committees participate in the organization of proletarian self-defence detachments in the establishment.

The shop committees must also strive to establish permanent connection between the factory workers who serve in the army and those workers who remain in industry. The connection is made by the sending of letters, of information concerning local events, changes in the working conditions in the factory, developments in the class struggle, the national and international political and economic situation.

It is also necessary to render material assistance to the workers serving in the army and to send them newspapers and pamphlets published specially for this purpose.

All questions arising amongst the rank and file, and demanding co-ordinated action on the part of the workers of the various establishments should be settled at shop committees conferences. The conferences should be convened on a territorial, national and district scale, and according to industries, trusts, combines, etc. Such conferences would facilitate the establishment of close relations between the shop committees and would create conditions for joint action.

To establish close connections between the shop committee and the workers outside the factories (unemployed, war invalids, housewives, over-aged workers receiving pensions, etc.), their representatives should be drawn into the conferences and meetings of the shop committees so that the united front of all the workers, irrespective of whether they are working in the factory or not, could be established.

The Congress charges all the R. I. L. U. adherents with the duty of taking the most energetic steps in particularly organizing the shop committees and revolutionizing them.

No. 6.

International Propaganda Committees

THE Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. states, that the whole activity of the I. P. C.'s during the period from the second to the third congress, the considerable strengthening of their connections with organizations affiliated to them, the energetic and well-co-ordinated struggle for the united front, all this has unquestionably shown their place in life, and their adaptability for the tasks dictated to them by life. None the less, the activity of the I. P. C.'s must be greatly intensified and developed, with the energetic support of the revolutionary union centers.

2. The further work of the I. P. C.'s must develop along the lines of still more intensive aggregation and consolidation of all actively revolutionary elements of the labor union movement in each branch of industry, for the purpose of struggle against disruption and for unity on industrial lines on a national and international scale.

3. The struggle must be carried on for a united front on an international industrial scale, for the entry of all revolutionary unions into the international secretariats, and for the formation of united fighting internationals, built on the industrial principle and uniting all unions holding the point of view of the class struggle.

4. The entry of the revolutionary unions, among them the Russian unions, into the international secretariats must by no means connote a concession of principle, or renunciation of their right to express their point of view within the international on all cardinal problems of labor and union policies.

5. The revolutionary unions, once in the Industrial Internationals, must, in accordance with the process of internationalization of capital, unremittingly struggle for the transformation of the international organizations from Bureaus of Information and Connections into fighting internationals, into organs of international class activity, for the direction of the economic offensive of the workers. They must energetically fight for the acceptance of all revolutionary unions not yet accepted into the international organizations. The work of the revolutionary unions must be based on a concrete program of action, rendering possible the uniting

of the broadest masses in the practical every-day tasks.

6. On entering Industrial Internationals the revolutionary unions will leave the I. P. C. The unaccepted organizations will continue the work of the I. P. C., fighting for their acceptance into the international unions and a full realization of unity on industrial lines, at the same time disclosing the inactivity of the International Secretariats in regard to the workers' interests, and consolidating the broad masses under their revolutionary standard.

In the event of the acceptance of all revolutionary unions into the corresponding internationals, the individual I. P. C.'s will be disbanded as organizational centers.

7. It is necessary to remember that the reformists will yet more than once break the united front, will sabotage the active struggle under various pretexts, and will continue the expulsion of the revolutionary unions accepted by them in order to leave themselves a free hand for class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

8. The increasing economic conflict places the I. P. C.'s under the necessity of coming to the aid of the fighting workers by the collection of money, etc. Every individual I. P. C. will define the character of the collection and the system of distribution of the sum collected.

9. The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. considers it one of the pressing tasks of the I. P. C.'s to improve their press, and also to conduct a broad agitation and propaganda work both in printed form (journals, brochures, leaflets) and orally. The revolutionary union press must give more place and attention to the work of the I. P. C. and throw light on the concrete questions arising out of their activities, both on the national and the international scale.

10. The Congress authorizes the I. P. C.'s to define at their conferences, within the limits of this present resolution, the methods of their work, (connections, information, disposal of funds, character of activities of the agents, etc.) and to concentrate their own attention and that of the organizations affiliated to them on the struggle against disruption and for the formation of a single fighting Industrial International for each industry.

No. 7.

Strike Strategy

THE Third Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, considering the study of the experience gained in carrying on strikes, and after hearing the various reports and discussions on this question, decides as follows:

1. To charge the Executive Bureau with the task of publishing the reports on the question of strike strategy in all languages.

2. To call upon all organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. to collect and publish all materials characterizing the methods and means of conducting strikes in their particular countries.

3. The Executive Bureau is to cause the writing of works of a monographic character on large scale strikes, for the purpose of bringing out of the strong and weak points in gigantic conflicts between Labor and Capital.

4. All facts concerning the activities and independent actions of

the masses during strikes, the influence of the capitalists' organizations on the leaders of the trade unions, the part played by women in the fight, reformist methods of breaking up strikes, etc., must be collected with especial care. Not the slightest detail regarding the break-up of strikes, ought to be overlooked.

5. The Congress calls upon all revolutionary unions to regard the question of strike strategy most seriously, for without a careful study of all the experiences gained in strike warfare, without making the broad masses of revolutionary workers of each country acquainted with the experience of other countries, and without concentration of all the forces, and a well-planned, systematic preparation of all conflicts, great or small, against capital, the revolutionary proletariat will not be able to win the day against the concentrated monopolist capitalism, supported as it is by the whole might of the modern bourgeois state.

No. 8.

Resolution of the Eastern Commission

1. **S**INCE the time of the second congress of the R. I. L. U., the situation of the working class and the condition of the labor union movements in all the countries of the East has become materially worse.

2. Notwithstanding the variety of the economic and political situation in the Eastern countries certain general causes of this worsening may be observed.

Those causes are as follows:-

- a. The crisis in the chief industrial countries in Europe continues and the flow of European, especially English, capital into the colonies and semi-colonies has been intensified, which in turn connotes an intensification of imperialistic spoliation.
- b. There has been demonstrated in the last few years of world crisis the financial, technical and organizational weakness of the precocious native industrialism (India, China, even partially Japan,) which is not able to stand the competition of the old industrial countries of Europe, and often perishes in the struggle with foreign capital.
- c. Therefore there is a tendency for a certain part of the native industrial bourgeoisie to seek a rapprochement with foreign capital and jointly with it to fight against the young native proletariat, endeavoring by a further worsening of its conditions of labor to raise the falling dividends. (India, China).
- d. Therefore also there is a weakening of the national-revolutionary movement within the native bourgeoisie and a sharpening of its struggle with the proletariat and its economic organization. Against these is directed the most relentless repression, both in the countries where the native bourgeoisie has gained certain political successes (Turkey, Egypt, and partly India) and also where imperialism still reigns alone. (Dutch-Indies, China).

As a result of the economic depression and the unemployment connected with it on the one hand, and the brutal repression on the other, the young labor union organizations of the East which often developed spontaneously in the years of national-revolutionary uplift following on the end of the war and the Russian October Revolution (1918-1920), and

which are only now being born and have not yet consolidated themselves, cannot withstand the double attack and easily break up.

3. The tasks that face the labor movement of the East, except Japan, remain the same as heretofore: a) struggle with imperialism jointly with the national-revolutionary elements of the respective country, and b) struggle for the class interests of the workers.

Being numerically weak, the working class in all countries of the East must seek the fighting co-operation of the most proletarianized, conscious, and revolutionary elements of the peasants, (farmers' and artisans, in order to help in the fulfilment of these two fundamental tasks. The formation of workers' and peasants parties, leagues, committees of action, and other forms of co-operative action of the workers and peasants' parties are the best means of struggle in the fight of the working classes of the East for their national and class emancipation.

4. Concrete and understandable slogans that are near to the heart of the people, and a wise combination of legal and illegal work, are the fundamental methods of work in the East.

The comprehensible slogans, around which the work of organizing the strength of the proletariat must be circled, are: the right of coalition, the freedom of unions, meetings, and press, the right to strike, and social legislation, existing in practice almost nowhere in the East. These demands must be won by all means even by that of a general strike.

5. In view of the limitations of strength and the small number of functionaries it is expedient not to scatter the available forces over all industry, but to select at one time the industries that are most important politically and economically, such as transport, mining, and metal industries and to concentrate all organizational work there in the first case.

The elemental organizational forms which must lead to the formation of stable unions capable of action are: nuclei in the factories, in crafts, shops, mines, in the railway sections, on the ships, and the organization of delegates' meetings, shop committees, and representatives of tens, according to circumstance.

It will often happen that cooperatives, evening schools, union technical courses, clubs and other cultural and educational institutions will under the conditions of persecution of any union activity, be the centers around which the union work will be organized.

6. The adherents of the R. I. L. U. in the large centers of imperialism are obliged to give assistance by all means at their disposal to the union movement in the colonies, maintaining the closest associations with them, assisting them with literature, with organizers and agitators, keeping alive the interest for the colonial problem, by means of the press, parliament, and public meetings, struggling with the imperialist and racial prejudices of the working class in the metropolis, and organizing demonstrations and systematic strikes. A special means of assistance may be the formation of labor unions of colonial workers in the metropolis in cases where governmental repression makes the formation of unions in the colonies themselves absolutely impossible. This especially applies to sailors.

This is all the more necessary since recently the imperialist and native capitalists have, together with their cruel methods of oppression, began to ply other "positive" methods of holding down the labor union movement, namely to form patriotic governmental workers' organizations

(Turkey, Japan, China), and bringing in Amsterdam to neutralize the revolutionary workers' movement (Japan, India).

8. Connections of the labor union movement of Eastern countries with R. I. L. U. must be no less close.

The Bureau formed in Canton must serve as an organizational link uniting the various countries of the East among themselves on one hand, and with the R. I. L. U. on the other. But the Bureau in Canton is not sufficient. The R. I. L. U. must form new support bases in the chief ports of the Near and Far East in the immediate future. All these bases must be furnished with the necessary literature in suitable languages.

9. Periodical conferences of Near and Far Eastern countries called by the R. I. L. U. must also have the same end of linking and co-ordinating the activities in the labor union movements of the East.

10. From the viewpoint of the labor union movement the negro question has its own peculiarities, demanding special study. A special commission is to be appointed for this purpose, which, on the foundation of a detailed acquaintance with the question, must put concrete proposals before the next congress of the R. I. L. U. But without waiting for this the adherents of the R. I. L. U. in America, South Africa, and in other countries where there are negro workers, must immediately commence work among the negro working masses, endeavoring to secure the fusion of parallel organizations of whites and negroes, wherever such exist.

No. 9.

Resolution on the Question of the Agricultural Workers and of the Peasantry

HAVING heard Comrade Antzelovitch's report on the question of the work among the land and forest workers, and of the relations with the farmers' organizations, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. considers that the experience of the class struggle, the successes of Fascism in a number of countries, and the interests of the social revolution dictate to the organized proletariat, especially to that part of it which is organized in labor unions, the necessity of taking into account in the everyday work and struggle the exceptional significance of a militant union between labor and the farmers.

The farming class which in most countries represents the most substantial portion of the rural and general population is not uniform in its social composition. The agrarian crisis in a number of countries and the impending crisis in the other, accelerate the process of differentiation, increases the number of poor farmers and encourages the development of a revolutionary spirit among the farmers.

The well-to-do section of the farmers, (the village exploiters) who use hired labor, is definitely hostile to the labor movement and to the working class as a whole. The working class is faced with the task of organizing the everyday struggle against the exploitation of wage workers in the village, which is possible only by organizing the farm workers in powerful unions.

However this does not exhaust the tasks of union work in the village as a substantial section of the village population consists of farmers living by their own labor and hiring land from the rich farmers and

landowners (the middle and poor farmers). To strengthen the connections with this section, to create forms of cooperation with it, to support its struggle for land, to break the influence of the bourgeoisie, of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the big landowners and of the rich exploiting farmers over it, is one of the most important tasks of the world labor movement.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. greets the formation of the International Farmers' Council which aims at the unification on an international scale of the toiling section of the farmers for the struggle against the landowners and capitalists.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. is confident that the Red Farmers' International, the Comintern and the R. L. L. U. will form a militant union in the interests of the victory of the social revolution.

This determines the attitude of the red unions towards the farmers' organizations: to aid their coming into existence on the platform of the International Farmers' Council; to give support through the land and forest workers organized in their own unions to the revolutionary exploited wing of the working farmers' organization with a view to driving out of those organizations the exploiting and intellectual elements; and to help by all means the individual working farmers' organizations to affiliate to the International Farmers' Council (the Red Farmers' International).

Simultaneously the red unions must give the greatest support to the struggle of the toiling farmers against the landowners, the exploiting rich farmers, the bureaucracy and the officialdom, which struggle has hitherto in the most cases taken spontaneous form (the agrarian movement), and thus to demonstrate the possibility and necessity of a militant union of both camps in the struggle against the capitalists and the landowners.

Only in such case will it be possible to get this section of the farmers to join in the struggle against capitalism, to draw it into the fight against the capitalist system of production, and not only to secure its support for the strike struggle of the farm laborers, but to have in the person of the toiling farmers at the decisive moments of the revolutionary struggle of labor as a whole, if not an active ally, at least an element that is not hostile

In following this course, the red unions will not only make the rear of the labor movement secure in the struggle against capitalism, but by drawing the farmers into its organization, into joint committees of action against Fascism, reaction and war menace, they will defeat capital with the aid of the toiling farmers.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U., re-affirming the decisions adopted at its previous congress on the enormous importance of the utmost strengthening of the work among the farm laborers, believe that it is the direct task of all the red unions at present:

a. To help the many millions of land and forest workers employed in large estates by rich landowners, in villages by well-to-do peasants, at plantations and in forests, to realize their class position.

b. To render organizational and material assistance to this most exploited and downtrodden section of the proletariat, so as to break it away from the influence of petty bourgeois illusions, of reformism and national Fascism, overcome its disunity and create a powerful class organization of land and forest workers.

This task of the class education and organization of the agricul-

tural laborers and particularly of those employed directly by farmers in the village, is hindered by the following circumstances:

- a. The scatteredness of the land and forest workers,
- b. Lack of class consciousness on the part of the masses,
- c. Absence of a staff of necessary organizers from among their own ranks,
- d. Extremely low wages,
- e. Slaving conditions and exploitation of their labor, especially in the colonial and Eastern countries, the Negro and other agricultural workers in America and other countries,
- f. The great power of the land owners' organizations.

The class conscious movement of the land and forest workers, which has a history of only 25 years, and which appeared in many countries only shortly before the war, is characterised by:

- a. Strong influence of reformism and other petty bourgeois tendencies over it,
- b. Strong influence of the organizations of the big land owners, of the intellectuals and rich peasants over the farm workers' movement,
- c. Craft, nationalist, religious and political divisions,
- d. Exceptionally low percentage of organized elements,
- e. Clogging of the class organizations by employers and other elements, not belonging to the class of wage workers.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. notes the weak condition of the work among the land and forest workers, which resulted in the outbreak of unsuccessful spontaneous strikes of farm workers in many countries, and considers it necessary to draw the attention of all of its sections and organizations to the importance of strengthening its work by:

- a. Organizing by industrial unions and union centers of special funds for the work among the farm workers.
- b. Appointing organizers for the work in existing revolutionary unions and for the strengthening of the influence of the R. I. L. U. in the reformist and other mass organizations of the land and forest workers.
- c. Assigning men and funds for the creation of farm laborers' unions in countries where none are in existence.
- d. Supporting all the independent strike struggles of the land workers by the industrial workers and trades and labor councils.
- e. Drawing the land and forest workers into the general class struggle and into the building up of unions.
- f. Giving prominence to the slogans and demands of the farm workers in all the mass economic and political struggles of the city workers.
- g. Raising the question connected with the movement and situation of the land and forest workers at all the central and local congresses and conferences and meetings.
- h. Creating in the various countries a mass popular press for the rank and file of the land and forest workers.
- i. Organizing the struggle and committees of action of land and industrial workers against fascism and reaction.

The Third Congress draws the special attention of all of its organizations to the necessity of strengthening and developing a network of rank and file nuclei (workers' committees) in the landed estates and

villages, to unite the land and forest workers and particularly the wage workers of the rich farmer.

