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THE ACTIVITIES  
OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION  
OF TRADE UNIONS  
1933-1935.

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INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS  
9, AVENUE D'ORSAY, 9, PARIS  
1937

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# CONTENTS

## Report on Activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In memoriam	Page
Introduction	3

### Section I : Organisation.

A. The Executive	19
B. Executive Meetings in 1933, 1934 and 1935	20
C. Joint Meetings of the IFTU Executive with other Organisations	20
D. IFTU General Council Meetings in 1933, 1934 and 1935	20
E. The Secretariat	22
F. Publications	23
1. Press Reports	23.
2. Review	25
3. Other Publications	26
4. Propaganda	28
5. Library and Records	29

### Section II : Relations with Affiliated and Non-Affiliated Organisations.

A. Representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Congresses and Meetings	-
1. Representatives at Congresses of National Centres	30
2. Representatives at Congresses and Meetings of International Trade Secretariats	31
3. Representatives on Joint Committees and at Joint Congresses and Meetings of other Organisations and Internationals	32
B. New Affiliations	33
1. Saar	33
2. India	34
3. Dantzig	35
4. Norway	36
5. Other Demands for Affiliation	37
C. Financial Aid to National Centres	38
D. Four Countries Committee	38
E. The Position in the Various Countries	39
1. The Position of the National Centres in the Baltic Countries	41
(a) Latvia	41
(b) Estonia	42
(c) Lithuania	43

	Page
2. Finland . . . . .	43
3. Argentina . . . . .	44
4. Bulgaria . . . . .	44
5. Greece . . . . .	45
6. Spain . . . . .	46
F. International Trade Secretariats . . . . .	48
1. General Situation . . . . .	48
2. Affiliations to International Trade Secretariats . . . . .	52
3. Efforts at Amalgamation Among the ITS . . . . .	53
(a) Building Trades : Amalgamation of the Building and Wood Workers' Internationals . . . . .	53
(b) Clothing Workers and Hatters . . . . .	54
(c) Efforts at Amalgamation of the ITS of the Public Services, Civil Servants, Teachers and Postal Workers. Fusion of the Internationals of Public Services and Civil Servants . . . . .	54
(d) Efforts at Amalgamation of the Internationals of Pottery, Glass and Factory Workers . . . . .	55
(e) Efforts at Amalgamation in the Graphic Trades . . . . .	56
4. Plans for Reorganisation of the IFTU and ITS ; IFTU/ITS Co- ordination Committee . . . . .	56
G. Non-affiliated Organisations . . . . .	59
1. United States of America . . . . .	59
2. Ireland . . . . .	61
3. South America . . . . .	61
4. Australia . . . . .	62
5. New Zealand . . . . .	62
6. Japan . . . . .	63
7. Asiatic Labour Congress . . . . .	63
8. Africa . . . . .	63
H. All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions ; Red International of Labour Unions ; Communist International . . . . .	64
Sub-division of the Report . . . . .	64
1. The All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions . . . . .	66
(a) 1919 to 1926 . . . . .	66
(b) Fresh Contact at the End of 1935 (Application of Sanctions Against Italy) . . . . .	67
2. The Red International of Labour Unions . . . . .	68
(a) 1919-1926 . . . . .	68
(b) Fresh Contact 1934-1936 (Weymouth General Council Meeting of 1934 and Copenhagen General Council Meeting of 1935) . . . . .	70
3. Communist International (Trade Union Policy of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions) . . . . .	72
4. Trade Union Policy of the IFTU . . . . .	76

### Section III : Education, Youth and Women's Questions.

A. Youth and Educational Work . . . . .	77
1. International Summer School for Young Trade Unionists . . . . .	77
2. Educational Programme . . . . .	78
3. International Centre for Workers' Education . . . . .	78
4. Workers' Leisure Time . . . . .	81
5. International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions . . . . .	81
6. Relations with the Socialist Educational International . . . . .	84
B. Women Workers' Questions . . . . .	84

	Page
<b>Section IV : Social Policy.</b>	
A. International Labour Office . . . . .	87
1. General . . . . .	87
2. The International Trade Secretariats and the International Labour Office . . . . .	88
3. The Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office . . . . .	89
4. Preparation for and Proceedings at International Labour Conferences . . . . .	94
5. Other Activities in the Social Field . . . . .	99
B. The Forty-Hour Week . . . . .	100
C. Guiding Principles for the Social Policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions . . . . .	102

## Section V : The Fight Against War, Reaction and Fascism.

A. The Fight for Disarmament and Against War . . . . .	106
1. The Disarmament Conference (Disarmament Work of the IFTU and LSI) . . . . .	106
(a) Effectives . . . . .	109
(b) Land Armaments . . . . .	109
(c) Naval Armaments (including the Naval Conference in London) . . . . .	109
(d) Air Armaments . . . . .	110
(e) Chemical Warfare . . . . .	111
(f) Supervision of the Manufacture of the Trade in Arms . . . . .	111
(g) Disarmament Action of the IFTU and the LSI (Joint Disarmament and Anti-War Committee, General Council Meetings of Weymouth 1934 and Copenhagen 1935) . . . . .	112
2. IFTU Anti-War Action . . . . .	114
(a) IFTU Anti-War Committee (Supervision of Arms and Munitions; Nationalisation of the Armament Industry) . . . . .	114
(b) Propaganda . . . . .	115
(c) General Strike and the Fight Against the Aggressor . . . . .	115
3. The Workers and Sanctions (Italo-Abyssinian War, Joint IFTU-LSI Anti-War and Disarmament Committee) . . . . .	116
B. Fight Against Fascism . . . . .	121
1. Boycott Against Nazi Germany . . . . .	121
2. Future Prospects for Fascism . . . . .	123
3. Solidarity Action. Refugees . . . . .	125
(a) German and Saar . . . . .	125
(b) Austria . . . . .	128
(c) Spain . . . . .	129
(d) Latvia . . . . .	130
(e) The Formation of the International Solidarity Fund by the IFTU and the LSI . . . . .	131

## Section VI : Economic Policy . . . . . 132

## Section VII : Financial Situation of the IFTU.

1. Income and Expenditure for the years 1933, 1934, 1935 . . . . .	137
2. Affiliation fees 1933, 1934, 1935 . . . . .	140
3. Balance Sheet . . . . .	143
4. Auditors' Reports . . . . .	144
5. Matteotti Fund . . . . .	147
6. International Solidarity Fund . . . . .	148
7. Austrian Relief Action . . . . .	149
8. Saar Propaganda Fund, 1933, 1934, 1935 . . . . .	150

## Appendix to the Report on Activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

SECTION II	Page
B. Saar : Resolution of the IFTU Executive, November, 1934 . . . . .	153
E. Latvia : Telegram of Protest from the IFTU and LSI, November, 1934	154
Spain :	
Manifesto to the Workers of Spain, 2nd October, 1934 . . . . .	154
Appeal of the 16th October, 1934 . . . . .	155
Telegram of Protest, 25th October, 1934 . . . . .	156
Resolution of the IFTU Executive (November, 1934) . . . . .	156
Jouhaux' and Mertens' Telegram to Alcalá Zamora . . . . .	156
Telegram of Jouhaux and Vandervelde to the President of the Spanish Republic (16th November, 1934) . . . . .	157
Telegram of the League for the Rights of Man, the LSI and the IFTU to the President of the Spanish Republic and Prime Minister Lerroux (February, 1935) . . . . .	157
Telegram of the IFTU to the President of the Spanish Republic, 2nd July, 1935 . . . . .	157
Report of the International Delegation to the Spanish Prime Minister Lerroux (February, 1935) . . . . .	157
Report of the IFTU Delegation to the Spanish Workers' Organisations (February, 1935) . . . . .	158
Nazi Terror :	
Resolution of the IFTU General Council, Copenhagen, 21-24 May, 1935 . . . . .	159
Protest of the Co-ordination Committee (4th July, 1935) . . . . .	160
H. Correspondence of the IFTU with the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions :	
Letter of the IFTU, 18th October, 1935 . . . . .	160
Letter of the All-Union Council, 5th November, 1935 . . . . .	161
Letter of the IFTU, 20th November, 1935 . . . . .	162
Correspondence between the Norwegian National Centre and the RILU :	
Letter from Norway to the RILU, 20th December, 1934 . . . . .	163
Letter from Norway to All-Union Council, 21st December, 1934 . . . . .	163
Decision of the Norwegian National Centre . . . . .	163
Letter of the RILU to Norway, 15th January, 1935 . . . . .	164
Letter from Norway to RILU, 14th February, 1935 . . . . .	165
Correspondence between the IFTU and the RILU :	
Letter from the RILU, 7th March, 1935 . . . . .	165
Letter from the IFTU, 2nd April, 1935 . . . . .	166
Letter from the RILU, 17th April, 1935 . . . . .	167
Letter from the RILU, 27th September, 1935 . . . . .	171
Minutes of the IFTU Executive and General Council Meetings, 11th October, 1935 . . . . .	172
Letter from the RILU, 10th November, 1935 . . . . .	172
Resolution of the RILU, 9th November, 1935 . . . . .	173
Letter from the IFTU, 27th November, 1935 . . . . .	173
Resolution of the General Council, Weymouth, 1934 . . . . .	174
Motion of Jouhaux, General Council, Copenhagen, 1935 . . . . .	174
SECTION III	
A. International Educational Programme of the International Federation of Trade Unions	175
Recommendations of the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions (Resolution of 18th September, 1935) . . . . .	177
B. Memorandum Submitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1935, on behalf of the IFTU International Committee of Trade Union Women . . . . .	179

## SECTION IV

Page

A. Guiding Principle for the Social Policy of the IFTU . . . . .	181
--	-----

## SECTION V

A. Resolution of the Joint Disarmament Commission IFTU-LSI, 20th May, 1933 . . . . .	192
Resolution of the Joint Disarmament Commission IFTU-LSI (24th/25th August, 1935) . . . . .	193
Resolution of the General Council Meeting, Weymouth (27th to 29th August, 1934) . . . . .	194
Report to the General Council, Weymouth, August, 1934 . . . . .	195
Report to the General Council, Copenhagen, May, 1935 . . . . .	200
Resolution of the IFTU and LSI, 30th July, 1935 (Italo-Abyssinian Dispute) . . . . .	206
Resolution of the IFTU and LSI, 26th August, 1935 (Italo-Abyssinian Dispute) . . . . .	207
Joint Anti-War Committee IFTU-LSI (5th September, 1935) . . . . .	207
Joint Anti-War Committee IFTU-LSI (27th September, 1935) . . . . .	208
Joint Conference of the IFTU and LSI, Brussels, 12th October, 1935 (Resolution, Telegrams to Benes and Henderson) . . . . .	209
The Practical Application of Sanctions: Subjects and Methods of the Boycott . . . . .	209
Resolution of the Joint Anti-War Committee IFTU-LSI, 17th December, 1935 . . . . .	211
Resolution of the Joint Meeting of the IFTU Executive and the LSI Bureau on the Italo-Abyssinian War (16th January, 1936) . . . . .	212
B. Manifestoes of the IFTU on Events in Austria, 14th February, 1934 . . . . .	213
Telegram of the IFTU and LSI to Karl Seitz (16th November, 1934) . . . . .	214
Letter to the International Red Aid (18th January, 1935) on the Matteotti Fund . . . . .	214
Resolutions on the Fight Against Fascism (9/11th April, 1933, 17/18th May, 1933, 19th May, 1933, Brussels Congress, 1933) . . . . .	215
Manifesto of the IFTU and LSI on the International Solidarity Fund (January, 1935) . . . . .	217

## SECTION VI

Memorandum of the IFTU for the International Monetary and Economic Conference, London (June, 1933) . . . . .	219
Report on the Fight Against Fascism Submitted to the IFTU General Council Meeting, Copenhagen, May, 1935 . . . . .	223
IFTU Demands for Economic Planning . . . . .	226

### Reports of the National Centres for the Years 1933, 1934 and 1935.

Belgium . . . . .	255
Canada . . . . .	259
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	260
Danzig . . . . .	264
Denmark . . . . .	265
Finland . . . . .	269
France . . . . .	271
Great Britain . . . . .	275
Greece . . . . .	282
Holland . . . . .	283
Hungary . . . . .	284



	Page
India . . . . .	289
Palestine . . . . .	291
Poland . . . . .	293
Roumania . . . . .	294
Sweden . . . . .	297
Switzerland . . . . .	303
Yugoslavia . . . . .	309

### Reports of the International Trade Secretariats for the Years 1933, 1934 and 1935.

Bookbinders . . . . .	315
Boot and Shoe Workers . . . . .	316
Building and Woodworkers . . . . .	316
Clothing Workers . . . . .	319
Employees . . . . .	320
Enginemen and Firemen . . . . .	323
Factory Workers . . . . .	324
Food and Drink Workers . . . . .	327
Glassworkers . . . . .	328
Hairdressers . . . . .	329
Hatters . . . . .	330
Landworkers . . . . .	331
Lithographers . . . . .	332
Metal Workers . . . . .	334
Postal Workers . . . . .	338
Pottery Workers . . . . .	338
Public and Civil Services . . . . .	340
Stone Workers . . . . .	342
Teachers . . . . .	344
Textile Workers . . . . .	345
Tobacco Workers . . . . .	347
Transportworkers . . . . .	347
Typographers . . . . .	351

### Minutes of the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists.

List of Delegates . . . . .	355
Agenda . . . . .	356
Morning Session :	
Loughlin : « Women and the Forty-hour Week » . . . . .	357
Loughlin : « Night Work for Women » . . . . .	359
Afternoon Session :	
Novotná : « Women's Right to Work and particularly the Restrictive Measures Taken Against this Right in Some Countries » . . . . .	361
Chevenard : « Legal Status of Women » . . . . .	365
Chevenard : « The Nationality of Women » . . . . .	366
Resolutions adopted . . . . .	368

## Minutes of the Seventh Ordinary International Trade Union Congress in London.

	Page
List of Attendances . . . . .	373
Agenda . . . . .	377
Standing Orders . . . . .	378
Resolutions . . . . .	380
Report of Mertens : « The Fight Against the Crisis » . . . . .	382
Report of Jouhaux : « Action Against War, for Disarmament and Against Fascism » . . . . .	388
Report of Tayerle : « Freedom of Trade Union Association » . . . . .	394
 First Day (Morning Session) :	
Addresses by Lord Snell and Major Atlee . . . . .	401
Address by A. M. Wall . . . . .	402
Opening Speech of W. M. Citrine . . . . .	403
Greetings from the American Federation of Labor . . . . .	407
Report on Activities . . . . .	409
Norwegian Motion Regarding International Unity . . . . .	410
 First Day (Afternoon Session) :	
Continuation of the Discussion on the Report on Activities . . . . .	411
Report of the Credentials Committee . . . . .	416
 Second Day (Single Session) :	
Continuation of the Discussion on the Report on Activities . . . . .	417
 Third Day (Morning Session) :	
Continuation of the Discussion on the Report on Activities . . . . .	422
 Third Day (Afternoon Session) :	
Address by L. de Brouckère . . . . .	429
Action Against War and Fascism . . . . .	430
Address by Ad. Staal . . . . .	435
The Fight Against the Crisis : Forty-hour Week ; Currency Stabilisation ; Labour Plans . . . . .	436
 Fourth Day (Morning Session) :	
Freedom of Trade Union Association ; the Role and Rights of the Trade Unions under Economic Planning . . . . .	440
Resolutions moved in accordance with the Statutes . . . . .	443
Norwegian Motion regarding International Unity (Report of Committee IV) . . . . .	443
Resolutions on War, Disarmament and Fascism (Report of Committee II) . . . . .	444
 Fourth Day (Afternoon Session) :	
Telegram to the League of Nations on the Situation in Dantzig . . . . .	446
Addresses by G. T. Thureton . . . . .	446
by Mitsui-Kohno . . . . .	447
by W. H. Andrews . . . . .	447
by P. J. Trainer . . . . .	447
Resolutions on the Fight Against the Crisis, and on Economic Planning (Report of Committee I) . . . . .	448
Elections, Rate of Affiliation Fees, Place of Next Congress (Report of Committee IV) . . . . .	449
Resolution on Trade Union Liberty (Report of Committee III) . . . . .	451
Votes of Thanks . . . . .	452
Closing Speech . . . . .	453
 List of Speakers . . . . .	
Resolutions and Decisions adopted by Congress . . . . .	455
	459

## Minutes of the International Conference on Workers' Education.

	Page
List of Attendances . . . . .	466
Agenda . . . . .	468
First Day (Single Session) :	
Opening Speech of the Chairman . . . . .	469
Stolz : Item II, Report on Activities, Periodical International Conferences, Study Weeks . . . . .	470
Conclusions . . . . .	472
Neumann : Item III (1) b, Collaboration of Workers' Educational Centres on Films . . . . .	473
Address by Fr. Adler . . . . .	474
Second Day (Morning Session) :	
Polderman : Item III (1) d, Film Production by the Labour Movement . . . . .	476
Resolutions moved by Neumann and Polderman . . . . .	478
Second Day (Afternoon Session) :	
Pleysier : Item III (2), Workers' Education and Broadcasting . . . . .	479
Funke : Item III (2), The International Organisation of Broadcasting . . . . .	480
Resolutions moved by Pleysier and Funke . . . . .	481
Lefranc : Item IV, Workers' Schools and Correspondence Courses . . . . .	481
Resolution moved by Mme. Lefranc . . . . .	483
Closing Speech of the Chairman . . . . .	485
Resolutions adopted by the Conference . . . . .	485

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**REPORT ON ACTIVITIES**  
**of the International Federation of Trade Unions**  
**for 1933, 1934 and 1935**

**Submitted to the Seventh Ordinary Congress**  
**London 1936**

## IN MEMORIAM

We would first of all pay a tribute here to the many unknown warriors of the Labour Movement who have fallen in the workers' heroic fights for freedom in Austria and Spain or have no less heroically sacrificed life, health or liberty in the underground struggle for freedom for the Trade Unions and emancipation for mankind in Italy, Germany, Austria, Latvia, Lithuania, Dantzig and the Saar. These victims will be remembered with honour by future generations, when freedom of association is again won in the countries where it has now been destroyed by reaction and Fascism and where its champions have been tortured to death in prison and concentration camp.

In addition to these innumerable nameless victims and the numerous other comrades who have given the movement valuable service as members or officials, the Trade Union Movement has also sustained heavy loss in the death of many men occupying a leading position in their own countries and in international Trade Union life. We would mention in particular :

### C. T. CRAMP.

President of the International Transportworkers' Federation ; General Secretary of the British National Union of Railwaymen (Died 14.7.33).

### LUDWIG MAIER

Secretary of the Postal International ; founder of the Austrian Union of Postal Workers ; member of the Executive of the former Austrian National Trade Union Centre (Died 28.12.33).

### G. J. A. SMIT, Jr

Secretary of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees ; President of the Dutch Union of Commercial and Office Employees ; member of the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees of the International Labour Office (Died 3 3.34).

### FRITZ MONTNER

former Secretary of the International Federation of Employees in Public Services ; up till 1932 President of the German Federated Union (Died 31.3.34).

### J. GUINCHARD

General Secretary of the French Union of Transport Workers ; member of the General Council of the ITF (Died 11.12.34).

#### **JAMES O'GRADY**

well-known in the International as organiser of the IFTU's relief for starving Russia in 1921-1922. O'Grady rose from the unskilled workers' movement in Great Britain (Died in December 1934).

#### **FRITZ HUSEMANN**

President of the German Miners' Industrial Union, for many years on the Executive of the Miners' International Federation. He was murdered by the Nazis on 15th April, 1935, in the Esterwege Concentration Camp at the age of sixty-two : « shot in flight »!

#### **ANTON HUEBER**

Founder of the free Trade Union Movement of Austria; for many years on the Executive of the IFTU, member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Died 9.7.35).

#### **CHRIST MAHLMAN**

Member of the ITF Executive; member of the Seamen's Committee of the International Labour Office; Secretary of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union (Died 10.10.35).

#### **ARTHUR HENDERSON**

for many years Secretary of the British Labour Party; rose from the Friendly Society of Ironfounders; President of the Disarmament Conference at the time of his death (Died 20.10.1935).

#### **KARL EDVARD JOHANSON**

President of the Swedish National Trade Union Centre; member of the IFTU General Council; member of the Worker's Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; rose from the Swedish Shoemakers' Union (Died 25.1.36).

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## Introduction

The period of 1933 to 1935, which is covered by the following Report on Activities, has seen some of the most important events and decisions in the post-war years. The outstanding event, both for the fate of the Labour Movement and for world history, has been the seizure of power by the Fascists in Germany, Fascism having thus conquered one of the most important industrial countries in the world. This victory of National Socialism in Germany led indirectly to the destruction of democracy in Austria, the attempts of the reactionaries in Spain and a general Fascist attack throughout the world. In particular in the Balkan and Baltic states, but also in several overseas countries, the Fascists are doing all they can, with the more or less direct assistance of German National Socialism, to destroy democracy and with it the organisations of the workers.

The International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Union Movement have played an important part in the fight against the general Fascist offensive.

It is perhaps unnecessary to make special mention of the fact that the wave of Fascism which took possession of the rudderless capitalist society, originated in the economic and social conditions which characterised the post-war years. The long-standing world economic crisis, from which many people could see no way out, with its army of millions of unemployed, provided the mass basis for Fascism, which promised to bring the old system to an end and to build up a new and happier world. Thus capitalism, shaken to its roots by the war and its effects, provided the arena for Fascism. Only too late, the masses realised that Fascism does not mean salvation from the impossible position of industry and of society, but actually complete slavery and the radical destruction of all freedom.

After the failure of the London World Economic Conference in 1933, the acute crisis did show a small measure of recovery here and there, but up till now the social and economic dangers arising from the crisis have hardly been touched. There has, however, been some evidence of a return to a sounder way of thinking, the masses having realised that Fascism offers no way out of the crisis but in fact merely aggravates the situation into a world war, since it is bound to divert attention from its inability to solve difficulties at home, by initiating adventures in the sphere of foreign policy. Mussolini's war of conquest in Abyssinia and Hitler's rearmament and breach of treaties are symptomatic of Fascism, and provide full justification for the statement that « Fascism is war! » It is the Fascists moreover, who have done most to push the policy of nationalist autarchy, which they proclaim as their aim and ideal.

The signs of economic improvement visible at the end of 1935 do not give any great hopes of the crisis being overcome. The domination of Fascism in such important countries as Germany, Italy and Japan provides the reason for the large part played in economic recovery by feverish rearmament.

After a very promising start with sanctions for the defence of peace, the collective world resistance against the Fascist peace-breakers (Japan, Italy, Germany) has fallen into a dangerous state of torpor and resignation. While the workers realised long ago that Fascism can only be countered with clear fighting slogans and a constructive policy, the Governments act in a half-hearted way and make attempts at compromise which are completely out of proportion to the boundless ruthlessness of the Fascists.

Even in the face of a horrible colonial war, the governments do not seem to recognise the real extent of the Fascist danger for the world; if they have realised it, then their efforts to counter it show a vacillation and indifference which are themselves a danger, since they merely hold back the active forces of the peace movement. It can no longer be denied that, after the first decisive action of the League for the collective defence of peace, the Fascists have received much too much encouragement from the Governments. Hitler has already taken action which gravely imperils the peace of Europe itself.

It is these economic and political developments, which we can only outline briefly here, which have determined the policy and action of the International Trade Union Movement, and it is in connection with these developments that the activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions over the past three years must be considered.

We have seen during this period the heroic fight of the workers in Austria and Spain for their freedom and human dignity. We are witnesses to the no less resolute and heroic underground fight of the workers in Germany, Austria and other Fascist countries, which has formed a glorious accompaniment to the fight against Fascism carried on by the International Federation of Trade Unions. This fight is characterised externally by the international boycott of German goods and the united stand made by the whole world Trade Union Movement for the application of sanctions against Italy.

As the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Union Movement have rightly recognised that it is the crisis and economic distress, which have revolutionised all economic and social relationships, which represent the real breeding-ground of Fascism, the IFTU has laid the main emphasis on the fight against the crisis, which has formed the basis of the fight against Fascism and the danger of war. During the three years under review the IFTU has carried on, both nationally and internationally, a very successful fight for the idea of economic planning, which was given its first impetus by the IFTU's Demands for Economic Planning, adopted at the Brussels Congress in 1933, and which has made rapid progress in the different countries. The campaign for economic planning was accompanied by the struggle for the creation of employment and reduction of hours of work which has been carried on without interruption. It should be noted here too that reduction of hours of work is no longer, as in former years, striven for by



the IFTU and its affiliated organisations as a social measure, but it is recognised and fought for as a permanent economic task.

At a time when there seems to be so much vacillation and when old convictions are continually being thrown overboard, it is particularly important to note that the IFTU and the whole of the International free Trade Union Movement have resolutely held fast to the belief in democracy in fulfilling all the tasks which the three years have brought with them.

In spite of many bitter experiences and severe losses, the strength of the International Trade Union Movement has been maintained. One proof of this is the great enthusiasm with which the idea of economic planning has been projected nationally and internationally, and another is the success which has attended democratic Labour Governments, in particular in the Scandinavian countries, where it has been possible, in spite of the general bad situation created by the attacks of Fascism, to lay down solid economic foundations of the demands put forward by the Trade Unions. The unerring pursuit of their aims by the IFTU and the whole of the International Trade Union Movement is one of the most important reasons for the affiliation to the IFTU of the Argentinian, Indian and Norwegian National Centres, and for the satisfactory rapprochement attained with the Trade Unions of the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

Special mention must be made of two further events in the period under review, since they are of the greatest interest for the future development of international Trade Union work and can have important consequences. These are Soviet Russia's entry into the League of Nations and the United States' entry into the International Labour Office.

Our Report gives a summarised account of the extraordinarily increased activities demanded from the International Trade Union Movement by world events, which the IFTU has been able to carry out in their entirety, in spite of the loss of its two largest German-speaking organisations and the resulting decline in finance. In this connection, reference must be made to the four extraordinary sessions of the General Council, held in addition to the three regular sessions, which were called to deal with the development of events in Austria, the application of sanctions against Italy and Hitler's breach of the Treaty of Locarno.

In spite of the additional claims made upon it, the IFTU has in no way neglected its other duties, as is clearly proved by the affiliation of the National Centres of India, Dantzig, the Saar (which was dissolved again after the Saar's re-incorporation into Germany), Norway, and Argentine. In addition to carrying out relief work for Germany, Austria, Spain, the Saar, Dantzig and Latvia, and for the refugees, the IFTU Secretariat has successfully continued its work for social progress within the International Labour Office, and has also done important work in the field of workers' education.

The three years under review have been a period of rich experience and of important clarification of the issues. The events in Austria, Spain and, in a special way, in the Saar, have clearly demonstrated to the IFTU and the whole of the International Labour Movement the limits of effective Trade Union work, and have in particular cleared up the problem — often

treated in an extremely Utopian manner — of the « united front » and united action with the Communists.

As stated in the report to the Copenhagen General Council meeting in 1935, it has been recognised that, in the fight against Fascism, « the methods of brute violence used by the Fascists... cannot be effectively countered by methods which give a foretaste of similar violence to come should the positions be reversed ». In view of the continuous efforts of the Red International of Labour Unions and the various political committees and bodies which take it upon themselves to give good advice to the International Trade Union Movement, it seems useful to us to repeat our viewpoint quite definitely in this place.

The harnessing together of democratically-minded free Trade Unionists with dictatorially-minded Communists does not mean a strengthening but — and this avowal must be made courageously! — a weakening of the movement for the fight against Fascism. It means a weakening because the principle of democracy thus comes to be questioned even by the supporters of democracy, because the unequivocal democratic creed becomes sullied, both within our ranks and beyond them, with the suspicion that concessions at least are being made to dictatorship, and because a working class front of a purely proletarian character inevitably loses the support of all the other sections of society whose co-operation we know to be essential for the defeat of Fascism and the creation of a new economic and social order. As Fascism has proved itself to be and still is a past master in the art of winning over all sections of the population, a successful counter-attack can only attain its goal if we can reach all classes of the population too and make quite clear to them exactly what Fascism really means.

During the three years under review, this has been the guiding principle of the International Federation of Trade Unions' work, and its success is already visible, since the peak point of Fascism, we hold, has already been passed.

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## SECTION 1

# Organisation

### A. The Executive

On the 1st January, 1933, the IFTU Executive consisted of the President, Walter M. Citrine, the Vice-Presidents, H. Jacobsen, L. Jouhaux, Th. Leipart, C. Mertens, R. Tayerle, and the General Secretary, W. Schevenels.

As a result of Hitler's seizure of the power in Germany and the destruction of the German Trade Unions, Comrade Leipart retired from the Executive. The 1933 Congress in Brussels elected Comrade J. Schorsch as Vice-President (Austria) to represent the German-speaking countries, and confirmed all the other members of the Executive in their office.

W. Schevenels, the General Secretary, and G. Stolz, the Assistant Secretary, were re-elected by the Congress.

The Executive then had the following composition :

President : Walter M. Citrine (Great Britain);

Vice-Presidents : H. Jacobsen (Denmark);

L. Jouhaux (France);

C. Mertens (Belgium);

J. Schorsch (Austria);

R. Tayerle (Czechoslovakia).

General Secretary : W. Schevenels.

G. Stolz, the Assistant Secretary, also attends all meetings of the Executive in a consultative capacity.

There have been no changes in the composition of the Executive since the Brussels Congress.

## B. Executive Meetings In 1933, 1934 and 1935

1933		1934		1935	
16th-17th February	Berlin	31st Jan.-1st Feb.	Paris	15th-16th January	Paris
13th March	Brussels	14th February	Paris	13th-14th March	Paris
8th April	Zürich	26th February	Paris	20th May	Copenhagen
17th-18th May	Paris	21st-22nd March	Paris	2nd-3rd July	Paris
7th-8th July	Paris	16th-17th May	Paris	26th-27th Sept.	Paris
27th July and 1st Aug.	Brussels	25th and 27th August	London	11th October	Brussels
23th-26th September	Paris	13th-16th November	Paris	13th-14th November	Paris
7th October	Vienna				
29th-30th November	Paris				

## C. Joint Meetings of the IFTU Executive with other Organisations

- 19th-21st May, 1933, in Paris: Joint Economic and Disarmament Conference of the IFTU and LSI; present for the IFTU: Citrine, Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Mertens, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.
- 7th October, 1933, in Vienna: Meeting of the IFTU Executive with the Executive of the ITF and representatives of certain National Centres; present for the IFTU: Citrine, Buisson (for Jouhaux), Jacobsen, Mertens, Schorsch, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.
- 29th August, 1934, in Weymouth: Joint meeting with the International Trade Secretariats; present for the IFTU: Mertens, Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Klein (for Tayerle), Schorsch, Schevenels, Stolz.
- 14th November, 1934, in Paris: Joint Meeting of the IFTU Executive with the Executive of the International Land Workers' Federation; present for the IFTU: Mertens, Jacobsen, Hicks (for Citrine), Schorsch, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.
- 17th November, 1934, in Paris: Joint Meeting with the LSI Bureau; present for the IFTU: Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Hicks (for Citrine), Mertens, Schorsch, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.
- 15th March, 1935, in Paris: Joint Meeting with the IFTU/ITS Co-ordination Committee; present for the IFTU: Citrine, Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Mertens, Schorsch, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.

## D. IFTU General Council Meetings in 1933, 1934 and 1935

1933 :

9th to 11th April in Zürich.

The Executive was represented by Citrine, Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Mertens, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.

National Centres represented were: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.

International Trade Secretariats represented were: Civil Servants, Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Employees, Factory Workers, Food

and Drink Workers, Lithographers, Metal Workers, Painters, Postal Workers, Public Services, Teachers, Textile Workers, Transportworkers, Typographers.

Extraordinary Meeting of the General Council in Vienna on the 6th and 7th October, 1933.

The Executive was represented by Citrine, Jacobsen, Buisson (deputising for Jouhau), Mertens, Schorsch, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.

National Centres represented were: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Roumania, Saar, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

International Trade Secretariats represented were: Bookbinders, Building Workers, Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Employees, Factory Workers, Food and Drink Workers, Glass Workers, Hairdressers, Hatters, Hotel Workers, Land Workers, Leather Workers, Metal Workers, Miners, Painters, Pottery Workers, Postal Workers, Stone Workers, Teachers, Tobacco Workers, Transportworkers, Wood Workers.

1934 :

27th to 29th August in Weymouth (Great Britain).

The Executive was represented by Citrine, Jacobsen, Jouhau, Klein (deputising for Tayerle), Mertens, Schorsch, Schevenels, Stolz.

National Centres represented were: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, India, Italy, Luxemburg, Palestine, Saar, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland. In addition, the National Centres of Ireland and Norway sent fraternal delegates.

International Trade Secretariats represented were: Bookbinders, Building and Wood Workers, Civil Servants, Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Employees, Enginemen, Factory Workers, Food and Drink Workers, Hotel Workers, Land Workers, Leather Workers, Lithographers, Metal Workers, Painters, Pottery Workers, Postal Workers, Public Services, Teachers, Textile Workers, Tobacco Workers, Transportworkers, Typographers.

1935 ;

21st to 24th May in Copenhagen.

The Executive was represented by Citrine, Jacobsen, Jouhau, Mertens, Schorsch, Schevenels, Stolz.

National Centres represented were: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Luxemburg, Sweden, Switzerland. In addition, Norway sent fraternal delegates.

International Trade Secretariats represented were: Bookbinders, Building and Wood Workers, Civil Servants, Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Enginemen, Employees, Factory Workers, Food and Drink Workers, Hairdressers, Hatters, Leather Workers, Miners, Painters, Pottery Workers, Public Services, Teachers, Textile Workers, Tobacco Workers, Transportworkers, Typographers.

Extraordinary Meeting of the General Council in Geneva on the 6th September, 1935 (jointly with the LSI Executive).

The Executive was represented by Jacobsen, Jouhau, Hicks (deputising for Citrine), Schorsch, Schevenels.

National Centres represented were : Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Luxemburg, Sweden, Switzerland. Norway sent fraternal delegates.

International Trade Secretariats represented were: Building and Wood Workers, Diamond Workers, Employees, Factory Workers, Food and Drink Workers, Lithographers, Painters, Public Services, Teachers, Tobacco Workers, Transportworkers.

Extraordinary Meeting of the General Council in Brussels on the 12th October, 1935 (jointly with the LSI Executive).

The Executive was represented by Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Hicks (deputising for Citrine), Mertens, Schorsch, Tayerle, Schevenels, Stolz.

National Centres represented were: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Luxemburg, Palestine, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland. Norway sent fraternal delegates.

International Trade Secretariats represented were: Building and Wood Workers, Civil Servants, Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Employees, Factory Workers, Food and Drink Workers, Land Workers, Leather Workers, Lithographers, Postal Workers, Public Services, Teachers, Textile Workers, Transportworkers.

## E. The Secretariat

In spite of the considerable loss in financial power sustained by the falling out of the German and Austrian Trade Unions, the IFTU has been able to maintain its activities in their entirety. Apart from general economies, this has been achieved in the main through the agreement of the Secretaries and the entire staff to accept a reduction of salary graded up to 29 %, which was gratefully appreciated by the Executive. Economies were also achieved by the reduction of travelling and daily allowances by 20 %. In addition, part of the office premises were given up, some of them not being fully utilised since the idea of combining the offices of several International Trade Secretariats with those of the IFTU in Paris had not been realised. Since the transfer to Paris, only the International Federation of Employees in Public and Civil Services has had its offices in the premises of the IFTU. The office staff also agreed to accept the inconvenience caused by the diminution of premises.

A further saving in salaries has resulted from vacancies due to resignation not being filled or being filled by younger workers. During the period under review, Comrade Kocik, the Scandinavian translator, resigned from the staff to take up a position in Denmark his native country, and his place was not filled. Furthermore Miss Arnold, the English translator, who has given such long and faithful service to the International, retired on account of age and was replaced by a younger worker. Both colleagues were among the most senior of the IFTU staff and we should like here to express our gratitude for their many years of constant and conscientious work in the interests of the IFTU.

There have been no other changes in the composition of the IFTU Secretariat.

## F. Publications

### 1. Press Reports

The Report on Activities for 1930 to 1932 referred to certain changes which had been made in the press service of the International Federation of Trade Unions since the first years after the war, when the press service had to give more attention to the transmittance of actual news, owing to the facts that at that time the labour press had only very loose connections with foreign countries, many papers did not have their own foreign correspondents and the official and semi-official press agencies had not been converted into regular news services. It was pointed out that, although this need still existed (in particular as far as overseas countries and the smaller Trade Union papers were concerned), the emphasis in the period then under review had to be laid more on providing information on certain specific subjects, which was made all the more necessary owing to the compilation by the IFTU of programmes in the most varied fields (Economic Planning, Education, Social Demands), which necessitated very thorough treatment being given to every aspect of these problems from a national and international point of view.

During the period now under review, which has seen so many overwhelming events and revolutionary changes, making it difficult to draw a distinct line between political and Trade Union news, the actual news service of the IFTU has again played a very important part (fight against Fascism, boycott of Nazi Germany, underground propaganda, etc.).

As the need continued to exist for the maintenance and intensification of continuity in the treatment of specific questions, ways and means had to be found of systematically dividing up the work, especially as the increasing demands coincided with the necessity, in connection with general economies, of cutting down and restricting the Press Reports also.

In view of all these considerations, it was decided to give in each issue a « Chronology of the Week » reproducing briefly the most important national and international events in order to allow of easy reference being made to the part played by the Trade Unions in national and world events. Only in this way is it possible to deal, for instance, with the problem of the armaments industry, as it concerns the Trade Unions as producers, and to show at the same time the same problem as seen from the standpoints of political meetings and the discussions in Geneva in the field of disarmament, sanctions, mutual aid, etc. Only in this way is it possible to deal with the problem of collective security as the basis of the IFTU's anti-war policy and as discussed by the Governments inside and — more particularly — outside the League of Nations.

These ends are also served by the half-yearly index to the Press Reports and the « International Trade Union and Political Chronicle », issued for the first time on the 31st December, 1935, and which is to be systematically enlarged in future. To the same end, the records have been partitioned during the period under review and so arranged that they can be brought together at the end of each year and provided with a detailed index to enable easy reference being made to general Trade Union activities and the special problems dealt with during the year.

An examination of the index of the Press Reports for the period under review will show that some problems received continuous attention, such as unemployment, hours of work, Fascism (in increasing measure), social insurance, wages, disarmament, etc. In the case of others, a period of intensive treatment was followed by a period of decreasing interest. This applies, for instance, to the problem of the Corporate State which was very much in the air at the peak period of Fascism, when many people were still preaching that it would prove a universal panacea. At that time the IFTU Press Reports dealt with this subject in numerous fundamental and informative articles. Today the Fascists have in most cases already themselves abandoned the Corporate State, with which the workers were to be consoled for the loss of their freedom, or else the results of the corporative experiments made here and there are such that no one still believes in the recipe, at any rate if it is a Fascist product.

Some of the subjects which take up a great deal of space at present have only recently come to the fore : boycott against Nazi Germany, sanctions, Trade Union and Party, etc., while others after a certain interruption have again become the focus of interest, such as the question of national and international Trade Union unity, and, linked up with it, the whole theory of Trade Unionism. (This last problem, dealt with under the title of « Freedom of Association, the Role and Rights of the Trade Unions under Economic Planning » forms an important item on the agenda of the 1936 International Trade Union Congress).

The detailed reports on the Roosevelt experiment which began in 1933 have not yet been concluded, and the same applies to the problems of currency and economic planning.

During the period under review the title of « Press Report » had to be altered to « Bulletin » for postal reasons, otherwise the Press Reports continued to appear weekly as formerly (with the exception of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun weeks), and are meeting with increasing demand, particularly recently from scientific institutions.

At the end of 1935 the editions in the different languages were as follows :

English	720 copies
German	370 copies
French	290 copies
Spanish	250 copies
Danish	176 copies
Dutch	150 copies

The Press Reports are distributed at the present time to the following countries :

Argentina	Germany	Palestine
Australia	Great Britain	Paraguay
Austria	Greece	Peru
Belgium	Guatemala	Poland
Brazil	Holland	Portugal
British Guiana	Honduras	Rhodesia
Bulgaria	Hungary	Roumania
Canada	Iceland	Russia
Ceylon	India	San Salvador
Chile	Ireland	Spain
China	Italy	South Africa



Colombia	Japan	South-West Africa
Cuba	Latvia	Surinam
Czechoslovakia	Lithuania	Sweden
Denmark	Luxemburg	Switzerland
Dominica	Memel	Trinidad
Dutch East Indies	Mexico	Turkey
Ecuador	Morocco	United States
Egypt	Mozambique	Uruguay
Estonia	New Zealand	Venezuela
Finland	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
France	Norway	

## 2. Review : International Trade Union Movement

The International Trade Union Congress, held in Brussels in 1933, adopted a resolution, on the motion of the Dutch National Trade Union Centre, expressing to the Executive the wish for the Review to be enlarged, mainly in order : 1) to provide more details and more systematic information on world economic questions; and 2) to assist affiliated organisations by means of publications in their resolute fight against Fascism and Communism (the latter not being given enough attention in the Press Reports), and in the fight against militarism and the very dangerous machinations of the international armaments ring.

In view of this decision the Secretariat inquired of affiliated National Centres and International Trade Secretariats in December 1933 what circulation could be counted on for the Review in the different countries or in the purview of the International Trade Secretariats if the Review were published in about the same format and at a corresponding price as in the years before 1925. It was also pointed out that the German edition of the IFTU Review would provide a substitute for such interesting publications as the « Arbeit », which used to appear in Germany. But the replies received did not justify the existence of a larger review.

The loss of a large number of subscribers, through the withdrawal of countries like Germany, in which there used to be considerable sales to Unions, Trades Councils, etc., or owing to the crisis, which compelled organisations and individuals to suspend their subscriptions, made the application of this recommendation continually more difficult. The difficulties were increased by the fact that the periodical had been supported mainly by the German-speaking countries, so that the German edition had made up for the smallness of the French and English editions. Then the very great financial claims made on the IFTU made it impossible even to maintain the Review as it then was and its size had to be cut down.

In order nevertheless to comply with the wish expressed for more complete information on certain specific questions, such as Fascism, Nos. 1 to 4 of the Review in 1934 were issued as one volume entitled « The Whited Sepulchre of the Corporate State ». This volume, in addition to a very penetrating analysis of the « corporative idea » and the form it has assumed in different countries, also reproduced the most important provisions of legislation on the Corporate State. On account of this study, this issue of the Review was in great demand and was sold also outside the usual circle of readers. In view of this experience, Nos. 1 to 4 in 1935, containing the Labour Plans of National Centres, were

issued together under the title of « Economic Planning and Labour Plans », thus also helping to comply with the wish expressed for further information on economic questions. The compilation together of the different Labour Plans allowed of a comparison being made of their construction and scope. In this way and as far as possible, in view of its very limited size, the Review has tried to fulfil a need. The rest of the contents have been devoted to Reports on the activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions and resolutions and manifestoes, the review of new books, etc. and this will be continued. Subscriptions to the Review were as follows :

	End of 1933	End of 1935
German edition	1,250	1,000
English edition	730	700
French edition	600	600

There has since been a small decline in the numbers of German and English subscribers.

### 3. Other Publications

As has been usual since 1930, the Seventh Year Book contained statistical statements and addresses. As it only appeared in March, 1934, it was possible to include also statistics covering the year 1932. At the same time the Report on Proceedings of the Brussels International Congress was also published, and this volume also included the Reports on Activities of the National Centres and International Trade Secretariats. The statistics to be published in 1936 are to be still more comprehensive than those published in former years on the Trade Union Movement.

The pamphlet called « No More War » was very widely sold in the period under review. A fourth edition was published in 1933, a fifth in 1935 and a sixth in 1935. From the fifth edition onwards the Spanish text has been replaced by a Czech text, thus finally realising the intention of including one Slav language. « No More War » was also placed in the service of the fight against Fascism, which it accused of being the main inciter of war. As our preface states, « At the present moment Fascism is the chief inciter of war. It has already taken complete possession of some countries : if it goes on growing there will be open danger of war. If we are to banish war and the danger of war, we must fight Fascism. It is essential to the maintenance of peace that we should fight Fascism to the bitter end, in every imaginable form and at every possible moment. »

The reduction in price has considerably promoted sales. What is very satisfactory to note in connection with this publication is the interest which it has aroused among people who would not otherwise read Trade Union literature. This has been shown by the orders received and the demand from individual persons.

The second volume to be published in our Spanish series of publications was a translation of Jouhaux' « Trade Union Movement in France ». This was arranged in order to give Spanish-speaking Trade Unionists assistance in their work of organisation and education. We hope also in this way

to make the Trade Unions of Latin America better acquainted with the principles on which Unions affiliated to the IFTU are based, thus helping towards rapprochement.

Although it was not possible to continue publication of this series at a rapid rate, the Spanish-speaking world has been helped to keep in touch with the IFTU's work by the publication of a Spanish edition of our « Social Policy » (« Directivas para la Política Social de la Federación sindical internacional »), which was sent to many newspapers and periodicals in Spain and South America.

Nos. 1 to 4, 1935 of our Review, which appeared under the title of « Economic Planning and Labour Plans », should also be noted as a special publication.

The Publication Department of the IFTU was faced with difficulties because some of our publications are still held in Germany, and it has been impossible to obtain them in spite of repeated efforts. Although the printing works in Osnabrück, where the publications were warehoused, were instructed in good time to forward them to the Secretariat, the official closing down of the works, which occurred a few days before the IFTU Secretariat moved to Paris, made this impossible.

