

RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL (SUPPLEMENT)

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2. No. 24

28th March 1922

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

The Most Important Decisions of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International.

** The second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International which took place in Moscow in the second half of February and in the first days of March, was participated in by representatives from the following countries:—America, Great Britain, Russia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Bulgaria (whose delegates carried credentials for all the Balkan States), Japan, Korea, India, Dutch East India, and, as guests, several representatives of various countries in the Far East.

Following we publish the most important decisions and resolutions adopted at the conference.

The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International on the Convocation of an International Conference. adopted at the session of March 5th 1922).

Having thoroughly discussed the proposal of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation for the convocation of a conference of representatives of both the Amsterdam and the Red Trade Union Internationals in order jointly to consider ways and means for countering the offensive of capital, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International declares that:—

1—The steps taken by our Norwegian comrades with a view of realizing the united front of the organized proletariat throughout the world, are in accordance with similar endeavors on the part of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International which has repeatedly requested the Executive of the Amsterdam Trade Union International to carry on a joint campaign for certain immediate demands, without, however, having at any time received a satisfactory answer.

2—The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International nevertheless still declares its willingness to participate either in an international conference to which it proposes to invite all Communist and Socialist parties and all other workers' organizations, or in an international trade-union conference, in order to organize jointly the resistance against the aggression of capital.

3—The Executive Committee instructs the Executive Bureau to get into communication with those organizations which will take upon themselves the initiative in calling such a conference.

4—All organizations affiliated to the Red Trade Union International which are in a position to make concrete and practical proposals on this matter are to be invited to submit such proposals first to the Executive Bureau which will discuss them in detail and also make the necessary arrangements for carrying them through.

4—Organizations belonging to the Red Trade Union International must not participate in any conference or congress whatsoever, to which official representatives of the Red Trade Union International have not been invited.

In conclusion the Executive Committee advises the Norwegian Federation to elaborate a concrete plan of action which in its opinion would provide a satisfactory basis for the international collaboration of the Red Trade Union and Amsterdam Internationals.

The Capitalist Offensive and the Proletarian United Front.

1—The offensive measures which the capitalists throughout the world are at present carrying out, constitute an attempt at solving the economic problems born of and intensified by the war by using both economic and political weapons to compel the proletariat to take upon its shoulders the costs of the war and the burden of its aftermath—the crisis. The latter obliges the capitalists of all countries to reduce the costs of production. The disorganization of the proletariat renders it an easy prey for the bourgeoisie which, always attacking at the point of the least resistance, cuts down costs of production by *lowering wages, lengthening working hours and intensifying exploitation*, thus robbing the proletariat of the most elementary achievements gained in the past and forcing it into the deepest misery.

2—This offensive has been well planned and organized by world capital, and only differs in its external forms in the various countries. In countries with a high rate of exchange, wages are reduced; while in those whose currency has depreciated, wages are not being increased in proportion to the steadily declining purchasing power of money. Both methods achieve the same result—*increasing pauperisation of large masses of labor and the imperilling of its bare existence*. To this labor retorts with vague indignation and an evergrowing determination to close its ranks and fight for a way out its unbearable need.

3—The reformist leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International have shown themselves incapable of organizing the masses to ward off the capitalist offensive. Until very recently the leaders of Amsterdam even denied that the capitalist were getting ready for attack and endeavored to conciliate labor by praising the League of Nations and the methods of cooperation with the bourgeoisie both on the industrial and the political field. And though *the failure of their policy and their tactics has meanwhile become obvious*, the leaders of Amsterdam have done nothing whatsoever to mass the proletariat for defense; they have contented themselves with futile complaints. Neither in the *United States*, nor in *Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden or France*, have the opportunist trade-union leaders attempted to unite and organize all proletarian forces against capital's power. Neither nationally nor internationally have the leaders of Amsterdam dared to attempt a serious struggle. The bureaucracy betrayed the battling workers in the 1921 British miners strike. In Czecho-Slovakia and in Switzerland the officialdom of the trade-unions is sabotaging the united defensive fight against the capitalist offensive, because it fears that this united defensive might result in a weakening of the power of capital.

4—This refusal on the part of the trade-union bureaucracy to prepare and carry through the struggle of the entire working class has in many instances *seriously interfered with the development of the proletarian defensive*, and this is being understood by ever greater masses of workers. The determination to struggle which is daily gaining ground among labor, is the best preliminary for the united front which, if no other course proves possible, must be organized even against the wished of the Amsterdam officialdom.