The Congress attaches serious importance also to the drawing into the land and forest workers' organizations of the toiling intelligentsia of the village (agronomers, surveyors, foresters, etc).

Directing the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. to offer their utmost support to the movement of the land and forest workers, the Third Congress believes that the land workers' unions can and should become a most important link in the connection between the workers and the revolutionary section of the farmers, so imperatively necessary for the success of the class struggle.

However, this task can be carried out by the farm proletariat only in the measure as its organizations and class education grows.

The Congress considers it inadvisable to create permanent joint organizations with the toiling farmers and emphasizes the necessity of having independent class organizations of land and forest workers.

The Congress also opposes as inadvisable and harmful, organizational amalgamation of the land and forest workers' unions with the unions of other industries, considering that this hinders the development of the work among the land and forest workers.

The Congress also considers it specially important to establish unity in the movement of the land and forest workers which has been prevented by the reformist heads of the International Federation of Land Workers affiliated to Amsterdam.

The Congress directs the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. to give special attention to the support of the land and forest workers' movement and to its revival in countries where it has been crushed by Fascism and reaction (Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Spain, Poland, Esthonia, Bulgaria) and to the organization of class unions of land and forest workers in the Eastern and colonial countries.

The congress emphasizes the importance of drawing Negro farm workers into the land workers' organizations of America.

No. 10.

Resolution on the Organizational Question

THE Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. reaffirms the basic resolution of the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. on the organization question (in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh clauses).

As a development of the basic principles of the above resolution of the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. and considering the changed conditions of the present labor movement, manifested in a general enlivening in the chief capitalist countries, the Third Congress finds that the immediate organizational tasks of the revolutionary unions are as follows:

- 1. It is Necessary to Get Under Our Control the Spontaneous Action of the Working Masses and to Assume the Leadership of these Actions.**

This will become possible if the revolutionary unions will always know in time what is going on in the thickest of the working masses, if they enjoy prestige even among the most backward workers, if they are militant enough always to be able to give definite expression to the demands of the working masses. It is necessary to strengthen the forming of nuclei in all the establishments and labor organizations un-

affiliated to the R. I. L. U. The work of these nuclei should be coordinated with the respective revolutionary unions, which should keep in close contact with the local Communist organizations.

2. It is Necessary to Embrace the Broad Working Masses by the Revolutionary Organizations of Workers.

More than ever must the revolutionary organizations, together with the minorities of the reformist unions, struggle for the organization of all the workers in revolutionary industrial unions. Special attention should be given to the development of the work of the shop committees, to delegate and general meetings of the workers in the establishments. The shop committees and the workers' meetings should be foremost in drawing the unorganized and the passive workers into activity and into the struggle of the revolutionary unions. The revolutionary industrial unions should be based upon shop committees and upon the broadest initiative of the rank and file. During strikes and other action, the shop committees should be the principal starting points of the movement.

In every combine or trust the workers should be organized into a single shop committee, conducting the struggle against the exploiters. These shop committees should direct the movement of the workers in the undertakings of the particular combine or trust, irrespective of whatever they produce or of the trades of the workers.

From among the workers of each establishment, control committees should be elected to establish workers' control over production. The control committees are to work under the general guidance of the shop committee.

3. The Workers Should Be Organized Into Militant Industrial Unions, Nationally and Internationally.

At present the separate isolated unions, disconnected from the other unions of the particular industry, are too weak to conduct a victorious struggle against modern organized capital, against the trusts or combines. The trade unions should be welded together into industrial unions and the industrial unions should be united by groups of important industries. The industrial unions of the various countries should be united on an international scale, and this unification should be carried out from below in the process of joint struggle. The joint struggle should be directed mainly by the I. P. C's and by specially organized committees of action.

4. Organization of Economic Reconnaissance.

The struggle against the powerful capitalist associations of the modern times is very difficult and requires an exact knowledge of the forces of the enemy. All the union bodies must organize economic reconnaissance. This reconnoitring machinery of the unions will have to keep track of the real forces and the intentions of the capitalists. The revolutionary unions and minorities should immediately take up the organization of such a reconnoitring system in the form of the present committees of workers' control. Into this work should be drawn in, through the trade unions, the employees of banks and administrative undertakings as well as the employees of the institutions and organizations which regulate industry.

5. Organization of the Unemployed.

Under the capitalist system there always exists and always will exist a tremendous reserve army of labor in the person of the unemployed. These unemployed are in danger of losing contact with the labor movement, as the crisis in the capitalist countries is a permanent phenomenon, and unemployment becomes of a lasting character. The capitalists and their armed agents, the Fascists, have recruited adherents and strike breakers from among the unemployed. Driven by hunger, the unemployed may become weapons in the hands of any capitalist machinations against the working class. It is necessary that the employed workers render their unemployed comrades material aid, and maintain permanent connections with them, especially during serious disputes with capital.

The revolutionary unions and minorities should give special attention to the unemployed union members and should conduct educational activities among them in order to raise their class consciousness. The unions should utilize their unemployed members in the organization of the union work.

Everything possible should be done to mitigate unemployment by the establishment of fixed benefits for the unemployed, at the expense of the capitalists and of the State, to be issued under the control of the shop committees and trade unions. The benefits should be equal to the regular wage which the unemployed received when he worked. The revolutionary organizations and minorities should fight for the principle of employment to all the unemployed accompanied by a shortening of the work day.

6. Co-ordination of the Work of the Revolutionary Unions with that of all Class Organizations Serving the Workers in any Particular Field.

Among these organizations are the workers' co-operatives, the International Workers' Relief, the Red Sport organizations, the organizations of the poor farmers, and of the semi-proletarianized petty bourgeoisie. The co-operatives and the International Workers' Relief should play a prominent part in aiding workers on strike and locked out. As regards the International Red Aid, it should do its utmost to alleviate the situation of our fighters imprisoned by the international bourgeoisie. The revolutionary unions should maintain connections with the Farmers' International, the sport organizations, and the various organizations of consumers, tenants and taxpayers, and should utilize them in their offensive upon the bourgeoisie and its henchmen.

7. Joint Work of the Revolutionary Unions and Communist Parties.

Our life and death enemies—the capitalists—have class organizations working hand in hand in the economic and political fields. The same applies to the reformists. In order that our struggle may be successful, we must closely and openly link up with the Communist Party, the vanguard of the Revolution. The revolutionary unions should carry on their activities together with the Communist Party. Where the revolutionary movement has been suppressed and there is no legal possibility for union work, underground nuclei should be formed to take place of the legal revolutionary unions in case the latter are temporarily shattered by the armed bands of the bourgeoisie.

8. Strengthening of our International Connections.

Special attention should be given to the establishment of direct connections between the workers of bordering regions of various States. In counteraction to the capitalist savage attacks in the bordering regions, joint committees of the workers of the bordering regions should be formed. These committees of action should be guided by the I. P. C's and should maintain intimate connections with all the unions of the particular regions and countries. Trade unionists should be moved from the bordering region of one country to that of the neighboring country, in order to strengthen the personal connections between the adjacent revolutionary organizations.

To further the interests of the proletarian revolution and the growth of the power of the labor organizations, the connections between the workers of the Metropolis and of the colonies should be strengthened. The capitalists should be deprived of all possibility of using the masses of colonial slaves for the suppression of the revolutionary activities of the workers of the Metropolis. This can be achieved primarily by the workers of the European countries steadily supporting the emancipation movement of the colonial proletariat.

The revolutionary unions of the European and colonial countries are charged with the duty of maintaining regular correspondence with each other, exchanging delegates, and taking other steps to facilitate co-operation.

9. Preparation of the Working Masses for the Final Decisive Battles with World Capital.

All the energy of the revolutionary unions should be directed not only at the protection of the interests of the working class against advancing capital and against the demoralizing influence of reformism, but also at the preparation of the working masses for the decisive battles against the class of capitalists and their bourgeois government.

If at present the capitalists convert practically every strike into a civil war, and the initiative of attack is now entirely in the hands of the armed bourgeoisie, it is time for the working masses to arm themselves and check the offensive of the brazen executioners of the working class.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. calls upon all the workers and all the revolutionary unions to be ready to win with arms in their hands the fight for a better future.

No. 11.

The Struggle Against Fascist Labor Unions

FASCISM is a manifestation of the post-war period and must not be confused with the traditional forms of bourgeois reaction. Fascism may be considered as the armed organization of the bourgeoisie endeavoring to find support for themselves by the mobilization of the middle classes of the population in an epoch when civil war becomes necessary.

Fascism and democracy are two forms of the bourgeois dictatorship, the overthrow of which is possible only as the result of the general revolutionary action of the working class, directed to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. Conditions for the existence of Fascism are:
 - a. The general crisis in the economic system of capitalism.
 - b. A situation developing out of the failure of the proletariat to capture the power at a favorable moment.
 - c. The vacillation and treachery of the social democrats, as also their mistaken policy in regard to the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry.
3. The Fascist movement is based mainly upon:
 - a. The small industrial and peasant bourgeoisie, civil servants, office workers and sections of the unskilled and backward workers.
 - b. Officers, demobilized after the Armistice and all the military clique deprived of their privileges after the conclusion of peace.
 - c. The nationalist organizations of ex-service men and students' unions.
 - d. National conflicts with the States.
4. The most effective means of obtaining victory over Fascism is the undermining of its bases (enumerated in § 3) for which purpose it is necessary:

- a. By means of strong labor organizations to support the economic demands of the peasants and agricultural workers which may be satisfied only as the result of class associations between the town and village proletariat in the struggle for the destruction of capitalism.
- b. To fight for economic demands of the office workers by uniting them in class labor organizations.
- c. Energetically to pursue the decisions of the R. I. L. U. of the necessity of uniting in the labor movement, irrespective of national distinctions (Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, etc).
- d. To organize the unemployed, energetically defending their interests, taking all measures to prevent their breaking away from the union. To do this the supporters of the R. I. L. U. must make every effort to facilitate the prosecution of the decisions of the previous congresses of the R. I. L. U. on the question of unemployment.

5. The necessity with which the bourgeoisie is faced, of hindering any form of mass action and any development of the organized labor movement, brings to life the Fascist unions.

The slogan of the R. I. L. U. adherents must be "DESTRUCTION OF THE FASCIST LABOR UNIONS."

This slogan may be realized only by means of a direct armed struggle and by the re-establishment of class unions.

To organize the armed struggle it is necessary to form workers' detachments and an organization of the defensive and offensive of the working class.

To achieve the re-establishment of class unions, it is necessary:

- a. To raise the slogan "Leave the Fascist unions and join the class union."
- b. To facilitate in those countries where circumstances permit it (Italy) the formation of independent unions as an intermediary stage between the abandonment of the Fascist unions and adherence to the C. G. T.
- c. To force the Fascist labor unions towards the road of class struggle by means of mass action, stimulating and utilizing in

every possible way such mass action, even if directed by the Fascist unions.

- d. To intensify the activity of the revolutionary nuclei within the Fascist unions. The nuclei must demand that the union officials be elected and that the union masses participate in every phase of union life. Should we succeed in developing large scale union activities in the Fascist unions, the latter will soon cease to be Fascist organizations.
- e. To endeavor to obtain in the Fascist unions where the petty bourgeoisie participates actively in the union life, the satisfaction of its demands against the large proprietors and the State.
6. The disorganization of the working class is very favorable to the development of Fascism. The disunion is stimulated by the Social Democrats, who adopt the tactic of passive resistance and of sectional struggle, or even of open collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Therefore it is necessary to concentrate all efforts upon the establishment of a united front of the entire working class, not excluding the Fascist workers.

7. One of the most effective means of achieving unity of the proletariat and of mobilizing the working class for the struggle against Fascism and reformism, is the prosecution of an extensive campaign for shop committees. Only by means of energetic work among the working masses on the spot may we achieve the reconstruction of the class unions broken by the Fascists.

In cases where the State demands obligatory membership in the Fascist labor unions, and recognizes them as the sole legal organs of the working class, it is the duty of the adherents of the R. I. L. U. to organize a solid opposition of the revolutionary elements, in order to explode the Fascist unions from within.

The R. I. L. U. adherents must give special attention to the organization of immigrant workers to counter-act the Fascist propaganda carried on among them.

The congress urges the necessity of collecting all material on the Fascist movement and of carrying on an extensive propaganda campaign against it.

The most desirable means of propaganda is the publication of small striking leaflets, exposing to the international proletariat the crime of Fascism.

No. 12.

Resolution on Emigration

CAPITALIST exploitation causes the emigration of the workers of different countries. Beggarly wages, bad conditions of labor and political persecution are the cause of the emigration of workers from many countries.

On the other hand, the prospects of a good wage and better living conditions, which are the result of propaganda and shameless advertisements used by the capitalists of the countries of immigration, enable the latter, in their struggle against the proletariat, to execute a double manoeuvre:

1. To obtain a foreign labor force, which, because of the lack of

political and social rights, is placed in a worse position, than the local workers, and therefore more easily exploited.

2. To fight successfully against the demands of the native workers, by means of the competition of foreign workers.

Sometimes the authorities and employers even grant to immigrant workers certain illusory advantages, but that is done exclusively for the purpose of provoking hostility towards the foreign workers among the local laboring population. For instance, the Polish agricultural workers imported into Germany, do not pay the 10 percent tax which is deducted from the wages of the local workers.

3. Emigration was greatly developed yet before the war, particularly among certain peoples—the Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Austrians, Chinese, etc. Already at that time the United States, South America, France, the colonies and dominions received this stream of immigrants.

But the war, having upset the political and economic conditions of the capitalist countries, brought about an enormous development of the emigration movement. In some countries, such as Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria the violence of reaction and fascism drove the revolutionary workers from their native country. On the other hand, the economic situation created by the shattering of the capitalist system and the reaction is so terrible, that the workers emigrate to other countries en masse. Unemployment, which has particularly developed in Germany and England, also causes emigration, which will increase.

4. Thus, millions of workers annually come to the countries of immigration. At the present time the main centre of immigration is France. Three millions of foreign workers were imported into France for restoration work in the devastated regions, for the supply of labor power necessary in industry, and in order to compensate for labor deficits due to the lower birth rate. Brazil, the United States, Argentine, also receive large contingents of immigrants. Besides, many English and Dutch workers move to the colonies and the dominions. It is also necessary to note the fact that the agricultural crisis which is extremely acute in South America, causes an influx of a considerable number of agricultural workers into the industrial centers, who augment the number of unemployed. A similar situation, somewhat less acute, obtains in some European countries.

The revolutionary labor unions must strive to free the laboring masses from the illusions born of misleading advertisements of international capital. They must warn the workers who intend to emigrate against the dangers arising for the proletariat from leaving the currents of emigration movement to the sole control and influence of capitalism; they must show to the working class that emigration and immigration are only the outcome of capitalist exploitation, phenomena of the same order of unemployment and over-production.

5. In order to protect the interests of emigrant workers under the capitalist regime, in order to conduct among them the same revolutionary propaganda as among the labor masses of the local population the R. I. L. U. and its sections must develop an intensive and incessant activity and create organs necessary for enlisting into the unions those laborers who are torn from their native land and subjected to cruel exploitation. To achieve this purpose, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. considers necessary the practical realization of the following proposals:

ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE, the establishment inside of the Latin Bureau, of an International Emigration Office, whose task will be:

- a. To gather information and statistical data regarding international emigration and immigration.
- b. To assure connections between the central organs of the labor union movement of the countries most interested in the emigration movement.
- c. To struggle against the import and export of strike-breaking forces.
- d. To convey to the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. necessary information and documents, which would enable it to direct the emigration current into the channels of the revolutionary international labor movement for the interests of the proletariat.

ON A NATIONAL SCALE: To create in the interested countries, by the efforts of labor centers, bureaus of emigration and immigration, the main tasks of which will be:

- a. To cause the creation of a bureau of immigration in the interested regions and localities; to strive for the establishment of frontier, port and station bureaus for propaganda and information; to organize at the places of embarkation abroad propaganda, similar to that which is conducted among the local proletariat; to secure necessary information regarding the conditions of the labor market in those countries, where the emigrants are going.
- b. To strive for the creation inside of industrial unions of legal aid bureaus for the defence of the every-day interests of the immigrants and propaganda among them (control over the execution of labor contracts, the hygienic condition of the houses for emigrants, etc.)
- c. To be connected with the International Bureau and the emigration office and to supply them regularly with information and statistical data regarding the emigration movement in a given country.
- d. To communicate directly with similar bureaus in those countries where the emigrants are moving or which supplies the labor power.

