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II. World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions

Technical difficulties prevented us from issuing this rather tardy number sooner. Ed.

The Second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions was opened on the 19th of November 1922, in the Moscow Trade Union Building. The solemn opening session was attended by the All-Russian Trade Union Council, the Moscow Trade Union Council, and the Moscow Factory Committees.

Comrade Lozovsky opened the session with the following address:

"The last 16 months were taken up with the capitalist offensive. The Amsterdam International has done nothing against this offensive. On the contrary, it has taken advantage of this offensive, for the ruthless expulsion of revolutionary elements from the trade unions. We must reply to these attempts at a split by the slogan: Long live the unity of the trade union movement—despite all attacks of the bourgeoisie and its agents! The imperialist conflicts in the Near and Far East become more and more acute. In Italy the Fascisti have seized power. The Italian working class is now suffering for its past errors, its failure to develop a revolutionary party under revolutionary leaders. But Fascism is an international phenomenon; the bourgeoisie is dropping the mask of democracy, and is taking to open attacks on the workers and their organizations. The present German government is the transition to a Stinnes government. *Fascismo* is a preventative counterrevolution. As opposed to this, the position of Soviet Russia becomes more and more secure from day to day, and extends the breach made in the capitalist structure. Reaction has weakened the trade union movement everywhere, but has at the same time strengthened the revolutionary movement. A glance at the world diagram of the trade unions suffices to show the retrogression of the Amsterdamers and our progress. Moreover, we have many followers in the ranks of the Amsterdamers, but they have none in ours. Our International includes the peoples of the Orient and of the colonies, while the Amsterdam "International" is "purely" European.

Great clearness of purpose and concentration of forces are required to break up the gigantic apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Many are the fighters who have fallen, and many more will fall, but the class out of which our organization has grown, and to which the future belongs, this class cannot perish, for its annihilation would be the annihilation of the whole of humanity. The Congress must decide all questions which arise, in this spirit, and with the greatest firmness. And if we follow the decisions of the Congress with like firmness in our daily activities, we shall shorten the difficult period of transition. Although various tendencies exist in our ranks, perfect unity must prevail. This unity will speedily enable us to unfurl the glorious standard of Communism all over the world."

The first speaker to greet the congress was *Dudilleux* (France). He expressed the hope that the R.I.L.U. would take

the old traditions of the French trade union movement into consideration. Comrade *Geschke* (Germany) reported that the German revolutionary trade unionists have been working successfully in the spirit of the decisions of the First World Congress. The German workers will follow the example of the Russian comrades. It is better to die amid the flames of revolution than to rot in the pestilent atmosphere of capitalism. Comrade *Garden* (Australia) greeted the Congress on behalf of the Anglo-Saxon section. The Trade Union Educational League (revolutionary opposition in the Gompers unions) has gained a firm footing in nine American states, and also in *Canada*, despite the unfavorable economic situation. In *Australia*, a unity movement is making progress. In *New South Wales*, 237,000 workers have joined the R.I.L.U. Comrade *Pavlik* (Czechoslovakia) promised energetic work on the part of the Czech workers. Comrade *Tasca* (Italy) pointed out that what is most necessary for the Italian proletariat, if it is to overcome the present situation, is to abandon the old prejudice of keeping the trade unions out of politics, and the belief that the strength of the trade unions lies in their numbers. Comrade *Chak-Chon-Ki* greeted the Congress on behalf of the Chinese comrades. Comrade *Clara Zetkin*, greeted with enthusiastic applause, brought the greetings of the Communist International. Every attempt at a split on the part of the Amsterdamers must be combatted with steadfast determination to maintain the proletarian united front, the determination to fight for the final goal. There is no such thing as neutrality on this or that side of the barricade. We are aided in our struggle by the great example set by the Russian proletariat. The Red trade unions are a part of the revolutionary forces united in the R.I.L.U. A telegram of greeting from comrade *Zinoviev*, from Petrograd, summoned the comrades to fight against division in the trade unions. Comrade *Andreyev* (Russia) pointed out that many who were present at the First Congress of the R.I.L.U. have since found their way back to Amsterdam, but that this is more than compensated for by the presence, at the present Congress, of representatives of large and firmly established organizations. The sacrifices made by the Russian proletariat have not been in vain. The international situation is in our favor. The Amsterdam International, international Menshevism, has gone over to the enemy in the question of self-defence against Fascism, precisely as Russian Menshevism did.

The Congress unanimously accepted an appeal against the White Terror.

The Congress commenced work on November 21, with comrade Lozovsky's report on the activities of the Executive Bureau.

The Executive Bureau has had an extensive organizational task to carry out, for it must keep up close connections between all countries in the face of illegality. The Central European Bureau, the British Bureau, and other representative organs have been formed. During the last 16 months the Executive

Bureau's 1921 sessions. The questions most often discussed were the situation in America, in Germany, in France, Italy, and in the countries of the East; also the capitalist offensive, united front, and international relations. Our central organ *Die Rote Gewerkschaftsinternationale* (The R.I.L.U.) has become an important international trade union organ. Other publications of ours are the two English organs *All Power* and *The Worker*, the French *La lutte de classe*, the German *Der Kommunistische Gewerkschaften*, and a bulletin "R.B.S." issued by the Central European Bureau. The international propaganda committees for the separate industries have also issued publications.

The R.I.L.U. is an organization, on the one hand, of independent unions and on the other hand of oppositions whose connection with it is solely ideological. The Amsterdam International is a purely European organization. Of the forces which the Amsterdamers claimed at Rome as belonging to them, 20 per cent of these from Belgium belong to us, 15 per cent from Denmark, Germany 40 per cent, England 20 per cent. In Bulgaria they have only a tiny group, while we have the trade union centrals. In France they have not the 1/2 million they claim, but only 150,000; in Italy not 2 millions, but 350,000 at most. In a word, about one third of the members of the Amsterdam International throughout world belong to us, and our International has reached countries outside of Europe, where the Amsterdamers have not set foot at all. At the present time we have about 15 million followers, i. e. about the same number as the Amsterdamers. But the Amsterdamers do not count our minorities. The fact that we count oppositions among our members renders our tactics very difficult.