The following publications are still in Osnabrück :

E. Straas : The Trade Union Movement in Austria	German	2,430
	English	1,000
M. Meister : The Trade Union Movement in Switzerland	German	590
	English	560
R. Seidel: The Trade Union Movement in Germany (Fourth Ed.)	German	2,500
The Protection of Young Workers	German	1,400
	English	625
Sixth Year Book		257
Report on Activities (Stockholm Congress)	German	560
	English	290
	French	250
L. Jouhaux : The Trade Union Movement in France	German	1,540
The Fight against the Economic Crisis and Unemployment	German	290
	English	170
	French	110

The following table shows the sales of publications during the period under review :

	ENGLISH		GERMAN		FRENCH	
	Edition	Sales	Edition	Sales	Edition	Sales
Report on Activities of the IFTU .	450	35	500	105	300	11
Economic Planning and Labour Plans . . . . .	300	40	500	217	400	30
No More War . . . . .	Edition : 18,000		Sales : 14,714			
Seventh Year Book . . . . .	Edition : 1,000		Sales : 376			

## Publications Representatives

We have publications representatives in the following countries :

Argentine	France	Palestine
Australia	Great Britain	Poland
Belgium	Holland	Roumania
Canada	Hungary	South Africa
China	India	Spain
Czechoslovakia	Ireland	Sweden
Denmark	Japan	Switzerland
Dutch East Indies	Luxemburg	United States
Estonia	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Finland	Norway	

A new publications representative is « The Commercial Press » which has been appointed for Shanghai. In the United States the Rand Book Store in New York, which has good connections with the American Labour movement, has taken over the representation in place of the former representative. In Belgium, the Lucifer Printing Works, with which we have been working for years, has taken over the representation in the place of the former works, which has been liquidated.

Successful attempts have been made in certain countries, notably in Ireland and Norway, to improve collaboration with publications representatives.

## 4. Propaganda

Coincident with the 1933 International Trade Union Congress in Brussels, the IFTU Secretariat organised an exhibition of Trade Union propaganda material, posters and illustrated pamphlets, stamps, etc., which were supplied by National Centres and International Trade Secretariats. This exhibition gave some insight into the methods used in different countries and, in addition to the general aim of such exhibitions, it aimed, by making the Trade Unionists of the different countries better acquainted with the methods of propaganda used in other countries, at facilitating an exchange of material and experiences. This exhibition, which, in spite of the gap caused by the lack of German propaganda material, proved a success, was favoured also by the fact that the place where the Congress was held was really an exhibition hall, so that the posters etc. could be displayed to the greatest advantage.

In execution of a decision of the Brussels International Trade Union Congress, the Executive decided to supply suitable designs for use on posters, postcards, and stamps on the fight for the forty-hour week and against unemployment, in connection with the international propaganda week which it had been decided to organise from the 14th to the 21st January, 1934.

The Executive therefore organised in October, 1933, an international competition for a poster design. Three prizes were offered : the first of 3,000 French francs, the second of 2,000 and the third of 1,500 French francs, and 220 designs were received altogether from 125 competitors in 15 countries (Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Latvia, Luxemburg, Poland, Spain and Switzerland).

In making its final decision, the IFTU regretted that none of the designs sent in could be selected for posters, since none of them were really suitable for this end. As far as artistic technique is concerned, the designs of Blommaert, Robbe, Glatzer, Trèves, Cyr, Nilsson and Wiesner were of particularly high merit. The designs sent in by Casotti, Merlin, Meiselmann, Monier, Staf. Brat, Besson, Lébédoff, Goldstein, Woudhuysen and Bert were of a high standard and suitable for posters, but too conventional, while the designs submitted by Karl Fasan and Zender proved effective for display. Segessenmann, Clandot and Mori sent in sketches which were of a high quality but not suitable for the purpose in view. In view of all these considerations the IFTU Executive decided to give up the idea of issuing a poster, so that the prize for this was not distributed, but to select the two best designs for propaganda stamps. The designs chosen were those submitted by Goldstein (Paris) and d'Arnaudy (Boulogne-sur-Seine), and the third prize was therefore divided between these two competitors.

The designs were exhibited in the Board Room of the IFTU Executive and some of them were purchased by various National Centres for their own purposes. The designs chosen by the IFTU were printed on stamps with the name of the IFTU and the slogan of « Work for All », and were purchased in considerable quantities in several languages by National Centres and International Trade Secretariats.

Special mention in this section should be made of the sales campaigns carried on in the different countries for the IFTU's publication « No More War ». In agreement with the American Federation of Labor, the IFTU Secretariat approached the largest affiliated American Unions on behalf of this brochure in order to make IFTU publications better known in the American Trade Union Movement. Similar propaganda was carried on in the press, the Unions and pacifist organisations in Czechoslovakia for the fifth edition of « No More War », which was supplied with a Czech text.

## 5. Library and Records

In spite of the necessity of limiting space, the library is still in existence, and has in fact been added to by the books received from the Institute for Social Research. Copies of new books received for criticism in our Review have also contributed to increasing our stock of books. The library is particularly valuable as a collection of Trade Union literature and the periodicals issued by National Centres and International Trade Secretariats.

The records have been divided up into political, sociological, Trade Union and economic sections, which are all kept separate. The Trade Union and Political Chronicle for 1935 published at the end of 1935 is a tangible result of this way of compiling the records, which are to be grouped together and provided with a detailed index at the end of each year.

## SECTION II

# Relations with Affiliated and Non-Affiliated Organisations

### A. Representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Congresses and Meetings

#### 1. Representatives at Congresses of National Centres

National Centre	Month	Place	IFTU Representative
<b>1933</b> Estonia Great Britain France Switzerland Poland	April September September November November	Tallinn Brighton Paris Biel Warsaw	Thunberg Jouhau Whole Executive Schorsch Schevenels
<b>1934</b> Finland Denmark Belgium Great Britain Roumania Norway Czechoslovakia Yugoslavia	April May July September October Nov.-Dec. December December	Helsingfors Copenhagen Brussels Weymouth Bucharest Oslo Prague Serayevo	Jacobsen Schevenels Stolz Whole Executive Jouhau Jacobsen, Schevenels Jouhau Jouhau
<b>1935</b> Holland Great Britain France Hungary Luxemburg	May September September September October	Amsterdam Margate Paris Budapest Luxemburg	Stolz Mertens Whole Executive Jouhau Stolz

## 2. Representatives at Congresses and Meetings of International Trade Secretariats

Trade Secretariat	Month	Place	IFTU Representative
<b>1933</b> Food and Drink Workers Building Workers Woodworkers Teachers Typographers Leather Workers Factory Workers	May July August August August September September	Lugano Brussels Brussels Amsterdam Neufchâtel Brussels Prague	Schevenels Hicks Mertens Mertens Schevenels Mertens Tayerle
<b>1934</b> Textile Workers Public Services Employees Tobacco Workers Miners Teachers Hatters Clothing Workers Metal Workers Food and Drink Workers Painters Pottery Workers	May July July July August August August August August August Aug./Sept. September November	Lucerne Prague Brussels Prague Lille Aussig Reichenberg London London Amsterdam Copenhagen Paris	Jouhaux Tayerle Stolz Tayerle Jouhaux Schorsch Schorsch Citrine, Schevenels Jouhaux van der Lende Jacobsen Schevenels
<b>1935</b> Glass Workers Public Services Transportworkers  Teachers Stone Workers Bookbinders Postal Workers Employees (Trade Sections)	May August August  August Aug./Sept. September September  October	Paris Copenhagen Copenhagen  Berne Brussels Strasbourg Brussels  Paris	Schevenels Jacobsen Jacobsen, Schevenels Stolz Schevenels Mertens Mertens  Stolz

### 3. Representatives on Joint Committees and at Joint Congresses and Meetings of other Organisations and Internationals

<p><b>1933</b> Joint Disarmament Committee of the LSI and the IFTU, 20th May, Paris.</p> <p>Joint Disarmament Committee of the LSI and the IFTU, 24th and 25th August, Paris.</p> <p>Extraordinary Conference of the LSI, 21st to 26th August, Paris.</p> <p>Socialist Youth International, 27th and 28th August, Paris.</p> <p>6th International Conference of Associations Administering Sickness Insurance, 28th and 29th September, Paris.</p> <p>Centenary Celebrations of the British National Cigar and Tobacco Workers' Union,</p>	<p>Jacobsen Jouhaux Schevenels</p> <p>Jacobsen Jouhaux Schevenels</p> <p>Jacobsen Jouhaux Schevenels</p> <p>Schevenels</p> <p>Schevenels</p> <p>Citrine</p>
<p><b>1934</b> Centenary Celebrations of the Dorsetshire Labqurers, August/September, Dorchester.</p> <p>Congress of the Workers' Sports International, 6th and 7th October, Karlsbad.</p>	<p>Whole Executive</p> <p>Tayerle</p>
<p><b>1935</b> International Conference on Workers' Leisure Time, 15th to 18th June, Brussels.</p> <p>Socialist Youth International, August, Copenhagen.</p> <p>LSI/IFTU Anti-War Committee, 26th August, Paris.</p> <p>LSI/IFTU Anti-War Committee, 5th September, Geneva.</p> <p>LSI/IFTU Anti-War Committee, 27th September, Paris.</p> <p>Plan Conference of the Dutch Workers, 27th and 28th October, Utrecht.</p> <p>Regional Conference of the Workers' Sports International, 30th November and 1st December, Prague</p> <p>LSI/IFTU Anti-War Committee, 17th December, Paris.</p>	<p>Stolz</p> <p>Jacobeen Schevenels</p> <p>Citrine Jouhaux Schevenels</p> <p>Jouhaux Hicks Schevenels</p> <p>Tayerle Hicks Schevenels</p> <p>Stolz</p> <p>Tayerle</p> <p>Jouhaux Schevenels</p>



## B. New Affiliations

During the period under review four new National Centres have affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, these being the Saar National Centre, the National Trades Union Federation of India, the National Centre of the Free City of Danzig (Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband der Freien Stadt Danzig) and the National Trade Union Centre of Norway (Arbeidernes faglige Landsorganisasjon i Norge).

Unfortunately the free Trade Union organisation in the Saar which had been recognised as independent disappeared again when the Saar was reincorporated into Germany.

### 1. Saar

When Hitler seized the power in Germany in 1933, the workers in the free Trade Unions of the Saar resolutely refused to accept events in Germany by falling into line with the National Socialist organisations or the German Labour Front. They set up an autonomous organisation known as the « Allgemeinen deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund für das Saargebiet » which, at the time of its constitution, had 26,000 members. The official application for affiliation to the IFTU was recommended for acceptance by the Executive to the Brussels Congress, which unanimously decided on its admittance.

In 1933 and 1934 and the fortnight before the plebiscite took place on the 13th January, 1935, the free Trade Unions in the Saar put all their forces into the fight for the preservation of democratic and Trade Union rights in the Saar. At the delegate meeting of the free Trade Unions held in Saarbrücken on the 15th July, 1934, the Trade Unions laid down their attitude towards the plebiscite, and declared with the passion of conviction that they would abide by their old traditions, and carry on the fight under the slogan of « For Germany, but against Hitler ! ». The delegate meeting unanimously decided to vote for the status quo. From the outset this fight was obviously being fought with unequal weapons. The practically inexhaustible financial reserves of the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda were opposed to the numerically and financially weak organisations of courageous fighters, whose material inferiority could not be brought up to anything like a reasonable relationship to the forces of their opponents even with the financial support organised by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Realising the very great importance of the struggle in the Saar, not only for Germany but for the whole of Europe, the IFTU right from the outset gave the Saar Trade Unions all its moral and financial support. The General Secretary of the IFTU visited the Saar personally several times before and during the plebiscite campaign and the IFTU Executive dealt repeatedly and in very great detail with this question, which was also discussed at the Weymouth meeting of the IFTU General Council in 1934. This General Council meeting unanimously decided to afford the Saar Unions the greatest possible measure of support by a great solidarity campaign, on the basis of which decision the IFTU appealed for collections towards a Propaganda Fund for the Saar. In spite of the very great claims made on National Centres by appeals for help issued at the same time, this appeal produced very good results and enabled the IFTU to supply

the Saar Unions with the sum of 295,000 French francs for the final spurt before the plebiscite. As a matter of fact, this purely material assistance was exceeded in importance by the moral support which the IFTU had given the Saar comrades in their struggle and which, without always being widely known, was expressed not only in appeals and representations to the League of Nations and the International Labour Office but also in direct representations made to some of the most important governments concerned. The IFTU Executive, at its meeting in Paris of the 13th to 16th November, 1934, again gave very detailed consideration to the whole situation in the Saar, on which it finally adopted a comprehensive resolution, demanding an absolutely free plebiscite and, in particular, an unequivocal interpretation of the « status quo ». This resolution (see Appendix) was sent to the League of Nations and also transmitted personally to the French Foreign Secretary by Comrade Jouhaux. Furthermore, the Saar question was discussed at a joint meeting of the IFTU Executive with the LSI Bureau. Mention should also be made here of the unceasing propaganda work performed by the IFTU Secretariat by means of frequent publications in its Bulletin and a number of articles which were distributed all over the world by the IFTU's special press service.

Although the IFTU noted with satisfaction that consideration was given by the decisive meeting of the League of Nations before the plebiscite to the most important demands which it had put forward in the interests of the Saar Trade Unions, nothing was able to prevent the Saar deciding, on the 13th January 1935, for re-incorporation into Germany with a majority which the most impartial observers would not have thought possible. The discouraging outcome of the struggle in the Saar does not minimise in the slightest the superhuman heroism with which the small band of faithful Trade Unionists stood to the bitter end for the defence of Trade Union liberties. The great majority of the leading Trade Unionists who had been active in the campaign had to pay for their devoted self-sacrifice with the loss of their livelihoods and were forced to flee immediately after the result of the plebiscite became known, in order to avoid the revenge of the Nazis. Living under the hard conditions of exile they are waiting for the hour to strike when, with the fall of Hitler, they will be able to return to a free Germany.

## 2. India

The National Trades Union Federation of India, with its seat in Bombay, held its first Trade Union Congress on the 24th and 25th of December, 1933, when it was unanimously resolved to affiliate for two years provisionally to the IFTU. This Congress brought to an end a long period of dissension and internal uncertainty by the creation of a powerful organisation covering fifty Unions with a total of 136,714 members, which represented the unification of the Indian free Trade Union Federation (which had resulted from a split occurring some years previously in the Indian Trade Union Movement), and the large Railwaymen's Union.

The application for affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions stated that « this is the first time in the history of the Trade Union Movement of India when a central organisation took an important decision of international affiliation, and that too, by a unanimous vote. It is true that

the affiliation is only provisional and is to continue for two years when the position is going to be reviewed. But having regard to the fact that international affiliation was one of the important issues which divided our movement, our present decision was inevitable. Those of us who have come in touch with the IFTU and its leaders, are glad to find that the contact that we have hitherto had with you has now been officially recognised by our movement. Let us hope that within the next two years we shall come closer and nearer and that both sides will derive strength and help from our affiliation with you. »

At its meeting of the 31st January and 1st February, 1934, the Executive considered this application, accepted it unanimously and expressed its great satisfaction that the IFTU had been able to extend its sphere of influence to such an important part of the Far East.

The movement towards unity among the Indian Trade Unions made further progress in 1935 so that an agreement was reached between the National Trades Union Federation of India affiliated to the IFTU and the All-India Trades Union Congress, which had resulted from an earlier split, by which an All-India Joint Labour Board was set up to act as a liaison body.

At the end of this provisional two years' affiliation to the IFTU the second Congress of the Federation, held in December 1935 unanimously decided on definite affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and a formal application was therefore sent to the Secretariat. It is satisfactory to note that the expectations which our Indian comrades had from affiliation to the IFTU and the resulting close collaboration (particularly in the work of the International Labour Office) have been completely fulfilled. The International Federation of Trade Unions heartily greets this decision and warmly welcomes the Indian National Trades Union Federation to its ranks.

### 3. Dantzig

The National Trade Union Centre of the Free City of Dantzig (Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband der Freien Stadt Danzig), whose foundation goes back to a general meeting of the free Trade Unions of Dantzig held on the 9th June 1933, had 2,500 members when it was finally constituted on the 1st January, 1935, all of whom were resolutely determined to resist to the utmost all attempts to make them fall into line with the Dantzig National Socialists on the pattern of Nazi Germany. Simultaneously with its final reconstruction the General Labour Union applied for affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Executive, at its meeting in Copenhagen on the 20th May, 1935, accepted this affiliation, which was then confirmed by the Copenhagen meeting of the General Council.

Even before their official affiliation to the IFTU, the IFTU had given the Dantzig comrades its fullest possible support in their extremely difficult struggle against the continuous evasions and infringements of the law committed by the Dantzig Government and authorities. When the newly-founded Unions were dissolved by the Dantzig Prefect of Police in November 1933, the IFTU immediately represented to the League of Nations that this act was a flagrant infringement of freedom of associa-

tion and thus a breach of the constitutional rights guaranteed by the League of Nations to the free city of Dantzig. It urged that this dissolution of our Trade Unions on the order of the Dantzig government should be legally contested and repealed. Special encouragement in their fight was given to the Dantzig comrades by the presence of the General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions at the new elections in Dantzig and at several meetings, as this showed them that they really had the International Movement behind them.

The IFTU helped the Dantzig comrades in their legal action in the Dantzig courts, in particular by getting Dr. Hugo Sinzheimer, an internationally-known expert on labour law, to give a full legal opinion, which proved that the unconstitutional action of the Dantzig authorities was illegal. In addition to keeping public opinion constantly on the qui vive by appropriate reports in its Bulletin, and the use of its special press service, the IFTU drew the particular attention of the world to the fact that the legal action of the Dantzig Trade Unions represents a fundamental international legal problem of far-reaching importance, since the outcome of the lawsuit will at the same time decide whether the free city of Dantzig, which, through the Peace Treaty and the Covenant, is separated in law from Germany, is bound by the principles of international civil law which apply to all States.

In the middle of December, 1935, the IFTU again took action because the constitution had once again been infringed by the police order for the dissolution of the General Labour Union (affiliated to the IFTU as National Centre) and the Railwaymen's Union (affiliated to the International Transportworkers' Federation). The IFTU immediately wired a protest to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and Mr. Sean Lester, the High Commissioner for Dantzig.

The IFTU was glad to note that its untiring action and unceasing protests against the arbitrary steps taken by the Dantzig Nazi Government (whose dependence on the orders of the German government is obvious to everyone, this being proved moreover at the League of Nations meeting in Geneva in June 1936) had not been in vain. The report made by the High Commissioner for Dantzig to the League Council put forward the same point of view and the same objections as those raised by the IFTU in all its representations, and the decisions of the League Council which have forced the Dantzig Nazi government to make considerable concessions may be regarded very largely as the fruit of the IFTU's efforts.

As this report is being closed, the police dissolution of the General Labour Union has not been repealed. The IFTU, which knows from practical experience what value to place on Nazi promises — even when made by the highest of authorities — is not entertaining any great optimism that the fight for the maintenance of freedom of association in Dantzig and against the arbitrary attacks of the Berlin government on an independent territory under League jurisdiction is in any way at an end.

#### 4. Norway

At the beginning of January, 1936, the National Trade Union Centre of Norway (Arbeidernes faglige Landsorganisasjon i Norge) officially applied for affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions. During the

last few years the IFTU has been working in closer and closer contact with the Norwegian National Centre, represented in the first place by very fruitful collaboration with the Norwegian workers' delegation in the Workers' Group of the International Labour Office, and secondly in the attendance of fraternal delegates from Norway at the General Council meetings of Weymouth and Copenhagen and at the two extraordinary meetings of the General Council held in the autumn of 1935 jointly with the LSI Executive, in connection with the Italo-Abyssinian war. It should also be noted here that, long before its official affiliation, the Norwegian National Centre regarded IFTU decisions, particularly as regards the boycott against Nazi Germany and the sanctions against Fascist Italy, as applying also to itself and had carried them out. The Norwegian Trade Union Congress held in Oslo in 1934 went in detail into the question of affiliation to the IFTU and of Trade Union unity; Hans Jacobsen, a member of the Executive of the IFTU, and Walter Schevenels, the General Secretary, were the Executive's official representatives at this meeting.

The decision to affiliate to the IFTU is the result of a ballot taken of all members of affiliated unions in Norway, 90 % of whom were in favour of affiliation. In voting thus the members of the Norwegian Trade Unions expressed at the same time their desire to make an end of the long years of endeavour to get rational co-operation with the Russian Trade Unions and the Red International of Labour Unions. We would refer here to the report which the Norwegian National Centre has sent to the IFTU for the first time as an affiliated body.

At its meeting of the 15th and 16th January 1936, the Executive had before it the Norwegian application for affiliation, to which it gladly agreed and which it was decided should take effect from the 1st January, 1936. According to the figures received by the Secretariat from the Norwegian National Centre, it covers 33 National Unions with a total of 172,513 members. We know that the whole of the International Trade Union Movement will welcome with great satisfaction this action on the part of our Norwegian comrades and would like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who helped to achieve the affiliation, principally the National Centres of Sweden and Denmark, which have for years been working in very close contact with the Norwegian National Centre inside the Scandinavian Co-ordination Committee.

## 5. Other Demands for Affiliation

In addition to these definite new affiliations to the IFTU several other overseas organisations have applied to the Secretariat for affiliation. These bodies however, cannot be regarded as National Centres in the sense of the IFTU Statutes; but are more or less influential single Unions with which the IFTU Secretariat has very friendly relations. This applies also to the National Federation of Trade Unions of Egypt, which applied at the beginning of 1934 for affiliation to the IFTU. The question has as yet not been cleared up, because it has so far not been possible to examine the circumstances more closely and obtain information which would solve the question of whether affiliation to the IFTU could be entered into.

As regards the affiliation question as far as it concerns the American Federation of Labor, we would refer to the special section about the United States under the heading of Non-affiliated Organisations (see page 59).

### **C. Financial Aid to National Centres**

Regular grants continued to be made during 1933 to assist financially weak National Centres or those in the throes of reconstruction, grants being made to the National Centres of Estonia, Greece, India, Italy and Lithuania. The amounts are shown in the Financial Report.

Various circumstances led to these grants being cut down in 1934 and 1935; thus the National Trades Union Federation of India had made so much progress that it was able to continue its activities without outside financial aid, one sign of this being its affiliation to the IFTU. The situation in Greece, on the other hand, remained so unsatisfactory in spite of the great endeavours on the part of the Secretariat, expressed by its sending its representatives to investigate conditions on the spot, that the grants had to be suspended. The assistance given to other countries took on a rather different aspect, so that actual financial aid was confined to Estonia and the Italian National Centre in Paris.

Arising out of the decision on this point at the Stockholm Congress, a sum of 10,000 Dutch guilders was transferred to the Matteotti Fund in accordance with the 1933 Budget. The IFTU was represented in the management of this fund by the same comrades as in previous years, i.e. Jouhaux, Meister, Schevenels.

A special report will be found on page 131, in the section on the Fight against Fascism, on the activities of the Matteotti Fund, the relief work, and the transformation of the Matteotti Fund into the « International Solidarity Fund » of the IFTU and LSI.

### **D. Four Countries Committee**

As stated in the last triennial report, the Four Countries Committee, set up by the IFTU in 1929 to improve the extremely difficult conditions for organisation in the Luxemburg-Lorraine industrial district, had only had slight success in spite of three years of great endeavour. In February, 1933, the IFTU Executive, on the basis of a comprehensive report, decided to continue the grant to the Committee but to a reduced extent, in order to give the French National Trade Union Centre time to organise the work on a national basis; but the destruction of the German National Centre raised fresh obstacles which made it impossible to continue the work of the Four Countries Committee.

At its last meeting, on the 26th September, 1933, the Four Countries Committee again went in detail into the whole question and decided to carry on the work on a reduced scale until the end of 1933, when the Committee should be finally dissolved. At the same time consideration was given to the question of covering the deficit which would inevitably arise owing to the withdrawal of Germany and the non-payment of contributions from several other organisations. This deficit was estimated to amount to about 30.000 French francs. At the end of 1933, the IFTU and the French National Trade Union Centre (CGT) proposed to meet this deficit jointly.

The provisional decisions of the Four Countries Committee were adopted by the IFTU Executive at its September meeting, and the activities and existence of the Four Countries Committee finally came to an end on the 31st December, 1933.

The liquidation took place in September, 1934, the actual deficit amounting to 37,224.90 French francs, of which the IFTU and the CGT each undertook to pay half.

### E. The Position in the Various Countries

During the period under review, the Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions has maintained its good relations with affiliated National Centres and has in particular tried to be of more service to National Centres by collecting material, carrying out investigations into particular questions, etc. We would mention in this connection the enquiry carried out, at the request of the British Trades Union Congress, into wages, conditions and hours of work in the wood and paper industries and shipping in Finland, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Dantzig, and another enquiry, carried out at the request of the Swiss Centre, into insurance legislation in the various countries relating to members of the defence forces. Contact with organisations has moreover been strengthened by means of a number of visits and, particularly with the Baltic countries, through a study tour undertaken by the General Secretary. This work has also been assisted by the attendance of representatives from the IFTU Executive at the Congresses of the individual National Centres (compare statement under Section II A. 1).

In addition to giving its moral support, the IFTU has again tried to give material assistance to organisations which were financially weak or prevented from developing by the special conditions in their countries, but this activity has had to be restricted in comparison with previous years on account of the financial position of the IFTU itself.

On the whole, the IFTU Secretariat notes with satisfaction that co-operation between it and the National Centres has not given any ground for complaint. The Secretariat would be glad if collaboration in certain cases in the coming year could be made still closer and if earlier replies could be received from some National Centres to circulars and enquiries. At the beginning of 1936 the following National Trade Union Centres were affiliated to the IFTU :

#### Affiliated National Centres.

Country	Name and Address	Membership at 31st December, 1934
Argentine	Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina, Calle Independencia 2880, Buenos Aires.	
Belgium	Commission syndicale de Belgique, Maison Syndicale, 8, rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.	573.790
Canada	The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 172, McLaren Street, Ottawa.	103.424
Czechoslovakia	Odborové sdružení československé, Na Perštýně 11, Prague I.	619.077
Dantzig	Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband der freien Stadt Danzig.	2.500

Country	Name and Address	Membership at 31st December, 1924
Denmark	De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark, Rosenørns Allé 12, Copenhagen V.	354.736
Dutch East Indies	Persatoen Vakbonden Pegawai Negeri R. P. Soeroso, Modjokerto.	
Estonia	Eestimaa Töölisühingute Keskkliit, V. Pärnu mnt. 21, Krt. 4, Tallinn.	6.786
Finland	Suomen Ammattiyhdistysten Keskusliitto R. Y. Sirkuskatu 5, Helsingfors.	27.160
France	Confédération Générale du Travail, rue Lafayette, 211, Paris (X <sup>e</sup> ).	598,000
Great Britain	The Trades Union Congress, Transport House (South Block), Smith Square, London S.W.1.	3.388.810
Greece	Confédération Générale du Travail de Grèce, Place Ipodamias, Le Pirée.	73.700
Holland	Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen, Amstel 224-226, Amsterdam C.	300.443
Hungary	Ungarländischer Gewerkschaftsrat, Kertész-utca 24-28 I, Budapest VII.	111.561
India	The National Trades Union Federation, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Rd. Girgaon, Bombay.	
Lithuania	Lietuvos Darbininku ir Tarnautoju Sąjėnytos.	
Luxemburg	Gewerkschaftskommission Luxemburgs, Petrusring 134, Luxemburg-Bahnhof.	10.167
Memel	Gewerkschaftsbund des Memelgebietes, Polangenstr. 15, Klaipėda.	
Norway	Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisasjon i Norge, Folkets Hus, Oslo.	172.513
Palestine	General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz Israël, P.O. Box 303, Tel-Aviv.	67.562
Poland	Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych w Polsce, Ul. Czerwonego Krzyża, 20, Warsaw.	244.499
Roumania	Confederatia Generală a Muncii din România, Strada Izvor 37, Bucharest VI.	44.358
South Africa	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, 16, Market Street, Johannesburg.	
South-West Africa	Hauptgeschäftsstelle des Arbeiterverbandes für Südwestafrika, P.O.B. 152, Windhoek.	
Spain	Unión General de Trabajadores, Fuencarral 93, Madrid.	
Sweden	Landsorganisationen i Sverige, Barnhusgatan 18, II, Stockholm, C.	653.331
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund, Monbijoustr. 61, Berne.	223.427
Yugoslavia	Ujedinjeni Radnički Sindicalni Savez Jugoslavije Nemanjina Ulica br. 34, Belgrade.	32.075



## 1. The Position of the National Centres in the Baltic Countries

During the three years under review, the position in our National Centres in the Baltic countries, in particular in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, has been very much affected by the advance of Fascist tendencies, which, since Hitler seized the power in Germany, have made great progress in the Baltic countries, where Fascists work to a certain extent in conjunction with the Nazis.

In view of this difficult position, the IFTU Executive instructed the General Secretary, in the middle of 1935, to make a study tour through Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland, which he carried out in connection with representing the IFTU at an international congress. This visit contributed considerably to clarifying the position and clearing up a certain number of difficulties. The following report shows the position in the Baltic countries.

### (a) Latvia

The situation in Latvia underwent its most decisive change in the success of the coup d'état of the 15th May, 1934, by which Ulmanis made himself dictator. Fascist tendencies were given a great impetus in the summer of 1933 by the founding of a Fascist Party, which was run in close connection with Germany and was in constant touch with the German Embassy in Riga. As in nearly every country, the supporters of this Party were recruited from the middle classes. Our National Centre was at that time very active and countered not only the wave of Fascism but also the attempts to cut wages and cut down the rights of the workers by a number of successful strikes, in particular those of the seamen, textile workers, tailors and woodworkers, which produced wage increases of from 10 % to 15 %. But, as a result of the bad state of agriculture, which is the main industry of the country, our organisations were not able to resist the further advance of Fascism.

The destruction of democracy proceeded so rapidly that by the autumn of 1934 all the Trade Unions had been dissolved by the Home Office. Of the sixty Trade Unions, of which 29 had belonged to the free National Trade Union Centre and 26 were of a bourgeois character, only nine were allowed to resume their activities, and then only on condition that they were supervised by a government Commissioner. These Unions covered the following occupations: typographers, chauffeurs, glassworkers, postal workers, hairdressers, jewellery workers, coachmen, railwaymen and match workers. These steps were taken in a decree of June, 1934, which empowered the Home Secretary to remove from or appoint to office the officials of the organisations.

Our free National Trade Union Centre, the Latvijas Arod biedribu Centralbirojs, was not allowed to continue its activities, ostensibly on account of its close connection with the Latvian Social Democratic Party, which had also been dissolved. On the contrary, its leaders and officials were subjected to great persecution, on the same lines of terrorism and brutality as are found in all Fascist countries. Many free Trade Unionist officials were imprisoned in concentration camps and prisons.

It is of great interest to note in this connection that the Latvian Govern-

ment did not succeed in winning over the workers, who had formerly been organised in the free Trade Unions, to join their « state Trade Unions » allegedly built up on the principle of the corporate state. The government had to admit that at the end of 1934 the number of organised workers had decreased by 10 %, which roughly corresponds to the membership of the former free Trade Unions, except for the Unions of state and municipal workers, whose members found it impossible to avoid the direct compulsion of the government to join the new organisation.

Following the example set by other Fascist countries, the government, while dissolving the free Trade Unions, had at the same time confiscated all the funds and possessions of the Labour Movement, in this case the People's Houses in Riga, Mitau and Libau.

Since the dictatorship was set up in Latvia, it has not been possible to do any real Trade Union work. The underground work is up against great obstacles.

At its meeting in November, 1934, the Executive gave special attention to the position in Latvia and to the organisation of relief, on which a report will be found elsewhere, and, in conjunction with the Labour and Socialist International, sent a telegram (see Appendix) to Ulmanis, the Prime Minister of Latvia, protesting against a number of leaders of the Latvian Labour Movement being arraigned before a court martial and tried for high treason, although they had not done anything except striven to maintain the threatened democratic constitution of Latvia.

#### (b) Estonia

In Estonia too, Fascism made considerable progress in 1933, aided by developments in Germany and the advance of the Fascist Lappo Movement in the neighbouring country of Finland. The supporters of Fascism had formed a League of Front Line Fighters, which aimed in particular at getting the Prime Minister granted wider powers. They proposed the amendment of the Constitution, which was finally accepted by plebiscite and which gave the Premier absolutely dictatorial powers. Our National Centre carried on an energetic fight against Fascism, and twice managed to prevent the Fascists from carrying through the plebiscite, but they were finally successful in this.

Our National Centre was particularly concerned in making positive proposals to overcome the economic crisis, in the realisation that the end of the misery and distress would at the same time mean the end of the Fascist danger. In November, 1934, the National Centre submitted to Päts, the President, a Trade Union Economic Programme, which had been adopted by the General Council in March, 1934.

Our Trade Unions in Estonia have carried on the fight against Fascism with unceasing energy and were able to convince their members of the rightness of their Trade Union fight at the moment when the « authoritarian democracy » of Estonia, following on the famous model of other Fascist countries, set up a « National Labour Union » with the aim of estranging the workers from the free Trade Unions. This attempt failed and, even in the hardest period of its fight against Fascism, our National Centre was able to show a not inconsiderable increase of membership and carry out a number of successful strikes, which nearly all ended with the conclu-

sion of collective agreements. The government has taken every conceivable opportunity of putting up obstacles to the work of the free Trade Unions, promulgating in November, 1935, for example, a decree on the compulsory arbitration of labour disputes, which provided for strikes only to be carried through after a waiting period of six weeks, within which time the arbitration committee should act to prevent the strike.

### (c) Lithuania

For some time there were signs of a slackening-off in the brutal suppression of the Labour Movement in Lithuania by the dictatorship of Wolde-maras. But it was soon apparent that the assurances of respect for and restoration of freedom of association which had been given were not going to be kept, but rather that police action and chicanery were throttling all Trade Union work at birth. Through direct negotiations with both Lithuania's representative in Geneva and the Lithuanian Ambassador in Paris, the IFTU did everything in its power to get a new foothold for Trade Union activities, and tried in particular to arrange for a Trade Union Conference to be held. But the police in Lithuania calmly disregarded all assurances given by the Foreign Office and refuse to allow any shadow of activity on the part of the Unions. Thus there can at the present time be no question of Trade Union work in Lithuania.

## 2. Finland

Our free Trade Unions in Finland have had a hard fight against the Fascist Lappo Movement since 1930, when it first started to have a considerable following.

For a certain period, particularly after Hitler's seizure of the power in Germany, there was serious ground to fear that the Lappo Movement would gain the upper hand, which would inevitably have led to the destruction of all working class organisations and the suppression of all Trade Union activity. Our National Centre put up a very energetic and successful fight against the wave of Fascism, and it is mainly due to their influence that the national Unions set up by the Lappo Movement are of no practical importance. There is to-day still great resistance from the Fascists, who do not regard themselves as beaten, but our Trade Unions are developing rapidly and have had extraordinary success in strikes and the achievement of wage increases.

Differences of opinion have arisen within the Labour Movement, and especially in the Trade Union Movement. Unions under Communist influence — fortunately without much success — have tried to spread confusion among the members of the free Trade Unions. These differences were one of the reasons which caused the IFTU Executive to instruct the General Secretary to visit the Finnish National Centre.

In addition to the very insignificant Lappo Unions, there are also shop unions. There is no Communist Trade Union Movement to speak of, as the differences with the Communists were due to the action of individual Communist officials in our Unions. Our Unions have been able to get themselves recognised again by the Government on joint committees. It may be said of the attitude of the Government as a whole that, with few exceptions, it remains neutral in the many labour disputes which occur.

Mention should be made here of the visit paid to Finland in 1935 by Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, which certainly contributed its part to the restoration of freedom of association and full freedom of action for the Trade Unions which has taken place since then.

### 3. Argentine

After many years of uncertainty, it looked as if the Argentinian Trade Union Movement was gradually consolidating itself and developing. The « Confederación General del Trabajo », which holds the same views as the IFTU, had over 215,000 members in the public services, railways, sea and river navigation, the graphic trades, commerce, etc. It came into being as the result of an agreement made between the « Confederación Obrera Argentina », which was affiliated to the IFTU, and the « Unión Sindical Argentina ». When the agreement had been confirmed, a joint National Committee was set up to fulfil the functions of a National Executive until a joint Congress could lay down the principles and decide the rules of the united organisations.

The affiliation of the « Confederación Obrera Argentina » to the IFTU has not yet been officially confirmed. The question was on the agenda of the inaugural Congress which was to be held and which was expected to confirm affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Unfortunately the hopes for consolidation and further progress in the Argentinian Trade Union Movement again collapsed at the end of 1935 and beginning of 1936, because fresh differences of opinion arose, of which the outcome cannot as yet be judged. The IFTU is however firmly convinced that these fresh difficulties can again be overcome, particularly as the representatives of Argentine continue, as they have done over the last few years, to take part in the International Labour Conferences, and to collaborate with the Workers' Group of the International Labour Office. It is to be hoped that this solid work in the interests of the whole Movement will triumph over differences of opinion and personal controversies.

### 4. Bulgaria

Developments in Bulgaria over the last three years have been characterised by the rise to power of Fascist and reactionary elements, which led first of all to continually increasing restrictions on Trade Union activities, and then to their complete suppression. In the summer of 1934, new regulations for the organisation of civil servants were issued, laying down compulsory membership for all civil servants and thus the compulsory payment of contributions on the Italian model. Two-thirds of the Executive of this organisation are certainly still « elected » members, but the others are appointed by the government, and this effectively prevents any really independent activities on the part of the elected members. It was also laid down that one-third of the delegates to the biennial members' meetings should be nominated by the government. The characteristic feature of this organisation is that it can at any time be dissolved by a decree of the competent Minister, should it be regarded as disturbing the

public order or morals, or endangering the safety of the state. In such cases, the funds of the organisation are transferred to the state.

This attack on the civil servants' right of association was followed up by a Decree issued on the 13th September, 1934, laying down « uniform statutes » for all trade organisations irrespective of their nature. This is on the same lines as the decree on the civil servants' organisation. The leaders have to be approved by the Ministers, who can at any time interfere in appointment to these posts and are entitled themselves to nominate the leaders of the organisations. Both the Chairman and Secretary of each organisation, the latter being at the same time Treasurer, are appointed by the Minister.

For form's sake the statutes of the « National Federation », which comprises all the reorganised organisations, were drawn up by a Congress, but this self-determination is purely illusory, since the statutes are subject to the approval of the Minister. The payment of contributions is compulsory on all members whatever their trade and irrespective of whether they are members of their Union or not. It was decreed at the same time that the funds of the former organisations would be automatically transferred to the new ones. On the basis of these « uniform statutes », which apply to all trade organisations, covering manual and non-manual workers, peasants, craftsmen, shopkeepers and professional workers, the organisations become bodies recognised under common law, which on the face of it have a certain amount of control in the conclusion of collective agreements, the creation of benefit funds, the delegation of representatives to the arbitration courts, etc.

Our free Trade Union Centre was thus compelled to cease its existence, while the Decree on the « uniform statutes » stated that its funds would be transferred by law to the new central organisation.

The official inaugural meeting of this State « National Federation » took place in October, 1935, and was said to have been attended by 528 delegates of about 78,000 workers, organised in 77 « Unions » and 213 « general organisations ». The compulsory contributions are estimated to bring in a total of 14 million levas per annum, the contribution being one day's wage per annum, which can be supplemented by « voluntary » monthly subscriptions of 3 leva, deducted direct from wages by the employers.

Although for some time it looked as if the internal political situation and the struggle between the military dictatorship and the monarchy, with victory wavering between them, were going to result in a return to more or less democratic conditions, the position is still far from clear, and at the time of closing this report there can be no question of any kind of Trade Union activity in the proper sense of the term.

## 5. Greece

The Report of Activities submitted to the Brussels Congress referred to the difficulties with which the Trade Union Movement in Greece has had to contend for many years. Unfortunately, in spite of all the IFTU's efforts, there has been little change in the rivalry of the different Trade Union groups. As will be remembered, discussions took place as far back

as March, 1933, between the IFTU Executive and representatives of the International Transportworkers' Federation, when it was decided to make investigations in Greece itself, but this decision could not be put into practice owing to the events in Germany.

The IFTU Executive, which has from time to time dealt in detail with the situation in Greece, then decided that Comrade Jouhaux should represent it at the Congress which was to have been held in the spring of 1934, since it was a certainty that no progress would be made without personal intervention. Then very important events in France prevented Jouhaux from attending the Congress, but his presence, as a matter of fact, would not in any case have fulfilled its original purpose, since the organisation in conflict with our National Centre refused at the eleventh hour to attend the Congress.

During the course of 1934, great efforts were made to get the Trade Union Movement united, but these have so far produced no result, partly on account of the very disturbed internal conditions in Greece. Only at the end of 1935 were there definite signs of agreement between the two Trade Union tendencies. The immediate cause of this for the Communistically inclined Trade Union group was the unity negotiations in France, which were regarded by the Communist Unions as a reason for unity of the Trade Unions in Greece also.

At the time of writing, however, it is not possible to say whether the long years of unrest in Greece are really to be brought to an end by the useful and lasting unification of the Trade Union Movement.

## 6. Spain

Up till 1934, our Spanish National Centre developed extremely rapidly and had attained a membership over the million mark. This very promising evolution was violently interrupted by the struggle in October, 1934, which ended in the sanguinary and brutal defeat of the Spanish workers, and which completely paralysed the whole Labour Movement for several months. Not only were tens of thousands of courageous worker-fighters thrown into prison, but practically all the leaders of the Spanish free Trade Unions were also arrested and kept in prison for months on the charge of high treason and the organisation of armed rebellion.

At the start of the fighting in Spain, the IFTU Secretariat had addressed a manifesto to the Spanish workers expressing its sympathy and promising its solidarity. In the same way a telegram was sent to the President of the Spanish Republic when the fighting had ended, protesting against the inhuman reprisals taken by the police and the military against the Spanish comrades. An appeal was at the same time issued for international solidarity. Without awaiting the result of it, the first remittance of money was made through the IFTU immediately after the fighting had ended.

At its meeting in Paris from the 13th to 16th November, 1934, the IFTU Executive gave very thorough consideration to the position in Spain, and, after detailed discussion, partly on a joint basis with the LSI, the IFTU Executive published a resolution protesting in the strongest terms against the reprisals being taken against the Spanish workers and their leaders. In this resolution, the IFTU Executive openly accused the

Government of exploiting the suppression of the rights and liberties of the workers to prepare for the introduction of a system of Fascist corporations. The Government was moreover urged to call a halt to the illegal arrests and the summary executions.

On behalf of the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, Jouhaux and Mertens protested at the same time against Comrade Caballero being prevented from carrying out his international mandate owing to his imprisonment by the Spanish Government. A telegram sent jointly by the IFTU and the LSI and the President of the Spanish Republic on the 16th November protested against the suspension of parliamentary immunity for Largo Caballero and Teodomiro Menéndez.

At its meeting of the 15th and 16th January, 1935, the Executive again dealt with the position in Spain, and considered the organisation of relief and of legal defence. It was decided to send to Spain a joint delegation, made up, in addition to Schevenels, the General Secretary, for the International Federation of Trade Unions, of representatives of the League for the Rights of Man and of the Labour and Socialist International, with the addition of a British lawyer. In view of the increased military suppression of the workers, the growing number of death sentences and the threat of executions, the Committee decided at the beginning of February, 1935, at once to send the delegation and to make representations to the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister. The delegation, which was originally to have consisted of four members, was carried out by V. Auriol (LSI) and W. Schevenels (IFTU). In spite of the greatest difficulties, Comrades Schevenels and Auriol managed to obtain an audience of the Prime Minister, on the 9th February. Lerroux stated that he was more than ever inspired by the ideals of freedom, democracy and republicanism, and that he would show the greatest leniency in regard to the political crimes and offences committed in October, 1934. He would do everything in his power to soften the severity of the law and there was no cause for anxiety as to the fate of those deputies who had taken part in the above-mentioned movement. The delegation also attempted to gain an audience of the President of the Republic, as he has the final decision in the matter of granting pardons, but they were not received, as the President had before then made a rigid decision not to receive any deputation, either Spanish or foreign. As no exception has as yet been made to this rule, the delegation had to accept the fact.

Immediately after the promulgation by the court-martial of the death sentences on Comrades Menéndez and Peña, urgent telegrams were sent to the President of the Spanish Republic and to the Prime Minister demanding the pardon of the two condemned men. These telegrams were sent jointly by the IFTU, the LSI and the League for the Rights of Man. At the same time an international campaign was started among all affiliated and allied organisations for saving the condemned, which saved them from the death penalty. (The manifestoes and resolutions will be found in the Appendix.)

A report will be found elsewhere on the work of relief for the Spanish refugees and the victims of the fighting in Spain itself.

The IFTU notes with great satisfaction that it is due to its unceasing endeavours that a number of death sentences were not put into execution,

and particularly that Comrade Caballero was acquitted of the high treason on which he was charged, and that democratic rights and liberties were again fully restored at the beginning of 1936.

Although their activities had been very much restricted by the measures taken by the government, the individual Trade Unions had nevertheless continued to carry on their work and recorded considerable progress and membership gains even during the period of persecution itself. Now that, simultaneously with restoration of democratic rights, and freedom of the press, of speech and of meeting, the workers' organisations have received their property back again, the Unions have again resumed their full activities.

It must be admitted that the revolutionary fighting in the autumn of 1934 and the unscrupulous agitation carried on since then by the International Red Aid have created certain difficulties, but it can confidently be expected that these will be overcome.

We would draw particular attention to the report given in the appendix, which was given by the General Secretary to the IFTU Executive on his visit to Spain and which should be preserved on account of its historical value.

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In concluding this report on the position of the different National Centres, mention should be made of the important work done by the IFTU in those countries where the National Centres affiliated to the IFTU have been destroyed by the Fascists. For obvious reasons, a more detailed account of this part of the IFTU's work cannot be given, and we must confine ourselves here to indicating that this work is of especially wide extent in Austria, Germany and Italy. In addition, the IFTU has been active in several other Fascist, or semi-Fascist countries.

A report will be found in another place on the financial assistance given in these countries.

## **F. International Trade Secretariats**

### **1. General Situation**

As a result of events in Germany and Austria, the period under review, for the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) as for the IFTU, has been a time not only of great changes on account of the financial situation, but also of the emergence of quite new tasks for many ITS. This applies both to the separate activity of each individual Trade Secretariat and, more particularly, to the collaboration of the ITS with the IFTU, which raised new problems and led to a number of measures being adopted as regards organisation which are reported on in detail elsewhere.