Immigrant workers must not form special unions, but join as rightful members of the existing labor organizations in which they must be given the same rights and the same duties as the local workers.

The Role of the International Propaganda Committees.

Parallel with the work conducted by the International Office and the national emigration bureaus, the industrial International Propaganda Committees must turn their attention to the emigration movement and strive for the realization of the following aims:

- a. To assure a strong connection between the industrial unions for the purpose of organization of the immigrant workers and to struggle for the improvement of their material and moral conditions.
- b. To centralize all statistical data on the emigration movement of every industry for the purpose of informing the interested unions about the emigration movement.
- c. To assure a connection between industrial unions and the emigration bureaus for the purpose of conducting a concerted struggle against the bourgeoisie which endeavors to create com-

petition in the labor market between the new-comers and the local workers.

Organization of Printed Propaganda.

- a. On an international scale: the publication of pamphlets, periodical press organs, circulars designated for active workers' propagandists.
- b. On a national scale: articles in foreign languages in labor organs published by the central committees of the unions, district organizations, local unions, etc.; leaflets, circulars etc.

It is also necessary to begin the publication of magazines in different languages, to the extent demanded by the development of emigration. For the purpose of gathering necessary material for those magazines, the editors must maintain constant communication with the bureaus of those countries whence the emigrants come.

Particular attention must be given to the organization of press propaganda among the agricultural emigrant masses, in view of the necessity of a close alliance of the agricultural proletariat with the industrial workers.

In all published magazines, pamphlets, circulars, etc., must be printed the addresses of the revolutionary labor organizations of those countries where the emigrants are going.

BASIC DEMANDS.

- a. The right of coalition of unions and strikes of immigrants on equal terms with local workers.
- b. A guarantee of equal pay for immigrant labor in the same category of workers as for local workers and the regulation of wages by union schedules.
- c. Fulfilments of labor contracts made on the above conditions.
- d. Separation of the housing contract from the labor contract.
- e. Equal rights with local workers in unemployment relief, social insurance, legal aid, etc.
- f. Organization of efficient medical aid on board of emigrant steamships and obligatory insurance against accidents during the voyage.
- g. Equal rights with local workers at election of factory delegates, representatives of mutual aid societies, arbitration chambers, etc., etc.
- h. Establishment in the largest immigration centers of free trade schools for the education of foreign workers in the technical methods applied in a given country; establishment of free schools for instruction in the local language.
- i. Obligation to put at the immigrants' disposal quarters found suitable after inspection by a sanitary commission with the participation of representatives of labor organizations.

It is necessary to insist upon the above enumerated demands also with regard to woman and child labor, for the purpose of equalizing the immigrant women and children with the natives.

Every central body should adjust its demands for the immigrant workers to the social legislation and working conditions existing for foreign workers in the particular country.

Such organization must seek to cover the expenses arising out of the task of creating emigration organs as specified above.

The significance of the emigration must be fully appraised. Even

if at the beginning financial sacrifices may seem heavy for the union organizations, the international revolutionary movement will soon reap the fruits of active propaganda and systematic work among those energetic workers who are compelled by the cruel necessity of the struggle for existence to quit their native land and who, therefore, often manifest a higher fighting spirit than the passive masses who stay at home.

Conclusion.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. once more states the necessity of dispelling the illusions spread among the working masses by the selfish appeals of the employers who are interested in encouraging emigration. In every country the proletariat is subject to cruel exploitation, and must stand unemployment, lengthening of labor hours and cuts in wages. Emigration makes it possible for capitalism to perpetuate this state of affairs. It will disappear only in consequence of a world revolution, when all wealth will pass into the hands of those who create it, the proletariat of all countries.

No. 13.

Thesis on the Work Amongst the Women

THE general offensive of capital in the last few years has shown with the greatest clearness that the lowering of the standard of living of the whole of the working class, namely the reduction in wages, the lengthening of the working day, and even the partial, in some cases complete, abolition of labor legislation has dealt most hardly with the woman worker.

This is explained by the fact that despite the great numerical strength of women in production, their active participation in the work of the trade unions in all countries, with the exception of the union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is extraordinarily insignificant.

This and the lack of class consciousness among the women workers are exploited by the capitalists for the purpose not only of sharpening competition between the male and the female sections of the working class, but to create in the ranks of the working class itself a support for their counter-revolutionary endeavors. In this way they wish to break the unity of the proletarian defensive and offensive.

The reformist trade unions are fully to blame for the success of capitalist designs, up to the present, for they only make a sham of defending the interests of the working woman. By their policy of class collaboration, by their criminal lack of activity and by failing to enforce their own rules, they help to maintain the most brutal forms of exploitation of the women workers and cause their flight from the unions.

The Amsterdam leaders have hitherto done nothing to make the class fighting spirit of the women workers manifest itself, but, on the contrary, they always suppressed any expression of a will to fight, and time and again even opposed those women workers who had already started the fight (Germany).

It is a pressing duty of the revolutionary trade unions to offer energetic resistance to the machinations of the capitalist and reformists by means of class education activities among the women and by drawing

them into the armies of active class fighters. All measures must be taken to stop the flight of the women workers from the unions.

The steady worsening of the situation of the women workers in production in all the capitalist states, is undoubtedly creating favorable conditions for revolutionary work among the women workers in industry and on the land, among the organized, as well as amongst those who have left the unions.

II. Methods of Work.

1. **Work in the factories.** The main field of our work is the factory where the working women must be surrounded by the revolutionary influence. "Working women's commissions" must be created in the factory. In those factories where the majority of the factory committee consists of revolutionary elements, the working women's commissions are part of the factory committee working under its direct leadership. Where there are no factory committees, the R. I. L. U. adherents are to create working women's commissions to work under the direct leadership of the revolutionary minority of the industrial union.

2. The tasks of the above commissions are to strengthen the revolutionary influence among the women workers, to support all actions of the revolutionary minority aimed at defending the demands and slogans of the red labor unions, to elect working women to the factory committee and its commissions, and also into all union bodies from top to bottom.

3. By no means should these commissions lead to the formation of special working women's groupings in and outside of the unions. Their task is to draw the broad masses of the working women into the revolutionary minority. These commissions are to organize and conduct lectures and conferences of working women, to spread among them political and union press publications, in which the working women should directly participate (working women correspondents).

4. In the Red Unions and in the revolutionary minorities. All independent red unions and revolutionary minorities should appoint a special comrade from among the members of the executive committee of the union to carry out the practical measures in the field of work among the working women. Where the majority of workers in a particular branch of industry consists of women, the work should be conducted by women as far as possible. The R. I. L. U. adherents must strive to gain the maximum of influence over the working women in those organizations which were especially created by the reformist labor unions for work among the working women (propaganda and agitation commissions).

III. The Practical Tasks of the R. I. L. U. Adherents.

The revolutionary minorities and the red labor unions must put forth concrete revolutionary slogans of struggle which are inseparably connected with the everyday needs of the entire working class in general and of the women workers in particular. The slogans, however, are not an end in themselves but only a means for bringing together the broad masses of working women in a revolutionary way and for drawing them into the general economic and political struggle. The red unions must fight for the following demands:

1. Equal pay for equal work of male and female workers in all branches of industry and agriculture, for all employes of city, communal,

co-operative, commercial, industrial, state and other establishments and enterprises.

2. Abolition of piece work.
3. Abolition of different wage-calculations which disguise lower wages for women.
4. Application of female labor in all branches of industry except those which are particularly injurious to health.
5. Raising the skill of the working women by means of drawing them into existing technical schools and courses.
6. Abolition of night work and over time work.
7. Protection of women labor (protection of motherhood and babyhood, obligatory eight weeks' leave before and after childbirth, with full pay). Place and time for child feeding to be accorded.
8. Fight against dismissals at time of pregnancy and child feeding.
9. Fight against the reformist demand of dismissing married women from the factory (so-called "correct selections of those to be dismissed").
10. Struggle for equal unemployment relief for men and women.

No. 14.

The Role of the Trade Unions in the Labor Sport Movement

THE sport and gymnastic movement has assumed large dimensions in every country, especially after the war.

The main cause for this is the drawing of broad masses of the people into industry which makes it necessary for them to seek in sport and gymnastics a recreation after the harmful monotony of the factory work and a means of securing normal functioning of the human body.

The greater the industrialization of the country, the more widespread is the sport movement. On the other hand, capitalism fully realizing the colossal importance of sport and gymnastics for the greater exploitation of the workers, for subjecting them to its ideology and diverting their attention from political and labor activities, and for developing a chauvinist and militarist spirit, has been cultivating sport in its class interests.

The R. I. L. U. must make every effort to influence the working class and to further their revolutionary education.

The sport and gymnastic activity of the world proletariat in which several million workers are taking part, and the activity of the culture societies of the proletariat, (such as musical, singing, sanitary, excursion and other circles), if properly directed and systematically guided, may become one of the most effective means of the revolutionary education of the working class, a means of raising the proletarian culture, a means of proletarian self-defense against Fascism, and of preparing the proletariat for participation in the revolutionary struggle. They will also be instrumental in rallying the workers around the unions.

At the present time this activity of the workers is in most countries materially and organizationally dependent upon the bourgeoisie, which keeps it under its ideological influence and uses it for the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie is assisted in this by the Amsterdam International, which, under the cloak of neutrality of sport, adjusts the sport and gymnastic movement of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie,

and reduces it to the role of servant of capital and of the counter-revolutionary interests of the bourgeois state.

In 1920, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat put on the order of the day the task of internationally uniting the activities of the sport and gymnastics organizations for the purpose of giving the labor sport movement a revolutionary class character.

The Red Sport International, formed in 1921, at the International Conference of Labor Sport and Gymnastic Organizations, recognized as its task the revolutionary education of the labor sporting masses, their emancipation from the ideological and organizational dependence upon the bourgeoisie, the drawing in of the workers into sport organizations and the enlistment of these organizations in the proletarian revolutionary struggle.

The three years of work of the Red Sport International promoted the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the labor sporting masses. The sport international has created among the workers' sport and gymnastic organizations revolutionary factions to combat the bourgeois ideology and the reformist muddle. These factions became fundamental nuclei of the Red Sport International and prepared the ground for the broadest sport activity of the labor unions.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. recognizing the great importance of the proletarian sport as a mighty revolutionary instrument in the hands of the labor unions for educating, consolidating and disciplining the masses, considers it necessary to draw the special attention of the labor unions to the question of sport.

The labor sport and gymnastic movement at the present time places before the labor unions the following tasks:

1. To discuss in the entire labor press the questions of the sport movement of the bourgeois, reformist and revolutionary movements and to establish a correct line and program of work.

2. By an energetic systematic agitation and propaganda, to make it clear to the sporting labor mass:

- a. That the labor sporting masses are interested in the economic and political struggle of the working class, and particularly in their capacity as sportsmen, they are interested in the struggle against the lengthening of the work day; the lowering of wages and the aggravation of living conditions.

- b. That the sporting and gymnastic activity of the proletariat depending upon the direction in which it will develop, may become either a most important factor of its revolutionary struggle, or a means of strengthening reaction, Fascism, and militarism.

- c. That the reformist activity of the Lucerne Sport International, which assumes the position of the neutrality of sport, actually leads to the use of the labor sport organizations for the defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and for the struggle against the revolutionary labor movement and that the refusal of the Lucerne International to create a united labor sport front and its demand that the Red Sport International should be dissolved, are a result of its reformist and bourgeois policy.

- d. That many sporting societies and clubs, which include workers among their membership, are organs of Fascism, agencies for the supply of strikebreakers and are led by counter-revolutionary hooligans and murderers, are conductors of bourgeois influences and laboratories of chauvinist, militarist tendencies.

e. That the workers, remaining in the bourgeois sport organizations, become traitors to the working class, and that therefore, all labor sportsmen must leave the bourgeois sporting societies and clubs, and join the existing labor sport organizations or form new societies.

3. To create red labor factions in the bourgeois sporting societies and clubs for the purpose of widening the agitation and propaganda for labor sport.

4. To demand the merging of sporting circles formed by the employers in the factories and mills, with the existing labor sporting and gymnastic organizations.

5. To form red factions in all reformist labor sporting societies and clubs.

6. To form red labor sporting organizations and to affiliate them to the Red Sport International.

7. To draw the sporting labor factions and organizations into the struggle against Fascism and against all other counter-revolutionary organizations.

To carry all this out, the labor unions of all countries have to work out a program of sporting activity.

In that program, first place must be given to the methods of mass agitation for the transformation of the labor sport movement into a general revolutionary class movement. The forms of revolutionizing the sporting activities of the working class should be mentioned in this program. The organization of contests, the working out of programs and plans for them, the selection of organizers, coaches, and instructors, capable of transforming the labor sport movement into a real revolutionary movement—all this should occupy a conspicuous place in the program.

In the countries where there are already labor sport societies in existence, the organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. must insist upon their members leaving the bourgeois sport organizations and entering into the workers' organizations.

The red unions must direct all their efforts toward merging the dual labor sport organizations, and struggle for the creation of a united labor sport international through the holding of an international unity congress.

No. 15.

The Trade Unions and the Co-operatives

I. Revolutionary Activities Within the Co-operatives.

IN order to transform the co-operatives into useful tools for the class war, systematic work must be continued inside the co-operatives according to the principles outlined at the Second Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, since they have proven their full practical value.

The most important slogans, however, which must be proclaimed to the workers in more energetic fashion than has hitherto been done, are:

a. Join the co-operatives.

It is the duty of all trade unionists to be at the same time members of the co-operatives and to take an active part in the work of the revolutionary fractions within the co-operative movement.

b. Common action of the trade unions and the co-operatives.

It is up to every trade union organization to participate as actively as possible in the co-operative movement in order to build up good mutual relationships on a proletarian basis, and in order to be able to support one another in the struggles.

2. Transformation of the Co-operatives into Organs of the Working Class.

After the trade unions the co-operatives are the greatest congregating centers of the proletarian masses. The co-operatives, which are under reformist leadership, exercise a more pernicious and confusing influence on the ideology of the workers than even the reformist trade unions themselves; more especially is this so with regard to the vacillating elements and the great mass of working class housewives. To bring revolutionary enlightenment and class war propaganda into the co-operatives is, therefore, a most eminent political task.

For decades the reformist leaders of the co-operatives systematically worked to make the co-operatives mere tools in their policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie; they have made them strongholds of social treason and instruments for use against the class war. In order to transform the co-operatives into class organs of the proletariat, we must conduct a struggle against the policy of betraying the working class which is practiced by the bureaucrats of the co-operatives; this struggle to consist in untiring enlightenment work, in strengthening the class consciousness of the toiling masses, in building up a genuine democracy inside the mass of co-operative members. Instead of the nonsensical slogan of "political neutrality" which is in reality nothing but collaboration with the enemies of the working class, we must have a clear proletarian policy and a closer solidarity with all class conscious proletarian organizations. In order to strengthen the organizational apparatus of the fighting proletariat through the co-operatives, it is necessary to draw them into the struggle against the high cost of living, into all trade union battles and into the political struggles waged by the class conscious proletariat for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. Amalgamation with Agricultural Co-operative Associations.

Among the land workers and small farmers co-operative work must be carried on more intensively. The factory committees and trade unions should endeavor to link up the producing co-operative associations of the small peasants with the consuming co-operative associations of the city workers for the purpose of a direct exchange of goods and the elimination of private trade. The producing co-operative associations of the small peasants should supply the proletarian town co-operatives with foodstuffs, while the town co-operatives must deliver articles necessary for the rural workers and small peasants.

These connections can not only be used for supporting industrial workers in their wage struggles, but it is of decisive importance for victory in the civil war and the proletarian revolution.

4. Proletarian Aid Funds of the Co-operatives.

It is the proletarian duty of the co-operatives materially to support in the most active manner the victims of class justice, military dictatorship, white terror and Fascism, to give material aid to the revolutionary press, and especially to render solidarity aid to the unemployed, the locked-out and the striking workers. For the purpose of this active support, the co-operatives should create special permanent aid funds. The revolutionary co-operators and trade unions must in common see to it

that the next meeting of the co-operatives should create an aid fund corresponding to its financial strength and that the members should decide to hand over their dividends to this fund. Such funds must be created by the central associations on a national scale and by the co-operative alliance on an international scale.

