

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Lessons and Perspectives of the Economic Struggles.

(Continued.)

Our Weaknesses and Shortcomings.

** In the economic struggles of recent date certain glaring weaknesses and defects have come to light. The main defect continues to be that of lagging behind the masses, insufficient preparations of strikes and the consequent inability to get hold of the movement. On the other hand, those strikes headed by R. I. L. U. adherents have revealed, barring rare exceptions, to what extent they have not yet learned to direct the movement of the masses and to what extent survivals of the methods of the reformist trade unions still hold sway in our midst. The most outstanding evidence of these survivals is found in the legalist attitude towards the organs of the bourgeois State, in the inability to bring into the leadership of the strike the workers elected for that purpose at the point of production, a fear of the unorganised, the inability to rally all the strikers and give each of them his definite place in the struggle, a lack of sensibility for the sentiments and moods of the masses, an inability to mobilise all the workers in support of the particular section of labour involved in the fight, the inability to organise the united front from below, the repeated despatch of delegations to the employers, a gap between economic and political demands, and a want of ability rapidly to change the forms and methods of struggle and of mass mobilisation as the situation requires. All this is evidence of the Right deviation in practice.

Training New Cadres.

All these shortcomings compel us to give very serious attention to the problem of cadres. We must frankly admit that we are facing a crisis in the question of cadres. This crisis has deep roots, but it is due chiefly to the fact that a large number of our active militants entered the revolutionary trade union movement with reformist traditions. At every step these social democratic and trade unionist traditions are making themselves felt. It is therefore obvious that we must form new cadres corresponding to the requirements of the new phase of the struggle. Cadres are trained in direct active work, in the struggle.

At the same time we must pay attention to the organisation of schools and courses, where our active workers could improve their knowledge, without for a moment forgetting that the main thing is: — training in the fight, studying from the practice of the every-day struggles. The training of new cadres is the most important political task of the entire revolutionary trade union movement.

Activities in the Shops and the Struggle Against Fascism.

The Central Council again emphasises the importance of organising all our activities around the enterprises. This applies to all countries, whether the movement is legal, semi-legal, or illegal. Activities at the point of production does not necessarily mean that we must organise meetings inside the factory. Where there is such an opportunity, of course, it should be utilised.

In connection with the struggle against Fascism, the question insistently confronts us of organising self-defence corps to resist the fascist bands **inside and outside the enterprises**. Self-defence corps are of particular importance during economic struggles, for experience has shown that **both the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists and the fascists organise special squads to smash strikes and terrorise the strikers**. The formation of defence corps, therefore is an **imperative necessity**.

The Central Council warns all organisations **against underestimating the danger of the penetration of fascist agents into the enterprises, and proposes to all the R. I. L. U. Sections to conduct a vigorous and systematic struggle against a**

forms and aspects of penetration by fascist organisations into the working masses, driving their agents out of the factories and mills.

The International Character of the Economic Struggles and International Leadership.

The outstanding feature of the present stage of the class struggle is that usually the significance of the economic strikes extends far beyond the confines of the given country. This is so, first of all, because the growth of international trusts and concerns increases the industrial-economic connections between the enterprises on different sides of the frontiers, that the international organisations of the employers give financial support to employers involved in a dispute with their workers, and that the employers during prolonged and stubborn strikes, get their orders carried out in other countries. All this confronts the R.I.L.U. adherents with the problem of organising international actions such as strikes, boycotts, etc. But for this purpose it is necessary to establish far closer connections between the workers in the same industry directly and through the corresponding I.C.P.'s. In this respect it is advisable to utilise the experience on concluding special solidarity pacts between the workers of neighbouring countries, agreements for competition in assisting strikers, etc. It is especially important to unite the workers of international trusts and concerns for the purpose of organising simultaneous and joint action and mutual support in economic struggles.

The international character of the economic struggles confronts the R.I.L.U. with the question of international leadership and direct organisational assistance to the strikers. The Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to study this question, and making use of the forces and means of all the R.I.L.U. Sections, to follow the line of direct participation in the leadership of the economic struggles.

Organisation of International Support.