The loss of the German Unions necessitated radical steps being taken as regards organisation and finance. At the beginning of 1933, twelve of the twenty-nine ITS then existing had their seats in Germany, these being the Boot and Shoe Workers, Building Workers, Enginemen and Firemen, Hatters, Hairdressers, Hotel Workers, Land Workers, Painters, Pottery Workers, Public Services, Tobacco Workers and Wood Workers.



Under the pressure of events, the transference of all these Secretariats had to be carried out very speedily, without it being possible to attain the centralisation of all ITS in the premises of the IFTU. Most of the ITS, not taking into account the idea of concentration, moved to those countries where they had strong Unions or where the continuation of their work could be assured from the technical point of view.

It is satisfactory to note that on the whole the destruction of the German Unions did not seriously prejudice the activities of the Trade Secretariats, although it made their continuation rather more difficult here and there, but it is to be regretted that it was not possible to attain stronger Trade Union concentration at the seat of the IFTU, as had been recommended by the General Council meeting held in Zürich in April, 1933. Of the twelve Trade Secretariats formerly in Germany, four went to Holland in 1933, three to Denmark, two to France and one each to Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Great Britain.

As against this fundamentally changed situation, the other alterations which have occurred during the three years are of lesser importance. As a result of the death of Comrade Maier, Secretary of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, the secretariat was provisionally transferred to Switzerland at the beginning of 1934; when the Austrian workers were defeated in February, 1934, the International was saved from the difficulties to which events had given rise in Germany. This transference was later on confirmed definitely. The International of Enginemen and Firemen, having left Germany for Denmark, had first of all a temporary seat in Great Britain, only finally to return to Denmark in tragic circumstances. The Bookbinders' International also transferred its seat, from Berne to Copenhagen, and the Miners' International Federation moved from Belgium to Great Britain.

Of all the International Trade Secretariats which had to leave Germany, only the Glassworkers' International found it impossible to continue its existence. The IFTU undertook to run the International provisionally, and, at the end of 1935, negotiations for amalgamation with the Factory Workers' International had made so much progress that the incorporation of the glass workers into the Factory Workers' International can now be counted on. A separate report on this subject will be found elsewhere.

It should be noted that the number of ITS has been reduced by amalgamation. The Building and Woodworkers have fused into one International, as have the Public Services and Civil Servants.

Thus at the beginning of 1936 there were twenty-seven International Trade Secretariats, distributed as follows :

- 9 in Holland;
  - 5 in Switzerland;
  - 4 in Denmark;
  - 3 in France;
  - 3 in Great Britain;
  - 1 in Belgium;
  - 1 in Czechoslovakia,
- and 1 in the IFTU premises in Paris.

The following table shows where they are situated

Country	Trade	Secretary	Seat
Belgium	Diamond Workers	L. van Berckelaer	Antwerp
Czechoslovakia	Pottery Workers	E. Roll	Teplitz-Schönau
Denmark	Bookbinders	Kr. Eriksen	Copenhagen
	Hairdressers	H. M. Christensen	Copenhagen
	Enginemen and Firemen	Edm. Olsen	Copenhagen
	Tobacco Workers		Copenhagen
France	Hatters	P. Milan	Paris
	Public and Civil Services	E. Michaud	Paris
	Teachers	Ch. Laurent	Caen
		L. Zoretti	
Great Britain	Boot and Shoe Workers	Geo. Chester	London
	Miners	Ebby Edwards	London
	Textile Workers	Tom Shaw	London
Holland	Building and Wood Workers	J. W. van Achterbergh	Amsterdam
	Clothing Workers	T. van der Heeg	Amsterdam
	Employees	W. G. Spiekman	Amsterdam
	Factory Workers	K. de Jonge	Amsterdam
	Hotel Workers	P. F. Loncke	The Hague
	Land Workers	Piet Hiemstra	Utrecht
	Lithographers	J. Roelofs	Amsterdam
	Painters	H. Lansink	Amsterdam
	Transportworkers	Edo Fimmen	Amsterdam
Switzerland	Food and Drink Workers	J. Schifferstein	Zürich
	Metal Workers	K. Ilg	Berne
	Postal Workers	Fr. Rohner	Berne
	Stone Workers	Rob. Kolb	Zürich
	Typographers	H. Grundbacher	Berne
The Glass Workers' International is in the IFTU Secretariat			Paris

We give below the list of ITS recognised by the IFTU at the beginning of 1936, with the membership figures in each case for the 31st December, 1934 :

Name.	Membership at 31.12.34
International Federation of Bookbinders and Kindred Trades . . . . .	41,747
International Federation of Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers . . . . .	152,059
International Federation of Building and Woodworkers . . . . .	669,581
International Clothingworkers' Federation . . . . .	231,187
Universal Alliance of Diamond Workers . . . . .	16,210
International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees . . . . .	427,645
International Federation of Enginemen's and Firemen's Unions . . . . .	20,166
International Federation of General Factory Workers . . . . .	351,905

Name.	Membership at 31.12.34
International Union of Federations of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades	159,432
International Federation of Glass Workers	34,205
International Union of Hairdressers	6,696
International Federation of Hatters	8,570
International Union of Hotel, Restaurant and Bar Workers	72,138
International Land Workers' Federation	164,878
International Federation of Lithographers, Lithographic Printers and Kindred Trades	25,984
International Metal Workers' Federation	884,913
Miners' International Federation	1,003,100
International Painters' Federation	76,554
Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International	168,192
International Federation of Pottery Workers	27,047
International Federation of Employees in Public and Civil Services	411,682
International Secretariat of Stone Workers	53,323
Teachers' International Trade Secretariat	112,280
International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations	511,485
International Federation of Tobacco Workers	37,534
International Transportworkers' Federation	1,570,001
International Typographical Secretariat	130,335

The following changes have taken place in the management of International Trade Secretariats, in addition to those necessitated by the events in Germany :

**Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees :** To fill the vacancy caused by the death of Comrade G. J. A. Smit, Jr., Comrade W. G. Spiekman was elected secretary, first of all provisionally, in 1934, and then definitely by decision of the Brussels Congress in July, 1934.

**Miners :** When Comrade A. Delattre retired from the secretaryship, the Lille Congress in 1934 decided to fuse the offices of international secretary and treasurer, and Comrade Ebby Edwards was appointed to the joint office, necessitating removal of the secretariat to London.

**Bookbinders :** The Strasbourg Congress in 1935 decided on removal of the Secretariat to Copenhagen and elected Comrade Kr. Eriksen secretary in place of Comrade Hochstrasser.

**Teachers :** On the withdrawal of Klein, the former international secretary, Comrade Bracops (Belgium) was elected secretary at an Executive Meeting held in January, 1934, and Comrade Zapata (Spain) was elected Secretary for educational questions. Correspondence is transmitted through L. Zoretti (Caen, France), whose address is therefore taken as being the seat of the International.

**Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers :** In place of the late Comrade L. Maier, the Brussels Congress held in 1935 elected Comrade Franz Rohner international secretary, thus making final the transference of the secretariat to Berne.

A report is given in Section II, A. 2, on IFTU representation at the Congresses and Conferences of International Trade Secretariats.

## 2. Affiliations to International Trade Secretariats

During the period under review the ITS, partly on account of the great losses sustained by the falling out of the German and Austrian Trade Unions, have made great efforts to fill these gaps, in which they have had considerable success. The IFTU Secretariat can record with satisfaction that it has taken an active part in this work, by arranging a number of new contacts, both on its own initiative and at the request of International Trade Secretariats. We note this fact as one of the inconspicuous proofs of the fruitful co-operation between the IFTU and the ITS.

In their own reports, the ITS give an account of their efforts in this direction, so that we can confine ourselves here to referring to the results obtained. We would however emphasise one important fact — the outstanding part played by various ITS in the affiliation of the Norwegian National Centre to the IFTU, which came into force at the beginning of 1936. The affiliated Unions in Norway have practically all been members of their respective Trade Secretariats for years, which certainly had its effect on the attitude of these comrades in the ballot on affiliation to the IFTU.

The following important successes should be noted in particular :

### Building and Wood Workers :

Partly before the fusion of the two Internationals but mainly afterwards, various new affiliations were recorded, i. e., the Forestry Workers' section of the Norwegian Union of Forestry and Agricultural Workers, and Unions in Denmark, Great Britain and Palestine. The International Federation of Building and Wood Workers is also on very friendly terms with many overseas Unions, particularly in New Zealand and Australia.

The sections of building and wood workers working underground in Austria, which very soon amalgamated into the free Trade Union for Austrian Building and Wood Workers, again affiliated to the International in 1935.

### Clothing Workers :

In the middle of 1935, the International Federation of Clothing Workers could report the affiliation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with which it had been on very friendly terms since 1919. The American Union brought the International a membership increase of 150,000, which completely made up for the loss of the German and Austrian Unions.

### Typographers :

During the period under review, British, Swedish and Czechoslovakian Unions have affiliated to the Typographers' International.

### Teachers :

The Teachers' International Trade Secretariat has been able to extend its influence through the affiliation of Teachers' Unions in Spain and Czechoslovakia. It has also supported the foundation of a Union of German Refugee Teachers.

Employees :

The British National Union of Co-operative Officials, the employees' section of the Swiss Union of Commercial, Transport and Food and Drink Workers, and two Spanish Unions have affiliated to the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees.

Transportworkers :

New affiliations to the ITF are the Dantzig Union of Railwaymen and Port Officials, the British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and National Union of Seamen, two Estonian Unions of Dockers and the Norwegian Union of Deck Officers.

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In addition to the affiliations noted above, many International Trade Secretariats have increased their efforts in this direction, or have made new contacts, especially in overseas countries.

### 3. Efforts at Amalgamation Among the ITS

(a) Building Trades : Amalgamation of the Building and Wood Workers' Internationals.

The destruction of the German Unions and the necessity of the International Secretariats of both the Building and Wood Workers transferring their offices from Germany led to the question of fusion being considered very early on. First of all both Internationals were carried on separately, the Wood Workers in Belgium and the Building Workers in Holland. As early as May, 1933, however, the Building Workers' International took the initiative for forming one International for all the building trades, bringing in the wood workers, stone workers and painters with the building workers proper. The Wood Workers' International immediately considered the Building Workers' proposition and, at its Brussels Congress in 1933, not only decided in favour of close collaboration with the Building Workers' International, but actually instructed its Executive to open direct negotiations on fusion.

The first discussion on fusion took place at the beginning of November, 1933, in London, but the Internationals of the Painters and Stone Workers, who had both been invited, had replied that they were not in a position to take part in the discussions as they intended to put the question of amalgamation on the agendas for their forthcoming Congresses.

Full agreement on the bases of fusion was reached between the Building and Wood Workers in London, and amalgamation was finally decided on in the middle of December in Paris, after a preliminary meeting of the Executives of both Internationals. A postal vote of the Unions showed unanimity among the Building Workers and a two-thirds majority among the Wood Workers in favour of the fusion.

The newly-elected Executive was made up of members from both sides and it was decided that the triennial general Congress should be preceded by separate Group Conferences of the Building and Wood Workers. The new International was called the International Federation of Building and

Wood Workers. Comrade J. W. van Achterbergh was elected Secretary, thus making Amsterdam the seat. At the beginning of 1935 the International had about 673.000 members in 77 Unions in 21 countries.

When the General Executive Council of the new International met in Copenhagen in 1935, the differences of opinion with the Unions in the Scandinavian Wood Workers' Secretariat — which had practically without exception been against the fusion — were overcome and the Unions given the assurance that the special interests of the wood workers would not be prejudiced in any way by the fusion.

The International Conference of the Secretariat of Painters and Kindred Trades dealt in September, 1934, in Copenhagen with the amalgamation question, on the proposal of the Norwegian Building Workers' Union, which expressed the view that it would be an advantage for the amalgamation between the wood workers and building workers to be further extended to bring all occupations in the building trades into one single International. But the Norwegian motion was defeated by the majority.

The International Secretariat of Stone Workers considered amalgamation at its Brussels Congress in 1935, after the Dutch and French Unions had expressed themselves in favour of fusion, the French Union even having announced that it would resign from the International should fusion be rejected. But amalgamation was defeated by 23 votes to eleven, so that fusion cannot be counted on for the time being.

(b) Clothing Workers and Hatters.

Fusion has also been discussed between these two allied Internationals in connection with the general efforts for reorganisation of the international Trade Union Movement, but, at their Reichenberg Congress in August, 1934, the Hatters' Unions took the view that the general position did not necessitate the abandonment of their International either in principle or in practice, and they emphasised that this attitude was not activated by petty trade jealousy or hostility towards the Clothing Workers' International, but solely by considerations of utility.

At its London Congress in August, 1934, the Clothing Workers' International also dealt with the question of fusion, and empowered its Executive to go further into the question and to take any necessary steps before the next Congress. But up till now the efforts for amalgamation have made no progress.

(c) Efforts at Amalgamation of the ITS of the Public Services, Civil Servants, Teachers and Postal Workers. Fusion of the Internationals of Public Services and Civil Servants.

The first discussion on fusion of these four Trade Internationals resulted, at the joint request of the Public Services and Civil Servants' Internationals, in a conference of representatives of the four Internationals being held in March, 1934, in Paris, with the General Secretary of the IFTU in the chair. The Congress of the Postal International held in 1935 in Brussels did not however agree to the amalgamation of ITS proposed by the IFTU, on the grounds that they did not want to give up the independence of their

International and feared moreover that the interests of the postal workers' Unions would be seriously handicapped, if not entirely swamped, in an International Secretariat also covering quite different organisations.

At its Congress in Berne in 1935, the Teachers' Trade Secretariat also considered the question of fusion, but the decision for fusion of the two Internationals of Public Services and Civil Servants was not at that time known. At this Congress the President of the Teachers' International stated that the International was in principle in favour of the negotiations going on.

But the question of amalgamating the Internationals of Civil Servants and the Public Services was definitely settled at the Congress held in August, 1935, in Copenhagen, when it was unanimously agreed that the Internationals should amalgamate immediately, the fusion to take effect as from the 1st August, 1935. The new International is known as the International Federation of Employees in Public and Civil Services and it has its seat in Paris in the premises of the IFTU. The joint International has a President and one Secretary each for the Civil Servants and the Public Services.

(d) Efforts at Amalgamation of the Internationals of Pottery, Glass and Factory Workers.

Amalgamation with the Factory Workers' International was a possibility for the Pottery Workers' and more particularly, the Glass Workers' International, which is the only International rendered incapable of carrying on its own existence by the loss of the German organisations. At its Paris Congress in September, 1934, however, the Pottery Workers' International merely decided in favour of going into the suitability and necessary conditions for amalgamation with the Glass and Factory Workers' Internationals as soon as possible with one or both of them and, should the occasion arise, of examining the basis for such fusion. It was emphasised that a final decision by the Pottery Workers' Unions could only be taken at an International Congress, and as this has not yet been held, the question of amalgamation is still undecided.

Much more positive results have been attained by the amalgamation negotiations carried on between the Factory Workers' International and the Glass Workers' International, which latter had received a temporary home at the seat of the IFTU. At an International Conference of Glassworkers held in Paris in May, 1935, with the General Secretary of the IFTU in the chair, the IFTU was instructed to take the initiative for fusion negotiations to bring about the amalgamation of the national Unions of Glassworkers as soon as possible. A report should be given on the results obtained not later than one year hence.

In the middle of December, 1935, the decisive Conference of Factory, Glass and Pottery Workers was held in Paris, again with the General Secretary of the IFTU in the chair. At this meeting, the Secretary of the Pottery Workers' International again stated that only the Congress to be held in 1937 could give the final decision as to fusion, but the Glassworkers' representatives approved the negotiations for fusion. The Conference had before it a clearly worked out proposal for fusion, which was adopted unanimously. According to this plan, the Glass-

workers' Unions have to give their views not later than the end of February, 1936, on the proposal providing for the affiliation of the National Unions of Glassworkers to the Factory Workers' International on the 1st June, 1936. Fusion would provide, according to the rules of the Factory Workers' International, for the formation of a Technical Committee of Glassworkers, of which one member would be a member of the Factory Workers' International Executive. The Secretary of the International would act as Secretary of the Committee. Should important objections be raised by national organisations to the amalgamation proposals, another international Conference of Glassworkers would be called, otherwise the amalgamation will be taken as definitely accepted.

Those present at the Conference in December were unanimously of opinion that the agreement reached between the Factory and Glass Workers' Internationals would do much to further an agreement being reached with the Pottery Workers' International also.

(e) Efforts at Amalgamation in the Graphic Trades.

Since 1926 there has been a working agreement between the three graphic Internationals, the Typographers, Bookbinders and Lithographers, so that the basis for close co-operation between these allied trades already exists.

Up till now, however, the direct initiative for amalgamation of these three trade groups has only been made by the Bookbinders, it being the Belgian Union of Bookbinders which moved amalgamation with the Internationals of Lithographers and Typographers at the International Congress in Strasbourg in September, 1935. This motion was supported especially by the British Union and was adopted by the Congress by 17 votes to 4.

The resolution adopted by this Congress proposed the formation of a joint Committee with the two other Internationals concerned, to examine the question. The proposal was that this Committee should draw up a report within one year and submit it for the consideration of the three graphic Internationals.

#### 4. Plans for Reorganisation of the IFTU and ITS; IFTU-ITS Co-ordination Committee

The International Trade Union Congress held in Brussels in 1933 had before it the question of completely reorganising the International Trade Union Movement by incorporation of the ITS into the IFTU, firstly on account of the material consequences of the loss of the German Unions and secondly in view of a decision on principle taken at the preceding Congress, held at Stockholm in 1930, but it decided that it could take no formal decision, in view of the present state of the question. During the course of the Congress, the IFTU Executive met to consider the question and made the following proposals to the Congress: (1) the Executive should be charged to draw up a plan of complete reorganisation of the IFTU; (2) as soon as it was ready, the IFTU General Council and the Conference of International Trade Secretariats should be convened to consider this plan; (3) the General Council should be empowered to amend



the Statutes to allow of the reorganisation which might be agreed to being put into force immediately without having to wait for the International Trade Union Congress of 1936.

In execution of the wish of the Congress as expressed by its acceptance of these proposals, the further study of the problem was entrusted to a sub-committee composed of Comrades Citrine, Jouhaux and Schevenels. When this sub-committee had finished its work, the IFTU Executive noted the state of the question in its meetings of September and November 1933. It instructed the Secretariat to circulate to the International Trade Secretariats and the National Centres a draft scheme with a request for their observations. It was agreed that, should the replies received justify it, the Executive would immediately call an extraordinary session of the General Council and the ITS Conference, but the replies actually received did not in fact justify the convocation of such a session.

It was thus that the problem came up again before the Weymouth meeting of the General Council in 1934, which had before it a report on the replies and suggestions received and the different views of the National Centres and International Trade Secretariats. The General Secretary of the IFTU gave a comprehensive account of the problem, which was followed by a prolonged debate on the various conceptions of harmonising the different activities of the IFTU and ITS. It was obvious to the General Council that the representatives of the Trade Secretariats were firmly attached to the maintenance of the status quo and the independence of each Trade International, while however recognising that it was necessary and desirable to bring about closer and more constant collaboration between themselves and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The General Council finally decided to withdraw the proposal for integral reorganisation of the International Trade Union Movement and, in principle, and subject to the agreement of the Conference of International Trade Secretariats, to set up a Co-ordination Committee between the IFTU and the ITS, made up of a certain number of members of the IFTU Executive and a certain number of representatives of all the ITS. It was agreed that this Committee, in fulfilment of the role exactly defined by its title, should co-ordinate the work of the IFTU and the ITS to combat Fascism. This was the first task indicated for the Committee's attention, without prejudice to any steps it might later on judge it useful to take to solve the problem of total reorganisation which still remained unsolved. The International Trade Secretariats Conference, meeting at Weymouth after the IFTU General Council, adopted this suggestion and proceeded to elect, by secret ballot, the ITS members, the General Council having already given the names of the three Executive members it delegated to the Committee.

The ITS representatives elected by the ballot were Comrades E. Fimmen (Transportworkers), Spiekman (Employees), K. de Jonge (Factory Workers), van der Heeg (Clothing Workers) and Tom Shaw (Textile Workers), while Comrade Citrine, Jouhaux and Schevenels were to represent the IFTU Executive.

It was decided to hold the first meeting of the Co-ordination Committee in Paris on the 3rd October, 1934. This inaugural meeting laid down the technique to be followed in the joint work, and the financial arrangements. At the Executive meeting held in Paris in November, 1934, the General Secretary reported on the start of this co-ordination, pointing out the unde-

niable difficulties and the inevitability of proceeding at first by trial and error. In order to prevent possible overlapping, it was decided to lay down in a circular to the ITS that general action was within the competence of the IFTU and that the action of the ITS should logically therefore not go beyond the limits of their individual trade competences. The same meeting of the Executive also laid down that, although the present task of the Committee was limited to the co-ordination of anti-Fascist work, this was no obstacle to the Committee later on, in the light of the experience obtained in this field, pursuing efforts for co-operation and co-ordination in the direction of the organic and permanent collaboration of the whole of the International Trade Union Movement. On the 15th and 29th March, 1935, the Co-ordination Committee held further meetings, when accounts were given of the different work being done and the principles laid down for collaboration between the IFTU and the ITS.

The meeting of the General Council and the Conference of ITS held in May, 1935, had before them a report submitted by the IFTU Secretariat on the work of the Co-ordination Committee and the results already obtained or to be expected; having been noted, this matter was referred to the Executive and the Co-ordination Committee.

In the meantime, the disappearance of the Saar as an independent territory modified the nature of the work carried on there. On the financial side, the Committee had to take steps necessitated partly by chance circumstances and partly by the dissolution of the German and Austrian Trade Unions.

The Co-ordination Committee held two more meetings, one on the 4th July, 1935 and the other on the 29th November, 1935. Both had before them accounts of the work done in the fight against Fascism and could take appropriate action. The Co-ordination Committee has been able to give substantial assistance to Trade Union activity and propaganda against Fascism. Among the steps taken, mention should be made in particular of the financial arrangements arrived at by joint agreement and executed in a relatively satisfactory way.

It should be noted that, in virtue of a decision taken at Copenhagen by the General Council in 1935, one German observer and one Austrian observer have been co-opted on to the Committee.

It goes without saying that this Committee, faced with a task of extreme delicacy and difficulty, has not always been preserved from criticism of the extent of its work and the tangible results shown. At the meeting of the 29th November, the Committee had before it a suggestion of Tom Shaw moving the dissolution of the Committee, since in his view it had not given the results expected of it when it was constituted. This suggestion naturally gave rise to a very lively exchange of views, in the course of which the majority of the Committee, replying to certain complaints, expressed the view that if the Committee had not given the results counted on, it had at least played the valuable part of keeping alive the spirit of resistance in the Fascist countries. Even if it had only rendered this service — and it had rendered others — this would be enough to justify its existence and its continuance. The Committee finally decided by a majority of votes against the dissolution and, to meet the views which had been expressed, it was agreed that the whole question would again be discussed in London in 1936, thus meeting one of the

members of the Committee who supported Shaw's view but proposed that the Committee should continue to exist until the London Congress so that it should have more chance of definitely proving its usefulness.

In view of the difficulty of its task, made even more difficult by the events which have occurred in the Fascist countries, it is obvious that the Committee could not deal with other aspects of its fundamental mission.

As the next meeting of the Co-ordination Committee is to be held in April, 1936, after the date when this report will be closed and before the International Trade Union Congress, this section of the report will be supplemented verbally at the Congress itself.

## **G. Non-affiliated Organisations**

The definite affiliation to the IFTU of the National Trades Union Federation of India and of the Norwegian National Centre (from the 1st January, 1936), provide particularly clear proof of the success which has attended the IFTU's efforts to extend its sphere of influence: In addition to these definite results the period under review can show a number of other satisfactory facts which are full of promise for the future.

The great activity shown by the IFTU in its fight against Fascism, particularly in its boycott against Nazi Germany and the steps taken in connection with the sanctions against Fascist Italy, showed the IFTU to be undeniably the most important centre of energy of the international Labour Movement, and proved of great assistance in getting into the closest contact with the Trade Unions of nearly the whole world.

It is a great satisfaction to the IFTU to note that the lead it has given in the fight against Fascism and the increasing war danger has been followed by the whole world Trade Union Movement. Thus very close collaboration has been established with the American Federation of Labor, with the Unions of Australia, Egypt, Japan and New Zealand and a number of South American States, in particular Brazil and Chile. Moreover, the American Labour Conference held in Santiago (Chile) in January, 1936, gave an opportunity of getting into touch with the Trade Union leaders of various South American countries. This work was undertaken for the IFTU by Comrades Hayday and Kupers.

This success can doubtless rightly be attributed to the International Trade Union Conference organised by the IFTU in Geneva on the 16th and 17th April, 1932, which was attended by delegates from the most important Trade Unions from all quarters of the earth and which gave unanimous support to the programme and demands of the IFTU.

We give below a short survey of relations with certain friendly organisations.

### **1. United States of America**

The joint fight against Nazi Germany, which has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor with the same energy as has been given to it by the IFTU, has done a great deal during the last three years to bring the American Federation of Labor closer to the IFTU. The whole

International Trade Union Movement and particularly all the organisations affiliated to the IFTU are grateful to the American Federation of Labor for its help in this fight, and thanks are due in particular to the Labor Chest for the Liberation of Workers of Europe, which has done a great deal to help the underground fight in the Fascist countries by the provision of financial grants.

The active participation of the American comrades in the fight against Nazi Germany has provided the IFTU Secretariat with plenty of opportunities to get into touch not only direct with the American Federation of Labor but with a number of its affiliated Unions. This rapprochement and the progress made towards mutual understanding and co-operation have been contributed to in great measure by the visit made, in 1934, by Walter M. Citrine, President of the IFTU, in his capacity as General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, to the AFL Convention in Chicago.

Personal contact with leaders of the American Movement has also been promoted by the United States' official entry into the International Labour Office and the resulting delegation of American workers' delegates to the Workers' Group of the International Labour Office and collaboration with the leaders of the European Trade Union Movement.

The AFL Convention held in Atlantic City in 1935 again dealt in detail with relations to the IFTU, when it had before it a resolution instructing the Executive to take all the necessary steps for affiliation to the IFTU. The spirit of the Atlantic City Convention is best typified by the report of the Committee on International Relations, which was signed, among others, by William Green, President of the AFL, and Matthew Woll, and was unanimously adopted. This Report stated that

« a new situation now confronts the Trade Union Movement the world over. The growth of dictatorships has been a powerful threat to the free Trade Union Movement everywhere... Unless there can be created some effective vehicle for international labor solidarity, the Trade Union Movement may be further seriously weakened in those countries adjoining these dictatorships and over which they exercise such profound economic influence. In the second place, there is the threat of war which becomes a more serious menace with the growth of dictatorship. The power of internationally organized labor is perhaps the most effective instrument to stand athwart the path of such dictatorships and their imperialistic plans. In the third place, the membership of the American government and American labor in the International Labor Organization at Geneva makes necessary the development of every device which will increase the effectiveness of International Labor standards. The work of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been invaluable to the Trade Unions in connection with the work of the International Labor Organization... Your committee is persuaded that the time has arrived to re-examine again the basis of re-affiliation of the AFL with the International Federation of Trade Unions. We recommend to this convention that the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to initiate discussions with the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions to see if such a basis of accommodation can not be found. We further recommend that the Executive Council be given power to act upon such re-affiliation if the discussions initiated by President Green prove to disclose a basis of effective co-operation ».

In execution of a resolution adopted by the Convention, William Green wrote to the IFTU Secretariat at the end of 1935 asking for further information about the bases on which the American Federation of Labor

could affiliate to the IFTU. The examination of this question is now at a more advanced stage than it has ever been since the war. The affiliation to the IFTU of the American Federation of Labor would be warmly welcomed by the whole of the European Trade Union Movement and would represent an extraordinary increase of moral support for internationalism and for the fight against Fascism.

## 2. Ireland

The IFTU keeps in very friendly touch with the Irish Trade Union Congress with which there is a continuous exchange of correspondence, documents, etc. Since the affiliation of Norway, Ireland has become the last European country whose Trade Union Movement is not part of the IFTU, although the principles adopted by the Unions in Ireland have for years been exactly the same as those of the IFTU. The fact that the Irish Trade Union Congress has not yet affiliated to the IFTU is not in the slightest due to any aloofness on the part of the Irish Trade Unions, but is attributable mainly to their financial situation. This was shown by the discussion of the question of affiliation which took place at the Forty-first Irish Trade Union Congress held from the 31st July to 2nd August, 1935, when one of the motions was that the Executive to be newly elected should be instructed to put into effect affiliation to the IFTU. This resolution was very warmly championed in the debate, all its protagonists having emphasised that the duty of the Irish Trade Unions is to support the IFTU in its fight against Fascism, especially, as one speaker pointed out, since the IFTU can be regarded as a real international workers' forum; but the Secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress pointed out the financial results of affiliation to the IFTU and indicated that the surplus obtained in the past year would not be enough to pay affiliation fees to the IFTU. These financial difficulties led to the resolution being defeated although it had no doubt the sympathy of all delegates.

In view of the very friendly relations which the IFTU has with the Irish Trade Union Congress, we would express here the hope that our Irish comrades will soon be able to settle the financial question which is at present the obstacle in the way of the Trade Union Movements of all European countries being affiliated to the IFTU.

## 3. South America

With the exception of Argentine, which is still the only South American country with a National Centre whose character would allow of affiliation to the IFTU, the situation from the Trade Union point of view in South America continues unsatisfactory in so far as the majority of the more or less loosely organised workers there are still in a stage of political confusion, with syndicalist tendencies dominating. In some countries, moreover, so-called Trade Unions exist, or have been formed, which are subject to government influence, and here there is no real free Trade Union Movement in the European sense of the word.

By means of correspondence and occasional meetings with delegates to

International Labour Conferences, the IFTU has maintained contacts with Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago and Uruguay.

During the period under review, contact has in particular been intensified with the Labour Movement of Brazil, owing to the boycott against Nazi Germany and the energetic action of the IFTU against Fascism, as the Labour Movement of Brazil takes exactly the same views as the IFTU and give the IFTU's campaign every support.

#### 4. Australia

During the period under review the IFTU's relations with the Australasian Council of Trade Unions have also improved considerably. The subjects dealt with by the last Congress of the Australian Trade Unions in 1935, in particular the question of the arbitration of labour disputes, were of great interest to European Trade Unions. On the question of the Forty-Hour Week, the Australian Trade Unions hold exactly the same views as the IFTU.

Moreover, the contact of representatives of the Australian Trade Unions with the International Labour Conference and the harmony between the Australian Unions' policy and that of the IFTU on the questions of the fight against Fascism and the maintenance of peace have led to the further intensification of friendly relations.

#### 5. New Zealand

Our connections with the New Zealand Alliance of Labour have also become closer during the period under review owing to the IFTU's anti-war and anti-Fascist campaign and there is moreover complete agreement between the policies of the two bodies on the question of the forty-hour week. It should be noted in particular that when the Labour Party came into office after the last elections, it introduced at the end of 1935 the forty-hour week into all public services and intends to make forty hours the maximum hours of work throughout New Zealand.

It is satisfactory to note that the New Zealand Alliance of Labour unreservedly supported the IFTU's action on the question of sanctions against Italy. Immediately on receipt of the cable announcing the decisions regarding sanctions taken in Geneva on the 6th September, 1935, the New Zealand Alliance of Labour held a joint meeting with the New Zealand Labour Party and shortly afterwards Comrade J. Roberts, Secretary of the New Zealand Alliance of Labour, informed the IFTU Secretariat that the Trade Unions of New Zealand stood solidly behind the IFTU and that they were resolved, if necessary, to call a special conference in order to give their demands due weight, should the attitude of the New Zealand Government prove unsatisfactory. Comrade Roberts also congratulated the IFTU on its excellent work in the cause of peace.

It is of particular importance to notice the increased interest which the New Zealand Trade Unions are showing for the work of the International Labour Office, which led to a deputation being sent to the government at the beginning of 1935 to demand that delegates be sent to the 1935 International Labour Conference.

## 6. Japan

Similarly the IFTU has maintained its good relations with the Japanese Trade Union Congress, on which a report was given in our last Report on Activities. Since the formation in 1932 of a unified National Centre, the Japanese movement has made steady progress and was able to hold a Congress in 1935 which was attended by 78 delegates representing 280,000 members who formed together 72 % of all organised workers in Japan.

The demands put forward by the Japanese Trade Union Congress are practically identical with those of the IFTU. The Congress dealt *inter alia* with reduction of hours of work, prohibition of overtime, prohibition of employment of children, public works, etc. The Japanese Trade Unions, which are up against very strong imperialist tendencies, are fighting particularly for statutory recognition of freedom of association, which is fundamental for improving the position of the Japanese workers.

The Japanese workers' delegates to the meetings of the International Labour Office have also provided contacts with the Japanese representatives during the period under review, which have helped to intensify friendly relations.

## 7. Asiatic Labour Congress

A proposal was made to the IFTU Secretariat at the end of 1933 for the foundation of a « Pan-Pacific Labour and Socialist International » which would have the task of bringing about closer contact and collaboration between the labour organisations of the countries bordering the Pacific.

At its meeting in January, 1934, the Executive considered this proposal and, without making a formal decision, instructed the Secretariat to obtain further information and to get into touch with the organisations in the countries concerned.

Later on a first « Asiatic Labour Congress » was held in May, 1934, and was attended by representatives from the Trade Unions of Ceylon, India and Japan. This Congress aimed at bringing about closer collaboration between the Trade Unions and stated that it would give its complete support to the IFTU in all questions of common interest. The Congress also aimed at the creation of friendly collaboration within the International Labour Office in Geneva.

The Asiatic Labour Congress will be held annually and all Asiatic organisations have been urged to send delegates to this conference. Thus at the end of 1935 our National Centre in Palestine assured the Congress of its collaboration, in addition to the three first-named countries.

## 8. Africa

The Unions of Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, organised in five Trades Councils which are affiliated to the IFTU through the French National Centre (CGT), have shown very satisfactory development during the three years under review. Thus the Trade Unions of Tunis were able to hold a Congress in the middle of 1935, with an Assistant Secretary of

the CGT in the chair, and attended by 49 delegates representing 36 Trade Unions. A number of difficulties have arisen in North Africa owing to the government restrictions on Trade Union activities of the natives and the government action taken against certain Trade Union officials. As this Congress very clearly showed, the Trade Unions of Tunis accept in their entirety the principles of the CGT and the IFTU, demanding, inter alia, restoration of complete freedom of association, public works in the fight against the economic crisis, a democratic solution of the agrarian question, the introduction of the eight-hour day and the formation of an unemployment insurance fund.

In addition to the contacts which have been maintained with these North African Unions, new connections have been established in certain unions of white workers in South Africa whose representatives regularly take part in the International Labour Conferences, thus providing a further opportunity of maintaining or establishing contacts. Closer contact with some South African organisations was brought about for instance by an enquiry made by the IFTU into conditions of work and emigration of refugees in South Africa.

The social and economic difficulties in South Africa, as in South West Africa, have raised great obstacles in the way of Trade Union activities, but it seems that nevertheless the Trade Unions were able to do more work in the last part of 1935. It is particularly satisfactory to note the gradual change in ideas which affect organisation. Up till now, the colour bar has represented an insuperable obstacle in the way of extended Trade Union activities, but the principle of the joint organisation of coloured and white workers without distinction in making steady headway, and there has even been collaboration between organisations which have up till now been opposed on this question. Greater Trade Union success is no doubt partly due to this agreement, and although not all organisations have as yet overcome the colour bar, this transformation towards unification of all workers is making progress everywhere.

## **H. All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions; Red International of Labour Unions; Communist International**

### Sub-division of the Report

Under the heading of « Amsterdam-Moscow », the IFTU's Report on Activities for 1927-1930 stated that « in the previous period the International Federation of Trade Unions had to discuss constantly the question of the Russian Trade Union Movement in view of the possibility of its affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions; but in the period now under review there has been comparative tranquillity. We will not go so far as to say that the attacks of Moscow have ceased, but they have ceased to make any impression on us. Our Trade Union Movement has, for one thing, strengthened its own basis, while, for another, the motives of the Russians have become so apparent that there is much less danger of their acquiring influence. »

The comparative tranquillity mentioned in the above paragraph continued over the succeeding years, which were marked by the united deter-



mination with which the IFTU was able to apply itself to fresh work after a long and sometimes rather unhappy period of internal and external difficulties, which concluded with the Paris Congress of 1927. In 1930 the Stockholm Congress, after very thorough preparation had been made by a Committee of Experts, unanimously adopted the « Economic Policy of the IFTU » and gave preliminary consideration to the « Guiding Principles for the Social Policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions » which were adopted by the Brussels Congress in 1933. At the same time work was carried on which led to the compilation of the « IFTU Demands for Economic Planning » and to the adoption of the International Educational Programme.

The Report on Activities for 1930-1932, which deals with all this work and gives an account of the measures made necessary by the world economic depression which broke out in 1929, does not contain the usual section entitled « Amsterdam-Moscow ». Nor does this section appear in the Report on Activities for 1933-1934, the reason being that the question of « Amsterdam-Moscow » did not occupy the attention of the IFTU any longer, since the attitude of the Russians during the 1926 miners' dispute in Great Britain removed the last shadow of doubt as to Moscow's real intentions.

The fact that the Report on Activities for the years 1933-1936 not only includes this section again but gives this subject an important place in the general report is due to the necessity, in view of the latest changes in the attitude of Moscow, of taking up again a description of the IFTU's policy on this subject, as expressed between the years 1919 and 1926, and showing in what ways the position has remained the same or has changed.

It is necessary first of all to lay down one important fact : nearly all the difficulties arising on the question of Amsterdam-Moscow between 1919 and 1926 were due to the tendency not to differentiate enough between three different questions: the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to the IFTU, international unity in its various forms (a World Congress of all Trade Unions, whatever their views, unity with the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU), unity of action, United Front, etc.) and the attitude of the Communist International towards the Trade Union question. The IFTU cannot be accused of not differentiating between the these three problems, but there is hardly one communication from the Russian National Centre which does not take advantage of writing to the IFTU to drag the RILU into the question. As a matter of fact, in the early years after the War, the IFTU actually received a letter signed by Losovsky on behalf of the Presidium of the Communist International and of the Executive of the RILU.

In order to avoid further difficulties, this report treats of the three questions separately, although Moscow's habit of confusing the issue makes this very difficult. Our aim is to deal quite distinctly with the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions, the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) and the Communist International (CI). We devote a special section to the Communist International not because we recognise that it has any kind of right within the Trade Union Movement but merely because it interferes regularly, and in the most uncalled-for manner, in the treatment of Trade Union questions.

In order to have a sound basis for the examination of the problems arising during the period of comparative tranquillity between 1926 and 1933, it may be as well to note shortly the stage reached in the different questions and what are today new aspects from the point of view of tactics or ideology.

## 1. The All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions

### (a) 1919 to 1926.

As far as the IFTU is concerned the whole problem of Amsterdam-Moscow was confined during the years 1919-1926 to the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions. It was the IFTU which immediately after the close of the War took the initiative and invited the Russian Trade Unions to affiliate on the basis of the statutes and decisions of the IFTU, and this invitation was repeated in the most varied connections. In November 1923, in fact, the IFTU General Council empowered the Executive to take part in conversations with the Executive of the Russian National Centre in order to try and bring about the international unity of the Labour Movement on the basis of the statutes and programme of the IFTU. The letters, replies and proposals issued by the Russian Trade Unions on this subject show that Moscow took advantage of every contact to try to shift the problem from the field of Russian affiliation to that of discussions with the RILU participating. These tactics were responsible for the misunderstandings of the period 1924-1926 (Anglo-Russian Committee). The way in which the two questions were mixed up made it necessary for the British comrades, for instance, again and again to emphasise that they wanted nothing else than the affiliation of the Russian National Centre to the IFTU.

All this correspondence and the steps taken — in which connection the action of the Norwegian National Trade Union Centre should not be forgotten — did not get within touching distance of affiliation. The Russians never took the matter seriously, and the IFTU Executive, at its meeting in February, 1926, therefore explicitly noted that the All-Russian Trade Union Council had not given a favourable reply to the invitation to affiliate to the IFTU. A letter which had previously been received from the All-Russian Council concluded with the statement that the Council abided by the proposals it had made to the IFTU, i.e., for a conference to be called, without any conditions being laid down, of representatives of the Russian Unions and the IFTU, and for action aiming at amalgamation of the IFTU and the RILU on the basis of a World Congress, to be attended not only by the organisations affiliated to the IFTU and the RILU, but also by organisations not affiliated to these Internationals but which recognised the principle of the class struggle.

The fact that an end was made for the time being with the question of affiliation of the Russian Unions to the IFTU did not mean that the question of relations between the Unions of Russia and those in the IFTU had been solved. A false impression would be given if reference were not made to the attempts made by the Russian Unions between 1926 and 1929 to get into the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) or to get into direct connection with the parallel Unions of other countries. The fact that

these efforts were part of definite tactics is shown by a letter addressed to the IFTU by the All-Russian Council on the 7th February, 1924, which states that « you are surprised to see all the Russian Trade Unions expressing their desire to join the International Trade Secretariats while still continuing to form part of the Red Trade Union International. The Russian Federation of Trade Unions authorises the organisations belonging to it to enter into negotiations with the Trade Secretariats, and to join them, while still forming a part of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions and the Red Trade Union International. We see no contradiction in this, and consider any discussion on this question useless ».

For the Russians this period was as disappointing as it was instructive for the IFTU's organisations. From 1928 onwards, most of the Russian Unions concerned passed severe resolutions against affiliation to the ITS. Reciprocity agreements were not concluded between Russian Unions and those in other countries, or existing agreements were denounced. The only remaining organic link between a Russian Union and an ITS, i.e., the affiliation of the Russian Union of Food and Drink Workers to the International Federation of Food and Drink Workers, was cancelled in 1929, and the Food and Drink Workers' International's report on this point states that the tension which had for years existed in Executive meetings and at Congresses was thus dissolved.

(b) Fresh Contact at the End of 1935 (Application of Sanctions Against Italy).

As far as the All-Union Council is concerned, the first time contact was again made after the period of 1926-1933, was — again, as in 1919-1920, on the initiative of the IFTU — in connection with the application of sanctions against Italy. When the nature and method of application of the first sanctions had been decided on, Schevenels, the General Secretary of the IFTU, approached the All-Union Council on the 18th October, 1935, on behalf of the IFTU General Council. In view of the General Council's decision « to make known to the Trade Union organisations of the whole world the decisions of the joint International Federation of Trade Unions and Labour and Socialist International (LSI) Conference (September-October) », the IFTU expressed the hope that the Russian Trade Unions would be able to « rally to them and apply them in your country with all the energy and means at your command. »

This was no precedent, because the IFTU, at the time of the Polish-Russian war had sent also to the Russians its manifesto, addressed to the organised workers of the world, on the question of the prevention of transport of troops and munitions. Nor was the Russians' reply a precedent: it was as negative in 1935 as it had been in 1920. While no reply at all was received in 1920, the All-Union Council wrote on the 5th November, 1935, (see Appendix for text) that the Russian Trade Unions could not accept the IFTU proposal, since « neither the Soviet Trade Unions nor the RILU (again this fatal coupling ! Ed.) has taken any part in making these decisions ». But they proposed that a conference should be held as soon as possible of « representatives of the IFTU and RILU, with the participation of representatives from the Unions of Russia, Great Britain and France, to examine the most appropriate and efficacious means of

extending the fight against war and Fascism ». The letter also stated that the « Trade Unions must not be placed at the disposal of the League, the working class must carry on independent action against war ».

When it is remembered that at that time such independent action, on the part of the free Trade Unions of various countries was already in progress, it appears absolutely incomprehensible why the Russians, in the endeavour to attack the aggressor Italy from as many sides as possible, could not declare their willingness to support all action within the League, especially as the decisions taken by the League (which in the last resort also have to be executed nationally) had been arrived at with the full agreement of the Russian government and as Russia had the greatest interest in their being carried out as effectively as possible.

In the letter sent to the All-Union Council on the 20th November, 1935 (see Appendix), the IFTU referred to this fact and expressed its regret at the negative answer of the Russians.

Contrary to the position between 1919 and 1926, when nearly all the correspondence came from the Russian National Centre, in 1935 all letters, telegrams, etc., apart from those specifically mentioned, were sent by the RILU. This does not imply a change in the situation, but merely proves that in Moscow the emphasis is laid on one or other of the two organisations according as seems most opportune at the moment. Although this does not prevent the IFTU from keeping the questions properly separate, it may be useful to give here the substance of a quotation from the report of the Executive Bureau of the RILU to its Third Congress, which shows that in Moscow's eyes the two questions are linked up and that the connection between them is in fact the pivot of its policy, and which is very instructive for the attitude of both organisations. The statement made was that only when the question of amalgamation of the RILU and the IFTU is under consideration can the All-Union Council of the Russian Trade Unions affiliate, in order in this way to attain the restoration of unity in the Trade Union Movement.