5. The Co-operatives as Supply Bases During the Struggles of the Working Class.

During mass struggles of the working class the revolutionary trade unions shall call upon the co-operatives to organize active aid for the fighters. This is to consist of:

- a. Direct distribution of provisions (potatoes, bread, fats, etc.).
- b. Credit for the purchase of food.
- c. Distribution of municipal and other relief through the co-operative apparatus.
- d. The organization of co-operative food kitchens, warming halls, etc.
- e. Collection of money and foods in the retail co-operative stores.
- f. Co-operative gathering of agricultural products on the land, bringing them into town and distributing them among the masses, this to be accompanied by the establishment of permanent business connections with the organizations of the working farmers.

6. In complement to the decisions of the last congress, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. further points out the following **concrete tasks** of great urgency in countries seriously facing the question of conquest of power, tasks to be propagated in common by the revolutionary trade unionists and co-operators and where possible to be carried out:

- a. Model working conditions in all co-operatives and their factories.
- b. Rank and file commissions in all co-operative undertakings for the control of all production, buying and distribution.
- c. Goods to be bought exclusively from those factories, agricultural undertakings and trading concerns in which trade union conditions are in force.
- d. Struggle for the conquest of factory co-operatives maintained by the employer which are nothing but a modern truck system; these to be taken over by the workers and office staffs and affiliated to the local working class co-operatives.
- e. Supply centers for delivering goods to the co-operatives to be established either in the factories or in their immediate neighborhood, in order to draw the entire body of employes into co-operative activities.
- f. Pressure to be exercised on the co-operatives to take over the retail stores that belong to unions, so that the latter may be free to carry on the class struggle.
- g. Fight against the so-called guild socialism (building guilds, etc.) which awakens fresh reformist illusions and is leading the workers away from the direct conception that only after the conquest of political power will it be possible to socialize the economic structure of society.
- h. Support for the attempts at bringing all workers' monies into one labor bank. The trade unions should especially see to it that their current funds are placed at the disposal of the class conscious co-operative movement.

7. International Proletarian Fighting Versus Pact of the Leaders.

The bloc arranged between the International Co-operative Alliance and the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions in December, 1922, in the Hague to be widened by the inclusion of the R. I. L. U. The revolutionary masses in the co-operative and labor unions must see to it that in place of a reformist pact of leaders, there should be set up ONE COMMON INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING FRONT OF THE CLASS CONSCIOUS CO-OPERATORS AND TRADE UNIONISTS.

No. 16.

The Tasks of the International Revolutionary Labor Press

THE international revolutionary labor press must pursue chiefly the aims of the best, most popular and simplest description and the widest publication of the principles of the revolutionary tactics of the R. I. L. U., of the decisions of its congresses, explaining all the resolutions adopted by the congress, etc., and must also show the treacherous role of the leaders of the Amsterdam International, particularly on the question of the split of the international labor movement.

2. The revolutionary labor press should devote much attention to the labor situation in every country and to the labor struggle, describing it from the point of view of revolutionary principles and tactics.

3. The revolutionary labor press should conduct persistent propaganda against all social patriotism and political neutrality in the international labor movement; special attention should be given particularly to social legislation, the activity of the International Bureau of the League of Nations and to its connections with the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions. It is also necessary to give more attention to the workers' co-operative movement.

4. In view of the extreme importance of drawing the toiling farmers to the side of the proletarian revolution, a wide agitation campaign should be embarked upon, giving special publicity to the International Farmers' Council.

5. The revolutionary labor press should not only criticize reformism, but should also give a theoretical analysis of all the new problems arising in the international labor movement. Special attention should be given to the working out of a theoretical basis for the shop committees, the strike strategy, the relations between the Communist party and the unions, the national and racial inter-relations, the colonial policy, the relations with the farmers, the work among the women and youth, the concentration of capital and the concentration of the labor movements, etc.

6. A special place in this theoretical analysis should be given to the propaganda of the ideas of Leninism in the labor movement.

7. The revolutionary labor press must be handled so as to be comprehensible and near to the masses, and that it might quickly respond to all the questions of interest to the workers. For this purpose every effort should be made to organize, wherever possible, a chain of workers' correspondents.

On the basis of the above, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. proposes the following concrete plan of running the revolutionary labor press:

I. Central Press of the R. I. L. U.

- a. The leading organ of the R. I. L. U. should be a theoretical monthly. All the responsible leaders of the international revolutionary labor movement should be obliged to contribute to it. Informational articles should as a rule be given in the monthly only if they have a theoretical character or if events described in them are of serious social importance. Small informational articles should not be published.
- b. In order to give the widest information on the labor movement in the various countries from the point of view of the revolutionary labor movement, the R. I. L. U. will publish in Russian, German, French, English and other languages to be selected by the Executive Bureau, a special weekly along the lines of the Russian publication: ("The International Labor Movement"), the German Rotengewerkschafts Bulletin and the bulletin of the Latin Bureau. These bulletins should give more publicity to the Russian labor movement, the activity of the R. I. L. U. and its sections, the reparations question and the movement in the colonies, than they have done hitherto.
- c. In order that the activity of the R. I. L. U., the International Propaganda Committees and of their sections should be described more fully and given greater popularity, it is desirable that the Secretariat of the Executive Bureau periodically send out internal informational letters to all the organizations of the R. I. L. U. and to the local revolutionary union press.
- d. It is necessary completely to reorganize the union section of the "Imprecorr." Inasmuch as the "Imprecorr" feeds the entire Communist press of the world, it is necessary for it to have a real union section, reflecting exactly the political line of the Comintern and of the R. I. L. U. and quickly responding to all the big events in the international labor movement. For this purpose a chain of responsible correspondents should be set up by way of obligation, and a special responsible person should be appointed to the "Imprecorr" to engage exclusively in the work of the union section.
- e. The R. I. L. U. should publish in the nearest future a number of pamphlets on the principal questions of international labor movement, particularly on the questions settled at the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U., on the situation of the workers in the colonies, on workers' emigration, on the decisions of the commission of experts, on the revolutionary labor unions (for instance, Foster's pamphlets on the League, etc.). The detailed plan of the publication of pamphlets to be worked out and executed by the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

II. The Local Revolutionary Press.

- a. The basic defect of the local revolutionary labor press is the weak attention given by it to the international movement. It is, therefore, necessary to establish a system of an exchange of mutual correspondence; the R. I. L. U. particularly should establish a special organization to issue information on the Russian labor movement. In view of the importance of the latter, it is desirable that it be drawn up directly by the active workers of the Russian labor movement. The articles should be adapted to the use by newspapers, that is, they should be brief and pop-

ular, and should not be crowded with excessive statistical figures.

- b. In addition to publishing union newspapers and magazines, the local unions should also embark upon publication of popular pamphlets on questions of the revolutionary labor movement.
- c. More light should be thrown upon the situation of the colonial proletariat, not only in the colonies themselves, but also in the metropolis, in order to combat the racial and national prejudices of the workers and the imperialist instincts with which they have been inculcated (England, France, Holland, etc.).

No. 17.

On the International Workers' Relief

IN the last few years the International Workers' Relief has mobilized the economic resources of the world proletariat and all sections of society sympathizing with its aim and in this way has been able to render signal service to the workers attacked by hunger and want and to the militants fighting the battles of our class. Wherever the broad masses, as a consequence of economic fights or catastrophies of a cataclysmic character, have been affected by mass misery and suffering and where this suffering has in any way been a danger to the general revolutionary development, there help and assistance has been given. This assistance has been especially useful in bringing to naught all the efforts of the capitalist class to use this mass distress for the attaining of its own reactionary ends.

The Red International of Labor Unions has always recognized the urgent want supplied by the activities of the International Workers' Relief and has helped to develop the spirit of international solidarity through the practical assistance rendered by its organizations.

After having splendidly helped the victims of the catastrophic famine disaster in Russia in 1921-1922 and later on the victims of the Japanese earthquake in 1923, the International Workers' Relief gave broadly and well-organized aid to the hunger-stricken German working masses in their tremendous strike movements and gigantic lock-outs during 1923-1924. The I. W. R. has thus been an important factor in the economic and revolutionary fights of the working class and in the coming struggles will have to fulfill tasns of increasing importance.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. is firmly convinced that at the present moment the continuance of the relief work begun by the International Workers' Relief on an international basis is of fundamental importance. The congress herewith places on record its opinion that the International Workers' Relief has contributed to the strengthening of the militant workers in their fight and has strengthened and deepened the spirit of international solidarity among the workers of all countries.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. exposes to the working class of the world the dastardly attempts of the social democratic party and the Amsterdam International to break up and have suppressed the International Workers' Relief, this organization of true international solidarity, at a time when it was rendering brotherly aid to millions of German social democratic workers during the period of hunger and strikes.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. urgently appeals to all work-

ers and workers' organizations still out of contact and immediate touch with the International Workers' Relief whole heartedly and unanimously to affiliate to it. It calls upon all sections and organizations of the R. I. L. U. to actively support the International Workers' Relief and to seek to extend its range of usefulness, as well as to participate in a practical manner in all its activities.

No. 18.

On the International Red Aid

(The text of this resolution is unfortunately missing from the manuscript of the decisions that arrived in America. It is known, however, that the resolution recites the splendid work done by the International Red Aid in assisting prisoners of the class struggle in the jails of the various capitalist countries, their families and dependents, and calls upon the revolutionary unionists of the world to support its work).

No. 19.

Resolution on the Tasks of Adherents of the R. I. L. U. in Great Britain

Character of the Present Day Labor Movement in Great Britain.

THE labor movement of Great Britain is at the present time passing through a period of increased activity. This activity is revealed in the intensification of the strike struggle, for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions. A movement is also developing to strengthen the labor unions by means of amalgamation and formation of industrial unions.

General Economic and Political Conditions.

This activity of the labor movement is closely connected with a general improvement of the economic situation of the country. Last year's crisis has been succeeded by a temporary quickening of trade. The cheap English goods compete successfully with the German. The quickening of trade has caused a corresponding temporary development of industry. As a result, the number of unemployed is lessening, the prices of articles of first necessity have somewhat fallen, and the capitalists are receiving considerable profits.

Changes have also taken place in the political life of the country. The British bourgeoisie has handed the ministerial portfolios to the so-called Labor Government. The latter is headed by the most important leaders of the English and world reformism. These gentlemen deceive the working masses as of old by fine promises. But in practice, they serve the bourgeoisie with all their powers and apply all measures for the break up and suppression of the militant activity of the workers.

The Role of the Reformist Leaders.

MacDonald's policy is wholeheartedly supported by the reformist leaders of the English labor unions. They utilize the confidence of the

broad working masses to compromise with the bourgeoisie, and to enslave the working class to the capitalist class.

The Growing Dissatisfaction.

The present day strikes of the British workers often end in defeat. The causes of this are: The opposition of the reformist leaders, the isolating of the strike, the scattered conditions of the unions and the strong concentration of capital.

As a consequence of these defeats, intense dissatisfaction has grown up within the labor movement.

The Minority Movement. The Left Wing and The Progressive Labor Leaders.

The dissatisfied elements in the British labor movement have no definite program. Their composition is extremely varied. Here you have both the progressive labor leaders, opposition minorities of the unions and the broad masses of dissatisfied workers. The latter are still loosely organized and make up the so-called left wing in the British labor movement.

The opposition in the British labor movement is led by adherents of the R. I. L. U. In certain regions—South Wales—our adherents are in the majority.

Work of the R. I. L. U.

The R. I. L. U. carried on its work in Great Britain through its bureau in London. In individual industries—miners, transport workers, metal workers—the work of the opposition is carried on according to a definite program, and is closely connected with the Communist party. Our achievement among the miners has been most substantial.

The Failings of the Work of the R. I. L. U.

The work of the R. I. L. U. was only comparatively recently begun in Great Britain. This did not make it possible to form minorities, i. e., groups of R. I. L. U. adherents in the various industries and reformist unions. No definite program for all the left wing exists. The work of our adherents in Great Britain is at the present chiefly confined to the British Isles.

Further Development of the Labor Movement.

For the time being the British reformist unions are the strongholds and support bases of world reformism. The British bourgeoisie, supported by the reformists, is the greatest power of world reaction. Ruthless exploitation of the colonial countries and the utilization by the bourgeoisie of the betterment of the economic situation for their further enrichment, form a considerable menace to the further development of the opposition movement in the British labor unions.

Our Tasks.

The working masses of Great Britain must strengthen their class organizations and consolidate themselves into a single army of labor for decisive struggle with British and world capitalism. The adherents of the R. I. L. U. must do all that is possible to break the British working masses and the reformist labor unions away from the disintegrating influence of the reformist leaders. This will be possible, if the revolutionists come still closer to the masses, have a clear program of action

and develop the class struggle not only within the confines of the British Isles, but in the colonies also.

The Methods of the Realization of Our Tasks. The Minority Movement.

To this end we must form our own minority groups in all the reformist unions. These groups must be organized in the enterprises and linked up both along industrial lines and on district and national scales. The work of our adherents and our organizations must be directed to the drawing of the broad working masses into the class struggle. By putting the issues clearly, the as yet shapeless left wing should be made to take definite form, and the progressive leaders of the British unions, who turned leftwards under the pressure of the masses, should be stimulated on.

The Strike Movement.

Not one mass action of the British proletariat must take place without our participation. Every such offensive must be seriously considered, correspondingly prepared, and carried on in close contact with our political struggle.

Program of Action.

We must have our own program of action for every section of industry and for the whole left wing. In these programs we must clearly formulate not only the economic, but also the political demands. Around our program we must unite the broad working masses, being guided by the following principles: Unity of the labor movement at any cost, except by compromising our demands and our class program of action.

Our Industrial Program.

In our program of action we must put forward and strive to realize the following demands:

1. Establishment of a minimum wage for all categories of workers in Great Britain, assuring a human existence.
2. Establishment of a shorter working day for all the workers.
3. Provision of adequate housing accommodation for all the workers.
4. Securing the demands of the unemployed charter.
5. Nationalization of mines, railways, and banks.
6. The renunciation of reparations and all imperial and colonial policies by the British government.

Unemployed Organization.

Under the contemporary development of the capitalist society there will always be a large number of workers of all trades in the ranks of the unemployed. To assure that these unemployed shall not play the role of strikebreakers in the general workers' struggle, they must be organized and connected with the shop committees and unions and must be utilized to further the success of the labor struggle in Great Britain.

We also demand the recognition of the unemployed organization and its admission as an integral part of the organized British labor movement.

Concentration of the Labor Forces.

All our forces must be applied to the formation of strong industrial unions, based on active shop committees. These industrial unions must

be equally open to skilled and unskilled workers.

Internationalization of the Struggle.

The workers of Great Britain must struggle hand in hand with the workers of Germany, France and other countries. The closest connections must also be established with the workers of Soviet Russia. The British unions must give special attention to the linking up of their struggle with the struggle of the toilers of the British colonies.

The August Conference of the Left Wing.

General Aims.

The first national conference of the left wing in Great Britain is to be held in August, 1924. The conference must give shape to the left wing movement, map out a path for the organization of all the workers in powerful class unions and settle the question of how to strengthen the revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

Immediate Tasks.

The conference must in the first place:

1. Form a national center of the left wing.
2. Outline the formation of similar centers for the chief industries or industrial unions.
3. Outline a plan for joint work with the workers of the British colonies and dependencies.
4. Establish the closest connections with the revolutionary unions of other capitalist countries, and also with the workers of U. S. S. R.
5. Outline a practical plan for transforming the scattered British labor unions into powerful unions.
6. Improve the existing press and bring it closer to the masses.

No. 20.