The followers of the Red Trade Union International, the revolutionary Syndicalists and the Communists must take the initiative in *establishing the united front against the offensive of capital*. The purpose and the aim of this united front is the unity of all workers, both within and outside of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, who are determined to take up the fight against wage reductions, extension of working hours, intensified exploitation and cheap woman and child labor, which is more and more becoming a weapon in the hands of the employers, and, finally, against the general daily hardships of a worker's life.

5—The strongly organized employer class dominates the *state apparatus* and uses it in all its ramifications against labor which will be compelled to turn the fight for safeguarding its immediate economic interests into an attack against the bourgeois state with a view of overthrowing it and replacing the old apparatus by a class organization of its own.

6—The united front must become a fact both on a national and international scale. The chief difference between us and the Amsterdamers is that *we are prepared to employ all possible weapons against every conceivable form of capitalist exploitation* (wage reductions, lengthening of working hours, intensified exploitation). The Amsterdamers, on the other hand, not only decline to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also carefully avoid every serious contest on the economic field, being convinced that such a course would at present endanger capitalist reconstruction. We are for countering capital's offensive, because we hold that to be the only means by which labor can be saved from enslavement. We advocate the struggle because we are not concerned with capitalist reconstruction, but solely with the destruction of the capitalist economic system. We are confident that the working class has sufficient strength to rebuild the economic structure and the state so as to make exploitation impossible. We are adverse to capitalist reconstruction, because as a result of the situation created by the war's devastation, this is only possible by forcing millions of European workers to lower their living standard below the barest existence minimum, by creating a giant army of unemployed in perpetuo as a result of intensifying colonial exploitation, by the continuation of war armaments, and by new imperialist wars.

7—*We are willing and eager to fight side by side with all workers, private and state employees.* We are taking up this struggle, in order to enrol millions of unemployed, who are now doomed to death by starvation, in the army of production and secondly because a decent standard of living will revive the will to battle of the working class. We are prepared to fight in the front ranks, no matter what the sacrifices, and battle shoulder to shoulder with all those who have as yet no clear conception of the necessity for a struggle for the entire economic and political power.

8—We call upon all labor organizations throughout the world to form a united front together with us on the basis of the defense of the economic interests of the working class. We furthermore declare our readiness to wage warfare for this aim with all workers' organizations, no matter what their political outlook. We deem it essential that pressure be everywhere brought to bear upon the trade-union leaders to prepare for, and conduct such a campaign. Only after representatives of the various trade-unions and leaders in their endeavors to save the bourgeoisie persist in declining to participate in joint defensive warfare, shall we attempt to organize the struggle without and, if need be, even against them.

9—Wage disputes of the trades of minor importance in the process of production must be combined with the struggles of those workers essential for the maintenance of the economic life of the bourgeois state. Strikes of railwaymen, seamen, miners and other trades of international importance in a given country must be actively supported by the same trades in the adjoining states.

In countries with a depreciated currency the best basis for a united front is the uniformly organized struggle against the increase of prices (the control of production, commerce and prices by the working class) for the burden of taxation and the war debts being saddled on the possessing class.

In colonial and semi-colonial countries, as for instance India and China, labor has to defend itself against aggression of both the domestic bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists. The Red Trade Union International and the workers of the capitalist countries must advise and support the young revolutionary proletariat of the Far East in its struggle for decent living conditions and against domestic and foreign exploiters.

10—*The revolutionary labor unions* must everywhere take the initiative in creating the united front, of course on the basis of the class struggle and not on that of collaboration between the classes. This united front must be hinged on certain specified demands all labor is interested in (wage disputes, working hours, standard of living, woman and child labor, etc.). The revolutionary labor unions and their leaders must do everything in their power to bring these struggles to a victorious end.

11—The united front is thus to be built up for purposes of warfare in which the revolutionary organizations must fight shoulder to shoulder with reformist and other workers' organizations as long as the latter are determined to wage the battle for the everyday demands of labor. Action, absolute and definitive refusal to participate in any cooperation whatsoever with the capitalist class on the part of the reformist and other workers' organizations, and retention of organizational and political independence on our part are the preliminary conditions for a united front.