In our September manifesto, in 1921, we had already proposed the united front as counter-action to the capitalist offensive. We have overcome all the prejudices existing in various countries against the united front tactics. We have also attempted joint action with the Amsterdam International, but when we appealed to them to aid the locked-out English engineers, they replied that they were too busy with the famine relief for Russia. They gave similar demagogic pretexts in the question of the Spanish and Yugoslavian Terror, and in the French mining struggle. They recently applied to us for information as to where we have raised our funds. We replied that we should be glad if they would remit us the monies which they have stolen from us by their splits and expulsions.

The relations between the R.I.L.U. and the Comintern have been the subject of violent attacks from the anarcho-syndicalists. But as the opposition is under the leadership of the Communist Parties in many countries, there are many questions, as for instance the relations of the Union and the opposition in Germany, of the T.U.E. League and the Party in America, the fight against expulsions, and so forth, which can only be solved conjointly with the Comintern. Our joint appeals have the object of showing the workers that we work together wherever the proletariat is in danger.

While the anarcho-syndicalist organizations joined us at first, a certain tension became observable immediately after the First Congress. This was the case in France, in Italy, and in the I.W.W.; also in Sweden, and in Spain, where the conference of Saragossa in June 1922, decided to withdraw from the R.I.L.U. The congress of St. Etienne signified a turning point in our relations to the syndicalists. There, the affiliation of the French confederation was decided upon on two conditions: national autonomy and removal of paragraph 11 from the statutes of the R.I.L.U. (connection with the C.I.). In June 1922, the syndicalists founded a new international in Berlin, which up to now has pursued the sole activity of making a few protests against Soviet Russia. Our aim is to unite millions of workers on one broad platform, and this is not possible on the sectarian foundations of anarcho-syndicalism.

In France our activities have been directed towards preventing the split which is provoked by the reformists. Despite many protests, we have not shrunk from openly expressing our opinions on all questions, as an international organization should. The reformist organization must not be underestimated, for it is supported by the conservatism of the workers, also of the unorganized workers.

In Germany we must particularly aid the trade union opposition in its struggle against the gigantic bureaucratic apparatus of the Amsterdamers, and strive to unite the trade union opposition with the independent revolutionary organizations (Union, Seafarers' Union) on a common line of tactics.

In Italy, although the leaders of the Labor Federation were originally in favor of the founding of the R.I.L.U., our attempt to re-unite the split movement was received with enmity.

The results of division may now be seen. The principle of conquest from within must be adhered to, and our comrades of the *Unione Sindacale* must not leave this organization. To-day the majority of the Italian proletariat is at one with us.

In Czecho-Slovakia, where we did not succeed in preventing the split, we must none the less work towards re-union of the trade union movement.

In England, where we obtained successful results among the miners and engineers, we must create a centre for our movement, and devote great attention to the organization of the unemployed.

In America, where the objective development has run far ahead of the workers' class consciousness, the arch-reactionary policy of the Gompers unions led to the secession of many workers, and to the founding of independent organizations. But the Trade Union Educational League has pointed out the right way to combat the Gompers policy, under the banners of the R.I.L.U., by working for a uniform revolutionary program within the unions.

In Norway the trade union central has withdrawn from the Amsterdam International, and 80 per cent of the members have declared themselves on our side. But they have not yet joined us, because they consider this 80 per cent as insufficient. The question will be decided at the Norwegian congress, where it will be best to pass over the threats of a trifling minority.

In Spain the formation of a joint labor committee of the oppositions in the two trade union centrals was thwarted by the reformists by means of expulsions, and we must now solve the problem of these expelled.

The trade unions of the Orient and of the colonies are already discussing all questions jointly with us.

The propaganda committees for the different branches of industry have very satisfactory work to report among the miners, transport workers, metal workers, leather workers, wood workers, and building workers.

International conferences have been held by the wood workers, building workers, transport workers, and miners.

Our line of tactics has proved excellent. We shall continue to fight against splits and for the firm establishment of the trade unions. We trust that our differences with the syndicalists will disappear in the course of joint action. We are faced with the struggle of the revolutionary shop stewards for workers' control, for the seizure of production. I summon the Congress to take up this struggle, and to lay down the lines upon which it is to be conducted.

A communication of greeting was sent to the German Shop Stewards, Congress.

Debate on the report of the executive bureau.

Comrade *Watkins* (England): The report has not devoted sufficient attention to England. 550,000 workers were represented at the London conference of the R.I.L.U. The report contains no mention of the conference of English miners. According to official statements, 1,700,000 members left the trade unions between 1919 and 1921. More attention should be directed to these occurrences in England.

Comrade *Heckert* (Germany), considers the tactics of the executive bureau to be correct in general. The German trade union bureaucracy has had much experience, and we must be very cautious when fighting against it. If we have worked very cautiously in the agricultural laborers union, and in the other unions, this was not for fear of the bureaucracy, but because we have been anxious to prevent splits. Up to now the syndicalist and local patriotic tendencies have been very powerful in the Union, but in Essen we succeeded in making our opinion prevail, and we hope for good mutual relations in the future. The French comrades must not lose sight of the goal of unity.

Comrade *Smith* (England): The tradition prevalent among English revolutionists, not to accept any official post in the trade union movement, is a great hindrance to our agitation. This tradition originated in the Socialist Labor Party. The English Communist Party has given us no serious support. The English workers hold fast to their trade union traditions, and thus render our work extremely difficult.