## 2. The Red International of Labour Unions

### (a) 1919-1926.

After the war the IFTU dealt for the first time with the RILU in its Report on Activities for 1919-1921, which states that a new Trade Union International, called the Red International Council of Trade Unions, has been set up in Moscow. « The new Council, moreover », the report continues, « was not appointed in the same manner as our Management Committee and Bureau, namely, from representatives of powerful and bona-fide Trade Unions. The Council was not elected at a proper congress. Its members were persons who had elected themselves, or who had perhaps been appointed by the leaders of the Third International, that is to say, by a political International. »

In connection with a pamphlet signed by, among others, Lenin, Zinovieff, Losovsky, and which described how the Moscow International would destroy the IFTU, the International Trade Union Congress held in London in 1920 adopted a resolution stating that the IFTU would neither split nor let itself be destroyed. The resolution continued : « It assures

the central affiliated organisations of their autonomy and freedom of action, but at the same time it forbids any obedience on their part to any resolutions from outside bodies to support their particular movements in the Trade Union International. »

Between the years 1922 and 1924, the RILU made repeated approaches to the IFTU for co-operation and the formation of a « united front ». In 1923 the form of collaboration preferred by the RILU was again proposed in the way of a « Joint Committee of Action » and later on a delegation from the RILU, which was completely unexpected by the IFTU Secretariat, arrived at a Committee of Action which had already been appointed at a Congress in Frankfurt and again put forward proposals for unity. Apart from the fact that the Executive was the competent body to deal with such questions, this deputation was informed at the time that if unity was to be brought about it must first be realised nationally, by the reaffiliation of groups which had broken away from their own National Centres. In the Report on Activities for 1922-1924 it is stated at the conclusion of the paragraph on Amsterdam-Moscow that: « We recognise the right to existence of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions but not that of the Red Trade Union International, which, according to its rules, was established for the purpose of destroying the Amsterdam International. »

In reply to the letter mentioned above regarding the formation of a Committee of Action, the IFTU wrote on the 30th of January, 1923, to Losovsky, the Secretary of the RILU, stating that any kind of joint action must be based on mutual confidence (a demand which was again brought to the fore when contact was renewed in 1934). This letter then went on to say that « you will scarcely be able to assert that any such mutual confidence actually exists... If, for propagandist purposes you consider it necessary and desirable to make further proposals to the International Federation of Trade Unions for joint action, you are of course free to do so. But in future I shall take the liberty of leaving these requests and offers unanswered, so long as they are not honestly and seriously meant. I can make other and more profitable use of my time by smoothing the way for, and carrying into effect, the unity of the proletariat for common action against capitalism and imperialism. »

The RILU took no part in all the attempts made between 1924-1926 to get the Russians affiliated. The Report on Activities for 1924-1926 states that the « letter of the 30th January 1923 marks the end of a period of futile wrangling with the RILU. »

Just as endeavours had been made by a National Centre to promote the affiliation of the Russian National Centre (Anglo-Russian Committee), attempts were now made by another National Centre to further rapprochement between the IFTU and the RILU.

On the 20th of March, 1928, the Secretariat of the Norwegian and Finnish National Trade Union Centres wrote to the Executives of the IFTU and of the RILU with the request for the joint arrangement of a conference on a « free and friendly basis between representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the RILU and representatives of the Norwegian Trade Union Centre, the Finnish Trade Union Centre and other non-affiliated National Centres which on invitation might like to attend such a conference. »

(b) Fresh Contact 1934-1936 (Weymouth General Council Meeting of 1934 and Copenhagen General Council Meeting of 1935).

The initiative taken in 1928 by the Norwegian and Finnish Trade Unions was repeated in 1934 but on a completely different basis, namely, for the restoration of national and international unity by return to the organisation from which the Communists had formerly broken away, and which they had been fighting for all these years.

The 14th Congress of the Norwegian National Trade Union Centre held at the end of 1934, adopted a resolution (see Appendix) instructing its Secretariat to get into touch with the IFTU and the RILU in order to ascertain the chances for international Trade Union unity. At the same time the Secretariat was empowered to organise a ballot on international affiliation among all the members of the Norwegian National Centre. The letter sent to the RILU in Moscow on the 20th of December, 1934, by the Norwegian National Centre (see Appendix), and the covering letter addressed to the All-Union Council (see Appendix), both expressed the wish for the whole question of the organisation of unity in one single Trade Union International to be cleared up. The RILU's reply of the 15th of January, 1935 (see Appendix) was evasive and referred in a completely contradictory manner solely to the position in France: « The attitude of the RILU to the question of trade union unity in the individual countries is fully expressed in the offer which the CGTU (Communist Trade Union Centre, Ed.) of France has made, and still makes, to the CGT (free Trade Union Centre, Ed.) of France. »

This letter very clearly shows the alleged new attitude of the Communists, with which we shall deal in the section on the Trade Union policy of the Communist International and of the RILU, as well as in the concluding section on the Trade Union policy of the IFTU. This letter in fact sets out those postulates which were formerly only adopted involuntarily by the Communists, or were indeed scorned or contested as being « reformist » — social insurance, freedom of association, freedom of opinion, the right of meeting, freedom of the press, etc., and in short the fight for democracy. The letter from the Executive Bureau of the RILU states in conclusion that « the Executive Bureau of the RILU is firmly convinced that the Norwegian Trade Union Federation will, in accordance with its last congress, pronounce itself in favour of the amalgamation of both Internationals and the creation of a united Trade Union International on the basis set forth above ».

In a letter written to the RILU on the 14th of February, 1935, the Norwegian National Centre made itself even plainer. It said that the question arose of whether the Red International of Labour Unions would « promote the restoration of Trade Union unity in all countries where certain groups have withdrawn from the National Trade Union Centre ».

The second part of the resolution of the Norwegian Trade Union Congress was settled in a very satisfactory manner by 90 % of the members voting in the ballot for affiliation to the IFTU.

### Weymouth General Council Meeting in 1934.

In the meantime, the General Council of the IFTU had also dealt with the question of the united front, at its meeting in Weymouth in 1934, in connection with the report given by Comrade Jouhaux. The resolution adopted on this point (see Appendix) declares that « the overtures of the Communists and of the Red International of Labour Unions at Moscow for the united front and for unity of action are manœuvres devoid of any sincere intention ». Thus the General Council meeting rejected both the « united front » and « unity of action », taking the same view as the French National Trade Union Centre, which, in its unity negotiations with the Communist National Centre, right from the outset described these forms of collaboration as quite unsuitable and unproductive for Trade Union purposes, and kept organic unity in mind the whole time. The Weymouth resolution also stated that « the Communist Labour Unions and consequently the Red International of Labour Unions should dissolve and their members return to the Trade Unions organised in the IFTU ».

The IFTU was here taking exactly the same view as it had logically maintained between 1919 and 1926.

### Copenhagen General Council Meeting in 1935.

The General Council meeting held in Copenhagen in 1935 explicitly re-affirmed the Weymouth resolution and adopted a subsidiary paragraph, moved by Jouhaux (see Appendix), declaring the IFTU's readiness to take part at any time « in any useful interview on the realisation of international Trade Union unity, on condition that: sincerity and genuine goodwill shall be the bases for such discussion, the foundation for the reconstitution of Trade Union unity shall be recognised to be the International Federation of Trade Unions, which has always acted for the unity of the workers of the world, and that the reconstitution of international Trade Union unity shall, as a logical consequence, also mean the end of the division among the workers in every country ».

### Further Correspondence with the RILU.

From December, 1934, to the beginning of 1936, there was a constant exchange of letters with the RILU, starting with a letter from the RILU (see Appendix) making proposals for the « united front » and « unity of action » in the most varied fields and in all sorts of connections. These proposals, as has been said, have up till now been rejected by the IFTU and its affiliated National Centres everywhere (mention could also be made here of the letters sent by the International Red Aid to the IFTU, LSI and the Matteotti Fund, which are dealt with in the section on relief work).

Writing on the 7th March, 1935 (see Appendix), the RILU proposed joint action for May Day and a conference to discuss « that question which is of such immense importance to the working class of the whole world — the form, methods and conditions for the restoration of unity in the Trade Union Movement on the international plane ». On the 17th April, 1935, the RILU dealt at great length (see Appendix) with the negative reply received from the IFTU. This letter, which treated in detail of the whole world situation, is of great importance as it categorically describes « the liquidation and disbanding of the revolutionary Trade Unions » as « completely unacceptable ». The proposal for joint demonstrations on May Day was also renewed.

During the Congress of the French National Trade Union Centre, in September, 1935, a communication from the RILU (see Appendix), transmitted through its European Secretariat, was handed to Jouhaux, which he, as he stated at the Congress, handed over to the IFTU, as he could not take up the contact proposed in the letter before it had been decided on by the IFTU. This letter again brought to the fore the well-known formulæ of « co-ordination of action », « common action » and « Trade Union unity ».

The meetings of the IFTU Executive and General Council held on the 11th October in Brussels, in connection with the application of sanctions against Italy, had before them the latest proposals, i.e., the letter mentioned above and a telegram of the 3rd October, signed by Losovsky as Secretary of the RILU, and confirming the proposals in the letter, but which had been cancelled six hours after its reception by a communication from Moscow, so that further discussion of the Communist proposals was unnecessary. The IFTU General Council approved the action of the Executive and noted the communications made.

### 3. Communist International

#### (Trade Union Policy of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions)

Apart from the letter mentioned under (a) signed by Losovsky on behalf of the Communist International (CI) and the RILU, and a letter sent to Chicherin, the Russian People's Commissar, in August, 1920, on the question of the boycott of weapons and munitions, the IFTU has never had any direct contact with the CI. We deal with the CI here as an exception because the latest « general line », coming after all the slogans issued by Moscow during the year, for a « world congress », « cell formation », unity « from above » and « from below », etc., seemed to be a matter not just of new tactics but of an entirely new attitude to fundamental questions which are of very great interest to the Trade Unions also. For the point is nothing less than that the CI and the RILU, which since their foundation have regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat and the domination of the Communist Party in the Trade Unions as the keystones of their policy, are to-day advocating free Trade Unions and democracy.

This is not the first time that the Communists have had to come off the high horse in this field. The Statutes adopted by the first Congress of the RILU in 1921 contained a special section on « Connections with the CI », in which it is laid down that the RILU shall have direct representation on the Executive of the CI through three members with the right to vote. At that time it was stated quite openly that the RILU was really to be regarded as a section of the CI. In his report on Trade Union tactics, Losovsky said quite frankly that the idea of independence of the Trade Union Movement must be rejected with energy and determination.

As early as the following year, however, the RILU Statutes had changed, the section referred to having been deleted and mention only being made of joint discussions, manifestoes, etc., of the two Internationals, although it was explicitly stated in the debates that this was a concession to the « revolutionary-syndicalist attitude » of the French section of the RILU, with the aim of thus consolidating the bloc of all really revolutionary elements. In spite of this concession, a declaration made during the very



same Congress stated that no departure could be made from the principle of the absolute necessity of the Communist Party taking the lead nationally and the CI internationally.

The principle of dictatorship of the proletariat was preserved in all its original vigour in the second version of the statutes, as was also the provision for an energetic fight to be carried on « against the International Labour Office of the League of Nations and against the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, which, in view of its programme and its tactics, forms a point of support for the international bourgeoisie ».

It has been pointed out often enough that the new tactical line in favour of democracy, free Trade Unions, etc., has been occasioned by political events, such as the progress of Fascism, increased danger for the USSR, entry into the League of Nations, etc. Although these factors have greatly contributed to the adoption of new tactics and a different tone towards the free Trade Unions and the IFTU — which, according to the rules, have to be destroyed root and branch — it is undeniable that this new line also has other causes.

One of these was the RILU's lack of success all along the line in organisation and other matters, which introduced the period of « self-criticism ». This was particularly strongly expressed at the RILU's fifth Congress in 1930, when Losovsky's speech represented a stringent criticism of the efficacy and tactics of the Communist Trade Unions. Some of the mistakes which were quoted were : « Bad preparation of economic conflicts; non-elective appointment of strike committees, or their election by a small number of workers; lack of realisation of the role and importance of strike committees and their isolation from the workers on strike through our fault (if the strike committee is appointed it does not feel any responsibility towards the strikers); insufficient consideration in the matter of demands; the drawing up of demands by an inner circle of leaders (this is one of the most important faults); we often act as if we believed that it was quite enough to have the demands printed and call a strike when the workers will immediately respond to our call (the reformists often make a great show with left-wing phrases and demands, and in such cases one often feels how our organisations lose their heads in dealing with the situation); the domineering methods adopted to the backward strata in the proletariat (not conviction, but command); theoretical toeing of the revolutionary line, but withdrawal behind it in practice (there are many comrades who are quite happy to vote for revolutionary resolutions, but consider that they do not apply to their own countries, or, at any rate, to their own trades); incapacity to call off a strike at the right moment, and in an organised manner; the dragging out of a strike until it completely demoralises and disorganises the workers; a tendency to lose their heads in dealing with employers, and incapacity to carry out negotiations vigorously. »

It is astonishing that Losovsky dares to accuse the RILU's affiliated organisations of these mistakes since they are in their entirety merely consequences of the RILU's interference in the work of these organisations and of their members purely on a basis of Communist propaganda. And in the last resort all these mistakes can be brought down to a common factor: no real Trade Union work is done at all, mainly because, as none knows better than Losovsky himself, the first demands of the Communist Trade Union leaders is for political work.

The mistakes of Communist tactics must have been especially evident during the crisis, because then the workers expected more than ever from the Trade Unions in fulfilment of their main aim, i.e. protection of conditions. There was a bitter irony in this in view of the attempts of the Communists, over fourteen years, to seize the Trade Unions, which were an instrument for improving the actual position of the workers, and to exploit them for purely political ends, which, if the Communists take their Communism seriously, are bound to be in diametrical opposition to Trade Union ends.

This is also the answer to the questions which arose in the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the RILU held two years ago, when, from all corners of the meeting hall cries arose of : « Why can't we get hold of the majority of the workers?... Why is it that most sections of the RILU do not in reality get any further in their work in the reformist, Fascist and other Trade Unions? Why is no proper use being made of the favourable situation (the crisis! Ed.)? »

Have the Communists really learnt a lesson? Certainly the Communist International at its seventh Congress held last year advocated « entry into all Fascist mass organisations », the « fight for the defence of bourgeois democratic liberties », the « unification of the fight of the agricultural proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and small man of town and country », the formation of a « broad, popular anti-Fascist front » and the formation of « proletarian United Front governments or popular anti-Fascist front governments ». The same resolution stated that in those countries where there are already Socialist or coalition governments, they must be combatted; everywhere « where there are boastful Socialist projects — Henri de Man's Labour Plan, etc. — their demagogic character must be laid bare ».

But nothing has been said about abandonment of the principle of dictatorship which, in Trade Union negotiations, must be regarded as the touchstone of any collaboration which is expected to be lasting and to produce good results. The Communists want to remain Communists and supporters of dictatorship while fighting at the same time for free Trade Unions and democracy, but one can either be in favour of dictatorship or of democracy; it is not possible to be both at once unless one wants to get into a hopeless contradiction with oneself and a realistic world.

Certainly the RILU has taken every opportunity of issuing appeals in favour of free Trade Unionism, but the seventh Congress of the Communist International interfered more than ever before in Trade Union work. The resolution adopted stated that it was necessary in those countries where insignificant Red Trade Unions exist to get these organisations into the reformist Trade Unions. On the other hand, however, and in strict contradiction to this, Communist parties were urged to support the Red Trade Unions to the utmost. The resolution furthermore demanded one single International in the international sphere and at the same time urged Communist parties to support the Red International of Labour Unions. The Unions were also appealed to defend the day-to-day interests of the workers and at the same time to organise political mass strikes.

Thus on the whole there has been no change in the situation. At the last Congress of the Communist International, a report was made by

O. Piatnitsky, as the spokesman of the Communist section in the RILU, in which, first of all, the dictatorship of the proletariat was described as the only way for the great masses, and which then went on to say that there would be no success in the fight for Trade Union unity until the Communists really organised their work within the great non-revolutionary Trade Unions. « Why », asked Piatnitsky, « are the decisions of the CI and RILU for work in the reformist Trade Unions not carried out?... The Communist party cannot do without Trade Union mass organisations which are larger than it is itself and through which it can bring its own influence to bear on the great masses of the unorganised workers ».

In 1922, the RILU rules were altered at the request of the French Communist Trade Unionists who did not want their subjection to the CI to appear so obvious. In the same year Zinovieff took every opportunity of pointing out that the united front was only a political manoeuvre in order to win the workers over to Moscow. In 1924 Losovsky said that « we make no fetish of unity, we are for it because it offers a possibility of widening the sphere of action of Communism ». In the same year Zinovieff said: « We will use our weapons as the class conflict requires that they should be used. Today, what it requires is that we should seek to maintain the unity of the Trade Unions by roundabout means and secure a majority in the Unions by the same means. We hoped to be victorious in an open attack. We failed. Now we must seek the same ends by choosing the longer way around. » Tomsy asked at the same time: « What will become of the so-called Amsterdam International? What will become of the reformists two years after we have created a united International? »

When a few speakers at the Communist International meeting in Moscow in 1928 ventured to remark that perhaps the IFTU was really not a tool of the capitalists, Losovsky categorically replied that unity is not an end in itself but only the means to an end. In the meeting of the RILU Executive Bureau already mentioned, Losovsky stated that « our job is to circumvent the enemy. The main thing is to make the workers understand our tactics : that we are really manoeuvring and not withdrawing from the fight ». And again in 1933 Losovsky signed an introduction to his book on Marx and the Trade Unions, which openly aims at proving that Marx was in favour of the subjection of the Trade Unions to the Party and that it was his view that the « political parties of the proletariat should determine the economic tasks of the workers and lead the Trade Unions ».

Differences of opinion on the question of Trade Union independence led after the war to splits in the Trade Union movements of various countries and thus in many countries directly to the difficult situation in which the workers are to-day placed. If the split is to be removed this duplicity in relation to the freedom and independence of the Trade Unions must disappear also, for it is hardly possible to assume in earnest that the gulf can be bridged and a genuine, lasting and fruitful unity take its place while this duplicity still exists to affect the concrete work of the Trade Unions. Or is perhaps this duplicity in regard to the freedom of the Trade Unions and their leadership by the Communist party to be still further supplemented — as now seems possible — by a double-faced attitude towards the fight for democracy and leadership? Is the sole driving power of Communist future action to be that need for making propaganda, which in 1923 caused the IFTU to cease giving any reply whatsoever to letters from the RILU?

#### 4. Trade Union Policy of the IFTU

In the years 1919-1921, the period covered by the IFTU's first Report on Activities, it was necessary to decide on the question of splits and their causes, the foundation of new Internationals, etc. Then the opposition between the IFTU's policy with its democratic basis and the policy of the Communist International organisations was brought down to the simplest formula : « This new International, in contradistinction to ourselves, advocates the principles of Communism which are to be realised by violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. »

A letter addressed to the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions on the 11th of September, 1924 on the question of unity states that « it must, however, be realised that between the policy which you recognise as the basis of Trade Union activity and that to which we adhere, there is a fundamental difference, which is much wider than that of more or less radical policy ».

In connection with the unity negotiations over the years 1924-1926, Arthur Pugh stated from the chair in his opening speech at the Bournemouth Congress of the British Trade Unions that « we are, I think, in danger of laying too much stress upon a merely formal and mechanical unity in the field of international Trade Union organisation. A mere formal fusion of existing trade union bodies will fail to bring real unity unless there is also a common will and purpose, a common conception of aims and methods, and of the ends to be served by international co-operation.

In one word : Amsterdam and Moscow represent two fundamentally different movements. Whatever may be the differences in tactics or the Trade Union or political exigencies of the moment, it is impossible, in the last resort, to get past one fact which was clearly put in 1933 — right at the beginning of the Communist's new tactics — by Walter M. Citrine, the President of the IFTU, when he said : « Communism is based upon dictatorship, just as Fascism is. In the exercise of dictatorship the Communists have shown themselves contemptuous of the democratic principles which the Trade Unions and the Socialist Parties are determined to defend. These facts are conclusive for our national and international plans. »

These facts are the problem of the day and it is therefore no accident that the IFTU is giving the question of freedom of association, i.e. democracy and economic planning, an important place in its 1936 Congress; just as dictatorship is the pivot of all Communist ideology, the keystone of the Trade Unionist attitude to every form of state is freedom of association. Freedom in this sense need not by any means imply chaos but means the struggle carried on in that state of freedom which has always been an element of progress and which is bound in future to hold its place in human relationship unless mankind is to cease thinking altogether. It is this freedom which, as stated in the report drawn up on this item of the Agenda for the London Congress, will always « be indispensable. For the acquired rights, even with very solid guarantees, could at any minute be threatened, and, even in a more or less planned State, in view of the egotistic, centralistic and bureaucratic tendencies inherent in all States however composed, the Unions must always keep a sharp lookout and be ready at any time to defend their own existence as a guarantee of a permanent check ».

## SECTION III

# Education, Youth and Women's Questions

## A. Youth and Educational Work

### 1. International Summer School for Young Trade Unionists

The Summer School for young Trade Unionists, held annually since 1930, took place each year during the period under review, each one being held in a different country, so that three different languages were used.

The fourth Summer School was held from the 1st to the 8th October, 1933, in the Anton Hueberhaus, at Weidling near Vienna, and was attended by thirty students from eight countries. The Polish Trade Unions were not able to send a delegate as they could not raise the passport fee of 500 zloty. The end of the school coincided with a special IFTU General Council meeting held in Vienna and a joint lunch was arranged so that the students had a chance of meeting the members of the IFTU Executive.

The fifth School was held in Dorchester, England, from the 26th August to the 2nd September, 1934, in connection with the centenary celebrations for the Tolpuddle Martyrs, organised by the British Trade Unions. This school was attended by seventeen students from five countries.

The sixth School, held from the 3rd to the 8th September, 1935, in the old abbey of Pontigny, in France, was attended by 24 students from five countries. As in previous years, this school proved very successful and made a deep impression on the delegates, as can be seen from their reports.

The Vienna school was run in German, the Dorchester school in English and the Pontigny school in French. In each case the students' knowledge of the language was so good that they could easily follow the lectures and take part in the discussions. The students very much appreciated the opportunity given by the school to improve their knowledge of the language concerned and they were also glad of the chance they had of getting to know Vienna, London or Paris respectively, and the working class institutions there.

The lectures were given by Trade Union leaders from the countries concerned, by Mr. Harold Butler, the Director of the International Labour Office, and the Assistant Director, Maurette. The schools were run by the

IFTU General Secretary, Schevenels, but the direction of the Pontigny school was handed over to Stolz, the Assistant Secretary, since Schevenels had to attend a meeting in Geneva. The students at the schools have been provided with the addresses of the delegates to previous schools so that they could get into touch with them, and there is today a network of young Union officials formed out of these meetings and covering every country in Europe.

The 1936 Summer School is to be held in Czechoslovakia and run in German and Czech, thus enabling the neighbouring countries of Hungary, Roumania, Poland and Yugoslavia to send students.

## 2. Educational Programme

The adoption by the Brussels Congress of the International Educational Programme represented an important step forward in the way of systematising international educational demands. In nearly every country this programme has proved very stimulating and serves as a basis for Trade Union demands in the educational sphere, in particular as regards the raising of the school-leaving age in connection with the forty-hour week.

## 3. International Centre for Workers' Education

The International Office of Labour Films, which was conceived as the beginning of a Worker's Educational International, and was dealt with at the Conference held in Berlin on the 10th February, 1933, could not be established on account of events in Germany, in spite of the great efforts made at any rate to fulfil the practical task of producing a film.

But the workers' educational movement in different countries required international contacts. The IFTU Secretariat has published each year an international survey of workers' education compiled out of reports received from National Centres on their educational activities, but this report was not adequate. The work of the educational organisations demanded the creation of constant contacts, and it was just in this sphere of workers' education that the loss of some very important countries made the cohesion of existing efforts all the more necessary.

The need for the international unification of workers' education is shown by the repeated attempts to create it. It is only necessary to refer, for example, to the decision to set up a Workers' Educational International taken at the International Conference on Workers' Education held in Oxford from the 15th to 17th August, 1924, and the attempt made a few years ago in Berlin, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the National Council for Socialist Education, in which several educational organisations took part, to set up such an International Centre, with the management of which the National Council in Berlin was entrusted. This latter was from the outset only a partial attempt, since not even all the educational organisations which are in line with our International were represented, and it was moreover made without the knowledge of the International. It did not result in any activity, but remained merely an idea which was never carried into practice.

In October, 1932, the IFTU Secretariat, on the instructions of the Executive, circulated affiliated National Centres with a questionnaire on

the existing general or Trade Union workers' educational institutions, controlled by National Centres or with which they regularly collaborated. National Centres were also asked if they thought it desirable to found an international workers' educational organisation, either on a general or Trade Union basis, and whether international co-operation (such as the exchange of documents and educational material like charts, statistics, clichés, magic lantern slides, films, etc.) was necessary or useful from the point of view of initiating or extending the efforts of national workers' educational centres.

In compiling its survey the IFTU Secretariat also got into touch with friendly but non-affiliated countries, thus establishing fresh contacts with, for example, the American and South African organisations with which it had once had good relations which had become moribund. These contacts and the realisation that it was desirable to make the relationship more close and more uniform, gave rise to the idea of setting up an International Centre for Workers' Education, for educational work had advanced so far in the national sphere as to make international cohesion imperative.

At its meeting of the 15th and 16th January, 1935, the IFTU Executive decided to put the question of educational work on the agenda of the General Council meeting to be held in Copenhagen from the 21st to 24th May, 1935, with a view to co-ordinating internationally the activities of all the workers' educational organisations taking the standpoint of the IFTU and collaborating with it. The General Council decided, on the basis of the report before it, which was also submitted, on the 4th June, 1935, to the members of the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions, to charge the IFTU Secretariat with the management of an International Workers' Educational Centre.

In accordance with this decision, a meeting of delegates from workers' educational organisations was held in Brussels on the 16th June, 1935, on the occasion of the International Congress on Workers' Leisure Time. This Conference adopted the following « Plan of Activities of the International Centre for Workers' Education », which had been submitted to it.

« Attempts made up till now to centralise internationally the work done by workers' educational organisations (Oxford, Berlin) have not achieved their object.

This time we are starting on the work in accordance with a decision taken by the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions in agreement with the Labour and Socialist International, and in co-operation with the competent International Trade Secretariat, i. e., the Teachers' International, whose co-operation with the IFTU produced the International Educational Programme.

The field of action of the International Centre for Workers' Education was outlined as follows by the General Council of the IFTU:

1. The study of urgent questions relating to workers' education.
2. (a) Development of the system of reports on Trade Union and Socialist education, which would appear exclusively in the organ of the IFTU.  
(b) Space in the IFTU Bulletin to be regularly devoted to questions of the moment affecting workers' education.
3. Representation and collaboration in various international organisations and institutions dealing with adult education.
4. This would provide opportunities of co-ordinating the activities of the national educational organisations by constant contacts, exchanges, etc., and of doing much to promote the work of each individual organisation and of international workers' education as a whole.

## Information Service.

What is needed is an International Centre which, without special expenditure, is able to arrange for an international information service and exchange. This will be undertaken by the IFTU Secretariat, which has for years done effective work in this sphere with its International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions, and which, by placing its organs at the service of the Centre, provides it, in the form of the Bulletin, with a weekly information service in six languages — Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Spanish — and with a tri-lingual Review.

## Enquiries.

It is proposed to conduct enquiries to find out in which fields international activity may be developed.

## Reports.

Arising out of the annual enquiry made by the IFTU Secretariat into the position of educational work, suggestions were made which were used as the basis for the first enquiry. It was proposed that in future a list should be drawn up of the factors common to all countries as a preliminary to the compilation of statistics on the different sections of the educational work, to guard against the repetition year by year of mere generalities. The opinion was also expressed that our educational report should be drawn up on a definite plan if it is to provide a survey of educational work of real value to each country. It must however be borne in mind that a mere compilation of figures referring to the various sections of the work would not be of much use and that moreover the information given in this form might lose in value.

## Non-affiliated National Centres.

All organisations which are connected with affiliated National Centres or are Educational Centres which accept the IFTU's programme will belong to this International Centre, but the educational organisations of allied National Centres, or Educational Centres which hold similar views to our own will be equally welcomed and their collaboration gladly received. At the moment, the United States falls within this category.

## Ideology.

The educational organisations aim at spreading the ideology of the Labour Movement, and it is part of their task to help clear up and consolidate this question internationally in order to arrive at a uniform conception. »

At its meeting of the 2nd and 3rd July, 1935, the IFTU Executive noted the results of this conference and approved the proposal to hold a conference of workers' educational organisations on the occasion of the International Trade Union Congress in London in 1936.

Meeting in Paris on the 18th September, 1935, the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions noted the attempts which had been made to co-ordinate international activities in the sphere of workers' education.

In accordance with the decisions of the Brussels Conference, each educational organisation appointed a correspondent who was to submit reports to the IFTU Secretariat. A list of workers' educational associations was drawn up to enable organisations to exchange their periodicals and publications.

As the question of films was regarded as the most urgent and a decision on this point had been taken, the IFTU Secretariat conducted an investigation into the use of films in workers' education. This has shown the extent to which films are utilised by the educational organisations, and has given rise to the beginnings of an interchange of films. The active



participation of the organisations themselves in this activity will promote development of this work. The International Centre, which is only in its infancy, has also started an international information service (explanation of the boycott on the Congress of Leisure Time Occupations to be organised by the German Labour Front in Hamburg in July, 1936).

The International Conference on Workers' Education to be held in London in 1936 will contribute to the extension of the international educational service and the consolidation of the links which already exist between the International Centre and the individual organisations. It is to be hoped that the International Centre for Workers' Education will prove of use to national Workers' Educational Organisations and the whole Labour movement.

#### 4. Workers' Leisure Time

The efforts made for years by the Workers' Group on the Governing body of the International Labour Office for international collaboration in the sphere of workers' leisure time resulted in the formation of a loose organisation which called an International Congress on Workers' Leisure Time in Brussels from the 15th to the 17th June, 1935.

This Congress was attended by Comrade Stolz, representing the IFTU, and representatives of Workers' Educational Organisations, in addition to official bodies, Governments and organisations of all kinds (Catholic, neutral, etc.).

The composition of this Congress did not facilitate its work and in future it will be the task of the International Centre for Workers' Education to go into the question beforehand when similar meetings are held, in order to ensure that the representatives of the Workers' Educational Organisations shall have due influence. We shall support the efforts made by this conference, but when suggestions made from our side, for example, for a special Conference to be held on Workers' Schools, are not carried out, we shall ourselves undertake their execution.

On our initiative the Belgian organising committee which called this International Conference stated that it had nothing in common with the World Congress on Workers' Leisure Time Occupations which has been called by the German organisation « Strength Through Joy » in Hamburg in 1936.

#### 5. International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions

The whole question of the fight for improvement of the working and living conditions of young people has long been dealt with by the IFTU, and its thorough treatment is proved both by the International Committee for Youth and Educational Questions, which has existed for years, and its activities in the International Labour Office and in the League of Nations, on whose Committee for the Protection of Children the IFTU has a representative.

During the period under review attention was concentrated mainly on efforts to obtain increased protection for the young by raising of the school-

leaving age, and for young unemployed workers, and to extend or promote the organisation and recruitment of young people in the Trade Unions.

At the beginning of 1934, an Austrian representative was appointed to the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions in the place of the German member, and at the same time the IFTU Executive decided to continue the Committee in the same form. When the Austrian member had later on also withdrawn from the Committee it was made up as follows :

Joseph Bondas (Belgium).  
H. H. Elvin (Great Britain);  
Hedtoft-Hansen (Denmark);  
C. van der Lende (Holland);  
Josef Prášek (Czechoslovakia);

Deputy members were :

Raymond Froideval (France);  
Ramón Lamonedá (Spain);  
P. Bergman (Sweden);  
W. Weber (Switzerland);  
Zdanowski (Poland).

Representing the Executive, Schevenels, the General Secretary, acted as Chairman of the Committee, and its meetings were also attended by Stolz, the Assistant Secretary.

In 1934, as it was not practicable to hold a meeting of the Committee, the members were asked to give their views by correspondence on certain particularly urgent questions affecting young workers. The main point was the question of the Trade Union organisation of young workers, the training of young workers and officials and the creation of an up-to-date youth programme. On the basis of the replies received, the Secretariat submitted a written report on urgent problems affecting young Trade Unionists to the Weymouth Meeting of the General Council. This report gave a general survey of the subject and dealt with the results of the questionnaire sent out to National Centres on the present state and future prospects of Trade Union organisation of the young, to which eight countries had replied, namely Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Great Britain, Holland, Palestine, Sweden and Switzerland. Particular attention was given here to the question of care for the young unemployed.

A draft resolution on the organisation of young workers and a manifesto addressed to all the young workers of the world, irrespective of sex or class of work, were intended to assist in the promotion of the ends in view.

On account of lack of time, the 1934 General Council Meeting in Weymouth could not give further attention to the question of young Trade Unionists, which was therefore referred to the Executive for further consideration. At its meeting in November, 1934, the Executive considered the question afresh and decided to submit to National Centres for their further consideration the report which had been presented to the General Council.

Furthermore the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions, at its meeting of the 18th September, 1935, having thoroughly discussed the question of recruitment and organisation of young workers, drew up a number of recommendations on this subject to serve as guiding lines for National Centres, and these were approved by the Executive. These recommendations (see Appendix) took into account the variation in conditions and national psychology from one country to another, and the inclinations and capabilities of the young, and, aiming at facilitating the recruitment and organisation of young Trade Unionists, dealt with the following problems : methods of propaganda and recruitment among the young, the training of leaders, recruitment of young unemployed, special social demands for the young. They also contained proposals for the compilation of statistics to assist in the solution of special problems affecting young workers.

The Committee felt that the efforts to organise young workers must be intensified in order to check the influence brought to bear on the younger generation by extremist movements and certain employers who try to make capital out of the long-standing unemployment and subsequent demoralisation which result from the world economic crisis.

After consideration of the resolution on unemployment among the young adopted by the Nineteenth Session of the International Labour Conference, the Committee expressed the wish that the IFTU Executive should urge affiliated National Centres to take strong action in order to get this Recommendation carried out as speedily as possible, and to get the International Convention on the Age of Admission to Wage-earning Employment, which has already been adopted, adjusted to meet the Recommendation (the Conventions gave the age of fourteen as the minimum age for entry into wage-earning employment, while the Recommendation fixed it at fifteen).

On the subject of co-ordination of work in the field of workers' education the Committee expressed its agreement with the proposal to form an International Centre for Workers' Education within the IFTU Secretariat.

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National Centres were recommended by the IFTU to support the representations made by the Socialist Youth International to the International Labour Office to get effective measures taken against unemployment among the young, and the petition drawn up was also given effective support by the Workers' Group of the International Labour Office. IFTU organisations and the Socialist Youth International headed the impressive demonstration of international youth organisations arranged when the 1935 International Labour Conference was in session. Comrade Biet (Belgium) of the IFTU and Comrade Ollenhauer of the Socialist Youth International spoke before the International Labour Conference on behalf of young Trade Unionists. The problems thus brought before the International Labour Conference received its full sympathy and good will, and the resolution by which the Conference undertook to adopt in one discussion a recommendation laying down measures against unemployment among the young was adopted by ninety-six votes to seventeen.

## 6. Relations with the Socialist Educational International

The IFTU has had friendly relations with the Socialist Educational International which formerly had its seat in Vienna and is now situated in France at Draveil (S. & O.), which aims at the cohesion of the Red Falcon Organisations and which confines itself mainly to the question of child education. The IFTU Executive indicated to its members that it would be in order for them to join the Patronage Committee of the International Red Falcon Camp held at Verneuil-l'Étang, in France, in the summer of 1935.

### B. Women Workers' Questions

#### International Committee of Trade Union Women International Legal Status of Women

The composition of the International Committee of Trade Union Women, which has changed several times during the period under review, in the first place because of the withdrawal of Germany and secondly on account of changes in the representatives from various countries, was as follows at the end of 1935:

Alvilda Andersen (Denmark);  
Hélène Burniaux (Belgium);  
Jeanne Chevenard (France);  
A. Loughlin (Great Britain);  
Valerie Novotná (Czechoslovakia).

Representing the IFTU Executive, W. Schevenels, the General Secretary, is chairman of the Committee.

The following countries have the right of appointing substitutes for the ordinary members of the Committee:

Holland (A. de Jong);  
Spain (Claudina García);  
Sweden (Karin Nilson);  
Switzerland (not appointed).

The substitute member for Czechoslovakia has in the meantime become a permanent member owing to the withdrawal of Germany.

On account of a number of difficulties, the Women's Committee has held no special meeting during the period under review, the method of consultation by correspondence having been adopted to deal with questions which arose. The IFTU Secretariat and all the members of the Committee have given close study to all the questions which have arisen since the last Conference of Women Trade Unionists was held in Brussels at the time of the 1933 Congress, special attention having been given to the application of the forty-hour week to women and the consequences of rationalisation.

Particular consideration has been devoted to the tendencies, which have recently become more and more evident, again to call in question the social and legal status of women and the achievements won by women workers in this field during the post-war years. Thus attention has been given to developments in the Fascist countries, and to Fascist tendencies in general, which aim at removing women from the processes of production or at relegating them to a lower position there, and also at depriving women of their rights, both from the Trade Union and social points of view.

In the middle of 1935 certain questions which arose in connection with the International Labour Office and discussions in the League of Nations Council were of such great interest to women workers that the IFTU Executive instructed the General Secretary to consult the members of the Committee as to the advisability of a meeting being held and the questions which should appear on the agenda of such a meeting. The first point was the importance to women workers of the measures proposed by the International Labour Conference for combatting unemployment among the young, special consideration being given to this point in view of the energetic campaign opened by the representatives of the Christian Unions for removing married women and mothers from wage-earning employment in order thus to provide employment for unemployed men workers.

This attitude was rightly regarded, both by the IFTU Secretariat and some of the Committee members, as extremely dangerous, in view of the obvious intention behind it of doing serious injury to the cause of women workers under the pretext of helping to alleviate the lot of the unemployed. The IFTU Executive took all the necessary action in Geneva, which eventually defeated this attack from the Christian Unions.

On the suggestion of Comrades Burniaux and Chevenard, the whole problem of women's work was reconsidered in connection with this problem, and this led to the IFTU Executive proposing a meeting of the Women's Committee. The General Secretary immediately got into touch with all the members, but it appeared that it would be impossible to hold the meeting, partly owing to lack of time and partly on account of the feeling of the majority of the members that it would be better to hold the meeting in connection with the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists to be linked up with the 1936 International Trade Union Congress in London.

At its meeting in November, 1935, the Executive accordingly decided that the International Committee of Trade Union Women should meet in London on the 6th July, 1936, and the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists be held in London on the 7th July, 1936. The questions to be discussed were also considered and it was decided that the agenda should consist of: the forty-hour week and night work for women; women's right to work (with particular reference to the restrictions introduced in some countries) and the legal status and nationality of women, and that rapporteurs be appointed on each of these points from different countries.

In view of the impossibility of holding a preliminary meeting of the Women's Committee, the IFTU Secretariat had to consult the members of the Committee by correspondence on the question of legal status and

nationality of women when it was dealt with by the League of Nations. The General Secretary, as the Executive's representative on the Women's Committee, circulated to the members a comprehensive statement on the position of this question as regards the League and accompanied it with a draft memorandum to be submitted to the League Assembly in September, 1935, by the IFTU on behalf of the International Committee of Trade Union Women.

The members of the Committee transmitted in writing their approval of the broad outlines of this memorandum, so that, with some amendments, the General Secretary's draft, which had been approved by the Executive, went forward to the League (see Appendix).

Although during the period under review, it has not been possible, for the reasons mentioned, to hold a meeting of the Women's Committee, there has been no falling-off in the attention given either by the IFTU Executive or by the members of the Committee to questions concerning women workers; the activities of the Committee have not suffered appreciably from the fact that no meeting has been held during this period, and the collaboration of the Secretariat with the members of the Committee has been completely satisfactory.

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## SECTION IV

# Social Policy

### A. International Labour Office

#### 1. General

It is impossible to start on this chapter without paying a tribute to the memory of Albert Thomas, the first Director of the International Labour Office. Albert Thomas' work — the International Labour Organisation — which raised such great hopes just after the war, has been rudely shaken by recent events but, in spite of all the difficulties it is up against and setbacks it has received, it as yet still stands firm.

The International Trade Union Movement will continue to keep its faith in the ILO and its present Director as long as Geneva remains what its authors tried to make of it and such as is laid down in the Peace Treaties.

It has to be remembered that the political shocks sustained by certain countries have had repercussions in Geneva and that, although it may appear surprising at first sight, the machinery of the International Labour Organisation has become to a certain extent the cockpit for opposing political philosophies which are fighting out the fate — emancipation or enslavement — of the workers. It is obvious that in the face of these circumstances, the workers' representatives at Geneva have to bear a very heavy responsibility, not only for the present but for the whole future, and this should be borne in mind.

We have right from the beginning never held that the International Federation of Trade Unions, its affiliated organisations and the workers in general can expect salvation from Geneva, and should just sit down and wait with a blind and passive confidence in the ILO. The fact is that the Trade Unions use the institutions at Geneva as they use, nationally, or internationally, all methods likely to aid them in obtaining the application of the workers' social demands. It cannot be denied that in the last few years there has been a certain amount of retrogression in the field of social policy, arising out of the heavy but certainly temporary setbacks suffered by the workers in some countries particularly vulnerable to reactionary attacks.

In conclusion, we would repeat what was said at the Brussels Congress. The Trade Unions are by tradition the most faithful partisans and most

zealous champions of social progress, and in spite of all reverses, they will continue to work indefatigably for the improvement of national social legislation in the different countries, continuing, as they have done from the outset to collaborate loyally in the work of the International Labour Organisation.

## 2. The International Trade Secretariats and the International Labour Office

In describing the relations between the International Trade Secretariats and the International Labour Office, we could confine ourselves to repeating word for word the report given on this subject to the Brussels Congress, only adding that not only have the relations between the ITS and the ILO been maintained, but that they have been extended to a degree which practically corresponds to the wishes we hardly dared formulate three years ago.

The International Trade Secretariats turn more and more to Geneva to get information, to take part in investigations and to seek aid in their own particular spheres. Generally speaking, ITS representations have been made much better than in the past but still not in an ideal manner, which would be after agreement had been reached between the IFTU and the Workers' Group. During the period under review, the IFTU Executive and the Workers' Group have many times been requested to take action in the ILO to deal with certain questions, to get a decision applied, or to get a specific question placed on the agenda of the Conference. A characteristic example is that, as the result of steps taken by the IFTU, on the request of the ITS concerned, certain industries were decided on for consideration by the Conference in regard to the forty-hour week.

Here we would point out an innovation which should be attended with great success. In order to assure the maximum of efficacious collaboration between the ITS and the IFTU in the fight at Geneva for the introduction of the forty-hour week into certain industries, the IFTU has taken the initiative to call, in conjunction with the ITS, preparatory technical conferences regarding the forty-hour week in public works, building, the iron and steel trade, the textile industry and coal mining.

It is to be hoped that this new initiative will prove of great benefit to the struggle for the fundamental reform of the forty-hour week. It is obvious that, should the result of these preparatory technical conferences justify it, the experiment will be repeated and probably extended to other fields.

If space permitted, we could recount all ILO action arising from the representations referred to above, but we would merely refer here to the important part played by the Trade Internationals directly concerned in the problems of coal-mining and maritime conditions. Important work has also been done in various technical committees, but a more detailed account of this would also be out of place here. The results already obtained or which are pending show that the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Workers' Group at Geneva have fully demonstrated their wide comprehension and their desire to take the wishes of the Trade Internationals into consideration.

It would not be out of place here to recall briefly the urgent representations made by the Workers' Group in Geneva on behalf of the



agricultural workers, arising out of a joint meeting in 1934 of the IFTU Executive with that of the Land Workers' International.

In conclusion we would emphasise the necessity of International Trade Secretariats not taking action at Geneva before having come to agreement with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Workers' Group, since this is obviously the only way of assuring the maximum of efficacy and good results.

### 3. The Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office

As elected at the 1934 International Labour Conference, the Governing Body of the ILO is at present composed as follows : Titular Members : L. Caballero (Spain), L. Jouhaux (France), C. Mertens (Belgium), A. Hayday (Great Britain), N. M. Joshi (India), Tom Moore (Canada), Yonekubo (Japan), Ed. Johanson (Sweden); Deputy Members : José Negri (Argentine), Ch. Schürch (Switzerland), C. A. Crofts (Australia), Chr. Jenson (Denmark), E. Kupers (Netherlands), V. Němeček (Czechoslovakia), E. Serrarens (Netherlands), Z. Zulawski (Poland).

The Workers' Group of the Conference also nominated, on its own initiative, a further eight members as second substitutes, in order to make sure of the presence of at least twelve workers' representatives at the meetings of the Governing Body in all circumstances. These Substitutes are : An Fu-Ting (China), A. J. Downes (South Africa), J. Roberts (New Zealand), B. Krekič (Yugoslavia), P. Krier (Luxemburg), H. Olsen (Norway), K. Peyer (Hungary), J. Schorsch (Austria). Finally the Workers' Group elected W. Schevenels, General Secretary of the IFTU, to the post of Secretary to the Workers' Group of the Conference, an office which he also fills for the Workers' Group of the Governing Body.

Arising out of the entry of the United States into the ILO, which became official in October 1934, the Workers' Group went into the question of giving a titular seat to the American workers' representative, and at the Sixty-ninth Session of the Governing Body in 1935, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, was elected a titular member of the Governing Body.

We would mention here the irretrievable loss sustained by the Workers' Group in the passing of comrade Edvard Johanson, President of the Swedish National Trade Union Centre, whose death will leave a gap which it will be extremely difficult to fill.

We find it necessary to develop rather more than usual this part of our report in order to point out once and for all the ungrateful task of the workers' representatives on the Governing Body. It is very often forgotten that while the International Labour Conference enjoys wide publicity which ensures that the echo of its work reach the furthestmost corners of the earth, the work of the Governing Body, although less well-known and less publicised, is at least equally important. It should not be forgotten that a very important part of the work of the International Labour Organisation is performed within the Governing Body, which naturally implies that a very great responsibility rests on the shoulders of our representatives.

It may be useful here, in order to give an idea of the work done by the Trade Union representatives at Geneva, to point out the part that they took in the work of the many Commissions and Committees which produce very considerable results. It is perhaps enough to mention here the main Committees on which the workers' delegates of the Governing Body take an active part : Finance, Standing Orders, Unemployment, Social Charges, Technical Education, Women's Work, Workers' Spare Time, Freedom of Association, Public Works, Migration, Industrial Hygiene, Accident Prevention, Scientific Management, Consultative Economic Committee of the League of Nations, Sub-committee on Handicraftsmen, Statistics, Agricultural Work, Conditions of Work in the Iron and Steel Industry, Conditions of Work in Coal Mines, Conditions of Work in the Textile Industry, Glassworkers, Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees, Advisory Committee on Professional Workers, Joint Maritime Commission, Mixed Committee on Inland Navigation, Automatic Coupling.