A united front does under no circumstance imply that the Red Trade Unions have deserted either their principles or have relinquished their program or tactics. In concluding with other workers' organizations an agreement for the purpose of jointly conducting a certain action, the revolutionary organizations propagate their ideas and their principles.

United front means common struggle with proletarians who differ with us as to the ultimate aim and with semi-proletarians in town and country who are willing to fight with us against the capitalists and landowners. The united front means the community of struggle of the proletarian class against its enemy, the bourgeoisie, and is as such radically distinguished from Amsterdam's policy of cooperation with the same class.

12—The leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and its affiliated bodies look askance at the desire of the working class for unity upon the basis of a common defense against capitalist aggression. This is the ultimate reason for the wellplanned attempts of influential circles within the Amsterdam Trade Union International to split the trade-union movement, at a time when the capitalist offensive has reached its culminating point and the bourgeoisie is everywhere adopting brutal measures against the workers' organizations. In France, for instance, the trade-union movement has been manoeuvred into a perilous situation through to the tactics of the reformists, while in Switzerland similar tactics are at present being employed with a like determination. Here one of the Amsterdam leaders has moved the expulsion of one of the strongest sections of the Metal Workers' Union, because it did not approve of his reformist tactics. The same attitude towards the united of the trade-unions is met with in other countries. The Amsterdam leaders respond to the elementary desire of the working class for unity in especially difficult times by favoring all attempts at splitting the trade-union movement and preferring collaboration with the bourgeoisie to an understanding with the revolutionary workers.

13—These tactics of the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and its national sections cannot prevent the Red Trade Union International and its affiliated organizations from proposing, whenever and wherever that is possible, the union of the actions of the workers. Hence we suggest that our organizations continue to enlighten the workers on the imperative necessity for unity. Wherever reformist trade-union leaders decline to come to an understanding with our organizations because they are revolutionary or Communist, we advise our followers to disregard the leaders of the reformist trade-unions and appeal directly to the broad masses organized in such unions, thus exposing the leaders' criminal tactics and their results to all labor.

14—It is necessary everywhere to call upon both the adherents of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Anarchists to prepare and conduct the struggle together with the Communists, Syndicalists and members of the Red trade-unions. While declining to abandon our principles, we must nevertheless observe stringent class discipline and everywhere workers having a different stand-point are determined upon a struggle join them in it.

15—All our adherents must nationally and internationally be united in the Red Trade Union International as a compact centre of revolutionary energy. After the other workers fight side by side with us, practice and experience of the struggle will very soon make the workers discover the utter futility of employing reformist and syndicalist halfway measures and methods in the battle, and it will be possible to overcome them. The example set in the course of the struggle by the followers of the Red Trade Union International, who keep faith under all circumstances and are deterred by no sacrifice no matter how great, together with sharp and matter-of-fact criticism on the shortcomings and weaknesses of the other methods of struggle, will help the proletariat to attain victory.

16—Simultaneously with intense activities for uniting all sections of labor for the purpose of practical defense, the revolutionary labor unions must continue their fundamental work of uniting the masses for a future offensive against the master class. The possibility of uniting workers of various political creeds for concrete and practical revolutionary defensive and offensive actions grows in proportion to the degree in which the work of the revolutionary labor unions in propagating their ideas and organizing their followers becomes more intense, more certain of its aim and more systematic. Throughout their entire activities the revolutionary labor unions must never allow themselves to forget that the more the revolutionary unions are

strengthened, the sooner and the more efficiently will the united front be established. The united front is not an aim in itself, but merely a means to the end, which is firstly to parry the offensive of the employing class and secondly to prepare the proletarian offensive against capitalism, with a view of conquering the entire political and economic machinery for the proletariat.

On the Amsterdamers' Disunity Endeavors.

The reformist trade-union leaders strive to continue the policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie advocated and practiced by them during and after the war, even through a period of an intense crisis and of capital's general attack against labor.

The reformist trade-union leaders are so securely bound to bourgeois society as to make them try and nip in the bud every revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Capitalism can only hope to succeed in maintaining its chaotic economic system, provided it can do so at all, by forcing upon the proletariat a state of bondage. As, however, the reformist trade-union leaders adopt an hostile attitude toward every step of the working class beyond the limits of capitalist society, they will be compelled by the logic of events not only to *abandon the revolutionary aims of the working class*, but even in the case of mere wage disputes to oppose the working class or sections of it in increasing degree.