Comrade *Monmousseau* (France): As the Unitarian Confederation is not yet affiliated to the R.I.L.U., I shall make no comment on the report. After the split only a small number of experienced trade unionists joined us. The activity of the anarcho-syndicalists in our own ranks makes our work more difficult. The three months strike of 15,000 metal workers at Le Havre brought us no material victory, but had the effect

of raising the membership of the Havre metal workers' organization from 250 to 5000, a proof of increased confidence in us.

Comrade *Dunsky* (Poland): The Polish reformists are working against us by means of splits, and with the aid of the authorities. They have expelled groups from the metal workers' union, destroyed the metal workers' union in Lodz, expelled 100,000 agricultural workers, and caused the arrest of the leaders of the revolutionary railwaymen. At the union conference of the clothing workers they threatened openly to follow the example of France and Czecho-Slovakia. Despite this we have some successes to report, and have united various Polish and Jewish organizations, as the agricultural laborers, millers, and building workers.

Comrade *Yusefovitch* (Russia): The international propaganda committees of the various industries have worked intensely, in spite of great difficulties, and it is time they were assigned organizational functions. But for this more support is required from the trade union centrals and the communist parties.

Comrade *Ketzlich* (Austria): When negotiating with Amsterdam, the trend of feeling among the radical working masses must be taken into consideration. In Austria several opposition groups already exist at the present time, and these carry on a severe struggle against bureaucracy.

Comrade *Lessoil* (Belgium): In Belgium there are over one million workers, and of these nine tenths are organized. The organization is extremely firm, and in times of crises it holds the workers securely by the unemployed benefit paid through the trade unions. In Charleroi 40,000 miners entered into a strike against the will of the union leaders, and the tramwaymen of Brussels did likewise. Under the influence of the communists, the miners have succeeded in obtaining an 8 per cent wage increase.

Comrade *Davis* (England): In the English miners' union the majority is already in favor of the R.I.L.U., and we shall win this union in the immediate future. The English miner lives at a lower level now than he did 50 years ago. No improvement can be expected from agreements with the colliery owners. The struggle alone will do it.

Comrade *Nolan* (Norway): In Norway two unions belong completely to the R.I.L.U.: the factory workers' union and the municipal workers' union. Three unions were not in favor of withdrawal from the Amsterdam International. The reformists are anxious for a split; we are anxious to avoid it.

Comrade *Hajs* (Czecho-Slovakia): At the Brünn conference it was decided that the union of chemical workers was to admit all groups expelled by the reformists. For this it was expelled, with its 75,000 members, from the Trade Union Federation. The Chemical Union has admitted, as sections, the 11,000 Czech and 26,000 German textile workers, the 18,000 metal workers, the 15,000 municipal workers, who were expelled. The workers demand the formation of a *Unity Alliance*. The *Unity Alliance* will render possible a better division of forces.

Comrade *Hardy* (America, I.W.W.): We are against every tendency to form sects, and are for the unity of all revolutionary forces. The I.W.W. must reach the 8 million proletarians standing outside the Gompers organizations.

Comrade *Walter* (Germany, Seafarers' Union): Our independent revolutionary union conducted the last strike of the German seamen, and succeeded in obtaining a 98 per cent increase. We too are against a split, but we must not hinder the independent organizations.

Comrade *Tasca* (Italy) is in complete agreement with the lines laid down by the Executive Bureau; their correctness has been proved by the events in Italy.

Comrade *Acevedo* (Spain): The R.I.L.U. must not only devote attention to the opposition in the syndicalist confederation, but also to that in the reformist Union. All communist groups have been expelled from the reformist mining unions. These have been obliged to join the Confederation. The conference at Saragossa did not represent the true feeling among the Spanish workers. In Spain the white Terror forces us to form a united front.

Comrade *Jaekel* (Germany, Chemnitz building workers): The 4000 Chemnitz building workers were expelled because they founded a communist fraction in the building workers' union. It was not until the unity conference of Building Workers which set us unacceptable conditions that we founded a Union of the expelled, now counting 17,000 members, and maintaining close relations with the opposition in the German Building Workers' Union; we are fighting for reunion.

Comrade *Dimitroff* (Bulgaria): The Amsterdamers have not 4000 members in Bulgaria, as they assert, but only 200 to

300, almost exclusively workers in the state printing works. We have gone through 200 strikes between January and October, and have been successful in maintaining the eight hour day and in obtaining considerable wage increases. In Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Greece, we have also the workers on our side.

Comrade *Geschke* (Germany): It has been to the advantage of the Seamen's Union that it proposed alliance with the German Transport Workers' Union, on the advice of the Party, and was rejected by the Amsterdamer International.

Comrade *Swabek* (America): In America a common line of tactics must be found for the followers of the R.I.L.U. within and without the Gompers unions. The T.U.E. League can report success in this field. It is an enemy of all splitting tactics, but at the same time opposed to the forced dissolution of the independent unions.

This was followed by

Comrade Lozovsky's concluding words.

Comrade Lozovsky described the whole structure of the R.I.L.U. apparatus in Russia and abroad. The M.E.B. (Central European Bureau) is the intermediary between the R.I.L.U. and the West European organizations; it has to fulfil purely technical functions in the strictest pursuance of instructions received from the centre. A point of special importance is the creation of trade union literature adapted to present needs; excellent beginnings are to be reported in this direction. Comrade Lozovsky commented briefly on the reports from the different countries. The international propaganda committees could have accomplished more if they had spread themselves over the countries of Europe instead of staying in Moscow. Great success has already been achieved in uniting all the revolutionary forces. We hope that the utilization of the common experiences of all countries, even of the smallest group affiliated to the R.I.L.U., will be the means of creating an International collective life, and a genuine fighting Red International of Labor Unions.