Despite the fact that the workers of one country are directly interested in the success of the struggle of workers in other countries mutual support during strikes was until now most insignificant. Much is due to insufficient international education of both the masses and our cadres. Such isolation of the economic struggles is a danger not only for the issue of the given strikes, but also for the strikes in neighbouring countries, for the workers, left without support and confronted by the powerful employers, will likewise have no thought of extending support when their fellow-workers in other countries will be in need thereof. The Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to proceed energetically with establishing the International Solidarity Fund, and to prepare for the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. a report on the state of the Fund and the difficulties and obstacles connected with its realisation.

The International Committees for Propaganda and Action

The correct direction and internationalisation of the strike movement require serious organisational-political work to develop and strengthen or forces in the industries and for the further development of the International Committees for Propaganda and Action. This is all the more necessary as with the growth of independent revolutionary unions, the part played by the I.C.P.A.'s in the economic struggle will correspondingly gain in importance. The Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to develop the work of the I.C.P.A.'s and to consider the question as to which of the I.C.P.A.'s have made such organisational-political progress as to warrant their transformation into revolutionary industrial internationals. The Central Council considers it necessary to enlarge the leading organs of the I.C.P.A.'s by including in them representatives of the largest industrial organisations of the main countries.

The Strike Movement in the Pacific and in Latin-America.

The strike movement, and the growth on this basis of the class-consciousness of the workers in the Pacific area and Latin-America, has resulted in the establishment of two new trade union centres: the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation. These

centres, in view of the growing economic struggles, are destined to play a very important part, inasmuch as they will be able to utilise the experience of the international labour movement in the impending class struggles.

The Central Council notes with gratification that the Pan-Pacific T. U. Secretariat and the Latin-American T. U. Confederation have united on the class platform the majority of the organised workers in the Pacific area and Latin-America. These two broad organisations of the united front, uniting both organisations adhering to the R.I.L.U. and those not yet affiliated to it, are of all the greater importance as they have drawn into the organised international labour movement such sections of the workers (Australia, Philippines, India, Equador, Colombia, Peru, Paraguay, Cuba, etc.), as hitherto have not been connected with any international. Insofar as both these organisations adhere to the platform of the class struggle, advocate the independence of the colonial peoples, and wage a struggle against the reformist agencies of world imperialism (the International Labour Office, the Amsterdam International, the Pan-American Federation of Labour), the Central Council instructs the Executive Bureau to maintain fraternal relations and to extend all possible assistance in their struggle for the unification of all the workers in the Pacific area and Latin-America, and to share with them our experience in the sphere of directing economic struggles.

Mobilisation of All Workers' Organisations in Economic Struggles.

The R.I.L.U. adherents must make especial efforts during economic struggles to utilise the co-operative, sports, cultural-educational organisations, women's and young workers' leagues, the Workers' International Relief and I.C.P.A. organisation, etc. Experience has shown that some of these organisations do not coordinate their activities, that they often do not do what they could do, some of them even holding the view that they have no relation whatever to the economic struggles of the proletariat. Such a formal attitude on the part of the proletarian organisations to economic struggles must be roundly condemned. Each of the workers' organisations, whatever be the sphere of its activities, must be mobilised for assistance and support in the economic struggles of the proletariat.

The Central Council draws the attention of all sections of the R.I.L.U. to the need for energetic and systematic work in all the workers' organisations with the aim in view of utilising them and preparing reserves for the coming economic struggles.

Conclusion.

The nearing struggles demand of all organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. increased activity and intensified work to rally and consolidate their forces, to strengthen the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary T. U. Opposition.

The basic task is to occupy firm positions in the key industries (metallurgical, mining, transport, chemical industry), in the public utilities (electricity, gas, etc.), and to make our concrete practical task of the day the winning over of the decisive majority of the working class. We must reorganise our work in accordance with all the tasks which confront us in the new phase of gigantic clashes between Labour and Capital. The slogan of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress: "To the Factories! To the Shops! Into the Masses!" is true now as never before.

The Central Council once more points out that the disproportion between the political influence and the organisational reinforcement of this influence has not yet been lessened and that serious leadership of the economic struggles is impossible without the elimination of this discrepancy, without an obdurate struggle against all our weaknesses and defects. Strict self-criticism is the pre-requisite for overcoming this shortcoming. The chief thing is to understand that the new situation requires from all the R.I.L.U. Sections new forms, new methods, and a new pace in the work, and that the organisational reinforcement of the revolutionary trade union movement is the most important political task at the given stage of the maturing class struggles.