This attitude will, no matter whether they like it or not, force the reformist leaders into growing opposition to the masses of labor. In order to alienate labor from the influence of the revolutionary vanguard, to prevent the formation of the united front, so urgently demanded by labor against the always more aggressive measures of the employing class, and to maintain cooperation between labor and its exploiters, the Amsterdam leaders are today proceeding unscrupulously to *split and destroy the trade-union mass organisations*. The same people who stubbornly insist that the proletariat share the political power with the bourgeoisie on the basis of democracy, consider the principles of democracy as so many scraps of paper as soon as a democratic majority in the trade-unions decides in favor of revolutionary tactics.

What has occurred in Germany, France, Switzerland and other countries proves conclusively that in their endeavors to split the trade-unions, the Amsterdamers are not above employing the basest of weapons.

The tactics of cooperation and of avoiding the struggle, practised by the Amsterdamers are the reason for the rapid decline of the power and attraction of the trade-unions which have been deserted by millions of disappointed and despairing workers. The machinations of the Amsterdam leaders will ultimately result in the disintegration and destruction of the trade-unions, and that at a time when the employers' organizations are being developed and strengthened to an unheard of degree.

In stating these facts and branding the splitting and destruction of the trade-unions caused by the Amsterdamers as a base crime against the workers of the world, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International appeals to the class conscious members of the trade-unions throughout the world to remain within the trade-unions in accordance with the decisions of the First Congress in spite of the intrigues of the reformist leaders and to work persistently for their development into real militant organs.

Wherever reformist officials of a union proceed to expel single members or even to dissolve whole sections, locals or branches, it is the duty of all revolutionary trade-union members immediately to launch a general and energetic movement of protest against the splitters and, by adopting corresponding resolutions, categorically to insist upon annulment of the expulsion and dissolution decrees. Expelled members and dissolved sections must exhaust all means on the statute books in fighting for readmittance to the entire organization. While this fight is going on, expelled locals must, if possible under observation of the rules and regulations of their union, fulfil their functions as hitherto. If more than one local of a union, and more than one union in a country have been expelled, the adherents of the Red Trade Union International must unite such locals or unions in order to create close connections between them and the organization already belonging to the Red Trade Union International.

A very effective protest action is the example set in Switzerland where revolutionary unions have accepted into their ranks expelled sections and groups of other trade unions at the same time guaranteeing them the rights acquired in their previous organizations.

In countries where, as in France, the Amsterdamers have carried out the split all along the line, the revolutionary organizations must demand reunion to be achieved on the basis of free speech and proportional representation in the administrative organs. Where, in spite of all endeavors in that direction, readmittance to the respective unions is not granted, or where whole unions have either been expelled from the national federation or have left of their own accord, such unions must demand their

readmission of the executive of the national trade-union federation.

All these steps should, however, not be taken under the formal slogan of unity — it is important that the fact that such unity is absolutely essential for the struggle for the workers' daily interests and needs be brought home to the masses. The leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International must be compelled to declare which side of the fence they are on in such concrete questions as wage disputes, fight for the eight hour day, retention and extension of the right of the factory councils, whether or no they will continue to sabotage the necessary unity of labor in favor of the bourgeoisie.

With regard to the stubbornly repeated assertion of the Amsterdam leaders that the Red Trade Union International is endeavoring to split the trade-union movement, the Executive Committee declares most emphatically that all adherents of the Red Trade Union International must always respect the wishes of the majority of labor and at no time employ force in an endeavor to coerce such a majority into accepting their (the minority's) proposals. It is not difficult for the adherents of the Red Trade Union International to observe this rule, the less so as, in spite of the desperate resistance put up by the Amsterdam leaders, the cases where majorities of organized workers, both in locals and in whole unions, declare themselves in favor of the center of the revolutionary trade-union movement, the Red Trade Union International, are on the increase.

The Revolutionary Syndicalists and the Red Trade Union International.

On the basis of the fact that all revolutionary trade-union forces have been combined in the Red Trade Union International under whose banner Syndicalist, Communist and non-partisan workers are united and, furthermore, that misunderstandings and even confusion have arisen in certain Syndicalist circles with regard to the resolution of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International re the relationship to the Communist International, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International declares that the resolution in question means in no way the subordination of the trade-unions to the Communist parties, or of the Red Trade Union International to the Communist International, but the unity of all the organized forces of the working class for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist regime.