The following Resolution,

submitted by the German delegation, was then passed unanimously: "The Second Congress of the R.I.L.U., after hearing the report of the Executive Bureau, is able to state that the Executive Bureau has fulfilled its work in accordance with the decisions of the First Congress, and resolves as follows:

1. The activity of the Executive Bureau towards establishing the united front of the workers against the capitalist attacks, and towards gathering the workers together to prepare the proletarian counter-offensive, is acknowledged to be right.
2. The Congress approves of the repeated appeals made by the Executive Bureau to the Amsterdam International, calling upon it to join in common action against the bourgeoisie; it establishes the fact that the Amsterdamers alone are to blame that no such agreement has been reached, as they prefer cooperation with the bourgeoisie to cooperation with the revolutionary workers.
3. The Congress endorses the efforts of the Executive Bureau to induce all anarcho-syndicalist organizations to join the R.I.L.U. in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.
4. The Congress endorses the attitude adopted by the Executive Bureau with regard to the attempt which is being made to split the international trade union movement under the label of forming an "independent" International, — in reality an anarcho-syndicalist International.
5. The Congress further regards it as especially necessary, to emphasize the fact that some anarchist groups active in the trade union movement, when working against the R.I.L.U., have often formed a united front with the reformists and the bourgeoisie against the proletariat of Russia and the Russian Revolution.
6. The Congress holds it to be imperative that the influence and work of the international industrial committees should be strengthened in every respect, and imposes on the newly elected Executive Bureau the duty of enlarging the practical organizational and agitative activities of these committees on the basis of a concrete program of action, and of setting them the goal of concentrating all revolutionary forces of the trade union movement in the ranks of the industrial unions on an international scale.
7. The Congress further establishes the fact that up to the present no sufficiently close connection has been established between the Executive Bureau and the organizations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. The Congress considers the most important tasks of the new Executive Bureau to be: a) the creation of permanent

and systematic relations to all organizations; b) the extension of revolutionary educational work in the working class which is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Comrade Heckert's speech on:

Capitalist offensive, the splitting tactics of the Amsterdamers, and the struggle for the united front.

The main cause of the capitalist offensive is the present position of capitalism. The present crisis is not one of the periodical economic crises inherent in capitalism. The imperialist war has destroyed the buying capacity of the population. Capitalism cannot extend its markets further; it does not venture to employ its old means, war, for this purpose; instead of a factor of progress it becomes a hindrance to production, and is incapable of feeding its most important means of production, the working class. It grasps at the last resource, an attack on the workers. Immediately after the war, the capitalists granted concessions to the armed and rebellious workers. But very soon their offensive set in. In 1920 the American manufacturers began to close their factories and by 1921 there were already 7,000,000 unemployed in America and Canada. Wages were reduced 10 to 20 per cent; in the case of the miners 30% as compared with 1914. In June 1921 there were 2 millions of unemployed and 8,000,000 part timers in England. In France the government agreed to the adaptation of the eight hour day to the interests of industry. In Germany, for instance, the wages constituted 60% of the costs of mining production in 1914; in November 1922 only 28%. In many countries the capitalists organized armed bands of blacklegs. The working class could defend itself against these attacks on wages, on the eight hour day, and on other hardwon rights, if the reformist leaders would not hold it back from doing so.

These leaders have often enough stated candidly that their aim is the salvation of capitalism. The Englishman Thomas is anxious to restore the confidence of the employers in the employed by bringing about healthier relations between capital and labor. The German trade unionist Leipart is of the opinion that the Working Union has improved the situation of the workers. The Englishman Appleton wants to prevent the revolution, because if it is not possible to build on ruins. The German trade unionists admitted that they do not take their own 10 demands seriously. Thomas justified his betrayal of the English miners by the necessity of avoiding Soviet rule. Gompers declares war against the unruly elements in the trade unions. The German railwaymen's union annuls the election of comrades whose "expulsion is impending."

The Amsterdamers are beginning with the expulsion of individuals and of whole organizations, thus encouraging the bourgeoisie to renewed attacks. The workers are in favor of unity among their organizations. The united front is necessary, and must be striven for and attained in the face of every difficulty. We must organize a systematic resistance against this offensive of capital and of the Amsterdamers. The united front must be a concentration of the masses for the struggle against wage reductions, for the eight hour day, for the protection of labor, for social insurance, for the rights of the shop stewards. We must demand that the workers be armed in self-defence against the blackleg bands of the bourgeoisie. We must establish the united front among the workers of the exploited colonies and the workers of the imperialist countries. The Amsterdamers are trying to break the fighting will of the workers by long-term collective agreements, by arbitration boards, by reactionary strike regulations, and by international strike-breaking. We must make it clear to the workers that during the period of the decay of capitalism the bourgeoisie will reply to a general strike with an armed attack.

We must build our fortifications under the fire of the enemy. If the working class has faith in its own powers, it will crush its enemies. It is our duty to awaken the proletariat's faith in its own powers to prepare the workers for the struggle that will emancipate them.

To us the slogan of the united front is no demagogic formula, but a serious and sincere demand, a necessity arising out of the situation. We are prepared to unite, even organizationally, with all who are really prepared to fight capitalism. The revolutionary vanguard should not be exposed alone to the blows of battle. Fascism is a typical phenomenon of the period of capitalist decay. Fascism must do that for the bourgeoisie which the bourgeois state can no longer accomplish. We can attain the united front on the basis of a concrete program of action. That which is good in the methods of the Amsterdamers, for instance proper preparation for every step taken, we shall not reject merely because it originates with the Amsterdamers, but shall utilize it for ourselves. The importance of women's

aid in the revolutionary struggle must be expressed in the theses. More attention must also be paid to the activity among youthful workers. The shop stewards may become an excellent medium towards the unity of the proletariat. The greatest attention should be devoted to this movement in other countries, as is now being done in Germany. It is erroneous to suppose that the sliding scale of wages is of any use. It leads to passivity in the working class, as may for instance be clearly observed in Austria. The theses formulated by the commission are to form the basis of activity for the coming months.