We would express to these comrades our grateful appreciation of the untiring devotion they bring to a task which is by no means easy or always pleasant. We give below a brief summary of the most important action taken by the workers' representatives at the different sessions of the Governing Body over the period under review. The Extraordinary Session held in September, 1932 (a date to be remembered), considered the resolution moved by Jouhaux on the subject of the forty-hour week, which had already been discussed by the 1932 Conference. At the end of the debate it was decided to call the Tripartite Conference in 1935 and as a consequence, to place the forty-hour week repeatedly on the agendas of future International Labour Conferences.

## **1933**

### **SIXTIETH SESSION :**

Decided to place the problem of the forty-hour week on the agenda for 1933 and appointed Jouhaux to the Tripartite Conference; appointed a delegation, including one workers' member, to the International Monetary and Economic Conference in London; laid down the work of the Committee for Accident Prevention.

### **SIXTY-FIRST SESSION :**

This session had before it the minutes of the Tripartite Conference and was marked by vigorous intervention on the part of the workers' delegates against adversaries of the reform who were trying to sabotage it. There was also a lively discussion of the report on Freedom of Association.

### **SIXTY-SECOND SESSION :**

This session had before it the minutes of the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and of the Advisory Committee on Professional Workers. It appointed representatives to the Technical Placing Conference and heard the declaration of loyalty made by the new Director.

### **SIXTY-THIRD SESSION :**

Considered a workers' proposal for the establishment of a reserve fund adequate to assure the functioning of the ILO at all times.

## SIXTY-FOURTH SESSION :

Examined the position of Leuschner who was prevented by the Nazis from attending the session. On this subject the following declaration was issued, the Workers' Group abstaining from voting on the second and third paragraphs :

« The Governing Body declares :

(1) No member of the Governing Body, elected by the employers' or workers' delegates to the Conference, should be interfered with in any way by reason of action taken in his capacity as a member of the Governing Body.

(2) As regards the case of Mr. Leuschner, it is noted that the Ministry of Labour of the Reich has informed the Director of the International Labour Office that his arrest had nothing to do with his actions as member of the Governing Body.

(3) In these circumstances, and until the receipt of further information, the Governing Body decides to proceed with the next business. »

At the same Session, the Governing Body, having noted the report on Freedom of Association, instructed the Office to continue its investigations on this question and to make a study of the legal and practical aspects of the Trade Union (or what are called Trade Union) experiments now in progress in certain countries, including the United States, Italy, Russia and Germany. It also authorised the Office to give its assistance to the High Commissioner of the League of Nations in charge of the work for refugees. It heard the report of its representatives at the International Monetary and Economic Conference in London and adopted the following resolution on this point :

« The Governing Body of the International Labour Office,

Considering that the persistence of the unemployment crisis is increasingly seriously affecting the workers throughout the world ;

Considering that, as a result of the resolution which the International Labour Conference sent to it during the early days of the Seventeenth Session, the Monetary and Economic Conference instituted discussions in its Economic Commission which once more showed the importance that public works, both national and international, present from the point of view of the alleviation of unemployment ;

Considering that the Bureau of the Monetary and Economic Conference decided, on the proposal of its Economic Commission, to set up a committee to study the question of public works and other means of alleviating unemployment ;

Urgently appeals to all Governments to institute schemes without delay or to continue without interruption the execution on their own territory, national or colonial, of schemes of public works calculated to give a fresh impulse to economic activity and to reduce the numbers of the unemployed ;

Expresses the hope that the Sub-Committee which the Bureau of the Monetary and Economic Conference decided to set up to study the question of public works and other means of alleviating unemployment may be appointed and convened as early as possible, with the agenda fixed by the Conference itself. »

On the 26th of October, 1933, Germany officially notified its withdrawal from the International Labour Organisation.

## 1934

### SIXTY-FIFTH SESSION :

On the whole this session was not marked by anything more than a legal decision which was however of importance. The Governing Body decided that in future all Conventions should contain the amended form of the standard article defining the legal consequences of the revision of Conventions.

### SIXTY-SIXTH SESSION :

Laid down the agenda for the 1936 Conference and discussed various reports which had been submitted to it.

### SIXTY-SEVENTH SESSION :

As this coincided with the holding of the Conference, it was mainly occupied with questions of an internal and technical nature.

### SIXTY-EIGHT SESSION :

Arising out of new elections made at the Conference, this session had to appoint members to the various Committees and Commissions. It noted a report from the Tripartite Conference on hours of work in coal mines and, as the Conference had adopted a resolution asking the Governing Body to place the problem of the forty-hour week again on the agenda for the 1935 Session, it adopted the following resolution :

« The Governing Body decides :

(1) to place the reduction of hours of work on the agenda of the Nineteenth Session of the Conference ;

(2) to instruct the Office to draw up a draft for a single Convention providing for the reduction of hours of work in all classes of establishments. The Conference shall determine at that session and at subsequent sessions the classes of establishment to which this reduction shall apply, and the methods of application for each of them ;

(3) to reserve until the next session of the Governing Body — which will have before it reports to be prepared by the Office, including the information received in the meantime from the Governments — the final selection of the industries, establishments or categories to which it is proposed that the Nineteenth Session of the Conference should apply the reduction of hours of work. »

This session was informed of the official entry of the United States into the ILO and it also noted that the League of Nations' Assembly held in September, 1934, had admitted Soviet Russia to membership, which implies also its membership of the International Labour Organisation.

## 1935

### SIXTY-NINTH SESSION :

The United States was represented at this session for the first time. The Workers' Group had appointed William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, as the American workers' member. The Governing Body decided that the following industries should be borne in mind for the first application of reduction of hours of work : public works (undertaken or subsidised by Governments), iron and steel industry, building and civil engineering, glass-bottle works, coal mines.

The Governing Body decided that the examination of hours of work in these industries should form a single item on the agenda of the Conference. The same session amended the list of the eight states of the greatest industrial importance in view of the composition of the Governing Body. It also considered complaints which had been made about hours of work on the Indian railways and noted the undertakings given by the Indian Government. It convened meetings of and laid down the agendas for the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and the Mixed Advisory Agricultural Committee. On the motion of the Workers' Group, the Governing Body adopted the following resolution on the regulation of the production and sale of coal :

« The Governing Body, recognising that the critical position of the coal-mining industry makes it increasingly necessary and urgent to regulate the production and distribution of coal in Europe, and that this is necessary in order to remedy a situation which threatens to become disastrous.

Notes with satisfaction the reply of the Secretariat of the League of Nations to the Director of the International Labour Office according to which the Secretariat will bring to the notice of the Economic Committee of the League the request of the Miners' International Federation for the calling of a Tripartite Conference in the near future in order to discuss once more the drawing up of international regulations for the coal-mining industry ; and emphatically expresses the hope that such a Tripartite Conference, including representatives of Governments, mineowners and miners, will be called before the International Labour Conference. »

#### SEVENTIETH SESSION :

This session noted the report on the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission and decided to convene a preparatory technical tripartite meeting. Having discussed a certain number of resolutions, the Governing Body then dealt with a report on workers' spare time in relation to the reduction of hours of work. There was a very thorough discussion of the question of possible extension of the scope of international labour conventions, on which certain decisions were taken. The Governing Body decided to communicate to Governments the resolutions adopted by the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees. It then proceeded to appoint members to certain technical committees.

#### SEVENTY-FIRST SESSION :

This session noted the decennial report on the Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents, and decided to communicate it to the International Labour Conference as no proposal was made for the partial or complete revision of the Convention.

#### SEVENTY-SECOND SESSION (EXTRAORDINARY) :

This session had before it a proposal of the Chilean Government for the holding of an International Labour Conference at Santiago, and another proposal for a regional conference of representatives of factory inspection in Europe. The Governing Body agreed to both proposals, the American Labor Conference having been held at Santiago in the first half of January, 1936, and the Conference on Factory Inspection at The Hague on the 14th of October, 1935.

#### 4. Preparation for and Proceedings at International Labour Conferences

For each of the International Labour Conferences held annually at Geneva, the IFTU Secretariat has drawn up, under conditions which were not always of the most favourable, a report embodying the views of National Centres, and sometimes also of International Trade Secretariats directly concerned, on the questions on the agenda. Each year the opening of the International Labour Conference is preceded by a preliminary meeting of the Workers' Group in Geneva, held in order to determine the policy and tactics to be followed during the discussions, both in committees and in the plenary sessions.

##### 1933 CONFERENCE :

The International Labour Conference held in 1933 had before it five questions : (1) abolition of fee-charging employment agencies; (2) invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance; (3) unemployment insurance and various forms of relief for the unemployed; (4) methods of providing rest and alternation of shifts in automatic sheet-glass work; (5) reduction of hours of work.

The Conference adopted a resolution moved by Comrade Arthur Hayday, British workers' delegate, urging the Governing Body of the ILO to call a Tripartite Conference with a view to obtaining the simultaneous ratification of the Convention on Hours of Work in Coal Mines.

The results obtained by this International Labour Conference may be summarised as follows :

The draft International Convention on the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies was adopted by 91 votes to 20, and the Recommendations drawn up on the same subject were adopted by 92 votes to 7; the three Conventions submitted to the Conference on invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance for workers in industrial and commercial undertakings, for professional workers and homeworkers were adopted by large majorities by ballot vote; three similar Conventions for agricultural workers were also adopted. Although these six Conventions on social insurance only gave relative satisfaction to the workers' delegates, they contented themselves with this result because they were able to get adopted by 72 votes to 20 a Recommendation enumerating the immediate demands for social legislation. It seems especially important to underline this success since our opponents claimed (and we would not deny it), that this Recommendation summarised, so to say, a programme of social demands which is being pursued in every country by our Trade Union Centres.

On the proposal of Jouhaux, the Workers' Group moved and got adopted by 77 votes to 17 a resolution urging Governments and employers to try to avoid the working of overtime by all the means at their command.

The three other items on the agenda only came up for a first discussion. As regards unemployment insurance and other forms of relief for the unemployed, the Workers' Group, having intimated that it would accept the conclusions of the Special Committee, laid down certain reservations.

The Conference finally decided by 93 votes to 4 that the question should come up for a second discussion at the 1934 Conference. As regards methods of providing rest and alternations of shifts in automatic sheet-glass works (a question which has been at a standstill since 1924), there was a very animated debate owing to the obstructionist tactics of the employers, after which the report of the Committee was adopted without opposition and it was decided by 94 votes to 24 to bring up the problem for a second discussion before the 1934 Conference.

We would make brief reference here to the controversy which raged round the problem of the forty-hour week in 1933, when it was finally decided by 99 votes to 24 to bring up the question before the 1934 Session for a second discussion which did not prove final, as has since been shown.

In theory, the 1933 Conference ought to have discussed the problem of collective agreements in agriculture, but in fact it confined itself to noting a report which was referred to the Governing Body for further consideration.

The Conference also had before it a report on the application of certain Conventions which have been in force for ten years, which it noted. The Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions, fully aware of the extreme importance of this question, which is often not fully realised, has not failed to give its active attention to the application of Conventions which have been ratified. Nor has it failed to recall to National Centres that, in virtue of Article 408, the ILO has to ask the Governments to make reports on the application of International Conventions. The questionnaire issued by the ILO on this question asks Governments if the workers' organisations have sent in any observations on the application of Conventions, and National Centres have therefore been repeatedly urged to make use of this facility and, if necessary, to make known their views on their own initiative. We would express in passing our regret that this suggestion has not been followed to the extent which might have been expected.

We may refer briefly here to the protest made by the workers' delegates against the presence at this Conference of German Fascist delegates led by Dr. Ley, leader of the German Labour Front, whose precipitate flight from Geneva closed the matter. The Workers' Group was able to get accepted its right to refuse to recognise this delegation whose mandate, however, was not revoked since the delegation preferred not to affront public opinion by continued attendance. Events in Germany caused the Conference to consider measures to be adopted to assist German refugees, and a resolution was adopted urging the ILO Governing Body to take the necessary steps to allow the emigration abroad of persons who have been forced to leave Germany for racial, political or social reasons or who have had to renounce or have lost their chance of work for the same reasons. It may be useful here to recall that this initiative taken by the Workers' Group found a resounding echo at the Brussels Congress, which urged the ILO and the League of Nations to deal with this matter.

It was also necessary at this Session of the International Labour Conference to take steps against the action of the Nazi Government in preventing Comrade Leuschner (whom the Workers' Group of the ILO had appointed to membership of the Governing Body) from attending; reference will be made to this matter later on.

In order to give a true idea of the work done by our delegates at Geneva, we would quote here in particular the resolution on the crisis and unemployment, moved by Jouhaux and accepted by ninety-nine votes nem. con., which demanded :

« (1) The restoration of stable monetary conditions, national and international;

(2) the establishment of the system of international co-operation best calculated to prevent for the future such disastrous fluctuations of the price level as must inevitably produce widespread unemployment;

(3) the cessation of economic warfare between nations by the concerted elimination of restrictions on international exchanges and dangerous impediments to the flow of commerce, and of practices which have frequently given rise to them;

(4) the increase in the purchasing power of the community and the maintenance or establishment of an adequate standard of living for the workers;

(5) the restoration to circulation of the capital now lying idle by all appropriate means and notably by the adoption of a public works policy, including the following lines of action :

- (a) to set on foot immediately large scale public works, giving an assured economic yield, particularly in those countries where funds are at present remaining unused;
- (b) to secure collaboration between creditor countries and countries lacking capital, many of whom are debtors, in order to undertake in these latter countries large works likely to augment the national income and thereby to increase their capacity to meet external debts;
- (c) to co-ordinate these measures on an international basis so as to avoid the possibility, which might arise if individual action were taken, of a disequilibrium in the balance of payments of the various countries, detrimental to international monetary stability. »

This resolution was championed at the Economic Conference in London by representatives of the ILO, who naturally included a delegation from the Workers' Group. Mention must also be made here of the resolution moved by Jouhaux and Mertens on the subject of the organisation of national and international public works with a view to combatting unemployment and regulating employment.

We cannot conclude this brief survey of the 1933 Conference without mention of the semi-official meeting organised by the ILO for the countries of Latin America on the 13th June, 1933. It goes without saying that the Workers' Group took advantage of this meeting to establish contacts of which the future will show the full importance.

#### 1934 CONFERENCE :

The 1934 International Labour Conference had before it a very heavy agenda and although the results of its deliberations should not be minimised, the outcome as regards the forty-hour week was extremely disappointing. Three items had to be given a second discussion, but final decisions were only arrived at on two of these. The Conference adopted a Convention on unemployment insurance and other forms of relief for the unemployed



(with six Employers' representatives and Yugoslavia voting against). By this Convention, the States signing it undertake to institute a system guaranteeing assistance or relief to persons who are involuntarily unemployed. We would mention here that in a Recommendation dealing with this same Convention, the Workers' Group succeeded in getting rejected an employers' amendment, which would have provided for the joint unemployment funds set up by employers in factories to benefit also from State grants. Very great efforts were also made by the Workers' Group, but unfortunately in vain, to prevent agricultural workers from being excluded from the scope of the Convention.

By 87 votes to 28 (of which 21 were employers' votes) the Conference adopted a Convention on periods of rest and alternation in automatic sheet-glass work, and also passed a resolution urging the ILO to continue to study the question of rest periods in other automatic glass works.

The Convention adopted in 1925 on compensation for industrial diseases came up for revision; this Convention, which places industrial diseases on the same footing as accidents at work, contains a first list which has now been supplemented by the addition of further diseases for which compensation must be paid. Mention may also be made here of the partial revision of the Convention adopted in 1919 on night work of women. The provision for certain exceptions in this Convention should allow of its being ratified more easily. The Conference gave a first discussion to the problem, which has, incidentally, already been settled in most countries, of the prohibition of the employment of women on underground work. The future Convention is to make this prohibition general, as at present it does not exist in a few countries. The 1934 Conference also gave a first reading to the very complex question of the maintenance of the rights in course of acquisition and the acquired rights of migrant workers under social insurance. The main point on the agenda, the Convention on the forty-hour week, is dealt with separately in another place.

While the 1933 International Labour Conference was marked by the precipitate flight of the Nazi delegation, the Nazis having deprived the International Labour Organisation of the collaboration of a great nation, the most important feature of the 1934 Session was the historic meeting of the 22nd June when the United States officially joined the ILO.

We would finally mention the discussion by the Conference of a resolution moved by Mertens on the economic crisis, which confirmed the wishes expressed in a similar resolution moved by the Workers' Group at the 1933 Session. Jouhaux also moved a resolution on public works for the combating of unemployment, which was adopted by the Conference.

#### 1935 CONFERENCE :

The first act of the 1935 International Labour Conference was to adopt by 85 votes nem. con. the draft Convention on the maintenance of rights in course of acquisition and the acquired rights of migrant workers under invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance, which is one of the most useful and humanitarian Conventions which have arisen out of the work at Geneva.

The draft Convention on employment of women on underground work was then adopted by 117 votes nem. con. without a long debate.

The problem of unemployment among young persons gave rise to a very impressive although unofficial public demonstration before the Plenary Session of the Conference. Thanks to the energetic action of the Workers' Group, which broke down all resistance and countered all obstructionist tactics, a first result was obtained since, in view of its very great urgency, it was agreed not to submit this problem to the procedure of double discussion.

Finally, the Conference adopted by 106 votes *nem. con.* a Recommendation to which we shall revert later. On the same subject the Conference adopted by 61 votes to 18 three resolutions, the first of which asked the ILO to go into the possibility of bringing up before the Conference the question of revision of the Conventions on the minimum age of entry into industrial, maritime, agricultural and non-industrial employment, while the second referred to the technique of study of this problem, and the third urged the ILO to continue the study of unemployment in agriculture.

After a first discussion the Conference also decided, without any opposition, to place on the agenda for 1936 the question of the regulation of certain systems of recruitment, a question which is linked up with that of forced labour, which was the subject of a Convention passed in 1930.

In addition the Conference had before it for a first discussion the question of holidays with pay. The Workers' Group moved the inclusion of agricultural workers in the future Convention. An employer's proposal demanding further information was defeated and it was decided finally by 107 votes to 15 to put the question on the 1936 agenda.

The 1935 Conference also had to deal with the partial revision of the Convention limiting hours of work in coal mines, and after a thorough discussion mainly concerned with technique, the revised draft Convention was adopted by 72 votes to 18.

Once again the Conference tried to solve the problem of the forty-hour week, and we give below a brief survey of the results obtained. The early weeks of the Conference gave promise of good results. Right at the outset the prospects had not been good but a little later a whole series of obstacles had been overcome. First of all a Workers' resolution was adopted by 67 votes to 49, in which the Conference expressed itself in favour of the principle of the forty-hour week and of the elaboration of a general Convention into which the special Conventions for the different industries could be fitted. In this same resolution the Conference pronounced itself in favour of the maintenance of the standard of living. Then it was decided by 79 votes to 26 (in spite of the abstention of the Employers' Group) to refer the examination and compilation of any Conventions to be drawn up to a Committee, which decision augured well for the attitude of the Governments in the final vote. On the draft general Convention embodying the principle, the Committee was practically unanimously in favour of the forty-hour week, maintenance of the standard of living, and application of the principle to all categories of employment and undertakings which should be later on included in special Conventions. The subsequent discussions were disappointing: apart from the general Convention the Conference had to deal with five special Conventions on (a) public works, (b) building and civil engineering, (c) the iron and steel industry, (d) bottle glass works, (e) coal mines. Right up to the last

minute it was thought that it would be possible to get these five drafts adopted by the procedure of single discussion, but in fact only the draft for glass-bottle works was subjected to this procedure and was adopted by 72 votes to 34. The four other Conventions were referred to the next Session. The draft general Convention was finally adopted by 79 votes to 30 and the draft Resolution on maintenance of the standard of living by 75 votes to 27.

In concluding the survey of the 1935 Conference we would mention the most interesting resolutions adopted on the initiative of the workers' representatives, such as that regarding freedom of association adopted by 89 votes to 1, another one moved by Comrade Hayday and adopted by 63 votes to 26 which demanded that the question of the forty-hour week in the textile industry be placed on the agenda for the 1936 Session, and two further resolutions making the same demand for the graphic trades and the chemical industry respectively.

## 5. Other Activities in the Social Field

The individual reports of the National Trade Union Centres and International Trade Secretariats give a wide survey of the extremely varied activities developed over the last three years in the social sphere. This work, which has in many cases produced excellent results, forms the counterblast to the setbacks which the workers have suffered in the countries seized by Fascism and subjected to a regime which represents the antithesis of liberty and human progress.

In this sphere as in many others, the Guiding Principles drawn up by the International Federation of Trade Unions after thorough study of the question by experts of all countries have played the part of a stimulating force. Lack of space does not allow of the enumeration here of the campaigns carried on by affiliated National Centres aiming at a kind of programme of minimum demands bearing on the social life of the workers in all its aspects.

In accordance with the resolution passed by the Brussels Congress on social demands, the Executive organised huge international campaigns for the forty-hour week and tried to co-ordinate all national efforts in this work. National Centres have done excellent work in rebutting the reactionary attempts to deprive the workers of the advantages they have achieved in the way of social legislation. The IFTU Secretariat has also given to the problem of the compulsory arbitration of labour disputes the vigilant attention which the Brussels Congress recommended.

In its direct attention, and particularly in the preparatory report drawn up each year for the use of the Workers' Group, the IFTU Secretariat, in accordance with the wish of the Congress, has urged National Centres to strive to the utmost for the rapid and effective ratification in all countries of the Geneva Conventions, and their transformation into national legislation and its enforcement. On the whole, energetic efforts in this direction have been made, with more or less success, in all countries.

In the same way, the Congress expressed the wish that the IFTU should go into the question of compulsory or voluntary labour service, as this seemed likely to reduce the workers to a state of disguised slavery.

In full awareness of the importance of this question, the IFTU Secretariat gave it close attention and, considering that it affects more particularly the younger generation, laid it before the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions when it was considering the problem of unemployment among the young. The draft resolution which resulted from the work of this Committee was approved by the Executive (as is noted elsewhere in this Report), which took the opportunity of again going into all the aspects of the problem of compulsory labour service.

In the exceptionally difficult circumstances existing to-day, the International Federation of Trade Unions has felt impelled to take energetic action to defend the rights of the workers which are menaced or have already been destroyed in certain parts of Europe. The Section on relations with affiliated organisations makes mention of the representations made by the IFTU to the League of Nations and the International Labour Office regarding the free city of Dantzig, the Saar before the plebiscite, Austria, Chile, Egypt, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Roumania, Spain and Yugoslavia — other countries were Fascism is trying to gain the upper hand or where a disguised form of Fascism has tried to destroy the resistance of the workers' organisations by restricting their action and persecuting their members. The IFTU has also taken steps to defend, notably in the case of Spain, the individual liberty of the workers' leaders who have been prevented from taking the seats to which they have been assigned on international bodies at Geneva.

Mention must be made here of the steps taken, also at Geneva, on behalf of the protection of women and children. Information on the first point will be found in the Section devoted to Women Workers' Questions, and on the second we would recall that the IFTU is represented on the League Committee for the Protection of Children by a woman delegate who performs very valuable service in this direction. Information will also be found in another Section on the work done on behalf of young workers in general and the young unemployed in particular. National Centres have been consulted repeatedly as to the delegates to be appointed to various Committees or Commissions in Geneva.

We would conclude this very brief survey of activities in the social field, which cannot be extended without entailing too much detail, by pointing out that on every subject the IFTU has taken all possible action to fulfil the tasks expected of it, while bearing in mind the possibilities, which are unfortunately not as wide as they might be owing to financial restrictions.

## **B. The Forty-Hour Week**

This problem is too well-known to necessitate anything more than a very short introduction to make clear its present position.

The International Congress of Brussels unanimously decided to start immediately on a great campaign for the forty-hour week. At its meeting in September, 1933, the Executive, in view of the outcome of the International Labour Conference, decided to intensify this campaign by the issue of propaganda posters and stamps. It was moreover agreed to organise from the 14th to the 21st of January, 1934 an international propaganda week for the forty-hour week linked up with great public meetings and demons-

trations on national frontiers. This last decision was carried out very satisfactorily, very imposing meetings being held in Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Poland, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland. In France, international meetings were organised on the frontiers during this propaganda week and speakers were exchanged between different countries. The international competition organised to find a new design for the poster and the stamp proved a great success, 220 designs being sent in by 125 competitors from fifteen countries. But as none of the designs exactly met the requirements and as the preparation of posters would have meant an extremely heavy outlay, it was decided only to issue two propaganda stamps.

An account of the action carried on by the IFTU for the forty-hour week within the International Labour Office will be found in Section IV A 5. We do not intend here to go into the results obtained in the International Labour Conferences but would confine ourselves to pointing out that these results were rather disappointing. In view of this fact, the IFTU Secretariat noted in the report submitted to the Copenhagen meeting of the General Council that, since it was not possible to obtain a general Convention and since the roundabout method of special Conventions, of which the dangers and delays were fully recognised, had unwillingly to be accepted, it was necessary to give closer consideration to other means of action, laying the emphasis rather on purely Trade Union activities in the national sphere and in each separate occupation.

This meeting of the General Council agreed that propaganda should be intensified, in particular within the factory itself, in order, by means of successive extensions, to bring the necessary pressure to bear on the employers and on public opinion to get the reform incorporated in national and international legislation. This procedure would give the greatest measure of support to the solution sought at Geneva.

Arising out of these deliberations, the General Council decided to continue the campaign for the forty-hour week based on the following recommendations, which were referred to the Executive for final decision :

« Action in the national sphere should be intensified to the uttermost by means of all appropriate propaganda methods and should have its repercussions in the different districts and the factories and among all classes of society affected by the crisis.

National action in the different countries should be co-ordinated in line with international decisions, in order to prevent our adversaries from making capital out of national antagonisms in the competition for markets.

An international demonstration (simultaneous national demonstrations) should be organised, for example, a Press Day on behalf of the forty-hour week combined with a propaganda day for the mass dissemination of posters.

The distribution of propaganda stamps should be continued and possibly supplemented by the mass distribution of stick-on labels printed with appropriate slogans, e.g. « The forty-hour week means the end of unemployment, the end of the crisis, industrial recovery, the defeat of Fascism, the downfall of economic nationalism, etc. »

In certain countries it may be possible to make use of the cinema (documentary or news films), and of the wireless, for propaganda against the crisis and for the forty-hour week. »

It is satisfying to note here the very vigorous and versatile way in which this campaign was conducted in the different countries. The national campaigns aimed at getting parliamentary bills promoted or administrative

regulations issued for the introduction of the forty-hour week, not only on public works and undertakings, but also into private enterprise. It would take too long to enumerate here, even briefly, the energetic steps taken in every country. Moreover, perusal of the reports supplied to the IFTU Secretariat by organisations on their activities over the last three years gives a very complete and accurate idea of this. The International Federation of Trade Unions has itself carried on an unceasing campaign by publishing information and articles in its *Bulletins* which have been taken up and reproduced by the Labour Press in every country.

In another part of this same section (International Trade Secretariats and the International Labour Office, page 88), there will be found an account of the fresh action which the IFTU judged it necessary to take, namely the calling, preliminary to the 1936 International Labour Conference, of preparatory technical conferences on the forty-hour week in conjunction with the International Trade Secretariats of Building Workers, Miners, Metal Workers and Textile Workers.

By carrying on so enthusiastically the campaign for the forty-hour week, the International Federation of Trade Unions has demonstrated to national organisations the importance which attaches to this reform on account of its connection with the whole present situation. Victory or defeat in the battle for the forty-hour week can affect the whole future, for it is a matter here of principle which symbolises the structural reform at which we are aiming by promoting the ideas of economic planning. Both of these are the consequence of technical progress and the moral obligation which arise for us out of the misery of millions of people at the present day.

### **C. Guiding Principles for the Social Policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions**

The action of the IFTU representatives at Geneva by no means exhausts our activity in the social field. On the contrary, the maximum of effort, as has been abundantly proved in the last three years, has been made in the national sphere.

The Brussels Congress had before it draft Guiding Principles for the Social Policy of the IFTU, and after the special committee appointed by the Congress had dealt in detail with this question, the plenary Congress adopted a text expressing agreement with the draft and laying down certain details which are treated in Section IV, A. 5. The Executive was charged with amending the draft in accordance with the wishes of the Congress, and at its meeting in November, 1933, the Executive dealt with these amendments and incorporated them into the final text. Thus the Guiding Principles left the preparatory stage to become the basis for the work of the Trade Unions.

To go here into the details of national action would merely be to duplicate the reports received from National Centres and International Trade Secretariats, of which careful examination will show how the national organisations in their own campaigns have drawn on the International Principles and have achieved considerable success, when the great internal and external difficulties of the period are borne in mind.

However, we would not confine ourselves to this general statement but would give a rapid survey of the development of the various points in the IFTU's Guiding Principles in order to give an idea of the progress made by the demands put forward three years ago. For the sake of clearness, we shall keep to the order of the Guiding Principles (see Appendix) themselves.

As regards liberty of association, which implies freedom for the Trade Unions to take the action for which they are constituted, the 1936 Congress will have before it a special report. In all circumstances, and bearing in mind the different functions of the Unions under different systems, the IFTU wants complete freedom of association for all, without restriction either in the present or the future. Freedom of association is the keystone of all the Labour Plans which have been issued in the period under review. These Plans, which have received the support of the great mass of the people, have only been able to evolve in the countries of democracy. In the countries of dictatorship, freedom of association and of Trade Union action have been suppressed. All the efforts made to destroy Trade Unionism have this trait in common, that they try to give a legal status to the unions in order to incorporate them into a state system in which the individual is in complete subjection to the dominating Party, which has seized all the prerogatives of the State. This totalitarian principle is found, with only slight modifications, in all the countries of dictatorship. In all these countries, the Trade Unions have been deprived of their living force by the abolition of freedom of association. This whole question and its exterior manifestations are too well-known to need elaboration here.

With the aim of countering Fascist propaganda, the IFTU published a pamphlet on « The Whited Sepulchre of the Corporate State », which revealed the hypocritical attack of the Fascists on human liberty, and proved a great success.

A large section of the Brussels programme was devoted to social insurance, emphasis being laid on the advantages of compulsory insurance. As is shown by the national reports, good progress has been made on this point. Although the part played by social assurance in the problem of general recovery seems to be better understood now than formerly, it must be admitted that Fascism has also invaded this sphere, in negating the social activities of the Unions. Lack of space prevents a detailed account being given here of the setbacks suffered in the different countries owing to the reactionary policy of cutting down social services on the pretext that budget economies and a lightening of social charges are necessitated by the present economic situation. On the assets side of the account we have the appreciable progress made at Geneva in the way of several Conventions which will no doubt aid the development of national legislation.

We come then to the very wide subject of labour protection. The activities of all affiliated organisations have been based on the fundamental principle that hours of work and wages should be adapted to the production from labour and that the workers should have adequate leisure time to recuperate from work and enjoy recreation. Attention has also been given to the fate of workers who have become « redundant », who should be recognised as having the right to compensation, either temporary, to assure them a livelihood during the period of readaptation to another occupation, or, and here especially for older workers (the idea of age has become more

relative as mechanical progress has been made) a definite protection from need where they have no chance of ever again finding work. On this point, work is still in hand. The action taken on behalf of women, young people and children is dealt with in another section; we would only say here that in most of the democratic countries, activities in this sphere have produced or are about to produce considerable success. Everywhere the Trade Unions, on their own initiative and inspired by the principles issued by the IFTU, have given more attention than ever before to the threats offered to the workers by the exploitation of the younger generation.

The campaign for the forty-hour week is continuing in every country and in many places appreciable results have been obtained. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the problem of adequate rest pauses in works where moving bands and similar methods are utilised.

Reference may be made in passing to the problem of agricultural work, where efforts at improving conditions come up against special difficulties. Trade Union propaganda is extremely difficult to organise in agriculture, and much resistance has to be overcome here. But it is just here that the workers' organisations, in spite of all the obstacles, must continue their activities with extra zeal, both among the workers themselves and in the direction of obtaining greater protective legislation for them.

It is not surprising that the movement for holidays with pay and the utilisation of leisure time has suffered much from the crisis, but nevertheless the question is one of the moment on the international plane.

The exploitation of the workers employed on home work has become even worse owing to the crisis and its accompanying phenomena: Trade Union work is extremely difficult among this category of workers, and present conditions do not permit of radical solutions being found in the legislative sphere which would root out the evil. It will be one of the tasks of the London Trade Union Congress to reaffirm the demands made on this point in the Brussels programme.

The Brussels programme underlined the importance of legislation on labour protection being complemented by adequate provision for supervision and the infliction of penalties, special reference being made in this connection to factory inspection. This problem has been given attention by the Unions and was brought into the international limelight by the conference on factory inspection held in 1935 at The Hague. It is no part of our task to emphasise in particular the responsibility for practical work which is borne by the national organisations, and which must supplement official national and international action. This duty is fulfilled everywhere as far as possible and produces results according to the circumstances.

It would be possible to enlarge this section further; the programme is there and progress has been made but much still remains to be done. Taking into account the variation in circumstances from one country to another, the London Congress will no doubt give fresh impulse to the work for a minimum programme and thus create a platform of Trade Union day-to-day action.

In countries which are advanced from the social point of view, the work will be in the nature of a completion, in the others it will be a struggle against the demagogy of dictatorship and reaction. In countries which are now dominated by Fascism, it will be this very neglect of social duties which will mobilise the workers against their oppressors, and it is therefore



just in these countries that systematic propaganda in the social sphere can do much towards revealing the lying insincerity of the Fascists, who have reduced millions of workers to slavery.

Although the IFTU attaches particular importance to work in this field, it is nevertheless fully aware that the results obtained here cannot be regarded as the final goal. The main thing is to get improvement in conditions of work. The IFTU and its affiliated organisations have always regarded their work in the social sphere as only one part — although a very important one — of their whole task, for they know that the welfare of mankind will not be attained until the present system of exploitation has given place to a system of economic planning to meet human needs.

As far as circumstances have permitted, the organisations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions have done their utmost to obtain these minimum demands, thus doing their part towards assuring the future of humanity. But their task is not yet done, for an immense amount still remains to be accomplished in this field.

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## SECTION V

# The Fight Against War, Reaction and Fascism

### A. The Fight for Disarmament and Against War

#### 1. The Disarmament Conference (Disarmament Work of the IFTU and LSI)

The report submitted to the 1933 International Trade Union Congress (in the Report on Activities for 1930-1932) could not give a definite conclusion as regards the Disarmament Conference, as it was being written just at the end of what was called the first section of the Conference. The world was then in that transitional period when the Five Power talks were being held on equality of status; these resulted in the second section of the Conference, which was timed to start on the 23th of January, 1933, being continually further postponed, so that in the end it was difficult to know if one were in the first or already in the second section.

It is important to bear this in mind because it will be shown that the workers adopted a quite definite standpoint at the first Conference and that they were fully aware of the dangers entailed by the second section of the Conference being dragged through all sorts of discussions outside of Geneva, which finally led to the whole Conference melting into thin air.

As regards the first section of the Conference, the report of the Brussels Congress laid special emphasis on the activities of the warmongers behind the scenes at Geneva and of those who were trying to prepare a new 1914. « In the light of these facts », the report continued, « the prospects of success at the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations are very gloomy. The first conference period has in fact terminated very quietly and without apparent result, and the constantly aggravated political position throughout the world does not seem to admit of the possibility of any greater success in the second period of the Conference. In view of this development the international working class movement should throw its whole energy and power into an endeavour to put a stop to the new race for armaments and to prevent the nations from being driven blindly and against their will into fresh catastrophe. »

The transitional period mentioned above was dealt with in an article in the IFTU's Press Report of the 23rd March 1933, which concentrated all

its attention on the actual theme of disarmament, offering a grave warning against the developments which had then started and which have led us to where we are today, with a world which is armed to the teeth, with no one, apart from the workers, speaking any longer of the Disarmament Conference or really bothering as to whether it will ever meet again. In this article we stated in reference to this transitional period that « the working class is by no means pleased that this interlude should have been utilised to derail the conference on to a false track leading not to, but away from, disarmament. The workers will not even consider the subtle and hypocritical question whether equality of status should mean the immediate reduction of all armies down to the level of the German army, or the immediate arming of the German forces up to the level of neighbouring forces, which are already armed to the teeth : they simply ask whether there is going to be any disarmament *at all* on the lines demanded from the beginning — that is, a real, immediate and general reduction of armaments » ! This question is still today the only one which can be taken into consideration when judging impartially the results of the Conference, even although it is worth while going further into the details in order to see how far negotiations carried on outside the Disarmament Conference have led to that « collective security » which is dealt with in another chapter.

We must examine what was, taken on the whole, the spirit which dominated the Disarmament Conference, and what positive proposals for disarmament were made, discussed, adopted, defeated or referred back. Before these questions can be answered it must be noted that it is impossible to go here into the innumerable « fundamental » proposals which were made during the course of the Conference and which often gave rise to the suspicion that they were partially intended to sabotage the Conference by trying to go too far. This view is supported by the fact that such proposals were usually made at the first general discussion of a question, which enjoyed more publicity than the work of the committees, while the delegations concerned were much more silent, or even turned into « minimalists », in the committees.

The discussion of most questions brought no definite results because it did not seem possible to find the middle way — or perhaps there was no desire to do this — between proposals which were too radical and those which did not go far enough. All the delegations were very keen on the abolition of weapons which were not very important for their own countries and each country had its excuses when proposals were made which mainly concerned its own armaments. Many questions were not solved because too many amendments were made, and others were not solved because suddenly one country would make its agreement dependent on no amendments being submitted. Very often the negotiations came to a deadlock in the special committees because it was discovered in the discussion of details that it was not possible to go any further before fundamental decisions in principle had been taken, and there was vacillation in the committees dealing with the fundamental questions because the wish was expressed to take into account first of all the « fundamental » attitude of one of the sub-committees on one or other of the details. Very often some of the most thorough discussions were brought to nought with one blow because one Power would suddenly demand that

the question be discussed in an entirely different order, or another delegation would make the treatment of a question dependent on the replies received to a questionnaire which had been sent out ages ago to the Governments and which everyone knew would remain unanswered for an indefinite period. Where no other means could be found to arrive at a result — or not to arrive at a result, as the case might be — it was decided to set the political « apparatus » in motion, this meaning in most cases that the whole question was allowed to become moribund.

Thus in one word disarmament was slowly and surely dragged to death without its being made possible to apportion responsibility for this disgusting game. The only certain thing is that the Conference had before it a very useful draft Convention as the basis of discussion, and that those in charge of the Conference, the League machinery, and certain Governments — mostly of smaller countries — whose reasonable attitude to this subject is well known and subject to no suspicion, left no stone unturned to arrive at a result. It is equally clear however that no tangible results were attained in any field since neither a general convention nor any kind of special convention was agreed to, and finally it must be emphasised again here that Germany's decision to leave the Disarmament Conference represented a blow from which the Conference had no chance of recovering even if other prospects had been favourable.

No quantitative disarmament was arrived at since in the end no agreement could be reached about the dividing line between the defensive and offensive character of different weapons, one of the most important reasons for this lack of success being Germany's withdrawal from the Conference at the beginning of October, 1933, because no one was prepared to concede that the storm Troops, Black Shirts, etc., should not be regarded as military trained units. Nor was anything attained in the way of quantitative disarmament (which presents a simpler problem if the will to disarm is there), because the proposals on this point were either not dealt with, disregarded or buried in the single discussions. This applies both to the simple suggestion made by Hoover as regards the all-round one-third reduction in the strengths of all forces and to the British proposal of the 16th March, 1933, which was accompanied by full statistics and which finally became the basis of the whole working programme of the Conference, and to various other proposals made in the Conference itself or made by its President. The British proposal almost gave rise to a second reading (July, 1933) but after an attempt had been made to give this proposal practical form in the different fields (how and in what way disarmament could be made) it also suddenly came to a standstill. Then came such a period of silence as occurred each time during the Conference after periods of great activity and comprehensive reports in the world press, when the real question of disarmament itself suddenly rose up out of a mass of technical details and demanded its rights.

While keeping to the order of the Conference itself, we would give below a short survey of the negotiations on each separate question and where they came to a deadlock.

(a) Effectives.

The Draft Convention submitted to the Convention as a basis for discussion laid down that for each country, each class of armed or military organised troops on land, sea and in the air, should not exceed certain figures to be laid down by the Conference. On this point Hoover's proposal and the British proposal were particularly important, clear and also practical. Although the British draft actually gave the accurate figures for the effectives in the different countries, thus providing for a discussion on a concrete proposal to take the place of fruitless discussion of principle, no result was attained. The question was discussed very often by the general and the special committees on effectives, but it was not possible to reach an agreement, either in regard to the numerical strengths or in regard to the method of calculating them. Nor was there general agreement as to the solution of the important problem of quasi-military formations and military training. Finally, the question of overseas forces, which was referred to a special committee for countries with colonies, gave rise to insurmountable obstacles.

(b) Land Armaments.

The Draft Convention provided for a limitation by restricting the annual expenditure for the maintenance, purchase and manufacture of war materials of this category. The Preparatory Disarmament Committee on this point had already adopted a decision by 16 votes to 3, with 6 abstentions, in favour of the indirect, i.e. budgetary, limitation (the proposal for the direct restriction on material itself received 9 votes in the Preparatory Committee, 8 votes being cast against, and 7 abstaining).

The treatment of this question, in view of its nature, was very much more difficult than that of the strength of troops. Here the problem of defensive and offensive nature of the material concerned played a great part and no agreement could even be reached about the threatening character (in regard to national defence) of guns with a calibre of between 100 and 250 mm. or of tanks weighing less than 20 tons. The British proposal, which provided for a maximum limit of 16 tons for tanks and 105 mm. calibre for movable artillery, declared that all newly constructed material should bear this limit in mind (while allowing calibres up to 155 mm. for existing stocks), but was not favourably received.

When the President of the Conference informed the Bureau in October, 1933, of the discussion on this point, he added this problem to those of which the solution seemed to be the most difficult. No definite agreements or uniform texts were reached on this point.

(c) Naval Armaments (including the Naval Conference in London in December, 1935).

The Draft Convention was based on the naval agreements of Washington and London and proposed a limitation of total tonnage (distributed over the different categories).

On the 27th of March, 1934, the Conference received from the President of the Committee for Naval Disarmament a report on this question, when the President took the opportunity of declaring that no considerable

change had occurred in the very great differences of opinion between the different delegations.

An impartial examination of this question was made difficult, apart from the great differences of opinion as regards qualitative disarmament, by the fact that the different delegations could always state that definite agreements were not in place here as this question was again to come up at the Naval Conference to be held in 1935, which was to be attended by all the Powers concerned and which was to lay down general limitations to come into force as from December 1936.

In the meantime the Naval Conference has begun but it suffered right from the outset a severe setback in the withdrawal of Japan from the Conference when her proposal for a common upper limit was not adopted. Thus the limitation of total tonnage proposed in the Draft Convention has been lost and there can at the most be a limitation of tonnage of different categories or of calibres.

#### (d) Air Armaments.

The Draft Convention provided for the number and total horse-power of aeroplanes capable of use in war (also airships) not to exceed a certain figure. At the same time the signatories were to undertake to refrain from prescribing the embodiment of military features in the construction of civil aviation, material, etc., and to refrain from taking any action in the way of promoting civil aviation with a view to its use for military purposes (subsidiaries, training of pilots, etc.). Finally a certain amount of publicity was laid down for the manufacture of such material.

First of all the provisions of the Convention were regarded as not going far enough. Various delegations proposed the complete abolition of military aviation, others the complete prohibition of air bombing. As it is very difficult and indeed practically impossible to differentiate between civil and military aviation, it soon became obvious that everything here depended on supervision of civil aviation. This realisation was expressed in the proposal made in particular by France and Belgium for the internationalisation of all aviation.

When the Committee on Aviation was working out appropriate projects for the regulation of civil aviation, great obstacles were at once encountered and this caused the French delegation to state explicitly that no regulation could prevent the utilisation of civil aircraft in war time unless internationalisation were applied. Further difficulties arose as regards qualitative disarmament, offensive and defensive aircraft.

The problem of air-bombing played a special part at the Conference and led to various proposals being made in the way of its direct prohibition.

This whole question (including a French proposal for the creation of an air police force) was referred to a special committee which stated that military aviation and air-bombing should be abolished. This committee finally postponed the whole discussion for the very threadbare reason that it could not be continued with success as long as it was not known for certain whether there were countries which would formally refuse to allow any kind of interference in their civil aviation, although they were at the same time prepared to agree to the abolition of military aviation.

The problem again came to the fore when the British proposal, which also provided for the abolition of air-bombing, came under discussion.

Although the British proposal contained a provision for the direct reduction of armaments, it wanted to refer definite treatment of the whole question either to a permanent disarmament committee or to a second disarmament conference. Later on the question of air armaments was not officially dealt with any more by any part of the Conference. A last attempt made by the rapporteur on this question to get a text adopted which would at least have prohibited air-bombing and all the preparations necessary thereto came up against so many obstacles that it was impossible to go any further into a more thorough treatment of the supervision of civil aviation. Even the direct negotiations carried on with the governments later on from November, 1933, to the middle of June, 1934, produced no positive results.

(e) Chemical Warfare.

On the question of chemical warfare, the Conference had before it the Protocol of the 17th of June, 1925, formally prohibiting the use of all gaseous and bacteriological methods of warfare, which was signed by more than forty countries (including Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy (1), Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, Yugoslavia) and ratified at the time of the Conference by thirty-three states.

The Draft Convention contained the same prohibition, only with the condition of reciprocity. This most obvious of all disarmament measures nevertheless remained fast in the thicket of detailed discussions, mainly because of the impossibility of supervising to a given degree the preparation of gaseous warfare (since the war materials for most gases are required for other and non-military purposes) and because gaseous warfare, even if its preparation were supervised or prevented before the war, can be organised in the shortest possible time during the war itself. Mutual mistrust was obviously too great to assure the world of at least a certain amount of security in this sphere in spite of these considerations. This mistrust is indeed so great that it is regarded as a matter of course that in any case all countries reserve their right to make preparations for protection against gas attacks.