As the German syndicalists have at their congress in Düsseldorf expressed their intention of founding a purely Syndicalist International, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International cannot but warn all revolutionary organizations against these attempts at splitting and must vehemently protest against this attack upon the unity of the proletariat. At the same time it declares that a sectarian international such as that is foredoomed to utter impotence.

Being convinced that it will prove possible to find a solid foundation for a bloc of all revolutionary forces of the world, the Executive Committee addresses the urgent appeal to all revolutionary trade-unions, including those which have pronounced against joining the Red Trade Union International, to participate in our Second Congress.

Resolution on the Report of the International Propaganda Committee.

1—Having taken cognizance of the report of the International Propaganda Committee on its activities and immediate tasks, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International endorses the tactics followed by that Committee so far. The Propaganda Committee must continue and intensify its activities of propagating the idea of revolutionary class struggle within the international union federations in the direction pursued hitherto.

2—The Executive Committee declares that at the instance of the Amsterdam Trade Union International the International Trade Secretariats affiliated to the latter have after the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International redoubled their efforts at splitting the trade-union movement and excluding from it and isolating all revolutionary elements.

3—By their savage struggle against the revolutionary unions the leaders of the International Craft Secretariats undermine the forces of labor and prevent uniform organization of proletarian resistance against the offensive of capital.

4—The tremendous defensive actions of the proletariat that with an elementary force break out in all countries in this or that trade are in most cases viewed with apprehension by the leaders of Amsterdam. In other cases, as for instance in the English miners' strike or in that of the French textile workers, those leaders have even openly betrayed the interests of the proletariat.

5—The reactionary policy of splitting followed by the Amsterdamers is most apparent in the case of the Russian trade-unions, which were under various pretexts denied admission to

the International Craft Federations. At the international craft congresses that took place during the last six months the delegates of the Russian trade-unions were either (in most cases) refused admittance or were merely treated as guests. The leaders of the respective Craft Secretariats have in a number of instances (Metal Workers' Congress in Luzerne, Building Trades' Conference in Bregenz) even mobilized the bourgeois government and its police force in order to keep the Russian delegates away from the conferences.

6.—In spite of this provocative attitude of the leaders of the International Craft Secretariats the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International proposes that the Propaganda Committees and all revolutionary trade-unions acknowledging the principles of the Red Trade Union International do everything in their power to keep the organizational unity of the International Craft Secretariats intact, because it deems it essential that in the present period of capitalist aggression the attacks of the employers be met with the united front.

7.—The Executive Committee advises all revolutionary trade-unions to stay within the International Craft Federations and there conduct an intensive campaign against the attempts at splitting the trade-union movement and the expulsion of revolutionary elements and to secure the admittance of all trade-unions to the next international congress of their respective trade.

All trade-unions which for any reason whatsoever have hitherto refused to join their International Craft Federation are urgently requested to do so as soon as possible.

8.—The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International holds that at the present time the activities of the Propaganda Committees are of especial importance in the interests of the revolutionary trade-union movement. Hence it instructs the Propaganda Committees to intensify their activities and institute all necessary measures suitable for creating ideological ties and active connections between the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary minorities in the respective trades. The Committees must define their attitude towards all concrete problems and occurrences both within the national and the international trade-union movement.

8.—The Executive Committee advises the Executive Bureau to pay serious attention to this branch of its activities and support and unite the work of the Propaganda Committees as much as possible.

9.—All organizations affiliated with the Red Trade Union International are requested to afford the Propaganda Committees in their countries the most extensive assistance.

10.—All adherents of the Red Trade Union International must pay special attention to revolutionary propaganda amongst the organized workers in all the various trades, to the calling of congresses of the various trades and to the corresponding development of the trade-union press.

11.—All revolutionary trade-unions or minorities must appoint officials or national propaganda commissions (according to the importance of the industry) for their respective country. These officials or commissions must carry out in a systematical manner the tasks of the Propaganda Committees in close and continuous collaboration with the respective secretariats; they must also see to it that monthly reports are turned in regularly. The necessary communication between the officials or national propaganda commissions in the various countries is to be established by the accredited representative of the Red Trade Union International together with the revolutionary trade-union headquarters in the given country.

12. The most important task of the Propaganda Committees is the elaboration of a concrete program of action which must correspond to the peculiarities of the respective trade and also contain the most important measures against the capitalist offensive. The decisions of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International must be simplified and supplement to correspond to the tasks in hand.