This was followed by

Comrade Lozovsky's address on organization questions.

Despite all differences, it is none the less possible to lay down certain uniform lines for revolutionary forces in all countries. The heads of the reformist trade unions are closely connected with the bourgeois state. They split the trade unions in order to remain in possession of the apparatus. Through this, and through the capitalist offensive, the trade unions become weaker. But we must secure the trade unions on a firm footing, and work to counteract the secession movement. We must fight for partial demands too, but the manner in which we do this must differ from Amsterdam methods. It is only in the course of practical struggles that we can overcome the apathy of the masses, and save them from the lethargic influence of reformism and Fascism.

The relations between various revolutionary organizations of one and the same country must be regulated by a common line of action. In many countries we may observe a process of centralization of the craft unions into centralized industrial unions. We wish the Unity Alliance in Czecho-Slovakia every success, but we fear that it will not lead to the attainment of great power, but rather to failures. The federalism of the French comrades does not correspond in any way to the needs of the class war. The formation of shop steward councils as organs of social revolution, is one of our most important tasks.

In Germany a strong organizational centre for all revolutionary forces in the trade union movement must be created. The Union of Hand and Brain Workers must concentrate its efforts on the miners. Our French comrades must overcome federalism, and fight for unity in the trade union movement. In England, a centre must be created for the revolutionary trade union movement. In Italy the trade union movement must also be unified from below, and the greatest endeavors exerted to counteract the destructive influence of the Fascist unions. In America the independent revolutionary unions and the oppositions in the Gompers' Unions must, above all, find a uniform line of action. In the Balkans the point of greatest importance is to fight nationalism. The countries on the Pacific Ocean will play a leading role in the future, owing to the imperialist conflicts there threatening.

The International Propaganda Committee for the separate branches of industry cannot be transformed into industrial internationals but must pursue the same path as before. The development of the trade union press, the work among women and youth, and the improvement of the connections between centres and sections are all matters demanding close attention.

Debate on the organization question.

Comrade Nin (Spain): In actual practice the followers of federalism have frequently employed the methods of centralism. The boundaries of centralism are a matter of experience. In Spain unity alliances, classified in industrial sections are formed in all small towns. As a rule we find the strictest centralism in Spain in local organizations, while in their relations to the central bodies they are federalistic.

Comrade Vecchi (Italy): Both extremes should be avoided, the bureaucratic centralism of the Amsterdamers, as well as the local patriotism of various organizations clinging to their treasuries. Despite all centralism, the bourgeoisie leaves sufficient power to its local organizations. The basis of our activity must be the revolutionary spirit and the direct action of the masses. The leadership of the centrale is to be balanced by the control of the local organizations. The R.I.L.U. must be exceedingly cautious in passing resolutions against federalism in the Latin countries.

Comrade Olshevsky (Poland): In Poland all the trade union alliances are strictly centralized. The Communists are invariably for uniting the trade unions. At the present time nearly all large unions are centralized. The Polish unions must overcome the national antagonisms.

Comrade Walter (Germany, Seamen's Union): Federalism brought the Seamen's Union to the verge of destruction. No victorious battle is possible without strict discipline. The organized international action of the transport workers is of

special importance. It is necessary to create an international seamen's organization. The propaganda committee is inadequate.

Comrade Johnson (America): Our organization, the Trade Union Educational League, is in favor of centralizing the trade unions. We combat the I.W.W. because it pursues a reactionary policy against Soviet Russia. We combat the independent unions of metal workers and food workers, because they defend a small part of the workers only, and have no right to a separate existence. Our organization has undergone the most frightful persecutions at the hands of the authorities, and is the most progressive element in the American labor movement.

Comrade Monmousseau (France): In France we have already formed one central, chosen by the Congress, and in France we do not call this system centralism, but federalism. We have overcome anarchist federalism, and we ask that the theses be so formulated as not to offend the workers in any country.

Comrade Watkins (England): The attempt to organize a shop steward movement in England, during the present economic crisis, signifies unemployment for our best comrades. We shall make full use of the miners' pit committees. We are in favor of centralism.

Comrade Dimitroff (Bulgaria): Spoke against federalism. The question of information should be worked out better. The speaker moved a resolution dealing with the situation in the Balkans, and demanding the formation of a Balkan federation of trade unions.

Comrade Kucher (America): In America only the independent unions possess factory committees. The independent unions are anxious for joint work with the League. The independent unions have not been formed by secession from the Gompers unions, but have been refused admittance to these. He is in favor of a joint committee of action of the League, the independent unions, and the I.W.W.

Comrade Caretto (Italy) spoke in favor of centralism, and declared that the independence of the trade unions often signifies the right of holding aloof from joint action. He emphasized the great importance of factory committees for revolutionizing the workers and the trade unions.

Comrade Hardy (America, Left I.W.W.) expressed himself in favor of the formation of a central organ of the three revolutionary elements in the American trade union movement.

Comrade Lozovsky's closing words.

All the debaters were agreed on four points: 1. the necessity of a uniform and practical struggle; 2. the necessity of placing the trade unions on a secure footing; 3. the necessity for closest relations and joint work among all the different forms of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The best methods for the co-operation of the revolutionary unions with the minorities will certainly be found in all countries, according to the conditions prevailing. Neither is it possible to decide internationally on the methods in which the expelled are to be organized. With regard to the question of centralization, we must differentiate between bureaucratic and democratic centralization. The latter is characterized by the election, possibility of substitution, and control of the leading persons. In this sense only, are we in favor of centralism. Federalism leads to the division of revolutionary forces. This is plainly shown by the nature of many strike movements in France and Italy. There is no essential difference of opinion between us and the C.G.T.U. in this matter. With regard to the Unity Alliance the degree of centralization cannot be fixed alike for all countries. The unionists and the Czech comrades overestimate the importance of form as opposed to substance. In Czecho-Slovakia the formation of the Unity Alliance threatens to isolate the vanguard from the masses. The theses will be improved upon in accordance with the experiences gained by the separate countries, so that they will be the expression of the collective experience in all countries.