When the British proposal was made the basis of the work of the Conference, the provision for gaseous, incendiary and bacteriological warfare was given a first reading, but the question was not taken up again afterwards by the Conference.

(f) Supervision of the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms.

This question, long before the Conference, has in the most varied connections been the subject of very close study and separate agreements. Since 1887 there have existed treaties on the trade in arms (Brussels Convention of 1890, Convention of St. Germain in 1919, etc.). The Preparatory Disarmament Committee had before it for more than ten years proposals of the workers' delegates, fully worked out in all their details, for the supervision of the trade in arms. The 1925 Convention included separate provisions for the different categories.

Up till now no really positive results can be recorded in this field, but this question occupies an exceptional position in so far as it, so to say,

keeps the whole disarmament question alive. In connection with the work of the bodies set up to deal with this problem, the proposal for the appointment of a permanent disarmament commission took on a concrete form.

It was similarly this question of supervision which caused the President of the Disarmament Conference to remark that positive work could be done here and possibly a protocol drawn up without its being necessary to wait for the conclusion of the general Convention.

The success of this attempt does not depend least on the systematic continuation of the special efforts which the IFTU has for long made in this field and which have assumed fresh weight owing to the question of sanctions. Further details on this question will be found in 2. (a) « IFTU Anti-War Committee (Supervision of Arms and Munitions, Nationalisation of the Armament Industry) ».

As regards the further fate of the Disarmament Conference — the IFTU's attitude after the Brussels Congress towards the question of disarmament is dealt with in the next sub-section — at the present time (end of February, 1936), the official statement goes to show that its work has been « suspended » until further notice. When the League Council Meeting of the 22nd of January, 1936, dealt with the Disarmament Conference and the filling of the position of its President made vacant by the death of Arthur Henderson, it was decided to leave this appointment open until the time when the resumption of the Conference would be possible.

(g) Disarmament Action of the IFTU and the LSI (Joint Disarmament and Anti-War Committee, General Council Meetings of Weymouth 1934 and Copenhagen 1935).

The Report on Activities from 1930 to 1932 enumerated all the demands which the IFTU and the Joint IFTU-LSI Disarmament and Anti-War Committee put before the Disarmament Conference. The last meeting of the Joint Disarmament and Anti-War Committee before the Brussels Congress took place in Paris on the 20th May, 1933, when, in view of the very tense position at that time, the proposed discussion on the question of war prevention was postponed on account of the urgency of the questions then arising, and the Roosevelt proposal for the Disarmament Conference (which was at that time the focus of interest) was given thorough consideration and led to the adoption of a comprehensive resolution (see Appendix).

Soon after the Brussels Congress in 1933, the Joint Disarmament and Anti-War Committee again met in Paris on the 24th and 25th August and adopted a resolution (see Appendix) stating that « the Disarmament Conference has not yet secured positive measures of disarmament ». « The Disarmament Conference », the resolution continues, « must resume its work without further delay with the determination to secure an effective reduction of armaments, which alone is capable of diminishing the dangers of war ».

The resolution (see Appendix) adopted by the Weymouth General Council Meeting from the 27th to the 29th August, 1934, clearly enumerated the position as regards disarmament when it stated officially that « once again the armaments race has become the aim of the policy of



the Governments ». The General Council Meeting, which had before it a detailed report on anti-war action (see Appendix) expressed its refusal « to accept the failure of this last hope of the mass of the people » and put forward appropriate demands.

The Copenhagen General Council Meeting, held from the 21st to the 24th May, 1935, was in the middle of the work concerning the maintenance of collective security started by the IFTU Brussels Congress, which attitude was soon after tested by the Italo-Abyssinian war. Apart from this, the meeting did not by any means forget the question of disarmament. The IFTU decided then to continue to give its whole attention to the organisation of a general disarmament conference and it was clearly stated that, should Germany refuse to participate in this, it would be the task of the Conference to reach its end without Germany and thus obtain for itself the right of placing Germany in the dock before the whole world.

Very soon afterwards, at the end of July, 1935, the Joint Anti-War Committee started on that series of meetings which mainly considered the question of sanctions and are therefore dealt with in 3. None of these meetings left the disarmament problem out of account. Disarmament still remains the primary basis of a policy of collective peace and it is therefore especially necessary to have an accurate idea of the state of this problem and to draw the necessary dividing line. The Memorandum submitted by the IFTU at the beginning of the Disarmament Conference said that « if there were to be another postponement, if the Conference were not to yield important practical results, there would be no avoiding the admission of complete failure. The Labour Movement would have to draw its conclusions and to determine its action accordingly. »

The report on disarmament action and the fight against war submitted to the Copenhagen General Council Meeting (see Appendix) is in line with this when it says that « the time has now come for the admission of this failure and for the appropriate conclusions to be drawn. For there exists no shadow of doubt that, even if the general Disarmament Conference is carried to a finish, the result can in no case be the Convention for the Limitation and Reduction (1) of Armaments which is demanded in the IFTU's programme and which was the original aim of the Conference, but that, at the most optimistic estimate, it will result in a Convention for the stabilisation and limitation of armaments, a limitation which, in view of the armaments race entered into since Hitler seized the power and Germany left the League, will mean an upward-tending stabilisation and limitation. »

On the 12th October, 1935, the Joint Meeting of the IFTU General Council and the LSI Executive held in Brussels sent the following telegram to Comrade Henderson, who was at that time already seriously ill : « Comrades assembled in Matteotti Hall Maison du Peuple Brussels at Joint Conference of International Federation of Trade Unions and Labour and Socialist International to consider measures in support of collective peace system send you fraternal greetings and best wishes for your early restoration to good health enabling you to return to your great work for world peace towards which you have made unprecedented personal contribution. »

## 2. IFTU Anti-War Action

### (a) IFTU Anti-War Committee (Supervision of Arms and Munitions. Nationalisation of the Armament Industry).

In addition to the joint work of the IFTU and the LSI for disarmament and sanctions which is described above and below, the IFTU has always placed very great value on the efforts which originate in its own Trade Union tasks and in the problems which concern the workers directly in their capacity as producers.

Among these problems are those of the supervision of arms and munitions, the trade in arms, and finally nationalisation of the armament industry. As has already been shown in our survey of the Disarmament Conference, this problem is of very special importance, because the most thorough preparatory work has been done in this sphere, it is the only question of all the points dealt with in the Disarmament Conference which has a chance of being dealt with separately, apart from a general Convention, and further because it is just the application of sanctions in the Italo-Abyssinian war which has proved that this is the crucial point in the prevention and combatting of war.

It is therefore no accident when it was decided that the fresh meeting of the IFTU Anti-War Committee (called at the Berne General Council Meeting in 1932) should deal with the problem of transport of war material, the abolition of the private manufacture of material of war and the supervision and nationalisation of this industry. Nor was it any accident that the report submitted to the Copenhagen General Council Meeting, 1935, (see Appendix) focussed the main attention in this problem and gave rise to various proposals, one for example, from the International Federation of Employees in Public Services, demanding systematic action in this sphere, and a joint one from the Dutch National Trade Union Centre and Social-Democratic Party, urging the IFTU to initiate propaganda to have public enquiries carried out into the machinations of the armaments industrialists. The IFTU got into touch with National Centres and International Trade Secretariats on this point and issued appropriate suggestions. In this connection it will be remembered what an outcry was raised by the sensational revelations of the Senate Arms Enquiry in the United States of America. The appeal issued by the IFTU to National Centres did not fail of its effect in, for example, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain and Holland. In many countries the necessary foundations and competent bodies are already in existence which justify the IFTU's contention for the systematic treatment of the problem of supervision.

The report presented to the General Council Meeting was mainly devoted to these practical tasks, in full awareness that good work could only be done if the problem were dealt with intensively and by experts : « As the fight against war is an item which will continue to appear for the time being on the agendas of all meetings of the IFTU and will require very responsible decisions, and as, moreover, the treatment of problems of this importance, extent and many-sidedness can only be carried out in a practical and efficient manner if the bodies and individuals which have to deal with them are completely informed on the subject and perform their work with devotion and continuity, National Centres might give their serious

consideration to the idea of entrusting a specific comrade or committee with the special task of dealing with all the principal questions connected with this matter as they arise, whereby it would rest with the National Centres whether they should utilise such comrades as technical advisers in international discussions. »

(b) Propaganda.

Anti-war propaganda has always formed an important part of the IFTU's activities. It has become a matter of course and no opportunity is missed of showing how every action taken by the workers, even in connection with collective security or sanctions, is dictated by the primary desire to prevent war. In this connection the propaganda work done in the period under review was of particular importance and went so far that the jingoists and war-maniacs, just because sanctions against Italy did not please them, suddenly turned into apostles of peace and felt called upon to protect the world against the « militarist » workers who were advocating sanctions. A great deal of propaganda had to be done on this point and the subject was given much space in the IFTU's publications.

During the period under review, the IFTU decided, in compliance with a suggestion made by Mertens on behalf of the Belgium National Centre, to support the fight for peace in 1934 by a large-scale press campaign round about Armistice Day. To this end each member of the IFTU Executive supplied articles which, together with articles by the Secretariat, were published throughout the world. This action produced very good results and was supported by a simultaneously increased drive for the sales of the IFTU's pamphlet « No More War », which went into a sixth edition during the period under review.

(c) General Strike and the Fight Against the Aggressor.

At the Brussels Congress the question of the direct fight against war took on a completely new aspect, which was put to the test immediately afterwards. The Brussels Congress did not renounce the general strike of the workers as the last weapon in the fight against war but it realised that it could not let this slogan be used any longer without being quite clear as to what its application would imply, and as to what circumstances would give it a chance of success. An army can only be given its marching orders when the right time has come and its line of march is known. The Brussels Congress decided the time and the line of march : « Any country which refuses to accept this procedure (arbitration) must be considered by the International Working Class Movement as the aggressor country. From this moment the duty of the organised workers of the aggressor country is to declare a general strike. The duty of the organisations of the other countries is to support this movement and organise a boycott of the aggressor country. »

We do not intend to go into detail here about the first ordeal by fire of the Brussels decision represented by the Italo-Abyssinian war, as this is dealt with in the next section, but reference should be made here to the enquiries instituted by the IFTU in direct connection with the Brussels decision and which aimed at getting from National Centres an exact knowledge of the practical possibilities for application of the decision.

The IFTU put three specific questions, and precedents were actually created for the answers during the Italo-Abyssinian war :

(1) What do you consider to be the best practical way of carrying out the Anti-war Resolution, especially in connection with the general strike? Above all, what measures would you yourselves take?

(2) Do you consider that the IFTU Executive is competent to determine the best moment for launching the action prescribed by the Brussels Resolutions?

(3) Do you consider that, when the Executive has decided this question of the propitious moment, it would be necessary to convene the General Council or some other form of International Conference before proceeding to take action?

The Dutch National Centre proposed the more detailed consideration of the question and suggested as further points :

(a) is a general strike really practicable? (b) in this connection, what are the relative strengths of the Trade Unions of various orientations? (c) what influence does our movement exert in vital industries? (d) extent of the private armaments industry in proportion to the State armaments enterprises; (e) existence and, if so, the size of corps of military police or private armies; (f) state of public opinion; (g) what political groups exist and what is their respective influence? The Dutch comrades also proposed that, should the question of the general strike not be touched on in the replies received from National Centres, the IFTU Executive should consider the « setting up of a sub-committee to draw up a questionnaire dealing in detail with the three questions which have already been dealt with in the consultation ».

The number and contents of the answers so far received to the IFTU questionnaire are so scanty that the view expressed in the report on item (8) of the Copenhagen General Council agenda (see Appendix) is to-day truer than ever : « Although the IFTU General Council will proceed to a preliminary general discussion of all the problems thrown up by the questionnaire of the Secretariat, the Dutch National Centre's proposals and the British Labour Movement's memorandum, it cannot hope to reach definite decisions in this year's meeting. But, by means of a private, and therefore free and frank, general discussion, the foundations should be laid for the systematic treatment of all the problems which have arisen since the Brussels Congress (possibly by a sub-committee as proposed by the Dutch National Centre). »

### 3. The Workers and Sanctions (Italo-Abyssinian War, Joint IFTU-LSI Anti-War and Disarmament Committee)

We have already mentioned that the decisions taken by the Brussels Congress were immediately afterwards put to the test in the Italo-Abyssinian War which raised in practice the question of the aggressor and of the sanctions to be applied against him.

To-day we are in the middle of the experiment of sanctions, of which the great importance is clear when it is compared with the attitude adopted towards Japan. At that time, the IFTU, in the case of Japan, took an equally strong position and made equally energetic efforts to set the League machinery in motion, but it was the governments which refused to take any

action. At that time public opinion was not very much roused, but in the case of the Italo-Abyssinian war it has proved so effective that the governments could not remain inactive. It was public opinion which finally forced the League to take some practical action, towards which the workers could not maintain a negative attitude, although it did not represent the prompt application of the League Covenant. On the 30th July, 1935, the IFTU and the LSI stated in a joint resolution that « they noted with the greatest anxiety the alarming increase in the signs that an outbreak of war in Abyssinia is to be feared at any moment ». Right from the outset it was obvious what consequences would follow if a passive attitude were adopted by the League : « If the League of Nations fails to employ the methods which its Covenant provides to guarantee peace and to apply sanctions against the aggressor, its already seriously diminished authority may receive a fatal blow and the foundations of a collective peace system be destroyed. » Even before the chauvinistic friends of Italy and Fascism started to play the apostles of peace and to describe the workers as militarists [see also 2. (a)], this resolution stated, in connection with the question of whether sanctions might not mean world war, that « if the aggressor knows with certainty that all the sanctions provided for by the Covenant will be applied, this is the strongest guarantee of peace ».

Italy only dared to attack defenceless Abyssinia because she knew that she could count on there being no solid front for sanctions and that the chauvinists would do everything to find a way round them and thus enable Italy to carry on her war, and moreover, to reply to the sanctions by threats of military action, which incidentally broke down when the League not only threatened to take but actually did take the steps which it was alleged would automatically lead to world war.

Thus the workers' attitude was stated quite clearly even before the decisive negotiations took place in the League and before the war actually broke out. In accordance with this resolution, the workers, when the time did come, declared their preparedness to use all their forces for the rapid and effective application of sanctions.

Later meetings of the Joint Committee dealt mainly with the details of practical action in direct contact with the National Centres and again and again urged the more rapid application of the sanctions.

As the question of sanctions is to be dealt with in detail in the report to the London International Trade Union Congress and as the experiment of sanctions, which has for the first time assumed a tangible existence for the Trade Unions, is at the present moment still continuing, thus allowing of no final conclusions being drawn, we can confine ourselves below to summarising briefly the different stages in the discussion and the decisions taken.

On the 26th August, 1935, the Joint Committee met in Paris and laid down in a resolution (see Appendix), at that stage of the conflict, that the League should apply all sanctions against Italy and that Italy should be regarded as the aggressor. In the time up till the General Council of the IFTU held its joint meeting with the LSI in Geneva (5th and 6th September) mass demonstrations for peace and for energetic League action were held in many countries in response to the IFTU appeal.

The joint conference in Geneva on the 6th September, which was preceded on the 5th September by a preparatory meeting of the Joint

Committee, was attended by 52 delegates representing the Labour Parties and National Trade Union Centres of twelve countries and eleven International Trade Secretariats. The Conference made « a supreme appeal to the League of Nations to fulfil its mission to preserve peace and ensure the supremacy of right over might ». It considered it « imperative that the Covenant, the whole Covenant, be now applied, including the sanctions provided for in the Covenant ». The two Internationals were « ready to fulfil the sanctions in their entirety and confidently assure the League of the whole-hearted support of the workers, both men and women, they represent, in any measures it may take for the effective application of whatever sanctions may be necessary against the aggressor ».

This resolution was transmitted to the President of the League Council by deputation. In view of further action by the Joint Committee, the Conference authorised the Joint Anti-War Committee « to convene without previous notice a further special Conference of the IFTU General Council and the LSI Executive as soon as circumstances render such a step imperative ». The Joint Committee was, *inter alia*, also instructed to prepare « the decisions to be adopted at the above-mentioned special Conference, by both Trade Union and political organisations, in view of the various eventualities which may arise ».

Immediately after the end of the Conference, the IFTU notified the decisions taken to all affiliated and friendly National Centres by wire or letter. Letters promising support were received from all sides, in specially satisfactory numbers from overseas National Centres.

On the 22nd September, Rome rejected the intermediary proposals of the Committee of Five. On the 27th September, the Joint Committee held a meeting in Paris which decided on a possible fresh Conference and adopted a resolution (see Appendix) which states that « it is even more obvious to-day that only the energetic policy of collective security demanded by the two Internationals in their resolution of the 6th September can still preserve peace. The Committee appeals to the workers of all countries to prepare immediately to support with the necessary intensity the sanctions which the League of Nations will in our opinion decide to apply ».

On the 2nd October, civil mobilisation was promulgated in Italy and on the 3rd October Italy's military attack started against Abyssinia in an unmistakable manner. On the same day the League Council was called, meeting on the 5th October, and on the 7th October, Italy was officially designated the aggressor by the Council. On the 10th October, a start was made with the compilation of the programme of sanctions and as early as the 11th October, the proposal of the Co-ordinating Committee (set up by the Council to deal with the sanctions question) regarding the embargo on arms for Italy and the raising of the embargo on Abyssinia was adopted. On the 11th October also, the IFTU Executive and General Council met in Brussels. Thirteen countries and fourteen International Trade Secretariats were represented at the General Council meeting, which was particularly well attended (60 delegates). The steps already taken and to be taken by the Trade Unions were considered in detail and it was decided to circularise all affiliated and supporting National Centres with the practical measures (this communication was also sent to the Russian Trade Unions [see Section II, H. 1 (b)]: Fresh Contact with the All-Union Council at the End of 1935, Application of Sanctions Against Italy).

The resolution (see Appendix) adopted at the joint meeting with the LSI held on the 12th October rightly brought to the fore the prompt action taken by the League. It confirmed the decisions taken by the Geneva Conference and expressed the hope « that the Italian Government will be firmly informed that in the ultimate terms of settlement it shall derive no benefit from its acts of aggression ». In conclusion the resolution says : « The organisations represented at the Joint Conference... declare that they have taken all practical steps to fulfil them (the sanctions, Ed.), thus placing at the disposal of the League of Nations the strength of the workers' organisations and the power of Labour opinion for the defence of peace and right ». At the same time a telegram on this matter was sent to Beneš, the President of the League Council (see Appendix).

Thus, apart from action through the League, the steps were taken which led, inter alia, to special committees being set up to supervise the applications of the sanctions at various crucial points (such as in ports and at railway junctions). As both kinds of action, within and outside the League, had been initiated, it is completely incomprehensible why the All-Union Council of the Russian Trade Unions (whose Government had also assisted in the decisions taken at Geneva) replied in the negative to the letter sent by the IFTU (as to all other National Centres concerned) with the remark that action must be taken outside the League in the individual countries. If the Russians are to-day really serious in their expressed aim of saving democracy with the democratic countries, they ought to have seen that it was important in this very question of the Italo-Abyssinian war to reach the widest public and to leave no method unutilised of attacking Italy. The whole outcome of the Italo-Abyssinian war — and much more which affects the Russians even more closely! — depends on the mobilisation of public opinion to the greatest possible extent.

On the 14th October, the credit blockade started against Italy. On the 19th October, the Co-ordinating Committee decided on the prohibition of exports to Italy and of the import of Italian goods. On the 18th November sanctions 1 to 5 were officially put into force (the first proposal, for the embargo of war material to Italy has, according to a League statement of the 6th February, been put into effect by fifty Governments; the second proposal for the financial boycott has been carried out by forty-eight Governments; the third proposal for the prohibition of direct and indirect import of Italian goods by forty-four Governments, and the fourth, on the embargo on exports to Italy, by forty-seven Governments; the fifth proposal, for mutual aid, has been adopted by forty-six Governments).

By means of various letters and statements (see Appendix : The Practical Application of Sanctions, Subjects and Methods of the Boycott), the IFTU Secretariat made known to National Centres all the details of sanctions and asked them on their side to communicate the measures adopted, such as adoption and promulgation of Acts, decrees, etc.

This was the end of the first stage of the sanctions. It was followed by vacillation regarding oil, the most important product for the rapid conclusion of the war. On the 25th November, the meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee, and thus the question of oil sanctions, was postponed, and this was followed by the irresponsible sabotage pursued by the Italianophile Government of Laval, which led to the notorious Hoare-Laval proposals (13th December). On the 17th December the Joint

Committee took up an energetic attitude against this proposal (see Appendix) : « The League of Nations is at the turning point of its history. It must decide whether the Covenant is to become a reality and if, in this historic hour, every enterprise of war for conquest will be indicted and repressed, or if mankind will revert to wars of spoliation and pillage. The Hoare-Laval proposals are based on the whole principle of imperialist policy of conquest. They grant an aggressor, defined as such by the whole world, the premium of territorial advantages and of spheres of economic influence as a reward for his cynical breach of the Covenant. »

Then, at the end of the year, came Hoare's resignation and in January, 1936, the fall of the Laval Government. Nothing now remained of the Hoare-Laval proposals, but unfortunately this did not mean the end of all opposition to oil sanctions. On the 22nd January, the Committee of Eighteen asked the president of the Co-ordinating Committee to appoint a Committee of Experts for examination of the whole question. This led to a very thorough, but unfortunately also very long drawn-out, enquiry being made.

The Joint Committee was aware of the new danger to which this would give rise. It was aware that the very satisfactorily aroused public opinion of the world should not be allowed to become moribund through all these vacillations, if the desired aim of immediate conclusion of the war in Abyssinia, which could be reached by the logical application of sanctions, were to be attained.

At a joint meeting held in Paris on the 16th January, the IFTU Executive and the LSI Bureau noted in a resolution (see Appendix) « with great satisfaction, that world public opinion is demanding with increasing vigour and success the application of sanctions and a solid organisation of collective security ». On the other hand, it urged « the States upon which the application of sanctions most directly depends, not to hesitate any longer before taking the necessary initiative. It calls, in particular, for the immediate application of the embargo upon oil, coal, iron and steel ». In view of Italy's threats, the meeting also considered the problem of collective security : « Effective action in the present conflict between Italy and Abyssinia might be irremediably compromised if the Powers, and more particularly the Mediterranean Powers, were not determined to offer a common resistance to a sudden attack upon one of their number, and if the collective defence were not adequately prepared in advance. »

In the meantime the Committee of Experts has concluded its work and the conclusions contained in its unanimously adopted report can be summarised as follows : If an embargo on the export of oil to Italy is to be effective, measures of supervision must also be adopted in countries which are not members of the League. But even without this supervision, i.e. even if the embargo is carried out by States members, the transport of oil to Italy would become more difficult and more expensive. The prohibition of the sale of oil tankers to countries which will not apply sanctions seems the most effective method of carrying out the embargo. In spite of legal difficulties which may arise in connection with current delivery contracts, these oil tankers should be prohibited from going to Italy. As regards substitute products, if an embargo be applied to oil, it must also cover alcohol for industrial purposes and benzol.



## **B. Fight Against Fascism**

Immediately after Hitler's seizure of the power in Germany, which represented the conquest by Fascism of one of the greatest industrial countries, the IFTU concentrated its attention, firstly, on fighting Fascism in those countries in which it was in power, and, secondly, on preventing Fascism from extending still further and destroying democracy and freedom of association in those countries where Fascist tendencies on the German and Italian model were evident.

The fight carried on by the IFTU against Fascism has not been externally evident to everyone. It has not been possible always to carry it on openly, since some of the most effective means of action possessed by the International Trade Union Movement are those which could only be utilised under the surface, although full use was being made at the same time of diplomatic and other possibilities. It is obvious that such work cannot be described in detail in our report and that we must confine ourselves here merely to noting the extraordinarily valuable results obtained by these means in the struggle against Fascism during the period under review.

It is equally impossible to give a detailed account of the widespread underground activities which have been carried on inside various Fascist countries. All those who know or who can imagine the great difficulties of carrying on underground work under Fascist terrorism and the great dangers which such work entails for the comrades engaged in it, will join with us in paying a great tribute here to the heroism of our Trade Union comrades who are carrying on this work, and will appreciate why we confine ourselves here to the bald statement of fact that the underground work, in Italy, Germany and particularly in Austria, has been continued steadily and uninterruptedly in spite of all persecution and the cruelty of our opponents. We are confident that the fruit of this work is coming to maturity slowly but surely and that these courageous comrades will one day succeed in breaking down the might of the Fascist terror and be able to return as free Trade Unionists to the ranks of the IFTU.

### **1. Boycott Against Nazi Germany**

During the period under review the most important part of the IFTU fight against Fascism, seen from the outside, has been the campaign against Nazi Germany which started at the General Council meeting in 1933 in Zürich when the boycott against Germany was declared. The IFTU immediately threw all its energies into the organisation of the campaign, and all affiliated National Centres and nearly all the organisations with which we have friendly relations took part in the campaign, so that the whole International free Trade Union Movement formed one solid front against Nazi Germany. The International Trade Union Congress, held in Brussels in 1933, unanimously approved the boycott decision of the Zürich General Council and the steps taken in this direction by the Executive in the period between the General Council and Congress in 1933, and again confirmed the general boycott against German goods and services.

The economic boycott of which the consequences were not less important than those of the moral boycott, was organised systematically by the IFTU right from the beginning. By means of circulars, indications of where success could be obtained, current information about successes achieved and new methods of carrying on the boycott, the National Centres, International Trade Secretariats and friendly organisations were kept fully up to date, and there can be no doubt that the economic setback reflected in Germany's foreign trade balance in 1933 and 1934 was appreciably contributed to by the boycott, in which the IFTU played a not inconsiderable part.

In order to make clear the intensity with which the boycott was carried on we would merely refer here to the fact that in some countries the National Trade Union Centre not only issued to their affiliated organisations detailed lists of German goods which should be boycotted but, for instance, helped a great deal to make the boycott really effective by drawing up a register of pharmaceutical and chemical products, and pointing out the substitutes with which German goods could be replaced. The IFTU would take this opportunity of thanking all its affiliated organisations for the very solid and effective way in which they carried on the campaign and would in particular express its gratitude to certain non-affiliated but friendly National Centres, particularly that of Norway, which has since affiliated, and the American Federation of Labor. By utilising broadcasting as part of the boycott propaganda against Nazi Germany, the AFL did very good work in the campaign which, not least due to the initiative taken by the Unions in America, has found very wide support and has no doubt contributed considerably to the deterioration in Germany's economic position.

By communicating the experiences gained in certain countries, in particular Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, to the other National Centres, the IFTU Secretariat did a great deal to consolidate the action. To this end also the Secretariat, at the end of 1933, drew up a comprehensive statement on the proven effects of the boycott and arranged for its reproduction in the world press in order that it should reach the widest possible public and thus intensify the campaign. Moreover, up-to-date information about the boycott and its effect has been published from time to time in the IFTU's Bulletins and Economic Supplements.

After a meeting of the Executive from the 30th January to the 1st February, 1934, when the question of the boycott was again dealt with, a fresh appeal for further intensification of the campaign was issued to all National Centres and friendly organisations, particular attention being drawn to the great importance of verbal propaganda in the way of achieving practical results. The IFTU also tried to establish close contact with the co-operative movement, but it was unfortunately not able to achieve this in the international sphere, although in some countries the co-operatives collaborated excellently in the work.

The leading position of the IFTU in the whole campaign resulted in a number of other organisations and committees approaching the IFTU, some of which made proposals or offered their co-operation to the IFTU. A proposal made at the beginning of 1934 for a joint international conference to push the boycott against Germany was refused by the IFTU for considerations partly of a tactical and partly of a technical nature, but the

IFTU was represented at the Non-Sectarian Boycott Conference, held in London on the 26th and 27th of November, 1934, by its President, Walter M. Citrine, who was elected Chairman of the organisation which had called the conference and which is known as the World Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi Council.

Any attempt to form an objective judgment of the actual results obtained by the boycott comes up against great technical difficulties, since it was accompanied by various other economic, financial and financial factors which make determination of the decisive influence difficult. In spite of this and of the energetic attempts made by the German Ministry of Propaganda to minimise the effects of the boycott on Germany, so many admissions have actually been made in the National Socialist camp that there can be no doubt as to its general efficacy. The question which arises therefore, is not whether there has been an effect but how far the deterioration in Germany's economic position is due to the boycott and how far it is due to other economic and political causes.

It must in this connection be borne in mind that Germany possessed and made use of two important methods of cancelling out the effects of the boycott. Schacht's very clever currency and financial policy more or less forced Germany's foreign creditors to buy German goods, unless they wanted to forfeit their assets completely, and this compulsion helped to alleviate the effect of the boycott. Germany also made superhuman efforts, by means of subsidies, export bounties and dumping, to promote her shrinking export trade. But even when these two counter-measures are given their due weight, the result of the boycott still stands out clearly.

The IFTU has recently assisted the campaign by publishing articles in its Bulletin on the boycott of the Olympic Games, and it has kept world opinion constantly on the alert, for instance, as regards the Congress on Leisure Time Occupations, which is to be organised by the « Strength Through Joy » section of the German Labour Front in connection with the Olympiad. Moreover the end of 1935 saw the organisation of a special press service for the American Labor Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, with the aid of which public opinion in the United States is to be still more extensively informed about conditions in the Fascist countries.

## 2. Future Prospects of Fascism

During the period under review, Fascism has certainly reached its peak point. The victory of National Socialism in Germany was the signal for the Fascists of all countries to push forward to the seizure of power with all their might and it is obvious that events in Austria were the immediate outcome of the rise to power of the Nazis in Germany. Fascist tendencies in the Baltic and Balkan countries have in the same way been able to profit from the victory in Germany. (A comprehensive report on the position in the different countries will be found elsewhere.)

But in considering the progress made by Fascism, sight should not be lost of certain events which seem to us to point to the fact that as a world movement Fascism has passed its zenith. Mention in this connection should first of all be made of the successful opposition put up to the Fascists in France, where the sanguinary rising of the 6th February, 1934, led to

the formation of a strong « People's Front » on a wide, anti-Fascist basis, which has up till now been successful in keeping in check any new attempts of the Fascists to go forward to power.

The development of affairs in Spain must also be regarded as a great encouragement for the forces of anti-Fascism, for, after the brutal suppression of the autumn rising in 1934, it looked as if Spain also was going to develop rapidly into a Fascist State. But the resistance of the mass of the people and not least the great world campaign carried on against the Spanish government very quickly brought to nought the hopes of the Spanish Fascists.

After the Generals and the reactionaries had been prevented from satisfying their lust for revenge, an important change made itself evident relatively quickly in Spanish public opinion, which led at the beginning of 1936 to parliamentary elections being held and the restoration of constitutional rights, in particular freedom of speech and of the press, and the rights of assembly and of association, which had up till then been suspended. This development in Spain clearly showed Fascism to be already on the decline.

Of no less importance is the complete ineffectiveness of the Fascist movement in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States.

Although we have given a full report on economic measures in the Section on Economic Policy, it seems useful to refer shortly to them again in connection with the struggle against Fascism. The IFTU and the International Trade Union Movement early recognised that the crisis and its effects, such as unemployment among the young, the terrible fate of people subjected to permanent unemployment, the destruction of the craftsmen and middle classes and the threatened existence of peasant farmers and smallholders really provided Fascism with its support. Thus an important part of the struggle against Fascism has been carried on by the IFTU in the economic field, in particular in the way of unceasing endeavours for economic planning, the reduction of hours of work and the creation of employment on the national and on the international plan.

It is just these aspects which lend significance to the fact which is evident in all Fascist countries — differing slightly it is true from one country to another but identical in tendency — that their economic and financial dissolution comes gradually nearer month by month.

Actual conditions in Germany, Austria and particularly in Italy, which is the first Fascist country to be forced to try to overcome its internal difficulties by starting a colonial war, have not only proved to the rest of the world but also in an increasing degree to the populations of the Fascist countries themselves that Fascism is not capable of raising the mass of the people from need and misery as it has promised, but that it represents the most brutal climax of capitalist exploitation which the world has up till now experienced. Certainly the weapons of terrorism used by the Fascists right up to now to maintain their position against any movement of resistance or opposition have prevented the masses from uniting together in a determined front, which would be able to bring to an end the tyranny of Fascism and its supporters.

But it seems to us to be only a question of time until the internal tension which characterises every Fascist country gives way. In view of the

atrocious cruelty with which the Fascist terror is exerted, it seems as if the breakdown of Fascism will be linked up with the economic and financial bankruptcy towards which the Fascist countries are all heading. This is one of the reasons for the great importance allocated by the IFTU and the whole International Trade Union movement to the Italo-Abyssinian conflict and the question of sanctions against Mussolini, about which a separate report will be found in another place. For the International Trade Union Movement, the application of sanctions against Italy indissolubly links the fight for peace with the fight against Fascism.

### 3. Solidarity Action. Refugees

During the three years under review, great demands have been made on the IFTU Secretariat and affiliated National Centres in connection with the organisation of relief work which became necessary in various countries. National Centres were called on to make great sacrifices and the IFTU Secretariat had to deal with an immense amount of fresh work. We give below an account of the different sections of relief work.

#### (a) Germany and Saar

When Hitler seized the power in Germany, the Matteotti Fund was practically exhausted, so that a way had to be found of organising relief, mainly for the refugees who streamed out of Germany but also for the many victims of Fascism left behind. The IFTU General Council meeting held in Zürich in 1933 dealt with this question, when it was decided that assistance for the German comrades should be organised through the joint Matteotti Fund of the two Internationals. Comrade Adler, of the Labour and Socialist International, had attended this General Council meeting, and, after conversations between the Secretaries of the two Internationals, an appeal for funds was issued shortly after the close of the Zürich meeting. At the same time directions were issued for the organisation of relief in the different countries, in order to ensure a certain measure of uniformity.

It soon became apparent, however, that the effort to raise finance would not produce the looked-for result, because the individual countries — particularly Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland — had to find room for such a large number of refugees that the funds raised there had to be utilised mainly for their support. This fact also explains why the Matteotti Fund, which acted as an equalisation fund, only stood at 380,000 francs at the end of 1933, 200,000 francs of this sum having been contributed by Trade Unions, about 10,000 by Labour Parties and individuals, and 120,000 francs by the British Trades Union Congress and Labour Party together.

An accurate idea of the extent of the relief work for the German comrades can thus only be gained by taking into account also the amounts which were utilised for direct relief in the countries where they were raised. A survey of the financial side is given in Section VII.

In spite of the large contributions made and great self-sacrifice shown by our Trade Union organisations and many individuals, the position, owing to

the widespread nature of the emigration, became more and more difficult in most countries in 1934. This necessitated grants being made to various national relief committees from the International Fund or funds which the IFTU Secretariat had at its disposal to ensure the maintenance of the relief work even on a smaller scale. This was made possible not least through the very helpful contributions made by the United States Unions through the « Labor Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe ». During 1934 and 1935 assistance was thus given to Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France and Switzerland.

All these efforts however, could not prevent the position of the German refugees from becoming deplorable. Only in a few cases, namely in Denmark and Sweden, was it possible for them really to find employment and a livelihood. In all other countries, national legislation, combined with the depression and the immense unemployment, made it practically impossible for refugees to obtain labour permits, and it has been equally difficult to get for them proper identity papers, travel permits, etc.

Unfortunately these difficulties have not been alleviated by the activities of the League High Commission for Refugees. As will be remembered, Comrades Kupers, Mertens, Jouhaux and Schürch submitted a resolution to the International Labour Office, immediately after the breakdown in Germany, which demanded that the refugees should, through an international agreement, be granted the rights of citizenship of those countries which had taken them in. The International Labour Conference adopted this resolution with slight amendments in June, 1933, and transmitted it to the League, and it is mainly due to this initiative that the League Council decided to set up a High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, and appointed Prof. James McDonald to the post of High Commissioner at the beginning of November, 1933.

In agreement with the Management Committee of the International Matteotti Fund, the General Secretary of the IFTU at once got into touch with the High Commissioner, with the result that the workers' organisations were given a seat on the Governing Body of the High Commission. This seat was given to the IFTU, as being the most representative organisation of the workers; with the approval of the Executive, Schevenels, the General Secretary, was appointed to the Advisory Council of the High Commission. The General Secretary of the IFTU continued this representation, not only taking part in all the meetings of the Governing Body and Advisory Council but supporting in every possible way the work of the Commissioner.

From the outset, the emphasis was laid on the regulation of the passport and identity paper question and the necessary constructive assistance in the way of providing employment. By organising an enquiry, not only of the refugee relief committees working in conjunction with our organisations, but also of all proletarian organisations, the IFTU Secretariat obtained all the necessary details to give a survey of the position of all working-class German refugees. It should however be pointed out here that the proletarian groups and parties which are not affiliated to the IFTU or the LSI have not by any means made the most use of this chance of looking after their own interests.

Both through its representation at the meetings of the High Commission and through numerous interviews of its General Secretary, the

IFTU has done its utmost to get overseas emigration and settlement plans put into effect. In spite, however, of all the efforts made up till now, these plans have been held up, mainly by the finance question, which is by no means an easy one to solve.

The League Assembly held in September, 1935, decided to set up a Committee for International Refugee Relief, to draw up a report for the League Council, on which should depend the future of the question of the incorporation of the High Commission into the League. The IFTU Secretariat submitted to this Committee a detailed memorandum again setting forth the IFTU's proposals, which in their main lines are as follows :

1. Creation of a High Commission with executive powers, appointed by the League and directly responsible to it.
2. Appointment of a League Commission of representatives nominated by the League Council, who shall have special knowledge in the sphere of refugee relief work.
3. International distribution of the burden of relief; acceptance of a reasonable number of refugees by immigration countries and of a certain number of refugees by other countries; establishment of an International Compensation Fund, contributed to by all countries and making grants to those countries which are most heavily burdened.
4. Supply of the most exact information as to the number of refugees, chances of their obtaining residence and labour permits, estimation of the expenditure arising, etc.
5. Granting of passports, residence and labour permits, identity papers, etc.
6. Measures for helping refugees to push their claims to pensions, social insurance, etc.
7. Financial support from the League for the Compensation Fund, and establishment of agricultural colonies and settlements.

We would point out here that Professor McDonald, who resigned from the position of High Commissioner at the end of 1935, did his utmost to make progress in the refugee question, and that the blame for the lack of success cannot be attributed to him, but to the national governments which certainly recognised in theory the moral obligations presented by the refugee problem, but in practice have done nothing or very little really to assist the refugees.

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In connection with relief work for the German refugees, mention must also be made of relief for refugees from the Saar, both those who had formerly been actual inhabitants of the Saar and German refugees who had found a temporary asylum in the Saar but had finally to flee when the Saar was reincorporated into Germany. Special thanks are due here to the French National Trade Union Centre which dealt very thoroughly and with great success with the problem of the Saar refugees, and gave them most comradely assistance, both in the way of finance and in the organisation of refugee camps, obtaining of residence and labour permits, etc.

The IFTU mainly aided the Saar refugees by making financial grants to the relief committee in Forbach which allowed of its continuing its activities until the end of 1935. In this way the refugees were cared for and advised

in various camps in France, and it was also possible to make some headway with the many claims to social insurance benefits. The committee in Forbach did very good work, and helped many of the refugees to find a new livelihood or get their claims recognised by the Nazi government.

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Mention must also be made here of the information service initiated by the IFTU Secretariat at the end of 1933 with the aim of preserving our relief committees and other organisations with which we were in touch from abuse by swindlers, and of showing up actual Nazi spies.

The Secretariat issued lists to the different Committees, which were so arranged that they could be collected into a practical filing system allowing of a complete survey being made at any time. In this way, the Committees were warned of more than six hundred doubtful persons or persons who, giving themselves out as refugees, abused our relief institutions.

After the events in Austria, this information service was extended to cover Austrian refugees, and it naturally covered also the great wave of emigration from the Saar.

The service was very warmly welcomed by our affiliated organisations and friendly bodies, and has done a great deal towards clearing out undesirable elements and calling a halt to the abuses which were common in the first few months.

#### (b) Austria

The relief work for Austria was started as far back as the General Council meeting of the IFTU in Zürich in 1933, when it was already evident to some extent how events would develop in Austria, so that the IFTU could take the necessary steps for moral and diplomatic support. Among other measures decided on was the sending of a delegation to Austria. The considerable accentuation in the situation in October, 1933, led to an Extraordinary Session of the General Council being held in Vienna, where it was unanimously decided to intensify the relief work and to afford the Austrian comrades the solid backing of the whole International Trade Union Movement in order to help them in their fight for the maintenance of democracy and of freedom of association.

Immediately after the outbreak of the heroic fighting in the early part of February 1934, the IFTU Executive held an emergency meeting and organised, in an exemplary manner, the solidarity work of the International on behalf of the victims of the fighting. Immediate calls for aid were issued and the appeal addressed by the IFTU to the whole world produced splendid results and made the relief work for the Austrian comrades and the victims of the fighting the greatest solidarity movement which the IFTU has up to now carried out. The immediate replies to the IFTU's appeal were reports received from all over the world about the immense sums which the different Trade Unions were placing at the disposal of the Austrian Relief Fund. International solidarity was indeed manifested in an unprecedented manner and within a few days the collection reached the million mark in French francs. The General Secretary of the IFTU hurried to Vienna to organise the relief work, which covered not only Vienna but also the most important places



where fighting had taken place in the Austrian provinces. By the spring of 1935 the collections for the Austrian workers had reached the record figure of 7,500,000 French francs, which enabled the IFTU to support for nearly two years many hundreds of families of those who had been killed or wounded in the fighting, or who had been imprisoned or forced to flee, while at the same time it could help to support refugee Schutzbündler, Trade Unionists and members of the Party.

In addition to the very extensive relief action organised by the IFTU, special mention should be given here to our Czechoslovakian National Centre which had to look after the greatest majority of the refugee Schutzbündler and fighters in the February struggle, which ensured them a right of asylum in Czechoslovakia and arranged for lodging them, partly in camps and partly in smaller groups. In doing this our Czechoslovakian comrades had to make extremely great financial sacrifices, and in making special mention of this here we do not in any way intend to minimise the very great contribution to the work made by our Trade Unionist comrades in the other countries.

But the IFTU's relief work for Austria was not confined to this material aid; the moral support given by the IFTU must not be under-estimated. By means of the presence of its General Secretary in Austria and also through diplomatic representations made by our National Centres in various countries, the IFTU was able to prevent the number of cruel sentences to death by hanging being greater than it actually was immediately after the fighting. Over the whole period the IFTU Executive dealt in detail in its meetings with the situation in Austria and raised the most energetic protest against the great trial of Schutzbündler and the inhuman imprisonment of Comrade Seitz, the former Mayor of Vienna. The fact that Seitz was finally released under the pressure of this wave of protest and also that the promulgation of further death sentences in the trial of the Schutzbündler was prevented, must be largely attributed to the efforts of the IFTU.

We cannot conclude this report on the excellent work done by the IFTU without making mention of the disgraceful attitude of the Communists, who did not shrink from spreading the most slanderous misrepresentations in order to make capital for themselves and their political machinations. But even by spreading the unheard-of calumny that IFTU funds were being given to the Dollfuss Fascist Government for its relief work for victims on its own side, they were not able to deceive the Austrian workers about the actual extent of the great work done by the IFTU, but on the contrary only succeeded in repelling the Austrian workers very quickly from a cause which made use of such treacherous weapons.

The relevant manifestoes, appeals, etc. will be found in the Appendix.

### (c) Spain

The outbreak of fighting in Spain in the autumn of 1934 and the brutal cruelty with which the workers were suppressed by the Government troops again made it imperative for the IFTU and the International Trade Union Movement as a whole to organise relief work on a large scale.

Immediately the fighting had ended the IFTU appealed to the whole world to raise funds for the relief work in Spain. In conjunction with

the French National Trade Union Centre (CGT), immediate steps were also taken to provide assistance for the stream of Spanish refugees, which at first flowed practically exclusively into France. Special thanks must be offered in this place to the French National Centre for the large-hearted way in which the French comrades, especially in the South of France, welcomed their Spanish colleagues.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to raise as much money for the Spanish relief work as had been the case in Austria, in view of the very great claims which had already been made on National Centres for their assistance, but nevertheless the IFTU was able to send considerable sums to Spain immediately after the fighting, thus expressing with emphasis the solidarity of the whole International Trade Union Movement.

The IFTU and the International Movement was able to give the Spanish comrades very great moral support; special reference may be made here to the deputation which went to Spain and the representations made by the International Labour Movement to the Spanish Government. A detailed report on this point will be found on page 42.

In connection with the Spanish relief work reference must also be made to the very transparent and extremely doubtful efforts of the Communists, in particular of the International Red Aid which tried in Spain as in Austria to make capital out of the situation. At the end of 1934, the International Red Aid in Moscow proposed to the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Labour and Socialist International and the Matteotti Fund, the organisation of joint relief work in Spain.

At its meeting in the middle of January 1935, the IFTU Executive had this question before it and decided, in conjunction with the LSI, to reject the proposal of the International Red Aid and to continue independent relief work under the auspices of the International Solidarity Fund. The reply sent to the International Red Aid will be found in the Appendix.

#### (d) Latvia

The setting up of a dictatorship in Latvia (see our Report, page 37) which resulted in the dissolution of the Trade Union and political movement in Latvia, also threw about a thousand of our comrades into concentration camps and brought down many hundred of families to a terrible state of misery and need. This made the organisation of effective relief work in Latvia also a necessity and this was arranged through the International Solidarity Fund of the IFTU and the LSI. In view of the very close connections which the National Centres of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden had with the Latvian comrades, the IFTU addressed a special appeal to these Centres and it is very satisfactory to record here that this appeal was immediately responded to, thus enabling the Latvian comrades to receive effective aid from the supplementary funds provided by the Scandinavian Centres in addition to the amount made available through the joint Solidarity Fund.

Mention should also be made here of the visit paid to Latvia by the General Secretary of the IFTU in the middle of 1935 when on a study tour of the Baltic countries. The IFTU also joined with the LSI in issuing

a protest against the charge of high treason on which a number of leading comrades from the Labour Movement were tried in Latvia (see Appendix Section II).

(e) The Formation of the International Solidarity Fund by the IFTU and the LSI.