13.—In adopting the tentative statutes for the International Propaganda Committees drawn up by the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International, the Executive Committee declares that these are merely to provide the basis for the statutes of the various Propaganda Committees which must elaborate them to correspond to the peculiarities of their respective trades.

14.—The Executive Committee proposes that the question of headquarters be settled at the congresses of the revolutionary trade-unions and minorities of the respective trade. It is deemed advisable, however, that the headquarters of the Propaganda Committees be established in the country with the strongest and most active revolutionary trade-union or trade-union minority.

15.—The Executive Committee advises the Propaganda Committees carefully to regulate the financial side of their work. The manner of this regulation must correspond to the conditions obtaining in the respective trade and be carried through with a view of providing the necessary means either by collections and donations in the minorities or by regular dues of the trade-unions adhering to the Red Trade Union International.

16.—In trades where the majority of organized workers are adherents of the Red Trade Union International and the present International Trade Secretariats are in control only owing to the expulsion of the revolutionary unions, the Executive Committee thinks it nevertheless advisable to do everything to maintain the organizational unity of the international federation in question. Only where all attempts in that direction have failed owing to the sabotage of the Amsterdam leaders who use all weapons at their disposal to foil the clearly expressed wish of organized labor, are the Propaganda Committees compelled to safeguard the interests of the workers, to adopt far-reaching measures for establishing international organizational unity of all revolutionary elements within the trade-union movement and to make all preparations necessary for the calling of an international congress of the particular trade to which all unions standing on the basis of the class struggle should, if possible, be invited.

*

Resolution on the Report of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

1.—The second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International approves of the activities of the Executive Bureau. The Executive Committee expresses its satisfaction that in spite of all difficulties success has crowned the efforts to accelerate the process of revolutionizing the trade-unions throughout the world and to make the Red Trade Union International the center of vitality in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

2.—The Executive Committee endorses all measures adopted by the Executive Bureau for establishing the united front and also all proposals made in this respect to the Amsterdam Trade Union International, especially those re the White Terror in Spain and in Jugoslavia and the prevention of the split in the French trade-union movement.

3.—The Executive Committee approves the tactics of the Executive Bureau which aim at the affiliation of the various revolutionary trade-unions to the respective Craft and Industrial Secretariats.

4.—The Executive Committee enjoins upon the national sections to work more intensively than hitherto for the Red Trade Union International wherever occasion offers itself—shop and trade-union meetings, trade-union and party congresses, etc., and for this purpose keep in close contact with the Executive Bureau.

5.—In consideration of the fact that regular publication both of the central organ of the Red Trade Union International and of other important matter in the major languages is essential, the Executive Committee decided to instruct to instruct the Executive Bureau to have the organs printed in Western Europe.

6.—There being a decided shortage of suitable trade-union literature, the Executive Committee instructs the Executive Bureau to take all necessary steps to augment the library of the Red Trade Union International and thus provide its followers with the necessary mental weapons. For this purpose collaborators are to be invited from the various countries. The literature must be distributed through the organizational channels of the revolutionary trade-unions and minorities; care must be taken that, if possible, the whole of the expenses incurred be covered by the literature returns.

7.—The Executive Committee deems it essential that all possibilities for providing the party and trade-union press rapidly and regularly with the latest material on the activities of both the Profintern and the revolutionary trade-union movement be utilized to the utmost (Internationale Telegraphenagentur).

8.—The Executive Bureau must devote serious attention to the danger of national splits and the reformist-imperialist vacillations of the trade-unions in the Asiatic colonies and semi-colonial countries which have been caused in part by the immigration of skilled European labor. Such tendencies must be opposed by all possible means.

9.—In recognizing the ever growing importance of the labor movement in the Orient, which is being industrialized, and the necessity for close contact and unity between that movement and the Red Trade Union International, the Executive Committee realizes the necessity for the establishment of a special bureau in the Far East, to conduct and supervise agitation among the workers of the Orient.

10.—In conclusion the Executive Committee approves of the circular of the Executive Bureau regarding juvenile labor and also all steps taken with a view of establishing close cooperation between the Red Trade Union International and the Young Communist International.

The Executive Bureau must do everything within its power for the interests of juvenile labor in order to induce organized adult labor to fight effectively for the economic interests of the young workers whose representatives must be enrolled into the unions on an equal footing with their adult fellow workers.