Comrade Nin's report on the relations between Comintern and R.I.L.U.

Before the war there were many workers in France who, being opposed to reformism and ministerialism, joined the revolutionary syndicalists. But during the war a regrouping took place. The Left socialists and the revolutionary syndicalists approached one another, and both took sides with the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution was directed against bourgeois democracy, and was international, like revolutionary syndicalism. The leaders of revolutionary syndicalism were present at the second congress of the C.I., and voted for the creation of a revolutionary trade union centre.

Three principles were laid down for the R.I.L.U. which was to be founded: 1. dictatorship of the proletariat; 2. formation of nuclei in the reformist organizations; 3. mutual representation in the leading bodies of the Comintern and R.I.L.U.

At the end of 1920 the attack of the anarchists on the Comintern and on Soviet Russia began simultaneously with the capitalist offensive. The attempt made by the German syndicalists in December 1920, to found a new independent syndicalist international proved a failure. At the first congress of the R.I.L.U. the revolutionary syndicalists voted for all the resolutions. The whole attention of the anarchists was now directed against one point,—the alliance of the Comintern with the R.I.L.U. The French syndicalists demanded a new congress for the reconsideration of this question. France's example affected the other Latin countries. It was not until the congress of St. Etienne that the anarchists ceased to rule in the French trade union movement.

In Italy, the leader of the *Unione Sindacale*, Borghi, changed rapidly into an opponent of the R.I.L.U. Under his influence the *Unione* demanded that the R.I.L.U. should confine itself to a purely international activity, and should hold the next congress in Western Europe. The first demand is the old one for complete autonomy for the separate countries; the second is an expression of lack of confidence in Moscow. Although Borghi managed to raise a congress majority by every possible forced means, the influence of the fraction Vecchi, followers of the R.I.L.U., is growing steadily in the *Unione Sindacale*.

In Spain the conference at Saragossa decided, in a concealed form, on a break with the R.I.L.U., and did not first ask the masses. A general vote was to be taken on the matter within a month, but up to now this has not taken place. Under the influence of the anarchists, the Spanish Confederation has been transformed into a reformist and pacifist organization. At the last congress in Portugal a resolution was passed against the R.I.L.U. but amidst the greatest tumult, one half of the delegates leaving the hall. The I.W.W. of America has also withdrawn from the R.I.L.U.

We have also broken with the Dutch syndicalists, these typical sectarians. The leaders of the syndicalist movement against the R.I.L.U. were the German "Localists" who have busied themselves with every imaginable matter, only not with the most important interests of the working class. These people attack the workers unscrupulously from behind.

We cannot reckon on the group of anarcho-syndicalists, who are altogether opposed to affiliation with the R.I.L.U., and for whom § 11 is an empty pretext. This group, led by intellectual politicians, loses more and more in importance. But with regard to real revolutionary syndicalism we must declare that we are not going to quarrel about values, but we insist that the Communist Party cannot and should not be confused with other parties, and that the idea of autonomy and independence is harmful to the proletarian struggle.

Comrade Zinoviev's speech.

The first international, founded by Marx, included both political parties and trade unions. In the Second International a species of dualism was arrived at, as independent trade union organizations were formed. But the Second International felt this to be no ideal state of affairs. Therefore it decided, at the congress held at Stuttgart in 1907, that the parties "mainly carry on the political struggle, and the trade unions the economic struggle". The Third International follows the traditions of the I. International in the question of the relations between politics and economics, without of course attempting a mechanical imitation in 1922, of what was right in 1864. The capitalist offensive shows most clearly that politics and economics are inseparable. It is a painful necessity, at such a moment, to have to examine whether the relations between the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. are not perhaps too close.

The Third International is in a different position with regard to the syndicalists and anarchists than the Second International. The war changed the old groupings, and we already declared at that time that an anarchist who is a sincere class militant is much more our friend than a Marxist reformist. The anarchist offensive does not exhaust our patience. For we are confident that the class-conscious and honest elements among the anarchists will come to us in time. For this reason we are prepared to make concessions. We are in favor of unity in the trade unions. Twice the C.I. has earned the gratitude of the labor movement: by the declarations against the split in the trade unions and in favor of the united front. And though in the heat of battle we frequently tell the Amsterdamers that we are not afraid of them, at the present moment we must none the less declare: we hate the split, we fear the split, we look upon it as the greatest danger. For we know one thing: the future of the trade unions is ours. And as the Amsterdamers know this

too, they want to split the trade unions before it is too late. We are prepared to pay any price to keep the mass organizations of the proletariat in battle array. This is no stratagem, but our innermost conviction.

When comrade Monmousseau says: we are not against the party, but we are for a really revolutionary party, and against political careerists—then these are really golden words, and we underline them. But there are "anti-political" politicians who ply their trade in the syndicalist trade unions. If we do not want merely to fight, but to win as well, we must have an organization capable of striking real blows.

There are prejudices among the leaders and prejudices among the masses. If we are now granting concessions to the prejudices of good revolutionary workers, we must distinctly state that these are only concessions made to prejudices in the interests of the French movement. This movement is of very great importance for the International, for Paris is the centre of world-reaction. But we must make these concessions with open eyes. The Communist Party of France is in its cradle, and this is the reason why the prejudices against the party are still so intense in France. For us, the party is the best section of the working class, the part which takes the lead, which is most experienced, and which takes the front rank of battle. We want to see the labor movement under the leadership of such a party only.