Program for the Trade Union Educational League

I. General Policies.

REVOLUTIONARY Goal. At all times and in all its campaigns and publications, the League shall emphasize the revolutionary aims of the left wing. It shall carry on a ceaseless warfare against the bourgeois ideology and organizations. It shall seek to destroy the workers' faith in the capitalist system and to turn their eyes towards the establishment of a Communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- b. **Wages, hours and working conditions.** In all movements of the workers to improve their standards of living or to resist attack upon the same by the employers, the League shall take an active part. In each case it must develop a complete program of its own and popularize this against all other programs. The league shall carry on an intensive campaign for the shortening of the labor hours, increasing of wages, improving working conditions, and it shall stimulate the workers, both organized and unorganized to conduct an effective struggle against exploitation. In the coming industrial crisis in the United States, the league must raise throughout the labor movement, the slogan of "No reductions in wages and no lengthening of the working hours."
- c. **Organize the Unorganized.** This campaign must be pushed with

unrelenting energy, because the organization of the many millions now outside of the unions is one of the supreme tasks confronting the working class as a whole and the left wing movement as representing the real interests of the working class. "Organize the Unorganized" is not a temporary slogan that may be cast aside when industrial depression sets in. It must be continued constantly in good and bad times, until the masses are organized. In periods of prosperity this slogan builds the union and during the industrial depressions it holds them together. The campaigns should take the following general forms:

1. To stimulate the A. F. of L. unions to take in the unorganized.
 2. To build up the present independent mass unions.
 3. To support the foundation of new unions wherever practical, by utilizing the Workers' Party industrial nuclei, local branches of the League, shop committees, and such other connections as can be made use of. No one of these methods should be used to the exclusion of the others. All must be employed as expediency dictates. Every means must be utilized to create mass organizations. Special attention must be given to the organization of the agricultural laborers.
- d. **Labor Party.** The league shall take an active part in the building of the labor party. This movement not only teaches the workers their first lesson in class political action, but it also furnishes a favorable ground for the left wing to fight the trade union bureaucracy and to bring about trade union progress generally. The league must take full advantage of the favorable situation created by the labor party movement.
 - e. **Unemployment.** In the industrial crisis now developing in the United States and Canada, the league shall take an active part in organizing the unemployed into national and local councils, and other necessary formations. Wherever possible, these bodies shall work in close co-operation with the trade unions. The league shall stir up the trade unions everywhere to interest themselves in the question of unemployment. However, when the trade unions are unwilling to take up the organizing of the unemployed, or wherever they offer a resistance, the league shall create unemployed councils, etc., and conduct the work of the unemployed independently. It shall demand that the employers and the government shall provide work and funds amounting to full maintenance of the workers. It shall also demand that the unions themselves share their funds and work with those of their members who are unemployed.
 - f. **Amalgamation.** The amalgamation campaign is not a temporary one, to be abandoned in periods of industrial depression; it must be continued relentlessly and until the various craft unions are consolidated into industrial unions. Organization by industry instead of by craft, is a burning need of the workers in good times and bad. Under the flag of autonomy small unions and federations continue their miserable existence, having neither the strength nor the means to fight against capitalism, and yet refusing to amalgamate with kindred trades. A vigorous struggle should be carried on for the creation of centralized industrial organizations. It is necessary to strive towards concentration of the means and methods of struggle for a national utilization of all the forces of the working class. The independ-

ent unions shall also be included in the league's amalgamation programs.

In conjunction with the amalgamation plan the unions affiliated with the United Labor Council shall carry on an active campaign for admission as a bloc to the A. F. of L. unions in the same industry and the council itself shall co-ordinate the activities of its unions in this direction.

A leading principle in all amalgamation plans is to put the revolutionaries in control of the amalgamated unions.

- g. **The United Front.** The T. U. E. L. shall pursue the policy of the United Front. It shall seek to unite all the workers for revolutionary action along class lines. The United Front shall not consist of alliances or blocs with trade union bureaucrats—though some of them may be dealt with under favorable circumstances—but it shall be based upon a common understanding, unity and action, of the rank and file, of the labor organizations involved in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The United Front shall not be conceived as an aim in itself, but as a means to win the masses away from the reactionary leaders and to unite them upon the basis of a revolutionary program and action.
- h. **Exposure of Bureaucracy.** The league shall make a special point of exposing the corruption of the trade union leaders. For this purpose a pamphlet shall be issued exposing in detail the crimes of the trade union leaders against the rank and file of the unions and the whole working class. This policy of exposure shall be carried on vigorously in all the league's publications.
- i. **Recognition of Soviet Russia.** The league campaign for the full commercial and diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia shall be intensified; the recognition of Russia by England, Italy, and other countries, makes this campaign the more timely and effective in the United States.
- j. **Negro Workers.** The problem of the politically and industrially disfranchised Negroes shall occupy the serious attention of the league. The league shall demand that the Negroes be given the same social, political and industrial rights as whites, including the right to work in all trades, equal wages, admission into all trade unions, abolition of Jim Crow cars, restaurants, etc. The league shall issue a special pamphlet dealing with the Negro workers.
- k. **Injunctions.** The league shall take the lead in the fight of the American working class against the injunction. Whenever and wherever an injunction is issued by the courts against strikers, depriving them of their rights, the league shall endeavor to arouse the strikers and the trade union movement in general to mass violation of the injunction.
- l. **Expulsions.** The league shall continue the present policy in case of expulsions from the trade unions. Wherever the expelled workers are few in number they shall be kept in the local leagues and in close connection with the National Industrial Committees. But when they are great in number, they shall be formed into unions of the expelled. These expelled members shall endeavor to fight their way back into the old organizations,

except in such cases where the best course is plainly to form a new organization. For this purpose mass movements of the rank and file should be organized to fight against expulsions and for reinstatement. Where the bureaucrats attack the league in overwhelming force, it shall become a secret organization.

- m. **Canadian Autonomy.** The movement of the Canadian unions for autonomy within the American trade unions is endorsed. This autonomy shall take the form of the establishment of Canadian sections of all American unions having branches in Canada. These autonomous sections shall be united together in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. They must secure full right to declare strikes, to organize the masses, and to raise all necessary funds. The aim of the league shall be the building of the whole Canadian labor movement into a solid organization and to bring it into direct conflict with the Canadian employers and state. The autonomy of the Canadian unions should not lead to a cleavage between the Canadian and American labor movements.
- n. **Industrial Affiliations.** The league shall intensify its campaigns for the affiliation of the trade unions to the R. I. L. U. Capitalism is international, and labor must internationally resist the assaults of the world-wide capitalist class. This must be driven home to the American working class, which as yet has hardly acquired a glimmering of the need for international solidarity and action of the working class. The league must point out the fallacy of the present policy of isolation and seek to bring the American workers into relationship with the workers in other countries. For this purpose, resolutions on the question of affiliation to the R. I. U. U. shall be presented in all trade union conventions.
- o. **Shop Committees.** The league shall carry on active propaganda in favor of the organization of shop committees in the industries generally. These shop committees shall be elected by all employees of a given industrial establishment, irrespective of sex, color, nationality, skill, etc. The shop committees shall serve to unite all the workers in the various establishments, whether members of a union or not. The shop committees shall voice the demands of the workers and form the basis for a common struggle against capitalism. Wherever possible, such shop committees shall be utilized for the organization of the unorganized. The league shall strive to reorganize the old unions into industrial unions, based on shop committees.
- p. **Workers' Control.** The league shall put forth the slogan of "workers' control of industry." The campaign for the establishment of shop committees shall be accompanied by a propaganda for the workers' control. The shop committees, working under the direction of the labor unions, shall aim to break the power of the employers in the industries. The shop committees shall demand and fight for the right to control the financial and technical sides of industry, to control the hiring and discharging of workers, to penetrate the financial and commercial secrets of the employers, to regulate the supply of raw materials and the distribution of finished products. They shall aim to revolutionize the masses and to turn their trade unions into fighting

working class organizations. They shall strive to give the workers the necessary industrial and political education and organization to carry them in co-operation with the revolutionary political organizations, victoriously through the final struggle against the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Communist society.

2. The Structure of the League.

One of the most urgent problems confronting the league is to consolidate the existing revolutionary sentiment into concrete organization. The league does not and must not rest solely within the realms of propaganda. It must redouble its efforts to build a real organization. It must follow up its various campaigns with work to bring the sympathetic elements into definite organization. At the same time it shall take the necessary precaution to protect itself from the attack as a dual union, by the trade union bureaucracy. To these needs the following organizational measures are necessary:

- a. **National Industrial Committees.** In each industry there shall be a national committee, alive and functioning vigorously. These committees shall serve to unite all the revolutionary and sympathetic elements in their respective spheres. As soon as possible there shall be created sub-national committees within the national industrial committees to correspond with the important unions in the several industries. The national industrial committees shall each aim to keep a paid secretary in the field. These committees shall keep in close touch with the International Propaganda Committees and shall send them regular quarterly reports, and such other information as may be necessary to keep them in touch with the development of the American labor movement.
- b. **Local General Groups.** In each city there shall be organized a local general group. These local general groups shall consist of all the revolutionary elements in the vicinity, either members of or eligible to membership in the trade unions. These members shall be required to subscribe to the class struggle propaganda fund, subscribe to the Labor Herald and to satisfy a local committee as to their sympathies with the movement. The local general groups shall be sub-divided into local industrial groups, and these shall be affiliated to their respective national industrial committees. The local general groups are of the most vital importance to the league, and every effort should be made to have them established in all industrial districts.
- c. **The League Press.** In addition to the Labor Herald, there shall be established bulletins for each national industrial committee and also for the four districts of the league. These bulletins must carry the full program of the league at all times. The industrial bulletins must devote an established section regularly for news from their respective International Propaganda Committees, and they must support the complete program of the R. I. L. U. The national office of the league shall issue a news service to furnish information on the league's activities to the press of the Workers Party and the labor press. Each national industrial committee shall publish at least one pamphlet dealing with the problems of its industry. The league shall also publish a series of general pamphlets. In addition to these else

here mentioned, there shall be pamphlet on the I. W. W., the Russian trade unions, the question of Canadian autonomy, Washington versus Moscow, etc. The Labor Herald shall publish the mater on the activities of the R. I. L. U., to be furnished by the latter.

- d. **Finance.** The finance system of the league must accomplish the double task of furnishing the necessary funds for the league and consolidating the members into a definite organization. To this end there shall be organized a class struggle propaganda fund, independent of the league. Every member of the league should subscribe regular contributions to the fund. The contributions should be monthly. The utmost efforts must be made to develop the class struggle propaganda fund, and to enlist all possible subscribers as contributors to it. No one shall be considered a member of the league unless he contributes to the class struggle propaganda fund. Fifty per cent of this fund shall go to the national league, the other fifty per cent shall be divided between the local general groups, the national industrial committees and the district. In addition, the present system of raising funds by means of entertainments, sale of literature, donations, etc., shall be continued and intensified. The national and industrial committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence. Such funds as they are thus able to raise shall be at their own disposal. The national industrial committee shall not introduce individual contribution systems in connections with the class struggle propaganda fund.

III. Methods of Work.

The Trade Union Educational League must never be allowed to become merely a propaganda body. Above all, it must be a fighting organization. It must ever and always take the lead in the workers' struggles, no matter how these manifest themselves. It must emphasize the importance of direct action and seek to constantly throw ever larger masses of workers more militantly against the employers and the capitalist state. In addition to being educational, the league must be the every-day leader in the battles against capital. In all strikes its militants must be highly active, with a program covering every phase of the situation. In all conventions they must carry on a systematic and thoroughly prepared campaign against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the league to content itself with action and conventions alone, however, would be as great a mistake as for it to ignore conventions altogether and to concentrate entirely upon strikes. The two branches of work, in conventions are strikes, but go hand in hand, supplementing and strengthening each other. Every struggle must be utilized for the upbuilding of the league. In every possible case the league shall place candidates against the reactionaries in the local and national union elections, and use these elections to the utmost for propaganda purposes.

IV. Relations of League to Independent Unions.

The league recognizes the present importance of the independent unions and shall remain in friendly and helpful connections with them in the class struggle.

- a. **Red International Committees.** The formation and constitution of the Red International Committee, which serves as the connecting link between the revolutionary minorities and the revolutionary unions, is endorsed. There shall be a campaign made to bring all the available independent unions in the Red International Committees and the United Labor Council of America. For this purpose a general conference shall be called of all the independent unions, either adhering to the R. I. L. U. or sympathetic to its program. This conference shall be held under the auspices, direct or indirect, of the R. I. L. U. and the U. L. C. of A. The R. I. C. shall be made up of independent unions and revolutionary minorities, which shall have voting strength equal in the R. I. C. The R. I. C. shall map out a plan of militant campaign of action to include the organization of the unorganized, the organization of the unemployed, the amalgamation of the various unions, the development of the labor party movement, the affiliation of unions to the R. I. L. U. and the whole left wing program. The league shall be the representative of the Profintern in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary nuclei in the independent unions affiliated to the Profintern shall be party nuclei, and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.
- b. **Red International Affiliation Committees.** The formation of the Red International Affiliation Committee for work within the I. W. W. is endorsed. The League recognizes that revolutionary importance of the I. W. W. and the R. I. A. C. is intrusted to establish all possible connections within that organization. The attitude of the R. I. A. C. towards the I. W. W. shall be one of friendly co-operation and criticism. While pointing out definitely and clearly the mistakes in the I. W. W. ideology and tactics, the R. I. A. C. shall do everything possible to participate effectively in the I. W. W. struggles and to win the support of its membership and to secure the affiliation of the I. W. W. to the R. I. L. U. Wherever possible, united front arrangements in defense work, strikes, etc., shall be established between the league and the I. W. W. As soon as practicable, the R. I. A. C. shall issue a bulletin.

V. Relations of the League with the Workers' Party.

- a. **Build the Party.** The political and economic struggle of the working class is inseparable. The league recognizes the futility of carrying on the trade union work merely for itself. The chief aim of all its efforts shall be the building of the revolutionary mass political organization of the working class, the Workers Party. To this end, all the struggles of the workers shall be directed into political channels, and all the campaigns of the league for the Labor Party, amalgamation, etc., etc., shall be utilized to strengthen the membership and leadership of the Workers Party.
- b. **Build the League.** The league recognizes the impossibility of its functioning effectively without the full and wholehearted support of the Workers Party. To develop this support it shall carry on a campaign to bring all the working class members

of the party into the unions and into the league, to make them subscribers to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to have each branch and official of the Workers Party held responsible by the Workers Party for the establishment, maintenance and functioning of the league in their respective localities.

No. 21.

Program of Action for the Canadian District of the Trade Union Educational League

WHILE the general program adopted for the Trade Union Educational League applies throughout North America, the economic and organizational conditions existing in Canada render an additional and particularly Canadian program necessary. To meet this need, the following concrete tasks are laid down as a basis for the activities of the Canadian membership in their immediate work.

Autonomy.

The inevitable sharpening of the struggle in the near future renders a great degree of autonomy for the trade union movement of Canada essential. Autonomy does not mean a cleavage between the movement of Canada and that of the United States. Neither is the autonomy movement inspired by chauvinistic ideas regarding our ability to emancipate the workers by ourselves. It is inspired by their realization that the Canadian movement must be free to function as a unit; and the Trades Congress of Canada, which at present embraces less than half of the organized workers, must unite them all and be able to co-ordinate their struggle.

Power to initiate action and to extend and lead the class struggle within the confines of Canada, as well as to levy assessments for the assistance of affiliated organizations on strike, would make the Trades Congress a real centre of Canadian unionism and by rallying our small locals for united struggles, would completely change the face of the Canadian trade union movement.

To this end therefore, we must fight for autonomy. Through a systematic campaign among the rank and file we must strive to bring about the organization of all Canadian locals of each international into Canadian departments, each of which must have full freedom of action on both economic and political issues.

Strengthening of the Trades and Labor Councils.

The 59 trades and labor councils through the Dominion, uniting and influencing as they do hundreds of thousands of workers, constitute a body of opinion of tremendous influence and potential power. Their strength and value is greatly diminished, however, by the narrow restrictions of the American Federation of Labor which forbid them to accept any but A. F. of L. organizations into affiliation. All trades and labor councils must have the right, as should also the Trades Congress of Canada, to accept into affiliation any bona fide trade union organizations. Further, through the organization of shop committees and the

coordination of their work, central councils must be developed and be made the local centers of the struggle against the capitalist class.

The Wage Struggle.

More than ever the league must emphasize the immediate struggle for wages and conditions. By propaganda and publicity regarding the gradual depression of the living standards of Canadian workers, by developing organizational machinery for unified efforts and arousing the rank and file, the Canadian section of the league must work for the development of Dominion-wide struggles for immediate gains; while through their local and district federated bodies, league members shall initiate strikes for wages, shorter hours, union recognition, etc.