In view of the frequently recurring necessity of appealing to the different countries for aid for the victims of Fascism, it seemed useful not to make a special appeal to National Centres and the general public in each case separately, but to organise as a whole the relief work for all victims of Fascism. At the end of 1934, it was therefore decided, after joint discussion between the Executive of the IFTU and the Bureau of the LSI, that the Secretaries of the two Internationals be empowered to take the necessary action for reorganisation of the solidarity work.

In this connection it was also agreed to discontinue the name of « Matteotti Fund » which had originated in the relief for victims of Italian Fascism alone, and to choose a name for the new fund which would correspond to the general nature of the work it was to carry out.

The Secretaries of the IFTU and LSI therefore decided that in future the Joint Relief fund of the two Internationals should be called the « International Solidarity Fund ». This Fund issued at the beginning of 1935 a public appeal (see Appendix) signed by a number of the leading personalities in the International Trade Union and Labour Movement, which was given the greatest publicity in all the friendly press and by all the workers' organisations.

In future, all the relief work of the International Labour Movement will be carried on by this Fund.

## SECTION VI

### Economic Policy

The Report on Activities for the years 1930 to 1932 submitted to the Brussels Congress dealt with all the important events which had occurred in 1933 up to the date of the Congress, in particular the steps taken by the IFTU when the World Economic Conference was held in London in 1933.

In adopting the IFTU Demands for Economic Planning, the Brussels Congress laid the foundations of the future economic policy of affiliated National Centres, and thus represented the turning point in Trade Union economic policy. The three years under review have been marked by the effects of the intensive preparatory work done by the IFTU in previous years, and it is true to say that never before has any idea propagated by the IFTU fallen on such fertile ground. The fight for the application of economic planning, which is now being pursued mainly in the national sphere, is advancing at an unprecedented rate, supported by widespread enthusiasm, and has produced exceptionally satisfactory results.

Very shortly after the Brussels Congress, in the autumn of 1933, the Belgium Labour Movement published its « Labour Plan » and immediately started on a nation-wide propaganda campaign to get the Plan applied. Almost at the same time our Swiss National Centre concluded at its Biel Congress in 1933 the preparatory work for its Labour Programme, which was published at the beginning of 1934, since when it has formed the central point in the fight for economic planning in Switzerland. In the same year this was supplemented by an intensive campaign for the « crisis initiative », which may be regarded as one part of the economic demands of the Swiss National Centre.

In April, 1934, the French National Centre published its « Plan for Economic Recovery » which, supported by a large-scale propaganda campaign, soon became the nucleus of the programme of the « Front Populaire » which was formed in France to withstand the Fascist leagues.

The efforts of the British Trade Unions were of rather a special nature. The Congress in 1934 had before it a Plan for the Socialisation of the Iron and Steel Industry, which it adopted and made the pivotal point of its economic policy, and this was followed by the adoption, at the 1935 Congress, of a Plan for the Socialisation of the Cotton Industry worked out in all its details.

The idea of economic planning, however, was not in any way limited to the above-named mainly industrial countries, but took a prominent

place in economic policy everywhere. The Estonian National Centre laid before the Prime Minister of Estonia an economic programme suitable to conditions in Estonia and organised widespread propaganda, aiming particularly at winning over the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie to support the idea of planning embodied in this economic programme.

The next country to adopt the idea was Czechoslovakia, where the Trade Unions put forward a properly worked out Economic Plan which had been adopted at the Congress of the Joint Czechoslovakian National Centre in December, 1934. Mention should also be made of the Economic Plan adopted by the Luxemburg Trade Unions at their Congress in October 1935; the details of this plan are to be given further attention and are to be supplemented. At the end of October, 1935 the Dutch Economic Plan was adopted by the joint Special Plan Congress of the National Centre and the Dutch Social Democratic Party held in Utrecht.

The Hungarian Trade Unions have also given close attention recently to the drawing up of a plan.

It should be added here that increasing consideration is also being given to the question of economic planning by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the National Trades Union Federation of India, the Australian and New Zealand Trade Unions, and also by the Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, which have already demanded a number of planned measures as economic necessities in their country. This is proof enough that the idea of a planned economy is not only being dealt with practically in all European countries in which the Trade Union Movement has freedom of action, but above and beyond that it has become a world problem of first-class importance.

The IFTU can regard the rapid progress of the campaign for economic planning as a great success for its policy, and this has been more intensive and permanent than that attending almost any other fundamental during the post-war years.

A comparison of the different plans, which naturally have to take into account to a great degree the peculiarities of the different countries, shows that they all contain the basic demands which appeared in the IFTU's International Demands for Economic Planning.

Mention should also be made of the fact that although, as was stated at the Brussels Congress, the initiative in the whole question of economic planning now has to be borne by the individual national organisations, the IFTU has not failed to pursue this problem still further, and has given it continuous attention in its Bulletins and Economic Supplements, particularly in its relationship to the idea of the Corporate State.

Particular impetus was given to the idea of economic planning, at the beginning of 1935, by the publication by the IFTU of a special issue of its review devoted to Economic Planning and Labour Plans, which reproduced all the Plans issued by the National Centres up to that time, thus providing useful information for National Centres who were then engaged in drawing up their own Plans. This information has already proved useful and will no doubt continue to do so in the future. In 1936 this special issue was supplemented by the publication of Economic Plans since adopted in other countries.

The satisfactory progress made by the idea of economic planning is largely due to the fact that, right from the outset, both the IFTU and its

affiliated National Centres have realised the necessity of making the struggle for a new economic order the pivot of their fight against Fascism. In view of this fact, it will be understood why, during the period under review, it has not been the actual economic policy of the IFTU which has been to the fore, but the whole idea of the fight against Fascism.

The treatment of this question at the Copenhagen meeting of the General Council in 1935 was characteristic of this fact, for the delegates had before them a report on the Fight against Fascism (see Appendix) as the basis for the address given by Comrade Hicks, who represented Comrade Citrine. This report showed how the fight against the economic crisis, for economic planning and the reorganisation of capitalism forms the substance of the Trade Union struggle against Fascism.

The movement has not by any means stopped short merely at the compilation of the Plans. In the period under review the IFTU has given its concentrated attention to economic developments in the Fascist countries, and has brought information on this subject before the public notice by means of its Bulletins and Economic Supplements. It is perhaps superfluous to refer here to the fact that the connection between currency problems, trade questions, in particular clearing and quota policy, on the one hand, and the questions of reduction of hours of work and the creation of employment on the other, has never been lost sight of but has been given close and constant attention.

For the fight for the forty-hour week which the IFTU is carrying on, not only as a social but as an economic necessity, we would refer to the special Section on Social Policy and the IFTU's work in the International Labour Office.

In the sphere of rationalisation and reduction of hours of work, the IFTU has devoted itself in particular to the problem of collective agreements and the arbitration of labour disputes. As is shown by the reports from individual National Centres, the question of arbitration has become of steadily increasing importance in nearly every country during the last few years, not least in connection with the controversy about Fascist and « corporative » ideology, which has tried to give this problem a political stamp.

In 1935 the economic aspects of the application of sanctions against Italy, arising out of Mussolini's colonial war in Abyssinia, received the close attention of the IFTU, which has published detailed studies on this point in its Bulletins and Economic Supplements. The same thing applies to the application of the boycott against Nazi Germany as far as concerns its intensification by economic measures. On this point we would refer specially to the account of the boycott against Nazi Germany which is included in the statement of the IFTU's anti-Fascist activities, confining ourselves here to pointing out that the IFTU Secretariat has provided affiliated National Centres and International Trade Secretariats with comprehensive material about the economic effects of the boycott, which was afforded considerable support also outside of affiliated organisations.

Closely following on the tremendous importance which the struggle for economic planning and for propagation of the planning idea has assumed during the three years under review, comes the interest which has attended the working out of the « New Deal » in the United States. At the Brussels Congress the attention of the whole International Trade Union

Movement was drawn to the extraordinary significance of this experiment by the address given by Comrade Jouhaux and the discussion which followed it. The IFTU has given constant reports on the development of NRA in its Bulletins and Economic Supplements and has in this been guided by the principle of treating with complete objectivity the success, or lack of success, of the experiment, because it seemed best to let the facts speak for themselves. It is clear even today, in spite of the very heavy set-backs which it has suffered, that the Roosevelt experiment cannot by any means be regarded as finished with, so that it will continue to receive the attention of the IFTU and of the whole International Trade Union Movement.

• • •

Constant care has been given by the IFTU during the three years under review to keeping its economic records up to date so that information can be supplied at any time at the request of affiliated or friendly organisations. The Secretariat would, in fact, welcome greater use being made of these facilities by National Centres.

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## SECTION VII

### **Financial Situation of the IFTU**

The finances of the International Federation of Trade Unions are now on a sound basis, as is shown by the following tables, since the great losses sustained in 1933 and 1934 have been countered by very radical economy measures.

The auditors' reports will be found below.



## Income and Expenditure for the Year 1933

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Affiliation fees . . . . . fl.	71,926.10	Salaries and wages . . . . . fl.	64,094.54
Interest . . . . .	750.68	Meetings and travelling expenses . . . . .	17,710.07
Publications . . . . .	81.10	Office requirements . . . . .	6,975.97
Congress . . . . .	6,229.25	Postage . . . . .	5,011.76
Deficit . . . . .	65,581.18	Rent . . . . .	8,554.05
		Library . . . . .	505.97
		Written off on furniture . . . . .	3,000.00
		Grants . . . . .	5,967.34
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	669.09
		Removal (non-precurent expenses) . . . . .	30,973.99
		Losses through exchange . . . . .	905.53
			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>
	<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		Fl. 144,568.31
	<hr style="border-top: 3px double black;"/>		<hr style="border-top: 3px double black;"/>

Paris, 31st December, 1933.

The undersigned, A. Reichneker, Accountant of the « Société de Contrôle des Coopératives de France », having had access to all the books and accounts of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and having examined the above Statement and verified it with the invoices and vouchers relating thereto, hereby declares it correct and duly vouched.

G. STOLZ.

A. Reichneker.

## Income and Expenditure for the Year 1934

## INCOME.

## Affiliation :

Fees 1934 . . . . . fr.	892,842.38	
Arrears, 1932, 1933 . . . . .	314,045.72	
		1,206,888.10
Interest . . . . .		16,840.86
Miscellaneous . . . . .		4,977.87

Fr. 1,228,706.83

## EXPENDITURE.

Salaries and wages . . . . . fr.	476,468.17
Meetings and travelling expenses . . . . .	123,552.67
Office requirements . . . . .	75,535.76
Postage . . . . .	44,421.38
Rent . . . . .	44,552.45
Library . . . . .	4,770.10
Grants . . . . .	58,800.95
Unforeseen expenses (removal) . . . . .	22,469.00
Miscellaneous . . . . .	13,168.03
Publications . . . . .	28,138.58
Trade Union Congress . . . . .	45,254.70
Losses thro'exchange 1933-1934 . . . . .	60,836.28
Depreciation of furniture . . . . .	86,691.77
Written off on Polish debt . . . . .	30,750.00
Idem « Banque belge du Travail » . . . . .	70,083.60
Surplus 1934 . . . . .	43,222.39

Fr. 1,228,706.83

Paris, 31st December, 1934.

G. STOLZ.

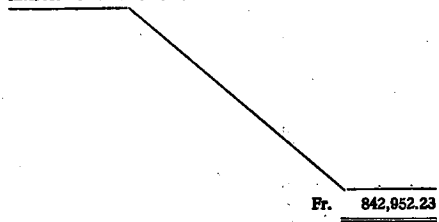
The undersigned, A. Reichneker, Accountant of the « Société de Contrôle des Coopératives de France », having had access to all the books and accounts of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and having examined the above Statement and verified it with the invoices and vouchers relating thereto, hereby declares it correct and duly vouched.

A. Reichneker.

## Income and Expenditure for the Year 1935

### INCOME.

Affiliation Fees . . . . .	fr. 810,295.99
Interest . . . . .	32,656.24



Fr. 842,952.23

### EXPENDITURE.

Salaries and Wages . . . . .	fr. 469,635.68
Meetings and travelling expenses . . . . .	156,394.68
Office requirements . . . . .	47,198.72
Postage . . . . .	37,141.35
Rent . . . . .	42,887.81
Library . . . . .	4,877.66
Publications . . . . .	9,684.57
Trade Union Congress . . . . .	50,000.00
Grants . . . . .	3,605.50
Miscellaneous . . . . .	7,451.54
Losses thro'exchange . . . . .	13,737.21
Balance 1935 . . . . .	337.51

Fr. 842,952.23

Paris, 31st December, 1935.

G. STOLZ.

The undersigned, A. Reichneker, Accountant of the « Société de Contrôle des Coopératives de France », having had access to all the books and accounts of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and having examined the above Statement and verified it with the invoices and vouchers relating thereto, hereby declares it correct and duly vouched.

A. Reichneker.

## Affiliation Fees 1933 (Dutch guilders)

Countries	Membership 1-1-1933	Paid
Argentina . . . . .	—	—
Austria . . . . .	520,162	4,392.79
Belgium . . . . .	608,579	7,720.73
Bulgaria . . . . .	1,720	—
Canada . . . . .	122,129	731.01
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	631,750	5,099.39
Denmark . . . . .	283,971	3,393.00
Dutch East Indies . . . . .	32,000	—
Estonia (*) . . . . .	6,129	—
Finland . . . . .	19,000	227.88
France . . . . .	597,379	7,434.60
Germany . . . . .	—	4,125.28
Greece (*) . . . . .	30,660	—
Great Britain . . . . .	3,367,911	18,978.75
Holland . . . . .	339,403	4,028.24
Hungary . . . . .	88,149	—
Latvia . . . . .	28,000	296.98
Lithuania (*) . . . . .	1,150	—
Luxemburg . . . . .	10,863	127.03
Memel Territory . . . . .	748	24.37
Palestine . . . . .	30,078	80.44
Poland . . . . .	215,879	—
Roumania . . . . .	30,783	—
Saar Territory . . . . .	26,000	—
South Africa . . . . .	1,000	—
South West Africa . . . . .	800	—
Spain . . . . .	800,000	4,799.60
Sweden . . . . .	638,593	7,623.76
Switzerland . . . . .	224,164	2,658.29
Yugoslavia . . . . .	31,000	186.00
		71,926.10

(\*) By decision of the Executive, countries which are in receipt of subsidies do not pay affiliation fees.

## Affiliation Fees 1934 (French francs)

Countries	Membership 1-1-1934	Paid
Argentina . . . . .	—	—
Austria . . . . .	—	11,584.65
Belgium . . . . .	629,532	72,990.70
Bulgaria . . . . .	—	—
Canada . . . . .	105,546	—
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	620,000	77,235.25
Denmark . . . . .	280,670	33,680.40
Dutch East Indies . . . . .	32,000	—
Estonia (*) . . . . .	5,982	—
Finland . . . . .	24,000	3,788.90
France . . . . .	579,463	71,417.00
Great Britain . . . . .	3,367,911	709,407.80
Greece . . . . .	20,000	—
Holland . . . . .	324,852	39,956.75
Hungary . . . . .	80,000	—
India . . . . .	41,000	—
Latvia . . . . .	25,000	4,528.45
Lithuania (*) . . . . .	1,000	—
Luxemburg . . . . .	10,300	1,235.25
Memel Territory . . . . .	748	249.25
Palestine . . . . .	27,000	9,191.95
Poland . . . . .	214,000	4,300.90
Roumania . . . . .	41,637	—
South Africa . . . . .	1,000	—
South West Africa . . . . .	800	—
Spain . . . . .	700,000	59,435.75
Sweden . . . . .	633,351	76,008.00
Switzerland . . . . .	229,819	28,187.10
Yugoslavia . . . . .	30,750	3,690.00
		1,206,888.10

(\*) By decision of the Executive, countries which are in receipt of subsidies do not pay affiliation fees.

## Affiliation Fees 1935 (French francs)

COUNTRIES	Membership 1-1-1935	Paid
Argentine (b) . . . . .	215,000	—
Belgium . . . . .	580,000	73,208.39
Canada (c) . . . . .	105,546	11,249.20
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	619,137	50,000.00
Dantzic (a) . . . . .	3,800	—
Denmark . . . . .	343,670	41,240.00
Dutch East Indies (c) . . . . .	32,000	—
Estonia (a) . . . . .	6,250	—
Finland . . . . .	30,000	3,620.80
France . . . . .	580,500	69,660.00
Great Britain . . . . .	3,388,810	414,600.05
Greece . . . . .	34,000	—
Holland . . . . .	298,562	36,723.08
Hungary . . . . .	68,000	—
India (c) . . . . .	136,714	—
Luxemburg . . . . .	10,300	—
Memel Territory . . . . .	748	249.25
Palestine . . . . .	37,128	4,455.12
Poland . . . . .	244,499	—
Roumania . . . . .	41,637	—
South Africa . . . . .	1,000	—
South West Africa . . . . .	600	71.05
Spain . . . . .	400,000	—
Sweden . . . . .	653,331	78,408.00
Switzerland . . . . .	223,427	26,811.25
Yugoslavia . . . . .	32,000	—
		810,295.99

- a) By decision of the Executive, countries which are in receipt of subsidies do not pay affiliation fees.  
 b) Postponed by decision of the Congress.  
 c) Reduced by 50 % by decision of the Executive.

# Financial Statement of the International Federation of Trade Unions for the Year 1935

## BALANCE-SHEET (in French francs)

### ASSETS

#### A. Not immediately available :

Furniture Account . . . . fr.	86,890.00	
New Purchases . . . . .	841.05	
		87,531.05

#### Account Sundry Debtors :

Polish National Centre . . . .	30,750.00	
Current Accounts . . . . .	3,128.56	
Repayment Vouchers . . . . .	1,228,460.80	
Banque belge du Travail . . . .	280,334.43	
		1,542,673.79

#### B. Immediately available :

##### Bank Accounts :

Foreign Banks . . . . .	831,142.50	
Crédit Lyonnais . . . . .	53,215.51	
Postal Cheques . . . . .	862.05	
		885,220.06

Cash Account . . . . .	16,916.25	
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Fr. 2,532,341.15

### LIABILITIES

Brought Forward . . . . . fr.	146,489.81
Anti-War Fund . . . . .	1,215,084.91

#### Account Sundry Creditors :

<b>Loan Swedish Nat. Centre</b>	
Interest . . . . .	1,735.00
Austrian Relief Fund . . . . .	730,756.57
Austrian Propaganda Fund . . . .	198,506.42
Anti-Fascist Fund . . . . .	119,452.40
Glassworkers . . . . .	8,779.80
London Congress . . . . .	50,000.00
Int. Solidarity Fund . . . . .	61,198.73
	1,170,428.92
Balance 1935 . . . . .	337.51

Fr. 2,532,341.15

The undersigned, A. Reichneker, Accountant of the « Société de Contrôle des Coopératives de France », having had access to all the books and accounts of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and having examined the above Statement and verified it with the invoices and vouchers relating thereto, hereby declares it correct and duly vouched.

A. Reichneker.





## Auditors' Report for the Year 1934

As members of the Auditing Committee, we, the undersigned have completed the prescribed audit on the premises of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Paris.

A preliminary audit had been carried out by the accountants of the « Société nationale de Développement et de Solidarité », of Paris, but no report had been presented on the results.

We should like to express our satisfaction at the excellent way in which the accounts were laid before us. We propose, nevertheless, the adoption of a more rational and modern system of book-keeping, which would greatly facilitate and simplify both the book-keeping itself and its auditing.

The balance sheet drawn up on the 31st December, 1934, has been audited by us, the assets in different banks being as follows :

Twentsche Bank . . . . .	Fl.	17,953.52	Fr. fr.	184,023.58
"    "    "    "    "    "	£	6,028/15/1(1)	"	471,113.41
Arbejdernes Landsbank, Copenhagen	Kr.	9,009.29	"	30,000.93
Co-operative Bank, Prague . . . . .	Kč.	1,375.—	"	1,034.25
Banque Belge du Travail . . . . .	B. fr.	493,546.86	"	350,418.03
Arbeiterbank, Vienna . . . . .	Sch.	633.—	}	15,810.90
"    "    "    "    "    "	Sch.	4,494.86		
Postal cheque account, Prague . . . . .	Kč.	297.60	"	188.98
Crédit Lyonnais . . . . .			"	23,640.23
Postal cheque account, Paris . . . . .			"	1,024.42
Banque des Coopératives de France . . . . .			"	1,316,208.00

(1) £ at Fr. fr. 78.14.

Fr. fr. 2,393,462.73

The auditors examined the cash account on 13th March, 1935, and found it as follows :

Income, from 1st to 13th March, 1935, amounted to . . . . .	fr. fr.	14,922.60
Expenditure amounted to . . . . .		<u>6,506.75</u>
Balance . . . . .	fr. fr.	<u>8,415.85</u>

The auditors notice that some National Centres have not yet paid their affiliation fees, or not the whole amount, and would suggest that the Executive call for the payment of the amounts outstanding with a view to regularising the position.

Paris, 13th March, 1935.

(Signed) E. KUPERS.  
M. MEISTER.

## Auditors' Report for the Year 1935

As members of the Auditing Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the undersigned have to-day made the prescribed audit on the premises of the IFTU in Paris. The books were last audited on the 13th March, 1935.

A preliminary audit had been made by M. A. Reichneker of the « Société de Contrôle des Coopératives de France », whose full written report we had before us. On the basis of this report, the auditors confined themselves to examining the cash, the balance-sheet, the receipts and expenditure and the bank balances. They noted the statement of the book-keeper that the introduction of a new and modern system of book-keeping will be gone into with the professional auditor and a proposal submitted to the auditors on this point during the course of the year.

The undersigned would express their satisfaction at the correctness of the accounts laid before them.

The audit showed that the IFTU's assets in the « Banque des Coopératives » have been decreased through the repayment of a sum totalling 87,747.20 French francs.

The sums deposited in foreign banks, which appear together in the balance sheet in one single item of 831,142.50 French francs are made up as follows :

		Rate of Exchange.	French francs.
Twentsche Bank . . . . .	Fl. 2,031.50	10.25	20,822.87
Twentsche Bank (£) . . . . .	£ 2,690-1-8	74.70	200,949.16
Coop. Wholesale Soc. . . . .	£ 5,714-17-8	74.70	426,901.77
Arbejdernes Landsbank, Copenh.	Kr. 11,976.14	3.35	40,120.07
Arbeiterbank, Vienna . . . . .	Sch. 633.—	3.58	2,266.14
Arbeiterbank, Vienna . . . . .	Sch. 4,494.86	3.58	16,091.59
Co-operative Bank, Prague . . .	Kč. 1,415.—	63.30	895.70
Postal Cheque Account, Prague	Kč. 194,463.20	63.30	123,095.20
			<u>831,142.50</u>

On the whole, affiliation fees have come in better during 1935 than in preceding years. The auditors would express the hope that in the future all National Centres will see to it that all arrears are liquidated,

Paris, 16th March, 1936.

(Signed) G. BUISSON.  
S. DE LA BELLA.  
M. MEISTER.

## Matteotti Fund 1933-1934

### IN FRENCH FRANCS

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
IFTU . . . . .	fr. 102,500.00	Austria . . . . .	fr. 102,500.00
Great Britain . . . . .	43,258.68	Expenses . . . . .	200.00
Hungary . . . . .	4,896.94	Matteotti Committee, Belgium . . . . .	24,735.10
Sweden . . . . .	107,890.00	Saar . . . . .	25,275.50
Labor Chest, New York . . . . .	15,107.00	Matteotti Committee, Holland . . . . .	24,738.90
Chase Kimball (America) . . . . .	372.05	Matteotti Committee, Switzerland . . . . .	24,850.00
Norway . . . . .	7,512.35	Matteotti Committee, France . . . . .	19,555.00
Denmark . . . . .	19,920.00	Latvia . . . . .	35,997.05
LSI deficit . . . . .	8,475.00	LSI . . . . .	59,594.99
International Solidarity Fund deficit . . . . .	7,514.52		
	Fr. 317,446.54		Fr. 317,446.54
	Fr. 317,446.54		Fr. 317,446.54

The work of the Matteotti Fund is continued under the name of the International Solidarity Fund.

In 1933 and 1934, the Matteotti Fund was administered in two parts, one in Paris by the IFTU and the other in Zürich by the LSI. This explains why there were two deficits, which were both taken over and liquidated by the International Solidarity Fund at the beginning of 1935.

## International Solidarity Fund 1935

## IN FRENCH FRANCS

## INCOME

Denmark . . . . .	fr.	19,920.00
Labor Chest, New York . . . . .		11,346.40
Transfer Anti-Fasc. Fund . . . . .		135,860.95
High Commissioner . . . . .		2,335.90
Sweden . . . . .		90,647.80
Miscellaneous . . . . .		640.73
Food and Drink Workers . . . . .		2,442.60
French National TU Centre . . . . .		25,000.00
French Socialist Party . . . . .		5,000.00
Great Britain . . . . .		167,316.37
IFTU Secretariat . . . . .		2,010.00
Australasian Council of Trade Unions . . . . .		591.25
Switzerland . . . . .		2,450.00
Norway . . . . .		7,420.00
Balance Saar Fund 1934 . . . . .		17,337.50

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 Fr. 490,319.50

## EXPENDITURE

Matteotti Fund, IFTU (Deficit 1934) . . . fr.	7,514.52
Matteotti Fund, LSI (Deficit 1934) . . . .	8,475.00
Spain . . . . .	173,801.95
Spanish relief in France . . . . .	40,000.00
Matteotti Committee, Belgium . . . . .	23,004.50
German Relief Ctee, Prague . . . . .	42,527.40
Relief in Czechoslovakia . . . . .	17,500.00
Latvia . . . . .	32,121.90
Saar . . . . .	20,900.00
Current Fund . . . . .	5,000.00
Spanish Relief, Switzerland . . . . .	6,300.00
Society of Friends . . . . .	37,000.00
LSI . . . . .	6,377.50
Miscellaneous . . . . .	1,220.00
Matteotti Committee, France . . . . .	7,378.00
Balance . . . . .	61,198.73

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 Fr. 490,319.50

## Austrian Relief Action 1933-1934-1935

### IN FRENCH FRANCS

#### INCOME.

Denmark . . . . .	fr. 447,619.00
Holland . . . . .	1,457,242.85
France . . . . .	100,000.00
Belgium . . . . .	348,286.70
Great Britain . . . . .	2,110,405.00
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	860,269.50
Luxemburg . . . . .	30,000.00
IFTU Secretariat . . . . .	2,410.00
Norway . . . . .	152,230.25
Poland . . . . .	23,911.50
Switzerland . . . . .	271,105.66
Sweden . . . . .	689,233.90
Spain . . . . .	33,726.33
Finland . . . . .	2,094.90
Palestine . . . . .	120,000.00
TU Funds . . . . .	319,126.85
Latvia . . . . .	350.00
Ireland . . . . .	4,186.30
Teachers' International . . . . .	5,000.00
Japan . . . . .	1,155.00
Labor Chest, New York . . . . .	22,673.14
Repayment . . . . .	7,639.50
Argentina . . . . .	18,605.25
Hungary . . . . .	14,137.50
Stichting Hulp in Nood, Holland . . . . .	14,184.00
Yugoslavia . . . . .	35,000.00
Miscellaneous . . . . .	467.00
LSI . . . . .	646,228.95

Fr. 7,737,289.08

#### EXPENDITURE

Payments . . . . .	fr. 7,008,532.51
Balance . . . . .	730,756.57

Fr. 7,737,289.08

## Saar Propaganda Fund 1933-1934-1935

## IN FRENCH FRANCS

## INCOME

Painters . . . . .	fr.	5,125.00
Sweden . . . . .		38,258.13
Switzerland . . . . .		29,579.45
Clothing Workers . . . . .		1,000.00
Holland . . . . .		51,250.00
Denmark . . . . .		17,750.00
Civil Servants . . . . .		30,000.00
Factory Workers . . . . .		8,877.10
Metal Workers . . . . .		24,728.00
Food and Drink Workers . . . . .		4,928.25
France . . . . .		25,000.00
Textile Workers . . . . .		7,487.10
Lithographers . . . . .		1,000.00
Czechoslovakia . . . . .		16,274.42
Building and Wood Workers . . . . .		5,000.00
Belgium . . . . .		13,473.55
ITF . . . . .		10,000.00
Norway . . . . .		9,259.00
Labor Chest, New York . . . . .		15,164.00
Repayment . . . . .		10,000.00
	Fr.	<u>324,154.00</u>

## EXPENDITURE

Payments . . . . .	fr.	306,816.50
International Solidarity Fund . . . . .		17,337.50
		<u>Fr. 324,154.00</u>

**APPENDIX**  
to the  
**Report on Activities of the International  
Federation of Trade Unions for 1933-1935**

## SECTION II

### The IFTU Executive on the Saar Plebiscite

At its meeting in Paris from the 13th to 16th November 1934, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions passed the following resolution on the question of the Saar plebiscite:

« After careful consideration of the problem of the Saar and in particular of the plebiscite of the 13th January 1935, the International Federation of Trade Unions feels that it cannot remain indifferent or neutral to the solution to the problem, since it is a matter of the future and vital interests of a mainly working class population, a great part of which belongs to the International Trade Union Movement.

In view of the inalienable right of a people to dispose of their own fate, the International Federation of Trade Unions would point out in the first place that the guarantee of absolute fairness, freedom and secrecy of the ballot must be a primary and indispensable condition of the plebiscite by which the Saarlanders will be called on to decide their future.

The public utterances of the three authorities of the League of Nations, namely, the Governing Commission of the Saar (British President), the Plebiscite Commission (Dutch president) and the Commission of Three (Italian president), prove irrefutably that these indispensable guarantees do not exist in a satisfactory measure.

World opinion, while admitting that, in spite of the imperfect conditions under which the plebiscite of the 13th January will take place, its postponement would without doubt give rise to still greater difficulties, expects that the Council of the League of Nations, which will soon be meeting, will, without regard or consideration to any outside views whatsoever, take at the eleventh hour all measures which, in spite of everything, may help to strengthen the necessary guarantees.

But the International Federation of Trade Unions would not stop there. It regards it as its duty explicitly and unequivocally to recommend the workers of the Saar to vote for the status quo, as this is the only way, in the present circumstances, of safeguarding not only their social and economic interests but in fact those human values which they hold still dearer, their rights and their freedom.

Return to Germany under Hitler will mean the irretrievable loss of these rights and liberties. And the decision of the status quo, although juristically final, need not be for perpetuity.

The International Federation of Trade Unions believes that the League of Nations, France and perhaps other great powers would make a very wise political gesture by declaring that, should the voting be in favour of maintenance of the status quo, no obstacle would be placed later on in the way of a return to Germany if, after a procedure still to be decided upon, the people of the Saar, taking into consideration an altered political and international situation, should desire to become again an integral part of Germany.

Such a declaration, while clearing up a point which is still obscure in the solutions submitted for plebiscite, would considerably facilitate the decision of the Saar electors.

In addressing this final appeal to the people of the Saar, the International Federation of Trade Unions assures them of its complete sympathy and solidarity, and earnestly hopes that they will choose with wisdom and courage the solution which will be best for their material and non-material interests. »



## **International Federation of Trade Unions and Labour and Socialist International for Paul and Bruno Kalnin, Julius Celms and Peter Ulpe**

At a joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International held in Paris on the 16th November 1934, the question of the forthcoming trials of the leading comrades of the Latvian Labour Movement was considered, and it was decided to send the following telegram to Ulmanis, the Prime Minister of Latvia:

« The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International, meeting jointly in Paris, have received extremely disquieting reports about the trials to be held on the 26th November of Dr. Paul Kalnin, Bruno Kalnin, Julius Celms and Peter Ulpe. All those gathered together here express their deepest sympathy with the accused, against whom there is no other charge than that they tried to defend Latvia's democratic constitution against attack, and protest against their being tried by a court-martial. In view of the expressed intention of holding the trial in camera, they demand the unrestricted admittance of the foreign press.

For the Labour and  
Socialist International :  
Emile Vandervelde

For the International  
Federation of Trade Unions :  
Léon Jouhaux. »

### **For the Spanish Workers !**

#### **THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS ADDRESSED, ON THE 2nd OCTOBER, 1934, A MANIFESTO OF SYMPATHY AND SOLIDARITY TO THE WORKERS OF SPAIN**

Republican and democratic Spain, born in the revolution of 1931, is passing through a political crisis which threatens to endanger democratic and republican freedom and the rights of the workers. Since the elections of 1933, which showed a recrudescence of the influence of the Right, reactionary manoeuvres have steadily menaced the republic. Reaction combined with all the enemies of democracy has systematically undermined and nibbled away the republican constitution and has deliberately put the republic in a position of not being able to fulfil its mission.

The reactionary governments which have succeeded each other since the Socialists left the governments have methodically deflected the normal action of the democratic institutions in order to bring democracy into disrepute and thus to paralyse the moral and economic recovery which was the actual aim of the revolution of 1931.

It is enough to mention, among many other facts, the abuse of the « state of alarm » and « state of prevention », which have been directed mainly against the revolutionary classes, that is, against the masses of workers and peasants upon whose blood and sacrifices the revolution was actually based. During the course of a single year, five successive governments have by these means suspended for more than 200 days the civic rights and liberties guaranteed by the constitution.

For some weeks now the people behind the reactionary enemies of the republic have redoubled their perfidious attacks. They have planted a « plot » on the Trade Unionists and Socialists with the machiavellian design of thus provoking unrest so that the military can re-establish « law and order » by suppressing with force the workers and peasants who are faithful to the republic and its constitution, and by abolishing at the same time democracy and freedom. These facts have naturally compelled our Spanish comrades to take up a very definite position, and this is enough to make the reactionaries insinuate that our comrades are beyond the pale and without the law.

It is impossible to forget the sensational revelations in the Socialist paper of Madrid « El Socialista », about the violent plans of the Spanish Fascists and their collusion with the German Nazis and their chief propagandist, Goebbels. In the tortuous and cynical minds of the politicians of the Right, the measures taken by

the workers for defence, which are justified by this systematic preparation for civil war on the part of the reactionaries, serve as a pretext for brutal military suppression. They are thus trying to reverse the roles and to make the working classes, who are really defending the constitution and the republic, seem to be responsible for the grave tension which is threatening civil peace and for which Fascist militarised provocation must bear the whole blame.

In view of this critical situation, the International Federation of Trade Unions expresses by the manifesto below, its entire sympathy and its active solidarity with the General Union of Spanish Workers (Spanish National Trade Union Centre) and with all the Spanish workers in their fight for freedom, expressing at the same time its confidence in the outcome of this struggle between reaction and democracy, the past and the future, capitalist oppression and social justice.

The Spanish workers broke the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in order to set up a democratic constitution; we are convinced that they will know how to prevent the Spanish people from again becoming the prey of capitalist and reactionary dictatorship!

### Manifesto to the Spanish Workers!

At the moment when the Spanish working class is engaged in a decisive fight against the united forces of reaction, and the Spanish people are fighting for their freedom, the International Federation of Trade Unions regards it as an imperative duty to express to the Spanish workers its unswerving solidarity and sympathy in their fight.

The workers of the world are following with deep and anxious attention the development of political events in Spain. Many signs go to show that Spanish reaction regards the time as ripe for making a decisive assault on the democratic rights and liberties achieved since the revolution of 1931.

The International Federation of Trade Unions supports the General Union of Spanish Workers in its protest against the slanderous accusations made by the Spanish government in its attempt to shift on to the workers and peasants the responsibility for the state of extreme tension in which the country is at present and for which Fascist provocation must alone bear the blame.

The International Federation of Trade Unions denounces to world public opinion this systematic provocation and the imminent attack which the Fascists are preparing against democracy and the rights of the Spanish workers.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has already furnished innumerable and irrefutable proofs that Fascism means moral and material degradation for all the peoples who suffer under it and that it constitutes a direct threat to peace.

The General Union of Spanish Workers and all the workers and peasants of Spain may be assured that the International Federation of Trade Unions and the National Centres of all countries are following their fight with the deepest feelings of sympathy and solidarity and that they are ready to do all they can to help the Spanish workers to victory.

### THE IFTU FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS

In connection with the recent events in Spain, the International Federation of Trade Unions issued on the 16th October, 1934, the following appeal:

"The International Federation of Trade Unions strongly protests against the merciless suppression of the Spanish workers in their fight for democracy, and declares that the responsibility for the bloodshed must rest on the present Spanish government. The Spanish Labour Movement and particularly the Trade Unions, without whose help the Spanish democratic Republic could never have been proclaimed, have by their heroic fight shown their undying faith in the noble ideals which were embodied in the Spanish Republic. It is to the workers that the mass of the peasants owe the efforts towards social justice through agrarian reform. That these reforms could not be completely carried out is due to the opposition of those conservative groups which are to-day usurping power. No one knows this better than the Spanish peasant himself. The middle classes and the non-manual workers have had an unhappy experience of the reaction, and fully realise the great dangers to which the whole public life and industry of the country are thrown open.

Those at present in power dare not throw down the gauntlet to international public opinion by stifling in blood the courageous protest of those who founded the Spanish

Republic. The International Federation of Trade Unions expresses its deepest confidence in the Spanish workers and appeals to all the workers of the world to join in a mighty and unanimous protest against the reprisals, and in support for the heroic men who are fighting for their freedom.

The sympathy and solidarity of the entire international labour movement go out to the Spanish people, so generous in victory, and the Spanish workers, who have fought so bravely for the rights of which they have been robbed ! »

**TELEGRAM OF PROTEST  
FROM THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS  
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC**

In view of the bloodthirsty persecution and suppression in Spain of the republican fighters in general and the workers in particular, the Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions sent the following telegram to the President of the Spanish Republic on the 25th October :

« On behalf of the International Federation of Trade Unions we protest most strongly against the inhuman reprisals taken by the police and the army against the people who have fought for their rights and their freedom. The summary executions of men who have been overcome and taken prisoner is a challenge to our civilisation and violates all human conscience. We urgently appeal to you to put a stop to the barbarous cruelty and the execution of death sentences, so that Spain can again take its place among the civilised nations of the world. »

(Signed) W. SCHEVENELS.

**THE IFTU EXECUTIVE ON THE POSITION IN SPAIN**

Meeting in Paris from the 13th to 16th November 1934, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions considered the position in Spain, in connection with the steps already taken by the Secretariat of the IFTU, and carried the following resolution on the subject :

« At its meeting in Paris on the 13th November, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions noted the reprisals taken against the Spanish workers and their leaders, who have fought heroically in the defence of democracy and freedom against the brutal onslaught of the combined forces of reaction and Fascism. It protests in the strongest terms against the inhuman cruelty of the repressive measures, which are a dishonour to the government exercising them.

The Executive of the IFTU denounces the present government's attempts to suppress the rights and liberties of the workers preparatory to the introduction of a system of Fascist corporations. It demands that the rights and liberties of the Spanish workers be fully respected and that the property of which they were arbitrarily deprived in defiance of all law shall be restored to them. It demands from the Spanish Government the cessation of the illegal arrests and summary executions, and a return to justice and respect for human rights. »

At the same time, Jouhaux and Mertens sent the following telegram to Alcalá Zamora, the President of the Spanish Republic :

« On behalf of the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, we address ourselves to you, knowing you to have been an ardent supporter of the international institutions of Geneva, with an appeal for your intervention with the Spanish government to enable our friend Caballero, who is at present under arrest, to obtain the liberty necessary for him to fulfil his duty as a Workers' Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. A meeting of one of the committees of the Office, of which Caballero is a member, has been convened for the 3rd December; and it would be a great grief to the representatives of the

workers of the whole world if Caballero were not able to fulfil the task entrusted to him by all the workers' delegates to the International Labour Conference, and a great blow to the moral prestige of the Spanish Republic if the representative of the Spanish workers were prevented from fulfilling this duty. We earnestly hope that our request will receive a favourable reception. »

On the 16th November 1934, a joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International gave particular attention to the danger threatening Caballero, and sent the following telegram, signed by Jouhaux and Vanderveelde, to the President of the Spanish Republic :

« The withdrawal of parliamentary immunity from Largo Caballero and Teodomiro Menéndez, and their assignment to a military tribunal has, in view of the possible consequences, aroused the greatest anxiety among all those who welcomed the establishment of the Spanish Republic. The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International cannot believe that the President of the Spanish Republic, who was one of their comrades-in-arms in the fight against the monarchy, will deliver them over to the revenge of reactionary elements. They again appeal to the President of the Republic for his urgent personal intervention.

For the International  
Federation of Trade Unions :  
Léon Jouhaux.

For the Labour and  
Socialist International :  
Émile Vanderveelde. »

#### INTERNATIONAL ACTION IN AID OF THE SPANISH COMRADES

On the 18th February, 1935, V. Basch, V. Auriol and W. Schevenels, on behalf respectively of the League for the Rights of Man, the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, sent a telegram to the President of the Spanish Republic and the Spanish Prime Minister, Lerroux, of which the text ran as follows : « The League for the Rights of Man, the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions urge the President of the Spanish Republic, in the name of justice and humanity and the glorious traditions of Spain, to pardon Menéndez and Peña. » The telegram to the Prime Minister, Lerroux, said : « It is with the greatest apprehension that we learn that Peña and Menéndez have been condemned to death. We would recall certain declarations made during the audience given to the International Delegation on the 9th February, 1935. We are convinced that, in the consciousness of your own republican past, you will take steps to prevent the executions which would outrage the conscience of the whole world. »

#### PROTEST TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC OF THE 2nd JULY, 1935

On hearing that four death sentences had been promulgated by the Turon court against Spanish workers, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Paris, immediately sent the following telegram to the President of the Spanish Republic :

« President Spanish Republic, Madrid : Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Paris 2nd July, extremely disquieted learn of four death sentences in Turon. In name of humanity demands clemency for condemned. — Schevenels, General Secretary. »

#### REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION TO THE SPANISH PRIME MINISTER, DERROUX

Immediately after the events of October 1934, the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), the Labour and Socialist International (LSI) and the League for the Rights of Man set up an International Legal Committee for the defence and

protection of those imprisoned in Spain. In view of the growing military oppression of the workers, the increasing number of death sentences promulgated and the threatened executions, the Committee decided to send a deputation to Spain, to make representations to the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister. The delegation, which originally included four delegates, was carried out on behalf of the Committee by V. Auriol (LSI) and W. Schevenels (IFTU).

In spite of the greatest difficulties, Comrades Schevenels and Auriol managed to obtain an audience of the Prime Minister, on the 9th February. After they had recalled to the Prime Minister his own struggles for freedom and democracy and his activities as founder and member of the League for the Rights of Man in Spain, the two comrades expressed the great anxiety felt by millions of workers and freedom-loving people regarding the situation in Spain, and said they hoped to receive from the Prime Minister an assurance that no further death sentences would be pronounced in connection with the political events of October, and that very shortly the normal regime of the constitutional rights and liberties of citizens and workers would be restored.

In reply, Lerroux stated that he was more than ever inspired by the Ideals of freedom, democracy and republicanism, and that he would show the greatest leniency in regard to the political crimes and offences committed in October 1934. He would do everything in his power to soften the severity of the law and there was no cause for anxiety as to the fate of those deputies who had taken part in the above-mentioned movement. Lerroux made a statement in regard to the causes and after-events of the revolutionary movement which was in no way shared by the delegation and for which he must bear the whole responsibility. He in fact denied the cruelty and tortures mentioned by the delegation on the basis of a certain number of documents. These documents have been laid before the government or the attorney general and will be subjected to legal investigation, according to the formal promise of the Prime Minister.

In respect to the restoration of freedom of the press and of the rights of combination, association and assembly, the statement made by Lerroux may be taken to mean that normal conditions will again prevail in six weeks' time, i. e., as soon as the Cortes have passed two Bills, one relating to the press and the other to occupational associations.

The Delegation attempted to gain an audience of the President of the Republic, as he has the final decision in the matter of granting pardons, but they were not received, as the President had before then made a rigid decision not to receive any deputation, either Spanish or foreign. As no exception has as yet been made to this rule, the Delegation had to accept the fact.

#### REPORT OF THE IFTU DELEGATION TO THE SPANISH WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS

The General Secretary of the IFTU had been instructed, to take advantage of his visit to Spain for the purpose of making representations to the Spanish government, to get into touch with the Spanish working class organisations, in order to offer the Spanish workers, on behalf of the International, moral and material support and to gain information about the situation in Spain.

According to credible estimates, there are still about 40,000 comrades in the prisons of Spain (Asturias, Madrid, Catalonia and Andalusia), including a great many leaders of the Spanish National Trade Union Centre (UGT). The state of siege is still in force in fourteen of the forty-nine provinces. Hundreds of sentences have already been promulgated, including twenty-nine death sentences. Five executions have already taken place, two death sentences have been rescinded. In the case of the remaining twenty-two death sentences, no definite decision has as yet been reached. The government recently granted six pardons, but these concerned offences committed in 1932.

But in spite of everything, the spirits and morale of the Trade Unionists and Socialists are excellent; they hold to their views more firmly than ever before. Everywhere one meets the conviction that the position of the government and the Fascist reactionaries was anything but strengthened after the defeat of the October rising. The present government is built on sand and the Right's prospects of again getting the complete power into their hands are so bad that the reactionary generals were even thinking three weeks ago of trying to improve their position by a

coup d'État. This action was however completely unsuccessful, which proves that the greater part of Spanish public opinion has swung over to the other side and that the reactionaries are therefore further than ever from their goal. There is moreover a pronounced strengthening of all the democratic and republican forces. Local elections, which ought to take place in April, or a possible dissolution of parliament and the consequent general election, may perhaps bring the really republican and democratic Left into power, and open up a new era of freedom and progress in the social, political and economic sphere.