In many respects the traditions of the Latin countries differ from those of other countries. But it is imperative that this dividing line should be erased, for it is a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The speech of comrade Monmousseau was the speech of an earnest leader, one who will become a communist. When such comrades ask that for the present there be no mutual representation—I think I may say this in the name of the whole Congress—when such comrades make such a request, and the situation demands it, we reply that we are agreed. At the same time we feel confident that we do not run any great danger in doing this, even though we commit a slight organizational error. But the necessity of close relations between political and economic struggles exists. The Communist International and the Communist Party will lead the coming revolution. And such a party cannot be created after the victory, as the Spanish ex-comrade Pestagna once imagined.

The syndicalist comrades must grasp the fact that this question is not a trifling one, but a question of whether the proletariat is to be victorious or not. From this standpoint we make the concession, and say: the movement in France is worth more to us than a dozen of dogmatic theories. We are sure that the near future will prove us to have been in the right in demanding the closest possible relations between the party and the trade unions. The R.I.L.U. Congress will come to an end, but the most important problems of the labor movement remain. For this reason the theoretical truth must be uttered. We unite with the syndicalist and non-partisan trade unions for the purpose of furthering the victory of the working class. We hope that our decision will bring us nearer to the whole working class of France. The alliance between Comintern and Profintern will not be weakened through this. This alliance was not thought out in any cabinet, it is an alliance for life and death, an alliance of the political and economic organizations of the proletariat, an alliance of the right hand with the left, an alliance of the whole working class with the vanguard. This alliance will continue to exist, and with it we shall conquer the bourgeoisie.

After this the following

Resolution,

submitted by the Russian, German, Polish, and Italian delegations, was passed unanimously:

Whereas

1. the task of the R.I.L.U. consists in uniting all revolutionary workers in the common struggle against capital for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat;
2. this object can only be attained when all those who are fighting for the social revolution are thoroughly permeated with the spirit of communism;
3. there exist groups of workers with revolutionary syndicalist tendencies, sincerely desirous to form a united front with the communists, but at the same time of the opinion that the mutual representation between the Comintern and the R.I.L.U., as decided upon by the I. Congress, is not in accordance with the traditions of the labor movement in their country;
4. the victory of communism is only possible on an international scale, and that therefore the closest possible connection and co-ordination of action between Comintern and R.I.L.U. is imperative;
5. the Unitarian Labor Confederation of France (C.G.T.U.), which represents this point of view, expresses itself

with the utmost determination for co-operation between Comintern and R.I.L.U., and for joint action in all defensive and offensive actions against capital;

it is proposed by the trade union delegations of Russia, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, and Spain, although these represent the standpoint of absolute international unity, that a concession be made to the revolutionary workers of France, and that the motion of the Unitarian Labor Confederation be accepted, so that at this Congress the bloc of all sincerely revolutionary elements of the international trade union movement, those elements whose goal is the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, may be firmly established."

Comrade Semard then makes a declaration on behalf of the French and Italian syndicalist delegations, thanking the Congress for the unanimous acceptance of this resolution. He closes his declaration with the words: "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat, long live the R.I.L.U.!"

Upon this comrade Monmousseau officially announces that the French C.G.T.U. joins the R.I.L.U. The delegates sing the "International".

The mandate examination commission.

Comrade Angelovitch reported on behalf of the mandate examination commission, that 213 delegates were taking part in the Congress with deciding votes, 113 with advisory votes, representing 12 million organized workers of 38 countries. 51 organizations were represented, including 12 national trade union centrals; 82% of the delegates are workers, 16 per cent brain workers. Of the various branches of industry, those best represented were the metal workers, railwaymen, building workers, and miners. The following countries were represented:

Austria, Australia, Argentina, England, Belgium (advisory vote), Bulgaria, Brazil, Germany, Hungary (advisory vote), Holland, Denmark, Egypt, Italy, Spain, Canada, Lithuania, Norway, Roumania, United States of America, Russia (including Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), Turkey, France, Finland, Persia, Yugoslavia, Dutch Indies, China, Chili, Uruguay, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Poland, Switzerland, Latvia, Khiva (advisory vote), Bukhara, Japan, Republic of the Far East.

Comrade Hardy on high prices and unemployment.

Unemployment is an inevitable phenomenon in the present period of decay of capitalist economics. The war, by sending thousands of workers to the front, caused unemployment to disappear. But the war destroyed the technical apparatus of production, reduced the output of agriculture. The Versailles treaty imposed gigantic burdens on Germany in the form of reparations payments in cash and kind. The consequence has been misery in Germany, unemployment in the allied countries. In July 1922 the cost of living in Germany was 7,000 per cent higher than in 1914; since then it has risen by further 5,000 cent. In America there are millions of unemployed. In England and in Czechoslovakia the conditions are the same.

Although unemployment cannot be abolished so long as capitalism exists, we must fight for the unemployed with definite demands. It is by no means proved that unemployment is invariably revolutionary in effect. We must organize the unemployed, and keep them in close touch with the trade unions. We must force the state to undertake the support of the unemployed. We must demand that the closed factories be reopened, and we must disseminate the idea of occupation of the factories among the workers.

Appeal to the syndicalists.

Comrade Monmousseau then moved an appeal to the syndicalists of all countries, calling upon them to join the R.I.L.U. The appeal was passed unanimously.

Comrade Heller's report on the labor movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The development of capitalism renders the struggle for fresh sources of raw materials, and for fresh markets, more and more acute, and the colonial question thus continually grows in importance. Great competition arose after the war, especially in the naphtha districts. The policy of the imperialist states does not in the very least consider the well-being of the colonies themselves. England, for instance, pressed 135 million pounds of direct taxes out of India between 1914 and 1920, and replaced the wheat fields of Egypt by cotton plantations. The colonies serve not only to supply raw materials, but also incredibly cheap labor.