To prevent terrorism and master class oppression of the strikers, all responsibility for the maintenance of order, should be undertaken by special guards appointed by the strike committees. Such special guards to take the place of the private company, and class state armed forces. For the realization of the above a Dominion-wide campaign must be undertaken.

Organization of Unorganized Workers.

The organization of the unorganized workers is one of the urgent needs of the Canadian movement. League members shall organize concerted drives to sweep masses of workers into the trade unions. Working wherever possible through the trade union machinery, they must at the same time initiate active campaigns on their own behalf among the metal miners, lumber workers, agricultural workers, etc.

Railway Workers.

The railways constitute the arterial system of Canada and 79,000 organized railway workers are potentially the most powerful single body of organized workers in the Dominion. Held apart by artificial division, most of the railway workers are still strongly desirous of unity, recognizing that this would render possible tremendous improvements in wages, conditions, and the proportion in which the workers participate in the running of the industry. As it is, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway employees is completely isolated from the rest of the railway workers, while the maintenance of way and shop laborers are outside of Division No. 4., thereby weakening it greatly.

In this industry the propaganda and educational work in favor of amalgamation must be intensified and extended to every local body and ideological influence already exerted by the amalgamation movement must be crystallized into organizational form.

Against the slogan of unity and struggle, the officialdom is raising the slogan of class collaboration through compulsory arbitration, standards of production, and the so-called Baltimore and Ohio plan. Against this iniquitous selling out of the workers' organizations the league must wage relentless warfare. This plan must be exposed to the rank and file as a means of subordinating their organizations to the desires of the railroad corporations.

No Dual Unionism.

One of the principal weaknesses of the Canadian left wing at the present time is the impatience of the rebels, who, in their eagerness to overthrow reaction, fail to grasp the full importance of the task facing

the proletariat of North America, and overlook the inevitability of a bitter and protracted struggle before the mass of the workers are finally brought under revolutionary leadership. This lack of clear understanding leads to the short sighted policy of jumping into dual unions at every setback and partial defeat, thereby playing into the hands of the reactionary bureaucracy.

Examples of this have been seen recently in District No. 18 of the United Mine Workers where the rank and file, disgusted with the reactionary tactics of the Lewis bureaucracy in the international convention, join the I. W. W. in hundreds, at the same time retaining their membership in the United Mine Workers of America, in the futile effort to build a powerful organization, parallel to and in conflict with the United Mine Workers.

The most cursory examination exposes this as a fruitless task, the general experience being that after carrying the dual cards for a short period, the workers withdraw from the I. W. W., become passive, and are lost for a considerable time to the revolutionary movement.

As one means of combatting this, the Canadian section of the league must conduct an intensive propaganda campaign throughout the labor movement, paying particular attention to the broader aspects and implications of the struggle, politically and economically on a national and international scale.

Independent Unions.

Recognizing the strength and value of the independent unions, such as the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, the Metal Miners' Union and the Dominion Express Employees' Union, etc., members of the league who are members in these organizations, shall at all times participate actively in their work and in their up-building, while at the same time holding up to the membership, the ideal of unified industrial organization.

In addition, the general amalgamation movement applies to independent unions equally with those unions organized in the A. F. of L. To further the process of amalgamation, movements must be initiated in all independent unions, for affiliation to the Trade Congress of Canada.

Canadian Federation of Labor.

The Canadian Federation of Labor originated in the exclusion of the Knights of Labor assemblies, etc., from the Trade Congress. Its principal slogan is independence for Canadian unionism. The winning of autonomy would render it possible for those unions at present organized in the Canadian Federation of Labor to participate in the general trade union movement of the country, thereby eliminating a great deal of bitter internecine warfare at present carried on. Our efforts within the Canadian Federation of Labor, therefore, must be directed towards the unification of this body of workers with the general labor movement.

Catholic Unions.

The catholic unions which unite 50,000 workers are—equally with the catholic unions of Europe,—anti-revolutionary and anti-working class in ideology and practice. The workers embraced in them, however, are bona fide workers, and their enlightenment constitutes part of our task.

Through our French-Canadian groups, simple explanatory leaflets

must be circulated among the members of the Catholic unions and the workers in the factories controlled by them, with a view to weakening the demoralizing influence of the clergy, and drawing the best elements into the regular trade union movement of the country.

Conferences.

The most effective means for spreading the work of the league, so far, have been the district and industrial conferences held from time to time. These gatherings should be extended to embrace representatives of all workers, specific industries and of all revolutionary groups in particular districts. Local, national and industrial conferences should constitute a regular part of the league's work. The eastern and western sub-districts of the league particularly, must hold regular executive conferences every year.

Press.

Vast distances, and the scattered nature of the Canadian trade union organizations render organizational work and the touring of speakers difficult in the extreme. Finance alone prevents direct personal contact between the various groups, and our only method of co-ordinating activities, heretofore, has been through the Labor Herald and other publications of the league. It is essential in future that some means be found whereby the Canadian section of the league shall have a publication devoted exclusively to the problems of the Canadian movement.

For this purpose a monthly bulletin must be published under the control of the executive of the Canadian district of the league in co-operation with the national executive. This bulletin should contain manifestoes and decisions of the R. I. L. U. and should deal specifically and intimately with the particular needs of the Canadian left wing.

Organization of the Unemployed.

An immediate task for the Canadian section of the league is the organization of all unemployed workers. Through local and central trade union bodies, league members must strive everywhere to set up local "Unemployment Councils" representative of both the unemployed and local political and economic working class organizations.

In those localities, where for any reason whatsoever, this is impossible, independent councils must be organized on the widest possible basis of representation.

In addition to the general appeal for solidarity between the employed and unemployed workers, propaganda in local unions should be centered on the slogan "protect the wages of employed workers by securing the maintenance of those who are unemployed."

Around the slogan "Work at trade union rates, or full maintenance," all these local councils must be welded into one Dominion-wide organization of the unemployed, organized employed workers and their organizations.

Criticism of Reformists and Exposure of Traitors.

The reformist trade union politicians, whose influence is demoralizing the labor movement, must be fought relentlessly. Avoiding the futile policy of blind opposition, the league must put them definitely on record for against every progressive measure. By merciless criticism of concrete events they must be unmasked and their vacillating policies and collaboration with the bourgeoisie laid bare to the working class.

The workers of Canada have had bitter experiences of traitors posing as socialists and radicals of various stripes. One of the immediate tasks of the league shall be the complete exposure of all these renegades, so that there shall be no misunderstanding of the relations existing between the league, and them.

The League and the Labor Party.

The class struggle is a political struggle, and the league will strive to give every conflict a political aspect. While politically bound to England and economically rivetted to the United States, Canada still functions as an economic and political entity. British diplomacy and American finance are functioning through the capitalist institutions of the Dominion of Canada, and in accordance with Canadian law. In all actions concerning Canada, Westminster is guided by the desires of Canadian capitalism. While Wall Street functions through the Canadian Bankers' Association and the troops used to smash our strikes are recruited, trained, maintained and controlled by the government of the country.

These things render essential the building up and the consolidation of the Canadian Labor Party into an effective mass organization and this is one of the first and most important tasks facing the league. League members must work continually for the affiliation of all local bodies to the Canadian Labor Party, and the organization of central councils of the party in every industrial center, endeavoring always to give them Communist leadership and aims.

The League and the Communist Party.

The Trade Union Educational League is a revolutionary body with a political aim. Realizing the futility of the so-called philosophy of trade union neutrality and the essentially revolutionary nature of the tasks with which we are faced, the league must work always in closest co-operation with the Communist Party of Canada. Through combined action, the solidarity of the left wing trade union movement organized by the T. U. E. L., and the revolutionary political movement organized by the Communist Party of Canada, shall be ideologically and organizationally consolidated for the purpose of the general development of the revolutionary movement, aiming at the conquest of power by the working class and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

No. 22.

Resolution on the Czecho-Slovakian Question

CONSIDERING the objective conditions resulting from the disunity of the Czecho-Slovakian labor movement, and the eighteen months' experience of the One Big Union of Czecho-Slovakia in the organization of a revolutionary union movement, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. favors the further application of this organizational form for the unification and direction of the Czecho-Slovakian revolutionary movement, provided, however, the One Big Union modifies its organizational line in the following manner:

2. Considering the One Big Union a center which should rally the entire revolutionary labor movement of Czecho-Slovakia, and particu-

larly the so-called independent unions, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. considers it necessary to have the following measures carried out as a condition for unity:

- a. To steadily and systematically strive for the organization of industrial sections in the structure of the One Big Union, in accordance with the following principle: "For each industry a single industrial union organization of workers, and one union in one enterprise."
- b. The One Big Union is to base its action upon wide labor democracy embracing all sides of union life; to transfer the center of activity of the union work to the industrial sections and to the local union organizations.
- c. The One Big Union is to establish regular and timely reports on the part of the higher union organs to the lower ones, designed to draw the membership into active union work.
- d. The One Big Union should increase the prestige and influence of the general union organs with a view to strengthening proletarian solidarity and the class cohesion of the workers of the various industrial unions.
- e. The principle that all the union officials must be elected should be strictly adhered to, and particularly the district general union secretaries should be elected at the district general union conferences, subject to the sanction of the presidium of the One Big Union.
- f. The executive and the responsible workers of the section should be elected at annual section conferences.
- g. The general union congress is held once in two years, and elects a Central Council of the One Big Union. The latter consists of representatives of the section in proportion to the membership of these sections, but each section must have at least one representative on it.
- h. To conduct the current work of the One Big Union, the Central Council elects a presidium. The presidium is responsible both to the Central Council and to the general congress of the One Big Union.
- i. Membership dues are collected by the industrial sections.
- j. The sections keep no less than 25 per cent of the membership dues, to be spent in accordance with estimates approved by the presidium of the One Big Union. All the surpluses remaining in the sections must be turned over to the presidium of the One Big Union every six months.
- k. The strike, unemployment, and press funds are general funds, and are at the disposal of the One Big Union which advises the sections of the manner in which it uses the funds.
- l. The membership dues system is fixed by the national congress, the decision to be made by the votes of two-thirds of the delegates.
- m. The sections have the right to fix supplementary deductions for their funds by decisions of the respective industrial conferences affirmed by the council of the One Big Union.
- n. Greater attention should be given to the union press, whose contents should be made deeper and neared to the masses. The editors and the other union bodies are charged with the duty

systematically to attract and train correspondence from among the workers.

- o. The presidium of the One Big Union must revise the O. B. U. constitution accordingly, without delay. The draft of the revised constitution is to be submitted to the next congress of the One Big Union, to be held not later than February, 1925.
3. The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. considers that the carrying out of these conditions by the One Big Union will be a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of the militancy and initiative of the various sections of the One Big Union. This would remove all the objections to the organizational plan of the O. B. U. on the part of the so-called independent revolutionary unions, and create a firm basis for their affiliation to the O. B. U.
4. The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. resolves:
 - a. The amalgamation of the independent revolutionary unions (building workers, transport workers, wood workers and commercial employees) with the O. B. U. should take place at special congresses of these unions, which must be held not later than February 1, 1925.
 - b. The dissolution of the Reichenberg Section of Textile Workers must take place at its congress in December, 1924. The final fusion of this organization with the respective Prague section of textile workers, should be completed before February 1, 1925.
 - c. In case the independent unions and the Reichenberg Section fail to carry out these decisions of the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U., they will automatically be suspended from membership of the R. I. L. U.
 - d. Pending the final settlement of this basic organizational problem of the Czecho-Slovak revolutionary labor movement, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. empowers the present presidium of the O. B. U., strengthened by representatives of the independent revolutionary unions and of the Reichenberg textile workers' section, to be the only and authoritative representative of the Red International of Labor Unions in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic.
 - e. In order that the above decisions might be executed as speedily and painlessly as possible, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. directs the presidium of the One Big Union and the executive of the Reichenberg Section of Textile Workers, as well as all the independent unions, immediately to launch a wide campaign for the purpose of acquainting their members with the above decisions of the R. I. L. U. This propaganda work should be carried out jointly by all the above mentioned directing organs of the revolutionary labor movement of Czecho-Slovakia.

No. 23.

Resolution of the Scandinavian Commission

THE labor organizations of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland have been in close relations for almost 20 years. During the last few years, mutual contact and collaboration of these countries became ever closer, thanks to the agreements concluded between fraternal unions, guaranteeing to the respective unions material support in the

event of a big labor conflict arising in any of those four countries. According to the practice of the labor movement, those four countries should be looked upon as if they were one field of activity of the R. I. L. U. Iceland, too, may be included among them.

2. The influence of the R. I. L. U. has been strongest in Finland, where a majority of the workers take the position of the R. I. L. U. However, the white terror and repression practiced by the government prevented direct relations with Moscow and entry into the R. I. L. U. In Norway, also, more than half of the workers and even entire organizations sympathize with the R. I. L. U. Still, they did not actually join the R. I. L. U. In the labor organizations of Sweden, reformist leaders are dominating who are fervent opponents of the proletarian revolution. The leaders of the syndicalist organizations also are in sharp opposition to the R. I. L. U., but among the rank and file of the syndicalists the R. I. L. U. has adherents, particularly in the organizations which have relations with the Communists. The revolutionary opposition does not yet occupy the position which it could objectively achieve. In Denmark there are only isolated opposition groups. All that shows that the R. I. L. U. has in the Scandinavian countries a wide field of activity. This activity requires systematic methods and attention to the special conditions in each country.

3. The policy and tactics pursued by the R. I. L. U. in Finland have proved correct. The attempt of the social-democratic leaders to split the Central Federation of Labor Unions was frustrated, and the unity of the labor organizations preserved. But this is still insufficient. The preponderant majority of the workers are still outside any organization, and are still to be drawn into the class struggle. There are still many illusions and opportunistic deviations among the organized workers, and even among the revolutionary workers of the unions' illusions which originated partly under the influence of the government terror. In particular, participation in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations must be decidedly condemned. Greater attention must be paid to the factory and shop committees. With their assistance, revolutionary propaganda should be conducted also among the unorganized workers. Further, the social-democrats have only partly carried out the resolution of the last congress of the Central Federation of Labor Unions forbidding the labor unions to join any political party.

In a country with a preponderant majority of rural workers and poor peasantry, the victory of the proletariat is impossible without the support of the rural workers. Therefore, the urban and industrial proletariat has to give special attention to the organization of the rural proletariat. This work must be given ideological as well as material aid. Only a strong union of the workers of the city and village can secure victory and the rule of the laboring masses.

4. In Sweden, the organization and aggressiveness of the employers is becoming stronger. Not content with the existing strong employers' unions, the Swedish employers create strikebreaking organizations, which extend their influence over the entire country and evince frank Fascist intentions following the example of Finland and Norway, and the employers already raise the question of the necessity of reducing production costs, which signifies new attempts to lower wages, while in some branches of industry (metal) unemployment is still prevalent.

In view of the above, the Swedish workers have to:

- a. Call conferences with members of the various labor organizations; the Central Federation of Labor, the Swedish Central Federation Labor Organization (syndicalists) and government employees, to consider practical collaboration in individual enterprises, in separate localities, and also in entire industrial regions for the purpose of removing the differences and co-ordinating the tactics in order to resist the attacks of capital and to conduct a wide campaign against capital.
- b. Expose the opponents to the united front among the organized workers of all tendencies (reformist bureaucrats and anarcho-syndicalist leaders), showing their treachery to the common cause of labor and endeavoring by all means to remove them from the leadership of the labor unions.
- c. For the purpose of uniting and extending the partial actions of the working masses, and in order to accomplish the reorganization of the labor unions along industrial lines on the basis of factory and shop committees and workers' committees, and to direct joint, co-ordinated actions, the opposition is to be formed into respective opposition committees, which, in their work and struggle, will train workers to be able to lead the militant activity of the revolutionary unions as required by any particular situation.
- d. This activity of the revolutionary opposition will not succeed without the participation, in addition to the industrial and transport workers, also of the wide masses of rural workers. Therefore, special attention must be paid to the work among the latter.
- e. As regards unemployment, it is necessary to establish collaboration of labor unions and political organizations, as the cause of the unemployed is not their cause only, but the cause of the entire working class.

In the interests of the revolutionary struggle it is necessary to make it obligatory, through the Communist International, for all members of the Communist International, for all members of the Communist Party to be members of the labor unions and to manifest activity in them, so that the members of the party might act as a single harmonious group, according to the platform approved by the party organs, in all nuclei, in branches of the unions, and in the unions, and also in all union work.

First of all, attention must be given to those fields of activity in which an attack of capital is expected or in which a fighting spirit can be developed among the workers for the support of their demands.

5. In Norway definite Fascist tendencies are observable. The bourgeoisie is organizing armed detachments and is trying to aggravate the conditions of labor and to reduce wages in the entire country. That the working class might beat off the attack of the capitalists and conquer new positions, it is necessary to strengthen the labor unions and their fighting capacity. For that purpose it is necessary to intensify the activity of the revolutionary industrial councils. The revolutionary industrial councils differ from the legalized industrial councils of the reformists, recognized by the capitalists, in that they organize the labor masses in the various enterprises and unite them with the revolutionary labor movement. The revolutionary industrial councils are the most widely

spread labor organs. Therefore, the first condition for the preservation of the unity of the labor organizations and the development of revolutionary fighting preparedness of the adherents of the R. I. L. U. (opposition) is, that they should lean upon the revolutionary industrial councils and closely collaborate with them.

It is necessary to conduct energetic activity to the end that all labor unions should become real revolutionary organizations of the class struggle, leaning upon the revolutionary industrial councils. It is their particular duty to struggle:

- a. For the preservation of the unity of the labor movement on a revolutionary basis.
- b. Against reformism and bureaucracy in the unions.
- c. Against the policy of secret diplomatic negotiations with the employers against the reformist tactic of rejecting the active class struggle of the workers.
- d. Against high salaries to unions officials and for fully spending the union funds for the struggle of the working class.
- e. For labor democracy in the widest sense, and for direct control of the members over the union center.

The entire work must be conducted on the basis of a general programme of action, containing the most important immediate demands of the workers. Those are:

1. Struggle for an increase in wages and an improvement of the conditions of work.
2. Struggle against the attacks upon the eight-hour day and for the introduction of a Summer 14 days' rest with full pay.
3. Struggle against the reactionary bourgeois legislation concerning the industrial councils, and for establishment of revolutionary industrial councils.
4. Struggle against the reactionary bourgeois arbitration courts and the obligatory character of their decisions.
5. Struggle for workers' control in the enterprises thru the revolutionary industrial councils.
6. Struggle for the organization and protection of the unemployed, for giving them work at regular rates. A campaign for the organization of public and other work for the unemployed.
7. Organization of fighting labor detachments in all factories and mills throughout the country.

In Denmark and Iceland, in which the organization of the revolutionary proletariat in comparison with reformist organizations is relatively still weak and not quite formed, the same is applicable that applies to the other Scandinavian countries. The revolutionary proletariat must immediately begin to form a revolutionary opposition within the reformist unions, modelling it on the type of Sweden, and to carry on more systematic and active work within the reformist organizations against the reformist leaders. The R. I. L. U. and its revolutionary activity must become known to the wide laboring masses.

7. It is necessary to call periodic conferences of the revolutionary opposition in the labor unions of the Scandinavian countries, in order to work out practical organized means of struggle in those countries.

8. The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. is charged with the duty of giving organizational form to the united work of the revolutionary opposition and of the unions in Scandinavia.

Resolution on the Spanish Question

THE Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. decided, in order to co-ordinate the action of the revolutionary minorities existing within the General Workers' Union (central reformist organization) and the National Confederation of Labor (Anarcho-syndicalist center), a Committee of Action, consisting of six members should be appointed, three from each minority. The representatives are to be appointed by the leading bodies of the minorities. This committee to be considered the directing organ of the Spanish federation of the R. I. L. U. adherents.

The revolutionary minorities working within the independent unions are to affiliate to the revolutionary minority either of the National Confederation of Labor or of the General Workers' Union, depending upon whether the former or latter is most influential in the particular locality.

The Joint Committee of Action meets whenever necessary, and the place of the meeting is selected by agreement of the Central Committee of the minorities.

The secretariat of the Committee of Action shall have its seat at Barcelona and consists of two members (one representative from each minority) whose duty it will be to co-ordinate the work and maintain close connection between the two minorities in the intervals between the meetings of the joint committee.

2. A uniform membership card of the Spanish Federation of R. I. L. U. adherents is to be introduced and stamps for the collection of monthly dues are to be issued. The revenues from the sale of these cards and stamps cover the expenses of the Committee of Action and of the secretariat.

The leading bodies of the two minorities receive their quota of cards and stamps from the secretariat.

3. The two minority committees cover their expenses of propaganda and agitation from means fixed by themselves.

It is understood that both of the leading revolutionary minority organs enjoy complete financial autonomy.

4. The immediate program of action of the R. I. L. U. adherents must be the resolutions of the R. I. L. U. Congress, especially the following:

- a. The united front for concrete immediate actions.
- b. Unity of the national labor movement to be established through the calling of a congress for the purpose of creating a united central body of the labor movement; all the labor unions, without exception, to be represented at the congress.
- c. Struggle for the creation of national industrial unions.
- d. Struggle for the eight-hour day and for higher wages.
- e. Struggle for workers' control and for the shop committees.

Everything should be done to prevent the isolation of the labor organizations expelled by the reformists from the general labor movement. They should affiliate either to the General Workers' Union or to the National Federation of Labor. The Committee of Action decided, on the basis of the local conditions and of the interests of the revolutionary labor movement, which central organization the expelled should affiliate to. As regards the concrete case of the expulsion of the Biscay labor unions, the congress believes that the expelled unions should im-

mediately launch wide agitation for their re-instatement by the General Workers' Union.

In conclusion, the congress decides that the first session of the Committee of Action should take place in the month of September, and that it should immediately begin its work of agitation and propaganda for the slogans of the R. I. L. U. and the application of the resolutions of its international congresses.

No. 25.

Resolution of the Belgian Commission

THE Belgian Commission of the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. having considered the activity of the revolutionary minorities within the Syndical Commission, states that:

Notwithstanding the repeated intervention of the Latin Bureau of the R. I. L. U. nothing has been done for the creation of a strong revolutionary opposition.

In view of the fact that the leaders of the reformist Syndical Commission accepts the wording of the agreement of December 14, which any fighters must more than ever make the struggle for the unity of the labor movement the basis of their activities.

In every labor union, opposition to the reformist methods of action must be manifested and organized in such a manner as to unite round itself all sympathetic elements, which are only waiting for an opportune moment to manifest themselves concretely.

The connection between different opposition nuclei must be established in a very short time, for the purpose of concentrating all efforts upon the creation of a general united opposition within the reformist union center.

With regard to the Federation of the Knights of Labor, the commission accepts the working of the agreement of December 14, which reads:

"If the comrades will invite the Knights of Labor to any place to establish sections of the Knights of Labor there, they must go there but only to tell the revolutionists that it is preferable for them to remain in the unions in order to cultivate in them a revolutionary spirit, to defend the program of the Committee of Action and to organize the revolutionary minorities.

"The Federation of the Knights of Labor must struggle for the restoration of unity on a national and international scale, according to the resolutions passed by the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U."

Advocating the organization and support of revolutionary minorities within the Syndical Commission, as was stipulated by the agreement of December 14, these active revolutionary workers will thereby reveal the condition of impotence and weakness of the union movement, which are the result of the disruptive policy of the reformist leaders. They will insist upon the necessity of the struggle for the restoration of unity within the Syndical Commission as energetically as the Knights of Labor will do this from without according to the directions of the R. I. L. U.

The R. I. L. U. will render all necessary support to the revolutionary

minorities and to the Federation of the Knights of Labor in the performance of this work.

No. 26.

Resolution of the Dutch Commission

UPON hearing the reports of the Dutch delegation and after full discussion on this question had taken place, the Dutch Commission lays the following resolution before the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions for acceptance:

1. The Congress greatly regrets that in the last few years a dispute has arisen between the N. A. S. (Workers' Secretariat of the Netherlands) and the Communist Party of Holland, which caused much harm to both organizations, and is of the opinion that in the future a close collaboration of all the revolutionary elements is absolutely necessary for the winning over of the working masses for the revolutionary movement in Holland.

2. Co-operation and close contact between the revolutionary opposition and the Communists in the reformist, neutral and other trade union organizations, will be best established and practically realized by the formation of joint committees or commissions.

3. These commissions ought to be created locally and centrally, and for the individual branches of industry and trade, and will have to work out special principles on which to act.

4. The tasks of these committees are:

a. To gather together in a well-planned manner the existing opposition elements inside the reformist, neutral and other unions in the spirit of the trade union tactics, principles, and decisions of the congresses, especially of the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, and to support and lead these elements.

b. To determinedly fight against the ruinous and treacherous policy of the reformist trade union leaders and to criticize sharply and to the point the mistakes and half-measures of the left social-democratic and other leaders.

5. The aim of the revolutionary activity of the opposition is not the splitting and breaking up, but the unification of the trade union movement in order to carry on revolutionary class war. This must be sharply emphasized in opposition to the criminal tactics of expulsions, and splits, which the Dutch reformists are beginning to employ.

6. In Holland as elsewhere opposition work in the trade unions pre-supposes the winning over and revolutionizing of the working masses, as well as the creation of the proletarian united front against the offensive of capital which is becoming daily more acute, against the reduction of wages and salaries, lengthening of working hours and increased exploitation in the public services, state and industrial establishments, against the increasing terrorism of Fascism and nationalism.

7. The Third Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions expresses the hope that the sympathies of all the members of the N. A. S. will soon so deepen as to enable the fractionless and complete organizational affiliation of the N. A. S. to the R. I. L. U. in the near future and before the fourth congress of the R. I. L. U.

Resolution on Latin-America

LATIN America with its 120,000,000 people and its vast mineral and other wealth furnishes a rich field for American imperialism, which has invested four billion dollars there, subdued a dozen countries, has troops in six and military and financial commissions in other Latin American countries.

In view of the common language and similarity of history, traditions and social structure, it is possible to unite the Latin American countries for joint opposition to American imperialism. In the united working class of Latin America the American and European proletariat will find a powerful ally in their struggle with American capitalism.

The union movement of Latin America is young and is therefore largely without a definite orientation. With a determined effort it can be won for the R. I. L. U. as is proved by the affiliation of the Chilean movement, the 40 per cent vote in favor of the Red International in the last Argentinian convention of labor unions, the presence of a fraternal delegate from Peru at this congress, etc.

Although Amsterdam recently made attempts to enlist the labor movement in some parts of Latin America by sending representatives there, the attempts remained entirely futile. The anarchists are stronger than the reformists, thanks to the inheritance of certain syndicalist traditions from France and Spain, but anarchism is now undergoing an internal crisis, and its adherents, realizing the futility of their efforts have made a united front with the yellows against any international affiliation and for an American continental international. There are two movements for a continental international: 1. that of the Pan-American Federation of Labor which is headed by Gompers and receives government aid from various countries. However, a determined effort can drive Gompers from that Federation; it may be sufficient to make public the approval of the occupation of Haiti by American troops and his other acts of support to American imperialism. 2.. The continental international which is being organized by the united labor unions of Argentine as a countermove against the R. I. L. U. This international will likely accept no yellow movements into its midst and will possibly affiliate with a similar embryonic organization projected by the I. W. W.

The principal weakness of the R. I. L. U. up till now has been a lack of an adequate press in Spanish and of an adequate bulletin news service, the lack of instructions in Spanish, which is the only language the workers understand. In some of the Latin American countries unions with the best intentions carry on propaganda that is quite uncommunist and inappropriate to the R. I. L. U. The influence of the anarchists is also explained by the lack of a communist press while the Latin American countries are being flooded with anarchist literature in Spanish, printed in Latin America and in Spain.

Taking into consideration the above condition, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. resolves:

1. To improve the quality and to increase the circulation of the existing press of the R. I. L. U. adherents in Latin America and to found such additional papers and magazines as shall be necessary.

2. To send to Latin America all instructions of the R. I. L. U. in Spanish; to publish in Latin America a monthly bulletin in Spanish with a special Latin American section.

3. To make an effort to affiliate the Peruvian Federation of Labor with the R. I. L. U. and to unite all the unions of Brazil in a National Federation of Labor.

4. To unite the isolated national movements against American imperialism into one general continental movement of all Latin American countries and the revolutionary forces within the United States. Mexico is the natural connecting link between the United States and Latin America and should therefore become a unification center.

5. To call a Pan-American conference of R. I. L. U. adherents to take up the following questions:

a. Prevention of war between Chile and Peru, between Brazil and Argentine.

b. United struggle against American imperialism.

c. Latin American press.

d. Attitude toward the continental internationals.

e. Attitude toward the R. I. L. U. and united action of all its adherents and organizations.

6. Unite action against the white terror in Brazil, Guatemala and Peru.

7. A manifesto from the Trade Union Educational League to the workers of Latin America calling for a united fight against American imperialism.

8. To intensify activity among the transport workers who should serve as a means of connection between the various countries. Attention to be centered chiefly upon the transport workers in Vera Cruz and Buenos Aires.

No. 28.

The Struggle for the Release of Political Prisoners in the United States of America

IT is necessary to begin an immediate campaign for the release of Mooney, Ford, Suhr, Cline, Wrangel, Sacco, and Vanzetti and of many other political prisoners in the United States.

Besides, all newspapers, magazines and other press organs must always act in the defence of these victims of class rule.

ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORLD WAR.

To the workers of all countries, from the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U.

HUMANITY will shortly be "celebrating" the tenth anniversary of the declaration of the world war. The bourgeoisie of all countries, together with the social-patriots, of course, will make use of this date to sound the praises of their war and its great conquests. Four years of war and six of the Versailles Peace reduced Europe to ruin. Tremendous productive forces were wasted. Tens of millions of men and hundreds of milliards of dollars were sacrificed for the hegemony of Anglo-French imperialism. How much false and hypocritic talk of democracy, civilization, culture, "the last war" was heard during this mutual extermination of nations? How lavish were the promises made

when it was necessary to induce millions of toilers to go to the slaughter? Everything written by the capitalist and social-patriotic press during this period remains as a memorial of the great corruption and degradation of the statesmen and their socialist lackeys in all countries. The victory of "justice" led to the monstrous Versailles Treaty. The victory of "culture" revealed the shameless aridity of the victors. "The last war" became the starting point for new, hitherto unparalleled armaments, and the "destruction of Prussian militarism" led to the blossoming of Franco-British imperialism, to a new feverish race for armaments. Science and war technique are engaged in bringing out new inventions, in working out plans of aerial warfare, war chemistry opens new "glittering," truly terrifying vistas before humanity.

Ten years have passed since the outbreak of the "great" and "liberating" war. Six years of the Versailles Peace, and the economic life of all countries, with the exception of Soviet Russia, is in disintegration. Europe is losing its industrial, economic and financial hegemony. The centre has been transferred to the United States, where a powerful capitalism, under cover of Wilson's "fourteen points," developed feverish energy in every field of industrial and financial activity. Decaying Europe is faced with full blooded American capitalism, which finds its own continent too limited, and searches through the Pacific for new markets, coming up against weakened but still powerful Japanese capitalism. Dependent economically upon America, Europe continues to struggle in the grip of the reparations problem.

After six years of peace, plenty of dynamite has accumulated in Europe, ready to explode at any moment. One has but to watch the feverish work of the French, British, Czecho-Slovakian, Polish and Austrian armament factories in order to realize the impending danger. What are the professed leaders of the working class doing in the face of the danger? Where are all the champions of the last war? In the Second and Amsterdam Internationals they continue their old policy of fooling the masses, of spreading pacifist illusions at the very time when everywhere preparations for new wars are being made. At the last congress in Vienna, the Amsterdam International adopted a resolution against war. It was voted for by the very same men who never raised a finger to organize resistance to French imperialism in the Ruhr. The hypocritical character of this talk is best proved by the fact that all these gentlemen adopted the experts' report, which, if put into effect, would threaten the world with new conflicts and upheavals. These pitiful prattlers and hypocrites speak pathetically of peace, at the same time adding fuel to the militarist and imperialist fires. Who are these Vienna peace makers, what did they do to further peace during the war? During the war they were all in the service of their bourgeoisie. They preached "war to the victorious end", they fought against the least expression of internationalism in thought and action; they used the machinery of the labor organizations to stifle every protest. The same gentlemen whose hands are stained with the blood of millions of workers, are now making pacifist speeches, after sanctifying the monstrous, shameless robbers' peace of Versailles and after accepting the plan of the experts for the choking of the German proletariat. They may declaim against war, though each knows full well that immediately war breaks out they will all again don the livery of their masters and preach the old "pacifist" slogan: "Workers of the World, cut each others' throats."