But many colonial countries have become industrialized during the war. This signified an increase of the proletariat. Before the war there were 4 million industrial workers in

India, in 1920 there were 9 millions. These workers are living under the most wretched conditions. The first Indian trade union was founded in 1918. At first it was led by nationalist elements, but gradually the leadership passed into the hands of class elements. At the recent III congress of the Indian trade unions in Lahore, 2 million organized workers, including 160,000 textile workers, were represented.

The largest trade union of the sugar workers and railway workers are in the Dutch East Indies. The latter is affiliated to the R.I.L.U. Out of the 140,000 organized workers about 80,000 belong to the nationalist wing, 60,000 to the communist wing. In the Dutch East Indies, the position of the Chinese contract workers is particularly unhappy. In China, with its 5 million industrial workers, 280,000 workers are organized, but the trade union movement is much split up. The only firmly consolidated union is that of the seamen, which has proved its fighting capacity in a great strike.

In Egypt the trade union movement assumes an ever increasing class war character. The R.I.L.U. is faced with great tasks in the colonial countries. It is of vital importance to unite the European and native workers.

Comrade Garden (Australia): In consequence of the enormous increase of prices of English textiles, and of the reduced buying capacity of the Chinese and Indian workers, the sale of these goods stagnated, and the English began to export textile machines in their place. The labor movement grows with industrialization. The Far East is of tremendous importance as the stage of the next imperialist war. The American trade unions have decided to convene a trade union conference for America, Australia, Japan, and China, in June 1923. We, on our side, should convene a conference for the Near East.

Comrade Sinks (India): The Gandhi movement is supported by the broad masses of the people, and it is spreading to an enormous extent. During the last five months, 5,000 persons were arrested by the English government.

Comrade Andreyev's report on the Russian trade unions and the New Economic Policy.

The Russian trade unions were closely connected with the revolutionary movement from the very beginning, so that it has not been difficult for them to adopt revolutionary methods. But during the first period of the proletarian dictatorship they were occupied with entirely different tasks. This period was characterized by the state's acquisition of all industrial undertakings, centralization in the hands of the state industrial trusts, systematic provisioning for the people, that is, the card system, standardization and payment in kind of wages on an All-Russian scale. The main task of the trade unions during this period was to co-operate in the development of state production. They undertook many state functions, and entered into the closest relations with the state organs. At that time the trade unions were financially supported by the state. They played an important part in the civil war, and the campaign for the provisioning of the population.

The tasks of the trade unions in the new economic policy were laid down at the V. Trade Union Congress. The protection of the workers' interests was again given priority; the transition from wages fixed by the state to collective contracts followed; participation in productive tasks was limited; however, the influence of the trade unions on the economic organs did not decrease, neither did their relations to the proletarian state change.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strike is not a destructive class-war weapon, but an exceptional weapon

against bureaucracy and negligence of economic organs. The regular method of settling conflicts, under the proletarian dictatorship, is by appeal to a board of arbitration. Of the cases brought before such boards of arbitration between April and September 1922, 82% ended completely in favor of the workers, 7% in partial victory. On the other hand, only 38% of the strikes ended in favor of the workers.

Working conditions are regulated by law and by the collective agreements. The new labor code came into force on November 15. The quantity of goods which could be bought for 10 roubles before the war was adopted as a minimum living wage. In Moscow the average wage amounted to 80% of this minimum in January; by August it had reached 143%. The average wage of the metal workers is at present 11 roubles 64 kopeks, that of the chemical workers 12 roubles, of the textile workers 11 roubles. Under the new economic policy 90% of the wages are paid in money. It is our chief endeavor to increase wages in the heavy industry and in the transport trade. Production, which had decreased enormously during the civil war, has almost regained its pre-war level. The number of lost working days has also considerably diminished.

The number of trade union members amounted to 2 millions in 1918, rose to 8 millions in 1920, and then fell rapidly again to 5,000,000. The cause of this drop was the reduction of the personnel in the civil service, the withdrawal of non-proletarian elements, as independent craftsmen, etc. Our unions are built up on the production principle. The division is as follows: factory committee, local department, provincial department, central committee. Every trade union has three funds: a fighting fund, a benefit fund and a training fund. Training work is carried on energetically. For instance, the Moscow provincial department of the textile workers, although looking after a dozen plants only, held no fewer than 647 meetings in the course of the last three months.

We have only one request to make to our Western European comrades: that they force their organizations to tread the path of battle, of revolution. Our trade union movement is inseparably bound up with the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party. Tell the Western European workers that the Russian proletariat has overthrown the power of capital, has overcome civil war and famine, and is now successfully occupied with building up its economic system, and with improving the living conditions of the creative workers.

The election of the Executive Bureau was as follows: *Russia*: Lozovsky, Tomsky, Kalinin; *Germany*: Heckert; *France*: Monmousseau; *Czechoslovakia*: Hais; *Italy*: Trecco; *Spain* and *South America*: Nin; *England*: Harden; *Orient*: Kunitaro Ando. Substitutes: Melnichansky, Yansen, Bogdanov, Ende, Jacob, Femard, Pavlik, Ve chi, Lomonggi, Sni h, Johnson.

The Executive Bureau appointed Lozovsky general secretary. The proposals of the American commission were accepted by all votes against those of the Trade Union Educational League.

Closing words by comrade Lozovsky.

It is now our task to carry out the resolutions which have been passed, in all countries. If we do this with the energy and determination characteristic of revolutionists, then, in a few years there will not be many left of the millions of Amsterdams. For we have the logic of history on our side. Long live the Red International! Long live Communism!

After comrade Pavlik had thanked the Russian comrades for their hospitality, on behalf of the delegates, the congress closed to the strains of the *International*.