The years of black reaction have generated much discontent among

the masses, and the bourgeoisie of the various countries have found it necessary to put radical and even socialist governments in place of the openly reactionary governments. However, all these "lefts" differ from the rights in word only; in deed, the left governments continue the imperialist policies of the real boss—financial and industrial capital. Does not MacDonald build air fleets, bombard from aeroplanes insurgent natives, does not he strive to rob Turkey of the Mosul oil, fill the prisons with Hindu revolutionists, protect the interests of the capitalists expropriated by the Russian Revolution? And the French Left Bloc? We have seen these gentlemen at work. Did not the world war begin at the very time when the radicals and radical socialists were in power in France? Their quick-change vaudeville stunts cannot hide the fact that these so-called left governments follow their predecessors in the preparation for new international slaughters. True, it is not done so rudely and insolently as Poincare and Curzon did it; MacDonald and Herriot know how to invent robbers' policies with democratic phrases. The leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals may take part in or support these governments, they may vouch for these gentlemen's love appeals, but they cannot deny the crude fact that MacDonald and Herriot continue the policies of Poincare and Curzon.

The special feature of the present situation is the fact that the upper circles of the social-democratic and trade union organizations developed within the apparatus of the capitalist state and that they are now the strongest support of collapsing and disintegrating capital. This role of the supporters of the capitalist system is played by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals consciously and willingly. In the attempt to save the system of exploitation, the bourgeoisie and reformist chiefs of the trade union movement decided this work. The part of the latter was to consist of hiding the inherent contradictions of capitalism by pacifist phrases, in spreading the illusion that the League of Nations really could achieve something, in restraining the working masses from revolutionary activities, and in fighting the Communists. This anti-Communist and anti-proletarian work is supported by the entire administrative and police apparatus of the state. During the last year, reformism has taken another step away in this direction. From political strike breaking it has passed to economic strike breaking, and to the support of the Fascist reaction. Thus has international reformism completed its evolution.

On this background of imperialist rivalry, of increasing imperialist tendencies of increasing armaments, the peaceful proletarian policies of the Soviet government stands out in bold belief. The Soviet power arose in the struggle against world capitalism. Only here, on the territory of the Soviet Republic, there is no national strife, no imperialist tendencies, no desire to take their neighbors unawares. The state, built by the toilers for the toilers, has no interest in the oppression of other peoples; on the contrary, it is interested in the liberation of all the oppressed and exploited. And at the very time when the capitalist world convulsively struggles over the solution of insoluble problems and continually weakens economically, Soviet Russia is building its economic life at a feverish pace, and is creating a firm foundation for the proletarian state. Seven years of revolution have shown that Soviet Russia is the Citadel of the international labor movement. Like a gigantic magnet it attracts all that are revolutionary and honest among the oppressed and exploited of all countries. Every worker, no matter from what part of the world he be, knows that Soviet Russia is

the great instrument of peace, precisely because it is the great instrument of revolution.

The ten years that have passed since the outbreak of the war have not passed in vain: the world labor movement has lived through a grave crisis; hundreds and millions of workers have turned away from social patriotism in disgust and rallied to the communist banners. The Communist International has grown and developed into a world wide organization, and the Red International of Labor Unions has penetrated every country. There is not a country, there is not a corner of the globe where these two world organizations are not backed by numerous militant fighters. The army of the revolution unceasingly grows, and the increasing persecutions of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. by the bourgeoisie and the reformists. It is necessary to cut out reformism from amongst labor, in order to take up the offensive and storm the capitalist stronghold. We are confronted with a gigantic task.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. sends this fiery appeal to the workers of all countries to oppose the bourgeoisie and reformist celebration of their war for freedom by a demonstration of anger and hatred for the exploiters and their agents during the week of protest against war, July 27—August 4th, 1924, to remind the ruling classes that the time has passed when millions of workers could be forced with impunity to take part in the world slaughter. During this anti-war week, in every city and village, in every factory and workshop, on the streets of all the cities, in every place where the proletarian hearts beat, where there are oppressed and exploited, the militant cry will be heard:

DOWN WITH IMPERIALIST WARS!

DOWN WITH THE AGENTS OF MILITARISM—THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS!

OUT WITH THE TRAITORS FROM THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS!

WELCOME TO THE HOLY WAR OF THE OPPRESSED AGAINST THE OPPRESSORS!

LONG LIVE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF THE ENTIRE WORLD

An Appeal of the III Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Against the White Terror.

IN starting its work, the III Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions brands with scorn before the laborers of the entire world the policy of violence of the international bourgeoisie which has united under the banner of Fascism and under the banner of "democracy."

In Italy, in Spain, attacks upon the revolutionary workers are systematically organized by the governments of Mussolini and Rivera.

After a series of outrages in the course of which thousands of revolutionists fell victims of the struggle, workers' institutions were closed, labor bourses were set on fire, thousands of prisoners fell subjected by capitalist hangmen to terrible tortures, the murder of the Italian Socialist Deputy Matteotti, concluding a long list of murderous deeds revealed with a sudden vividness before the whole world the un-

heard-of conditions in which the capitalist terror has thrust the laboring population of Italy.

In Madrid, the military directory, endeavoring to destroy the class organizations of the proletariat, throw the active workers of the labor unions by the hundreds into prison (as was the case in Barcelona,) shooting in broad daylight the best fighters of the revolution, prohibits workers newspapers.

This system of terror, started in Italy and in Spain, is pursued methodically and openly and already assumes international proportions—with the direct aid of the notorious democratic governments or with their secret participation.

In Roumania, Poland, Finland, capitalism is avenging itself for its fear and trembling before the inevitable revolutionary mass uprisings, capitalism makes the workers pay with their blood; revolutionary workers are being thrown into prison, tortured, executed in Bulgaria, the bourgeois-fascist government of Zankov dispersed the central body of the labor unions, has suppressed all attempts at class organization and has deprived the working class of the possibility of struggle.

In all countries of the world revolutionary organizations are outlawed, and even the bourgeois legal norms are violated by capitalism which stops at nothing when it has to defend its interests.

In Germany, Fascism penetrates even into workers' organizations; the government protects and supports it, impeding the cause of proletarian self-defence; the recent shootings of workers in Halle once more manifests the purpose of the hard-pressed bourgeoisie absolutely to enslave the masses of the German people. The ministry of MacDonald in England extends its "labor" concern over the whole of the Empire, including India where machine-guns suppress the strikes and prisons are crowded with rebellious proletarians.

In Belgium, in Czecho-Slovakia, under the benevolent eye of the democrats in power, Fascist organizations are being formed, preparing for the day, when decisive class struggle will flare up.

In the whole world, the ruling class persecuted the defenders of the proletariat and metes out vengeance on them either by means of open terror or under the cloak of hypocritical democracy.

The representatives of the international proletariat know that the bourgeoisie is motivated in its policy of violence by the imperative necessity of class struggle, by the provision of near bankruptcy, and also by the desire to retain at all costs its positions in the face of economic world revolution which cannot be stayed. They knew that only by class action, strictly organized and stopping at nothing, the international proletariat will be able to overcome the white terror and, changing from the heroic defensive to systematic offensive, to overthrow the bourgeois-capitalist exploitation and achieve the establishment of the proletarian rule.

The white terror finds for itself faithful allies in the social-traitors and anarcho-reformists of all countries. The III Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions calls upon all laborers, of whatever trade or conviction, to begin the concentration of all forces immediately and to prepare for a united advance under the red banner of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Long live the International Proletariat!

Long live the World Revolution!

PROTEST AGAINST THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE WORKERS OF ESTHONIA, LATVIA, FINLAND AND POLAND.

To the Workers of the Baltic States, Finland, and Poland, to the Workers of the World.

BY grace of the Entente the bourgeoisie has now been in power for nearly seven years in Esthonia, Latvia, Finland, Lithuania and Poland. For nearly seven years has it been strangling the working classes of these countries. The bloodthirsty bourgeoisie attacks with particular fury the revolutionary workers, whose past is tied up with the revolutionary vanguard of the Soviet Republics; their unions are being closed down, and their active leaders are being arrested.

Workers of the world! It is with the aid of the world capital and with the social traitors of your country that the rotten "Independent" states, which separate the bulwark of the world revolution, Soviet Russia, from the centre of the revolutionary movement in Europe, from Germany, have been able to maintain themselves. The bourgeoisie of your countries looks upon these "democratic Republics" as upon watchdogs who could be set upon the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia at the necessary moment. Again and again the social traitors, who act against labor, hand in hand with the police and the secret service, should be exposed. The "democratic" regime stages grandiose political trials, not only against hundreds of revolutionary workers, but against entire labor organizations. This is intended completely to deprive the workers of their legal organizations, to abolish the right of assembly and the workers' press.

While in His Majesty's England a "Labor" Government of the Second International is at the helm, while in France the radical democratic bourgeoisie, supported by the social-democrats, have come to power, and in Denmark the social-democrats are at the head of the government, while throughout the world the social-traitors are proclaiming the coming of a new era of democracy, the vassals of world imperialism, the bourgeois democracies of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Poland are crushing the labor organizations of these countries.

In Esthonia all the unions have been closed and the prominent leaders arrested. In Lithuania, Finland and Poland the destruction of the unions and the arrests of the leaders have become an everyday occurrence. In Latvia the persecutions of the radical unions continue as before. Arrests, provocations, closing down of the unions, prohibition of the organization of new unions, prohibition of any legal labor organs—such is the true face of democracy in these countries. From police stations heartrending cries of tortured workers are heard. The knout, the rifle butt, and the fist are only a preface to the subtle tortures practiced in the secret service departments of these little countries.

Workers of all countries! Protest against the brutality of the henchmen of world imperialism of Eastern Europe. Extend your hand of solidarity to the courageous detachments of revolutionary workers. Support your tortured brethren.

Workers of England and France! Expose the "labor" and "democratic" governments of MacDonald and Herriot who direct the destruction of the labor organizations.

Brother workers of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Poland, be firm in your hard struggle, remember that the workers of all countries are with you.

Down with the Executioners of the Working Class!
Long live the Liberation of the Working Class!
Long Live the Proletarian Revolution!

PROTEST AGAINST THE MURDERS AND VIOLENCE UPON THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF JUGO-SLAVIA.

ALMOST for four years the revolutionary proletariat of Jugo-Slavia has been suffering from the horrors of the white terror. The enslavement of the working class has reached the extreme limit. Under the protection of the government, on June 2nd of this year, armed Fascist bands attacked the miners in Trbovlje (Slovenia). Five miners and a child were killed. Eight miners were wounded. The wounded workers are at present in prison. One miner was seized by the Fascists, tortured, "sentenced" to death, and murdered.

For these bloody crimes the Fascists have not even been indicted.

On the 12th of July of this year, the Jugo-Slavian government again forbade the activity of the revolutionary labor unions and the Independent Labor Party, and dissolved its organizations under the pretext that they, too, are engaged in illegal work.

Since 1920 this is already the second case of prohibition of the activity of labor unions in Jugo-Slavia. Over half of the labor unions had not yet been able to recover and begin their work, when the labor unions were again outlawed. Again the workers are subjected to persecution, arrests and tortures.

Workers of all countries!

Raise your mighty voice against this barbaric, brutal and reactionary regime, against the Jugo-Slavian government—the vassal of French imperialism.

Show your solidarity to the tried fighters, the revolutionary workers of Jugo-Slavia, who are struggling against the counter-revolutionary capitalist government.

Workers of all countries, join the fight against the counter-revolution which is being organized in the Balkans under the direction of the Jugo-Slavian government.

Rise to the defense of your persecuted comrades!

Comrades, workers and women workers of Jugo-Slavia!

The entire international proletariat is firmly convinced that you will maintain your courage in the struggle to the end, as in former battles. Only at the price of heavy sacrifices can the working class achieve its liberation. Only through struggle can the working class obtain power. Be firm in your struggle against reaction and prove that you are worthy of fighting comrades of the great Russian proletariat and the international proletariat who is marching together with you.

Down with the Oppressors of the Working Class!

Down with the Fascism!

Long Live the Jugo-Slavian Proletariat!

Long Live the Social Revolution!

AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN BULGARIA

THE Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. hears with great indignation of the cruelty of the Fascist reaction toward the proletariat and labor union movement in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government, which is composed of public executioners and murderers, a blind instrument of the capitalist clique, has dissolved the labor unions, confiscated their archives and funds, closed the labor clubs, is cruelly persecuting the labor press, does not permit any meetings and sessions of labor organizations, deprives the workers of all possibility of legal self-defense and struggle. More than that—after the severe beatings inflicted upon some of the leaders, during the suppression of the September uprising, and subjecting others to unheard-of tortures in prisons or driving them into exile abroad,—now it resorts to new mass arrests and political murders. The telegraph brings every day reports about inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the Bulgarian government upon the labor and peasant masses.

Strongly protesting against the unheard-of terrors and cruelties to which the Bulgarian workers and peasants are subjected with the active and passive participation of the Mensheviks and Amsterdam adherents, the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. appeals to the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to protest most emphatically against the atrocities which are perpetrated in Bulgaria, and to lend their aid, moral and material, to the Bulgarian proletarians who are fighting for their self-defense and emancipation.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. sends its warmest brotherly greeting to the revolutionary Bulgarian workers and peasants who at the risk of their lives courageously continue to struggle against the bourgeois Fascist regime,—and declare that the R. I. L. U. is wholly on their side in this unequal, but glorious combat.

Forward, Bulgarian Proletarians, on the Road of Struggle!

You are not alone! The revolutionary international proletariat is with you. Victory will inevitably be on your side, although at the price of many and costly sacrifices.

Down With the Bourgeois-Fascist Regime!

Long Live the Heroic Struggle of the Bulgarian Proletariat!

Long Live International Proletarian Solidarity!

Long Live the Proletarian Revolution!

PROTEST AGAINST LABOR PERSECUTIONS IN TURKEY.

THE Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. vigorously protests against the persecutions levelled against the revolutionary organizations of Turkey by the Kemalist government.

The Congress expresses deep sympathy for the proletariat of Turkey, and pledges its utmost support in their struggle for liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

PROTEST AGAINST WHITE TERROR IN EGYPT

THAT this Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. protests against the persecution of our Egyptian comrades on trumped-up charges of conspiracy against the Egyptian constitution. This supposed communist

plot consists of the fact that all those on trial have merely participated in normal political activities, yet despite this, an attempt is now being made to incriminate our Egyptian fellow workers on definite criminal charges.

This Congress maintains that the principles of democracy long propagated by the Labor Party are being seriously jeopardised by the toleration of such action in the colonies.

This Congress therefore emphatically protests against the persecution of our fellow workers and urges all labor representatives and the labor government to press for the immediate and unconditional release of our Egyptian fellow workers, and to insist upon an immediate termination to political persecution.

PROTEST AGAINST THE TERROR IN CHINA

THE Third Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions protests most energetically against the terror being carried on by the Chinese militarists; it expresses its deep sympathy with the Chinese railway workers who have already fallen victims to this terror. It wishes the Chinese proletariat courage in its fight and sends it fraternal greetings.

Success to the Chinese Working Class!

Long Live International Solidarity!

Long Live the Red International of Labor Unions!

Down With Militarism!

Militants, Notice!

Organize! Join the Trade Union Educational League. This is a system of informal committees throughout the entire union movement, organized to infuse the mass with revolutionary understanding and spirit. It is working for the closer affiliation and solidification of our existing craft unions until they have been developed into industrial unions. Believing that all workers should stand together regardless of their social or other opinions, it is opposed to the common policy of radical and progressive-minded workers quitting the trade unions and starting rival organizations based upon ideal principles. That policy is one of the chief reasons why the American labor movement is not further advanced. Its principal effects are to destroy all radical organization in the old unions and to leave the reactionaries in undisputed control.

The Trade Union Educational League is in no sense a dual union, nor is it affiliated with any such organization. It is purely an educational body of militants within existing mass unions, who are seeking through the application of modern methods to bring the policies and structure of the labor movement into harmony with present day economic conditions. It bespeaks the active co-operation of all militant union workers. For further details apply to the

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