As far as the Trade Unions are concerned, they have in most cases resumed their activities. Contact has again been taken up with thirty-two Unions, which are mainly occupied at the moment with mutual aid. Those Unions which organised industrial workers have on the whole maintained their membership and their activities. The wages and other conditions of work determined by collective agreements have been kept to in all industries. The greatest difficulties are being experienced by the agricultural workers and the miners. In the province of Asturias alone there are 23,000 workers in prison, who are practically all members of the Trade Union and the Party. Unemployment is very great. The collective agreements for agriculture have been gradually eaten away by the various governments under Lerroix. The authorities were even instructed after October to regard the existing agreements as invalid. Wages, which amounted to 9 to 12 pesetas in 1933 and 1934, have gradually fallen to an average of 3 pesetas. (In the provinces of Seville, Cordova and Granada, they have even fallen to 1.30 and 1.25 pesetas!) When it is added that the nobility, the great estate owners, the civil and military authorities exert a limitless terror over the rural population, it is easy to understand that in many places the Trade Unions have had to give up their work, at least as far as was externally visible! Apart from this, the morale of the rural workers is good; and these workers will join the Trade Unions in greater numbers than before as soon as conditions return to something like normal.

In this connection, it is worthy of mention that in those places where it is possible to continue with activities, there is an influx of new members, particularly from the former anarchist groups and the anarchist Trade Union Centre. The supporters of this movement, which was very strong in Spain — especially in Andalusia and Catalonia — were deeply disappointed by the action of their leaders in October. To take the example of Barcelona — the stronghold of anarcho-syndicalism! — there has been a complete swing over in the relative strengths of the free Trade Unions and anarchist organisations. Before the 1931 revolution, there were in the town of Barcelona alone 60,000 to 70,000 members of the anarchist Centre, compared with 5,000 of the free Trade Union Centre, (only 3,000 before 1931). To-day the free Trade Union organisation in Barcelona has 25,000 paying members (including the dockers and tramwaymen, who were among the most active elements of the anarchists), while the anarchists have hardly more than 20,000 members, who do not pay their contributions regularly.

Disregarding the Agricultural Workers' Union, which formerly had 316,000 members and now has only 50,000 to 60,000, it may be said that out of the 500,000 former members of the other Unions, 400,000 already belong again to our free Trade Unions and have resumed their activities there.

## Against the Nazi Terror

### RESOLUTION OF THE COPENHAGEN GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING OF THE 21st MAY, 1935

In the last few months, there has been an aggravation of the persecution and mass arrests in Nazi Germany, in addition to the fact that thousands of decent people and Trade Unionists have for months past been lying in prison and concentration camp, where they are subjected to the most brutal ill-treatment. The terror in Germany has not been relaxed in the slightest, but has on the contrary become more accentuated, and the brutal methods of Nazi domination day by day do still further violence to all the laws of humanity.

The General Council of the IFTU, meeting in Copenhagen from the 21st to the 24th May, 1935, draws the attention of world public opinion to these facts. Bearing in mind the cold-blooded and cowardly murder of the Trade Union leader, Husemann,

the whole of the civilised world must rise up in protest against the Nazi dictatorship and its methods of government, which even include the weapon of treacherous murder as an instrument of policy.

The General Council urges all freedom-loving and democratically-minded people to stand solidly behind its demand for increased opposition to the Nazi dictatorship, to extend and intensify the boycott and to use all their energies in the fight for freeing the victims of Fascism. To this end the General Council of the IFTU demands that an International Commission be set up to enquire into Nazi atrocities. While expressing its warmest sympathy with and admiration for the courageous men, women and young people who are engaged in such a heroic fight against the Nazi dictatorship, it appeals to everyone to give the utmost encouragement to them in their struggle and it urges all supporters of a real civilisation and all democratic governments and institutions to support the IFTU's demand and thus help to get it realised through the pressure of world public opinion.

#### THE CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE OF THE IFTU AND THE ITS PROTESTS AGAINST THE NAZI TERROR ON THE 4th JULY, 1935

The Co-ordination Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats held a meeting in Paris on the 4th July, 1935, when the general situation and position of the working classes in Fascist countries was thoroughly examined and a number of measures agreed to which seemed necessary.

In view of the increase in acts of violence in Germany, which form part of a new wave of terror, and bearing in mind that the people in the concentration camps are still subjected to the most inhuman and barbaric treatment—just at a time when Hitler, for his purposes of foreign policy, is making a show of pacifism which can deceive no one—the Committee urgently appeals to the public opinion of the world again to express its unanimous and deepest abhorrence of Hitler and all Fascist governments.

#### **All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions ; Red International of Labour Unions.**

#### **CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE ALL-UNION COUNCIL OF RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS**

**Letter to the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions, Soljanka 12,  
Moscow, from the International Federation of Trade Unions.**

Paris, 18th October, 1935.

Comrades,

As you will probably be aware, the International Federation of Trade Unions, in collaboration with the Labour and Socialist International, has from the outset raised strong opposition to Italy's premeditated attack on Abyssinia and has, as the matter has developed, carried out the most appropriate action against the aggressor and for the maintenance of peace.

Another joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International has just been held, with the same object, in Brussels on the 12th October. During a preliminary meeting, the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) decided to make known to the Trade Union organisations of the whole world the decisions of the joint IFTU/LSI conference. At the time when, at Geneva in the League of Nations as throughout the whole world, practically all governments and nations are preparing to apply the sanctions laid down in the Covenant against the aggressor — Italy — and in view of the fact that the execution of these sanctions lays a great responsibility on Labour and Trade Union organisations, the General Council of the IFTU regards it as its duty to issue an appeal to all organisations, affiliated or not, inviting them to rally to the decisions taken by the joint IFTU and LSI Conference which, as you will see from the attached resolution, are as follows :

- (1) to intensify pressure on the governments and consequently on the League to get immediate application of all sanctions which are indispensable if Italy is to be prevented, promptly and effectively, from continuing the war;
- (2) to bring to bear on the practical application of these sanctions all the moral and material force of the working class organisations of all countries and make all the arrangements necessary for this practical application.

It seems useful to add here that several private meetings of the joint IFTU/LSI Committee and the IFTU General Council, also attended by representatives of the Trade Secretariats most concerned, dealt with the preparations for the action envisaged under point (2) above and the examination of concrete measures to be taken in each country, according to the particular circumstances, in order to assure the maximum of effectiveness to the action already taken or to be taken. So that you may be fully informed of the steps taken by the IFTU and the LSI since the beginning of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, we are attaching herewith the text of the earlier resolutions, in addition to that of the resolution adopted by the Brussels Conference.

Conferences have moreover already been held in some countries, on the invitation of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Transportworkers' Federation, between the National Centre concerned and the national Unions of Transportworkers, in order to prepare for the special action of these classes of workers, who may be considered with truth as the shock troops of the action envisaged. These interviews also dealt with the organisation of the active solidarity of the whole Trade Union and Labour Movement to back up these workers.

In bringing these decisions to your notice, the IFTU General Council expresses the hope that you will be able to rally to them and apply them in your country with all the energy and means at your command. The General Council is convinced that if the representative Trade Union organisations in each country unreservedly apply the sanctions decided on by the League of Nations and throw all their energy into this immense struggle against the instigators of war, a resounding and decisive victory will be won for the cause of peace.

Yours fraternally,

On Behalf of the General Council of the IFTU:  
W. SCHEVENELS, General Secretary.

**Letter from the Bureau of the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions to the IFTU Executive.**

Moscow, 5th November, 1935.

Dear Comrades,

The Bureau of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions is in receipt of your letter of the 18th October and the resolutions which you have adopted jointly with the Labour and Socialist International regarding the armed aggression of Italian Fascism against the people of Abyssinia.

Having noted the contents of these resolutions, the All-Union Council of Trade Unions declares that war can only be prevented by uniting all the workers for the fight against Fascist aggression and for peace. The defence of peace is the most important task of the workers of all countries and of the Trade Unions of the USSR.

We cannot regard your decisions as sufficient, nor can we agree with your resolution to place « at the disposal of the League of Nations the strength of the workers' organisations and the power of Labour opinion ». The Trade Unions must not be placed at the disposal of the League, the working class must carry on independent action against war by arousing the great mass of the workers and bringing their pressure to bear on the governments and on the League.

The Soviet Trade Unions enjoy a favourable situation, which is exceptional; they do not have to bring pressure to bear on their government for the defence of peace. In the face of the whole world, the government of the USSR has openly adopted the principle of anti-imperialism and has been the first to apply sanctions against the aggressor, approved by the League of Nations. We can assure you



that the Soviet Government will do its utmost in all collective measures which may be decided on by the League. The proletarian character of our government is a guarantee of this.

The Soviet Trade Unions, which have a membership of nearly twenty millions, are prepared to do all in their power to facilitate the unity of action of all working-class organisations against Fascism and war, but they do not see how, as you propose, they can rally to the decisions taken at the joint Conference of the IFTU and the LSI, since neither the Soviet Trade Unions nor the RILU has taken any part in making these decisions. We feel that that unity of action which is desirable for all the workers can only be reached on the basis of preliminary agreement, and not by communication through the post of decisions which you have adopted.

The Bureau of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions regrets that the International Federation of Trade Unions has rejected the RILU's proposal of the 7th March, 1935, for joint deliberation on the ways and means of fighting against Fascism and war. If this conference of the two Internationals had been held at the right time, it would have been possible to bring about unity of action of the whole world working class movement in the fight against the criminal aggression which has been launched against the Abyssinian people and which threatens to set the whole world on fire.

We propose the immediate organisation of an urgent special conference of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the RILU, with the participation of representatives from the Unions of Russia, Great Britain and France, to examine the most appropriate and efficacious means of extending the fight against war and Fascism.

Yours fraternally,

For the Bureau of the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions:  
N. CHVERNIK, General Secretary.

**Letter from the International Federation of Trade Unions  
to the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions.**

Paris, 20th November, 1935.

Comrades,

At its meeting of the 13th and 14th November, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions noted the contents of your letter of the 5th November and instructed me to reply as follows.

The Executive regrets that you have not found it possible to rally to the decisions taken by the Joint Conference of the IFTU and the LSI and to give a definite undertaking as to the support of the Trade Unions of your country for the complete application of the sanctions which were decided on at Geneva with the unconditional collaboration of the Russian Government. Out of all the organisations, affiliated or not, which the IFTU urged to consider the adoption and application in their countries of the decisions taken by the joint IFTU and LSI Conference, the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions is the only one which has answered in the negative.

We hope however that you will reconsider your position with regard to these decisions, with a view to applying them in your country, as all other National Trade Union Centres have promised to do in theirs.

In this hope, we are attaching hereto the new circular which we have just sent out to all National Trade Union Centres, affiliated or not, and which contains in further detail the lines of action to be followed by organisations in order to assure the hundred per cent. application of sanctions.

As regards your proposal for an international conference, the Executive does not think such a conference would serve any useful purpose, nor indeed that any conference could add anything to the concrete, practical and practicable decisions already taken by the Brussels Conference.

Yours fraternally,

W. SCHEVENELS, General Secretary.

**CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN  
THE NORWEGIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE  
AND THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS**

**Letter from the Norwegian National Centre to the Red International  
of Labour Unions.**

20th December, 1934.

To the Red International of Labour Unions,  
Soljanka, 12, MOSCOW.

Appended hereto is the decision taken by the 14th Congress of the National Trade Union Centre of Norway on the question of international unity.

We should like to emphasise here that recent Congresses of the National Centre have expressed the desire to help in bringing about organic Trade Union unity on a class war basis.

In accordance with these decisions, the Congress instructed the Executive to support any effort which aims at the establishment of such unity.

Our last Congress, held in November-December, 1934, again expressed this view, and emphasised that the establishment of Trade Union unity would at the same time form the basis for political unity, so that the working class would form one front in the fight against reaction and Fascism and for their day-to-day interests and their aims.

Before approaching the International Federation of Trade Unions in Paris, we should like to be quite clear as to the attitude of the Red International of Trade Unions and also of the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions towards the question covered by the decision of our Congress, namely, the chances of organic unity in one Trade Union International.

We are transmitting a copy of this letter to the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions.

**Letter from the Norwegian National Trade Union Centre  
to the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions.**

21st December, 1934.

To All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions,  
Soljanka, 12, MOSCOW.

We are enclosing herewith copy of a letter which we have to-day addressed to the Red International of Labour Unions, regarding the decision of our last Congress on the question of international Trade Union unity.

**Decision of the Norwegian National Trade Union  
Centre on the Question of International Unity.**

In regard to the international Trade Union question, Congress affirms that :

The organised workers of the world are filled with the desire to overcome the split and attain organic unity. In the present circumstances, it is a matter of vital importance to the international Labour Movement that such unity be attained.

Congress instructs the new Secretariat to get into touch with both Internationals, in order to ascertain the exact chances of international Trade Union fusion. The Norwegian National Trade Union Centre (Arbeidernes faglige Landsorganisasjon) is itself prepared to co-operate in any way in these negotiations.

Trade Union unity will also lay the foundations for political unity, so that the working class may form an unbroken front in the fight against reaction and Fascism, and for their day-to-day interests and aims.

At recent Congresses the National Centre has expressed the wish to co-operate in the formation of such organic unity on a class war basis, and, in accordance with these decisions, Congress instructs the Secretariat to support any effort made to attain Trade Union unity.

Bearing this in mind, Congress resolves :

That the Secretariat be empowered to carry out a ballot of all members on the subject of international affiliation as soon as the position be cleared up, if possible before the end of 1935. The announcement of this from the Secretariat should be accompanied by a statement on the international Trade Union position from the organisation point of view.

**Letter from the Red International of Labour Unions  
to the Secretariat of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation.**

Moscow, 15th January, 1935.

Comrades,

The Executive Bureau of the RILU has considered your letter of December 20, 1934, and the resolution passed by your congress, and notes with satisfaction that the last Congress of the Trade Unions of Norway recognised unity of the Trade Union Movement as being a vital necessity and declared itself in favour of organisational unity on the basis of the class struggle, and that the Norwegian Trade Union Federation is prepared to grant every support in order to achieve this aim.

Trade union unity is at present the most urgent and important question of the international trade union movement. It is particularly necessary at the present moment, when the offensive of capital on the standards of living of the working class is being continued on the whole front, when Fascism is bringing terror, slavery and slow death from starvation to the working people, when an imperialist war again threatens to cause them untold misery. The capitalists want to load all the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working class, therefore unity of the trade union organisations and unity of action are to-day more necessary than ever.

The Red International of Labour Unions as a whole and its largest section, the trade unions of the URSS, are strongly in favour of a speedy and complete restoration of trade union unity in every country and also internationally. The attitude of the RILU to the question of trade union unity in the individual countries is fully expressed in the offer which the CGTU of France has made, and still makes, to the CGT of France. This attitude of the CGTU met with sympathy and support, not only in all the revolutionary trade unions of France, but also in a number of large unions and federations of the CGT, which have pronounced in favour of the methods and forms proposed by the French CGTU for restoring trade union unity. In addition to the CGTU, other trade unions affiliated to the RILU (in Czechoslovakia, Spain and other countries) have put the question of trade union unity on the order of the day.

The decision of your congress on the necessity of trade union unity has therefore met with sympathy and approval among the broadest masses of workers, and it will undoubtedly facilitate the organisational unity of the trade unions for the fight against capital.

Readily responding to your wish, the Executive Bureau of the RILU is of the opinion that that programme which has met with sympathy and support among the broadest masses of the French proletariat could be adopted as the basis for the restoration of trade union unity on an international scale. In our opinion this programme for uniting the international trade union movement should include the following points :

1. Fight against wage reductions and for wage increases.
2. Fight for an all-round social insurance, including unemployment insurance at the cost of the employers and the State.
3. Fight for the freedom of the workers' organisations, for freedom of opinion, of assembly and the press.
4. Fight against Fascism and the danger of a new imperialist war.

Thus the basis of the organisational unity of the trade union movement must be the class struggle against capital, for the immediate demands and the general aims of the working class.

The organisational unity of the trade unions which are affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and also those trade unions which are outside of these two Internationals, could,

in the opinion of the RILU and of the Soviet trade unions, be brought about as follows :

1. Amalgamation of parallel unions and election of leading bodies on the basis of proportional representation.
2. Inner trade union democracy, i. e. freedom of opinion and the right to propagate one's views in the ranks of the united organisations.
3. Discipline in the fight against the capitalists.

Union of the parallel organisations on a national scale would be a serious step towards the establishment of a united trade union International on the basis of the class struggle.

This is the standpoint of the RILU as a whole, of the Central Council of the Soviet trade unions, and also of the other trade unions affiliated to the RILU to the question of the restoration of the unity of the international trade union movement.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU is firmly convinced that the Norwegian Trade Union Federation will, in accordance with its last congress, pronounce itself in favour of the amalgamation of both Internationals and the creation of a united trade union International on the basis set forth above.

This question is of far-reaching importance and complicated, and therefore necessitates a thorough discussion of details, for which reason the RILU proposes to hold a meeting with representatives of your trade unions in order to consider quite concretely the forms and methods of the joint struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement.

With comradely greetings,

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Answer of the Norwegian National Trade Union Centre  
of the Red International of Labour Unions.

14th February 1935.

Red International of Labour Unions  
Soljanka 12, Moscow.

In reply to your letter of the 15th January last, the Secretariat would like to make the following statement :

Congress instructed us to examine the possibilities of international unity of the Trade Union Movement on a class war basis. The questions therefore arise : Will the Red International of Labour Unions promote the restoration of Trade Union unity in all countries where certain groups have withdrawn from the National Trade Union Centre? The Trade Union International must be built up out of one National Centre in each country.

Will the Red International of Labour Unions, in conjunction with the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions, get into touch with the International Federation of Trade Unions for the purpose of amalgamation negotiations, without laying down conditions?

It is important that this question be cleared up before a conference can be held between representatives of your and our organisations. We therefore await further details on this very important question, which is now of more pressing importance than ever before.

#### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE IFTU AND THE RILU

Letter from Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow,  
to the IFTU Executive.

7th March, 1935.

Comrades,

Taking advantage of the split in the Trade Union Movement, the bourgeoisie has been able during the past five years to deprive the workers in capitalist countries of their political rights and their economic gains, either partially or completely. The situation of the working class in all the capitalist and colonial

countries becomes continually more unbearable. The burden of the crisis has been thrown on to the shoulders of the workers. Fascism has gained a temporary victory in a number of countries (Germany, Austria, Spain), where it has destroyed the organisations created by the working class. Fascism now threatens the working class movement in other countries in the same way. And at the same time tension increases between the nations. Fascism in Germany is overtly preparing for a war of conquest. Japanese imperialism pursues its aggression in the Far East, by occupying one Chinese province after another. Italian imperialism is sending troops to Abyssinia. At any moment a local conflict can flare up into world-wide butchery and precipitate the whole of the working class into unprecedented misery.

The workers have at their command forces sufficient to repulse the attack, defend their interests and prevent the world being again turned into a slaughterhouse. For this end, it is necessary to unify all energies in the fight against the common enemy. It is necessary that all Trade Union organisations line up in one united front against the bourgeoisie, and for the application of the immediate and general demands of the working class movement. It is necessary to re-establish unity of the Trade Union Movement.

If all the Trade Union organisations of the whole world would stand together shoulder to shoulder on May Day this year, and close their ranks against Fascism, the capitalist offensive and the danger of war, this fact in itself would be of tremendous importance.

It is of particular importance to bring about in the near future the unification of the Trade Unions of France and Spain, where serious steps have already been made in this direction. And it is no less important that the free Trade Unions should be reconstituted in Germany, where their mass character is necessary for repulsing the capitalist attack and overthrowing the Fascist regime.

Taking all this into account, the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions proposes to organise a conference of representatives of the Red International of Labour Unions and of the International Federation of Trade Unions in order to discuss the following questions :

1. Joint action on May Day between Unions affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions and to the International Federation of Trade Unions, against Fascism, the capitalist attack and war.
2. How to contribute to the unification of the Trade Unions of France and Spain.
3. How to contribute to the reconstitution of the free Trade Unions in Germany.

At the same time, we think it would be very useful to discuss at the proposed conference that question which is of such immense importance to the working class of the whole world : the form, methods and conditions for the restoration of unity in the Trade Union Movement on the international plane.

It goes without saying that we are prepared to discuss any propositions you may make regarding the agenda for this conference. We have instructed Comrades Racamond and Monmousseau to negotiate with you on this question.

Yours fraternally,

The Executive Bureau of the RILU :  
*General Secretary,*  
(Signed) A. LOSOVSKY.

**Letter from the International Federation of Trade Unions to the RILU.**

Paris, 2nd April, 1935.

Red International of Labour Unions,  
Soljanka 12, Moscow.

Dear Sirs,

After having noted, at its meeting of the 14th March, the proposals contained in your letter from Moscow of the 7th March, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions instructed me to write to you as follows.

The point of view taken by the International Federation of Trade Unions with regard to Communist proposals for joint action or a united front has been so

often defined and confirmed by decisions of Congress and General Council, including the General Council meeting held in Weymouth as recently as the 29th August, 1934, that it can be regarded as sufficiently well-known by the Trade Unions of the whole world. The Executive has neither the right nor the desire to depart from the line laid down by the Congress and General Council of the IFTU. Moreover, respecting as it does Trade Union discipline, the IFTU cannot accept on the international plane the united front which has been rejected on the national plane by all its affiliated National Centres.

The IFTU Executive therefore feels that no useful purpose would be served by a conference on the three points concerning the united front which are proposed in your letter.

As regards the problem of the restoration of organic unity within the International Trade Union Movement, the resolution to the following effect which was passed at Weymouth on the 29th August, 1934, lays down the position of the IFTU:

The International Federation of Trade Unions, which ever since 1919 has striven for the unity of the Trade Movement, proclaims this unity to be to-day more necessary than ever and regards the International Federation of Trade Unions as the basis on which all the workers of the world can unite. It therefore again calls upon the workers of all countries to join the regular Trade Unions and through them, the International Federation of Trade Unions. It hopes that, in accordance with the appeals for unity issued by Moscow, the Communist Trade Unions and the Red International of Labour Unions are prepared to take this action.

The Executive noted with great satisfaction that the National Trade Union Centre of Norway, which has for some years remained aloof from international action, thus giving rise to a certain doubt as to its conception of the unity of the International Trade Union Movement, took a decision at its last Congress, held in December, 1934, which clarifies the whole position. The stand-point of the Norwegian National Centre, which is completely in line with the spirit of the decisions taken by the International Federation of Trade Unions, is thus laid down in the formal enquiry contained in its letter of the 14th February to the Red International of Labour Unions: « Will the Red International of Labour Unions promote the restoration of Trade Union unity in all countries where certain groups have withdrawn from the National Trade Union Centre? The Trade Union International must be built up out of one National Centre in each country. »

The first step to be taken therefore is for the Red International of Labour Unions to inform the IFTU Executive whether it is prepared to accept the preliminary conditions regarded by the International Federation of Trade Unions (and also by the Norwegian National Centre) as indispensable for making international Trade Union unity a reality.

Yours faithfully,

On Behalf of the Executive of the IFTU :  
(Signed) W. SCHEVENELS,  
General Secretary.

Letter of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions  
to the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Paris.

Moscow, 17th April, 1935.

Colleagues,

The Executive Bureau is in receipt of your reply refusing the offer made by the RILU on 7th March for the organisation of joint demonstrations on 1st May, for the furtherance of trade union unity in France and Spain, for the joint reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions in Germany, and for the initiation of negotiations for the establishment of international trade union unity.

You write that, in view of decisions of the Congresses and the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, there can be no question of a united front nor of unity of action and that a conference on the three points proposed in the RILU's letter could not produce any practical result.

Your rejection of joint action is not in accordance with the interests of the working class. Among the members of the trade unions of every tendency, there

will be no one who is able to deny the terrible misery of the situation in which the masses of the workers have been placed by the capitalist offensive against their standards of living, or the fact of the growth of Fascism and Fascist organisations resulting in the urgent necessity for the working class to gather together the whole of its forces, the whole of its trade union organisations, against the common enemy.

During the years of the crisis, wages have been greatly reduced in all capitalist countries. Even if we take the official data on wages, though these are obviously based on much too low estimates of wage reductions, it will be seen that the working class have lost untold millions. In consequence of the increased speed-up and of the direct economic and political attacks made on the workers, the exploitation of the working class has been intensified to a frightful degree. On the one hand, want and misery are growing, suicides increase, and prostitution spreads, and on the other hand social insurance benefits are cut down. In such countries as Austria, Germany and Poland, social insurance and social legislation are even being entirely abolished. With the exception of a few countries where state insurance still exists in a diminished form, millions of unemployed have to be content with charity. In place of the statutory benefits contributed by those responsible for unemployment — the employers and the state — the workers receive a miserable pittance; in place of work, they are given labour camps. Only the war industries are going full speed ahead so that the imperialists can divide up the world afresh, in a new international war, even if this costs more tens of millions of human lives.

In order to intensify exploitation still further, monopolist capital has set up a fascist dictatorship in a number of countries, and has not only destroyed the workers' organisations which opposed collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but has even shattered the trade unions which were co-operating with the capitalists. In the heart of Europe — in Germany — a dictatorship of insane Fascist murderers has been set up. That this could happen was due to the fact that the working class of Germany did not march forward unitedly against advancing Fascism, and to the fact that the leaders of the most powerful organisation of your International — the General German Trade Union Federation — expelled revolutionary workers from its ranks and not only systematically rejected the united front, but consistently frustrated every effort at joint action, and designated as « provocateurs » the workers who appealed for joint strikes and a real fight against the Fascists. The leaders of the German General Federation of Trade Unions repeated year in, year out that the united front against capital would not produce any result, and now you are literally repeating the mistaken policy of the leaders of the German Federation of Trade Unions, a policy for which the German working class is to-day paying dear.

Do not the frightful happenings in Germany and Austria call loudly for the complete unanimity of the workers, for the uniting of all forces of the working class in the struggle against the capitalists? Is it not clear that the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions in Germany would play an enormously important part in the overthrow of Fascism, the main instigator of the coming new world war?

If a review is made of the results of the economic struggles of the last few years, it will again be seen that the splits in the working class and the rejection of joint action have led to serious consequences for the workers. Hundreds and thousands of strikes in France, in the USA, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, England, Belgium, Scandinavia, and the Balkans, have ended in defeat, for the reason that the united front of capital has been opposed to the disunited front of the workers, thanks to the policy of collaboration of the classes pursued by the leaders of the reformist trade unions. But on the other hand there are records of strikes which have been successful, thanks to the united action of the workers of all tendencies, on the common ground of the class struggle. Has it not been shown dozens of times how the weakness and inadequacy of international solidarity brings defeat to the workers in numerous strikes, because, while the capitalists of one country are aided during the strike by those of another, the strikers do not receive from the organisations of their own International the help and support which is indispensable? We would refer to the strikes of miners, transport and textile workers, etc., in Great Britain, Germany, France and Czechoslovakia. Where is this international solidarity? Where is the primary community of class interest? Who can deny facts which are undeniable?

Your letter does not even attempt to prove that joint demonstrations of the workers on 1st May, or the furtherance of trade union unity in France and Spain,

and the promotion of the reconstruction of the Free Trade Unions in Germany, are not proposals dictated by the interests of the working class. You flatly reject the united front with the revolutionary workers, but at the same time you are supporting in actual practice the united front of the leaders of your International with the bourgeois parties in the government of Belgium (Delattre), the united front of the vice-president of the Amsterdam International, Leon Jouhaux, with Garnier, the president of the French Chamber of Commerce, and with the high officials in the National Commission for Public Works, whose composition is determined by a special decree issued by President Lebrun on 30th March, 1935. Many more examples could be cited to show how leaders of your International find grounds for the « united front » and « unity of action » with representatives of the employers organisations, while at the same time you do not desire to form between the Unions affiliated to the RILU and those affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions a united front for the fight for demands common to the whole of the working class.

The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions refuses the united front on behalf of the masses of its members, but without the knowledge and consent of these members. For the members of the trade unions affiliated to your International are working energetically and resolutely in a number of countries for the united front and for united action. The best proof of this is the general strike in February last year and the economic struggles of 1934 and 1935 in France, in which members of the CGTU and members of the CGT marched together in fraternal unity; the armed struggles of the Austrian workers; the strikes and armed struggles of the Spanish workers, where the members of both trade union Internationals fought side by side against the common enemy; and finally, the formation of the unity trade unions in France, Austria, and Spain, uniting in one organisation workers who are members of the RILU and the IFTU.

With regard to that part of your letter dealing with international trade union unity, it deliberately complicates and befores a question which is perfectly clear to the masses of the workers. The Executive Bureau of the RILU proposed that a consultation of representatives of both Internationals should discuss the forms, methods, and conditions of the amalgamation of the international trade union movement. In replying to this concrete proposal, you refer to the resolution adopted by the General Council of the IFTU at Weymouth. This resolution assumes as prerequisite that the united trade union federations are to be formed in every country by means of the entry of the revolutionary trade unions into the so-called « regular » organisations, and the liquidation of the RILU.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU also maintains the standpoint that international trade union unity can and must be realised on the basis of trade union unity in each country. The RILU is not only prepared « to promote the restoration of trade union unity in every country », but the RILU and its sections are actually doing this in practice. Important successes have already been achieved in this direction in France and even in the illegal movements in Spain and Austria. The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions rejects the united action proposed by the RILU for the creation of a mighty united trade union movement in these countries, though this could considerably facilitate and accelerate the organisational amalgamation of the trade union Internationals. You have even refused to negotiate on the question, for you reject co-ordination on the basis of unification, and insist on the completely unacceptable formula of the liquidation and disbanding of the revolutionary trade unions, which means that you are taking the path towards increasing the split.

With regard to the question of the « regular » organisations, you do not take as basis for your decisions the fact of the actual existence of the Red International of Labour Unions, nor the fact of the active struggles carried on by the revolutionary trade unions against capital; you take as a basis formal questions belonging to the past. You talk about the « regular » organisations, but where are these « regular » organisations? Where are the dissidents and to what do they dissent? Were we to adopt your standpoint, it would mean that the reformist trade unions of Holland would have to return to the syndicalist National Workers' Secretariat from which they split off; that the reformist Railwaymen's Federation and a number of other French Federations would have to return to the corresponding unitary federations which they left in 1921 when the revolutionary workers gained the overwhelming majority of votes at the various congresses; that the reformist Agricultural Workers' Union in Czechoslovakia would have to return to the Red Agricultural Workers'



Union from which it split off as a small minority. If your standpoint were to be adopted, the reformist trade union federation of Roumania would have to join the revolutionary trade unions, which gained a considerable majority at the congress in 1923 in Klausenburg. You will certainly be aware that the overwhelming majority of the Finnish Trade Union Federation consisted of members of the RILU, and that the adherents of your International split off from the united trade union federation, taking with them scarcely a fifth of the organised workers. That the adherents of your International are at the head of the Finnish Trade Union Federation to-day is due solely to the fact that the Finnish government broke up the old trade union organisation and arrested hundreds of functionaries and thousands of workers. The same situation exists in Yugoslavia and a number of other countries.

You are well aware that when you speak of the RILU it is not a question of "groups", but of hundreds and thousands and millions of workers, playing a tremendous part in the class struggle of the proletariat of their countries and of the whole world. The trade unions of the Soviet Union have to-day a membership of over 19 million workers and employees, and play a leading role in their own country and in the whole international labour movement. The revolutionary trade unions of China, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Japan, Cuba, Chile, the USA, Italy, Canada, the Philippines, Austria, Germany, India, South Africa, Argentine, Uruguay, Mexico, etc., are all carrying on the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Although the membership of the trade unions forced into illegality in a number of countries has fallen off in consequence of the Terror, the unprecedented persecution, and the mass murders of the last three years (Japan, Italy), even the bourgeoisie does not venture to deny the tremendous importance of these trade unions in the class struggle. Under present circumstances it is unthinkable that an international trade union organisation should not include illegal trade unions among its members, and should not promote the struggle enabling these trade unions to emerge from illegality.

It is not a question of "split off groups". And however many resolutions the Congresses or General Council Meetings of your International may pass, it still remains a question of an international trade union organisation uniting the revolutionary workers of the whole world. It is a question of an organisation which desires Trade Union unity, while being fully aware of the gravity and depth of the disagreements which separate us. The unity of the international trade union movement can and will be realised only when the negotiations are conducted on the basis of the equal rights of both Internationals, on the basis of proportional representation in the leading organs which carry forward the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against Fascism and war.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU therefore refuses to accept ultimatums of any kind, and states once more that it is ready to join representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and representatives of the trade union federations of all countries, in a conference on the forms, methods, and conditions for the amalgamation of the trade unions in every country and on an international scale. In rejecting the proposal for a conference, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions is merely prolonging and aggravating the split, whatever phrases about unity it may employ in order to veil this attitude.

It is not a question of the liquidation of trade unions belonging to either of the Internationals, of the liquidation of one of the Internationals in favour of the other, of the entry of one trade union organisation into the other. It is a question of the merging of parallel trade union organisations on the basis of broad trade union democracy, of the creation of a unity trade union for every industry, a united trade union federation in every country, and a united trade union International. Those who sincerely desire to fight against the offensive of capitalism, against Fascism and war, cannot and may not be opponents of united action and trade union unity.

The number of the members of your trade unions who regard the united front and unity as necessary is growing from day to day. This is shown by the existence of 561 unity trade unions in France, by the commencement of the unification of the reformist and revolutionary trade unions in Spain, by the formation of illegal trade unions in Austria with the united forces of the Communists and Social Democrats. Your reply is not the reply of millions of proletarians in the ranks of your International. The vital interests of the masses of the workers imperatively demand that there be unity of action. The Red International of

Labour Unions wants to know the views of the mass of the workers. The Red International of Labour Unions will do its utmost to make the joint demonstrations on 1st May general mass demonstrations. The Red International of Labour Unions will do its utmost to speed up, by unity of action against capital, the amalgamation of the Trade Unions of France, Spain and other countries on the basis of the class struggle. The Red International of Labour Unions will do its utmost to build up again the Trade Unions in Germany, Trade Unions which will really carry on the fight against Fascism. The Red International of Labour Unions will do its utmost to create trade union unity in every country and a united trade union International on the basis of the class struggle.

The restoration of trade union unity will not only considerably strengthen the fighting power of the working class, but will be the starting point for the influx into the unity trade unions of enormous masses of unorganised workers.

The split to the trade unions, caused by the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, has brought endless disaster to the working class. The bourgeoisie has thrown all the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. In a number of countries the Fascists have destroyed the trade union organisations of the workers. Again the working class is threatened with imperialist war, as in 1914. The actions of the trade union leaders during the war, when they placed the trade unions at the service of the military commanders, are still fresh in the memories of the workers. A similar exploitation of the trade unions for waging war can be prevented by the establishment of the united front, by the struggle against the capitalists and by trade union unity. Hence it is urgently necessary that the members of the trade unions of every trend should take the matter into their own hands.

The Executive Bureau proposes to the organisations affiliated to the RILU :

- (a) to approach the corresponding trade unions of other tendencies with the proposal that on 1st May joint meetings, demonstrations and strikes should be carried out against the attacks of capital, against Fascism and against the threatening war.
- (b) to organise joint meetings of the members of the trade unions which are affiliated to the two Internationals, in order that joint action and trade union unity may be discussed.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU proposes to the trade union organisations of both Internationals that they should organise a ballot vote among the members of the trade unions on the questions of united action and trade union unity. The decision on these questions, of cardinal interest to the whole international labour movement, must be placed in the hands of the members themselves.

We leave the members of both Trade Union Internationals to decide on our offer and your answer. Let the mass of the workers decide. The Executive Bureau of the RILU is profoundly convinced that the members of your trade unions, and a large number of the functionaries, realising the seriousness of the situation, will stand for the united front and for international trade union unity.

With trade union greetings,

Executive Bureau of the Red International  
of Labour Unions.  
The General Secretary,  
(signed) A. Losovsky.

Letter from the Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions  
to the IFTU.

Dear Comrades,

Paris, 27th September, 1935.

We are extremely glad to welcome the historic event of Trade Union unity in France which is about to be finally realised, and we are convinced that you share our satisfaction.

Trade Union unity in France is a fresh weapon in the hands of the French workers and the international working class in their fight against Fascism, war and the capitalist offensive.

The steadily increasing and approaching danger of an armed attack of Italian

Fascism and a belligerent challenge from Nazi Germany, and all other Fascist and reactionary manoeuvres demand the speediest co-ordination of action in the international sphere and the realisation of international Trade Union unity.

At this important moment when Trade Union unity is attained in France, we would propose that you get into touch with us in order to examine jointly the organisation of joint action and international Trade Union unity.

Proletarian Greetings,

For the Secretariat of the RILU :

(signed) G. Monmousseau,  
Zapotocky,  
Garcia Mijs.

PS. Please send your reply to the European Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions, 137, Boulevard Magenta, Paris (X<sup>e</sup>).

**Meetings of the IFTU Executive and General Council in Brussels  
on the 11th October, 1935.**

On the 11th October meetings of the IFTU Executive and General Council were held in Brussels in preparation for the joint Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International convened for the 12th October in Brussels to consider the position with regard to the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. The Executive Meeting was attended by Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Hicks (deputising for Citrine, the President), Mertens, Tayerle, Schorsch, Schevenels, General Secretary and Stolz, Assistant Secretary. At the General Council meeting, which, in view of the gravity of the situation, was very well-attended (sixty delegates), thirteen countries were represented : Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Luxemburg, Norway (five representatives), Palestine, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland; and the fourteen following International Trade Secretariats : Transportworkers, Factory Workers, Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, Building Workers, Food and Drink Workers, Clothing Workers, Public Services and Civil Servants, Lithographers, Leather Workers, Postal Workers, Diamond Workers, Land Workers, Textile Workers, Teachers. In accordance with the proposal made at the meeting held in Geneva on the 6th September, various countries had included in their delegations representatives of the trades particularly concerned.

As regards the sanctions awaited from the League on the Italo-Abyssinian question, the Executive and General Council first of all noted in detail the position in the different countries and the measures which had been taken or were being prepared. The attitude taken at the joint Conference of the IFTU and LSI held in Geneva on the 6th September was reaffirmed, and it was again emphasised that the workers' organisations would support to the utmost all sanctions applied against the Italian aggressor. The Executive and the General Council decided to abide by this attitude in the forthcoming meeting with the LSI.

The Executive and General Council also had before them the proposals made by the Red International of Labour Unions for joint action against the danger of war, i. e. a letter dated the 27th September and signed by Monmousseau on behalf of the European Secretariat of the RILU, and a telegram of the 3rd October, signed by Losowsky (Secretary of the Red International of Labour Unions), confirming the proposals made in the letter. Six hours after the arrival of the telegram, it had been cancelled by a communication from Moscow, so that any consideration of the Communist proposals was rendered unnecessary. The General Council approved the attitude of the Executive and noted the report made.

**Letter from the Red International of Labour Unions  
to the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions.**

Moscow, 10th November, 1935.

Comrades,

The Executive Bureau of the RILU has instructed me to transmit the resolution adopted by it on the 9th November on the subject of correspondence between the IFTU and the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions.

You will see in this resolution that the Executive Bureau welcomes the contact made between Unions holding different views for the joint fight against war, and that the representatives of the RILU are prepared to meet those of the IFTU for joint deliberation as to the ways and means of carrying on the fight against war.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU also proposes the formation of a joint International Fund for the assistance of workers who have suffered for their actions against war.

Hoping to receive from you a prompt and favourable reply, yours fraternally,

For the Executive Bureau of the RILU:  
A. LOSOVSKY, General Secretary.

**Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the RILU of the 9th November, 1935,  
on the reply of the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions to the letter  
of the International Federation of Trade Unions.**

Having discussed the communication of Comrade Aboline, Secretary of the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions, on the letter received from the IFTU General Council and the reply of the All-Union Council, the Executive Bureau of the RILU welcomes all contacts made between Trade Unions holding different views aiming at co-ordination of the fight against Fascism and war, and declares itself in full agreement with the reply of the All-Union Council to the IFTU.

The RILU feels that only a real co-ordination of action of all working class organisations and only the united and independent action of the workers of all opinions can stop the aggression of Italian Fascism in East Africa and prevent another world war. In defending peace and fighting war, therefore, the workers cannot put the power of working class opinion and the forces of working class organisations at the disposal of the League, as the IFTU proposes.

The Bureau of the RILU regrets that the IFTU has always refused the proposal of the RILU for unity of action, as this cannot fail to weaken the fight of the international proletariat against war.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU approves the proposal made to the IFTU by the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions for the immediate convocation of a conference of representatives of the IFTU and the RILU, and with the participation of representatives of the Trade Unions of the USSR, France and Great Britain, in order to elaborate efficacious measures for carrying on a united fight against war and Fascism.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU would once more declare its perfect willingness, to this end, to meet the representatives of the IFTU and of its sections at any time, and to do all that depends on it to realise the unity of action of all Trade Unions, the first very important step towards international Trade Union unity.

As the first steps taken separately by the workers against war have led to their suffering acts of repression, the Executive Bureau proposes to the IFTU that it undertake, jointly with the RILU, the organisation of an international relief fund in order to give material aid to the victims.

**Reply of the IFTU to the Red International of Labour Unions.**

Paris, 27th November, 1935.

Comrades,

We are duly in receipt of your letter of the 10th November, regarding a conference aiming at a joint fight against war, and the creation of a joint international relief fund for workers who have suffered on account of their action against war.

In reply to your letter, I am enclosing herewith a copy of our reply of the 20th November to the All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions on the same subjects.

Yours fraternally,

W. SCHEVENELS, General Secretary.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED  
BY THE WEYMOUTH GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING, 1934**

« The meeting of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions held at Weymouth from 17th-29th August, 1934, considered after an introductory report by Jouhaux the question of the united front and declared that the overtures of the Communists and of the Red International of Labour Unions at Moscow for the united front and for unity of action are manoeuvres devoid of any sincere intention. The International Federation of Trade Unions once again points out that the Red International of Labour Unions of Moscow must bear the blame for the division and weakening of the Trade Union Movement, in view of its appeals to the workers extending over many years to fight against the free Trade Union Movement.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, which ever since 1919 has striven unswervingly for the unity of the Trade Union Movement and which considers unity to be to-day more vital and necessary than ever, regards the International Federation of Trade Unions as the sole basis on which all the workers of the world can unite. It calls upon all workers to join the Trade Unions affiliated to the IFTU and expects that — in accordance with the appeals for unity issued by Moscow — the Communist Labour Unions and consequently also the Red International of Labour Unions will dissolve and that their members will return to the Trade Unions organised in the IFTU. »

**RESOLUTION MOVED  
BY JOUHAUX (COPENHAGEN GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING, 1935)**

« The International Federation of Trade Unions is always prepared to take part in any useful interview on the realisation of international Trade Union unity, on condition that :

sincerity and genuine goodwill shall be the bases for such discussion ;  
the foundation for the reconstitution of Trade Union unity shall be recognised to be the International Federation of Trade Unions which has always acted for the unity of the workers of the world ;

the reconstitution of international Trade Union unity shall, as a logical consequence, also mean the end of the division among the workers in every country.

These proposals represent the essential conditions which will allow of the conversations for the realisation of the unity of the workers, at which we are all aiming, producing effective and permanent results. »

## SECTION III

### Youth and Educational Work

#### INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The International Federation of Trade Unions emphatically proclaims that the emancipation of the workers, the object for which it strives, should be intellectual as well as material. It considers that its efforts should cover both these spheres, and it is desirous of proclaiming general principles which will make it possible to emancipate the minds of the workers gradually by means of a profound change in the methods and curricula of teaching and education. The IFTU considers that it is impossible to separate vocational from general education and for this reason claims the right to deal also with the problem of general education.

The International Federation of Trade Unions is not ignorant that the conditions necessary for the achievement of the programme which it is compiling vary from one country to another, being contingent upon the political and social regime instituted in each. It is impossible therefore to lay down a programme for immediate use which shall be the same for all the national centres. It is however possible to lay down a general programme which the working class would approve and which could be used by each country as a basis for its immediate programme.

#### AIMS AND METHODS OF EDUCATION

1. The object of education is to develop the whole personality of the child with a view to its harmonious incorporation into the community, to enable it to develop physically, intellectually and morally and to secure its active and conscious co-operation in the advancement of civilisation.

2. The essential means to be used to provide the education demanded by the working class should be the development of the critical spirit on the one hand and the social sense on the other. These means are valuable in all stages of education, from Kindergarten to University. They are opposed to all dogmatism.

3. In the present order of society, divided as this is into antagonistic social classes, development of the social mind or social feeling can only take place if it combines a sense of the reality of these class divisions with the conception of a future classless society as the ideal towards which human effort must strive. These are the fundamental ideas which should dominate both curricula and methods, but these ideas should not be made the subject of systematic teaching except in the higher grade classes (pupils of at least 15 or 16 years of age).

#### ORGANISATION OF TEACHING

4. Education should be compulsory up to the age of 18, inclusive of vocational training and continuation school. In view of the extensive equipment of civilisation and culture which every adolescent has henceforth to acquire, any lower limit would be insufficient.

5. Education should be entirely free in all stages, including the college stage. There should also be free provision of all school equipment, and the cost of living should be covered, if necessary. So long as this is not possible, school fees must be graduated on the basis of social considerations, and public funds must be provided for educational grants, etc., in order to prevent children from having their training and general education hampered for financial reasons.

6. Education is social. It should be organised by the State and administered conjointly by the representatives of the parents, those interested in education, and the representatives of technical educationalists, that is to say, the teachers; in vocational and trade schools trade union representatives should also co-operate. The school system should be absolutely unsectarian, it should not be under the control of any religious denomination.

7. There should be no sex privilege, either among teachers or taught.

8. The classification of education into various periods is based on the mental and physical development of the child. Four periods are to be distinguished : I. Earlier Childhood; II. Pre-puberty Period; III. Period of Puberty and Development; IV. Adult Period. To these periods correspond respectively :

- Nursery or Infant Schools;
- Elementary School;
- The Lower-Grade Middle School;
- The Higher-Grade School (Vocational education and preparation for university).

9. During the first two periods and part of the third, the teaching should be the same for all pupils. In the second part of the third period there should be diversity, in order to enable the children to show their various tastes and aptitudes. All paid work should be prohibited for children during the first three periods, up to 16 years of age, in accordance with the programme for the protection of youth.

10. The fourth period should be utilised both for culture and for systematic preparation for a calling (industrial, commercial, agricultural, artistic or domestic) : also, and especially, for preparation for college.

11. The health and physical welfare of the child both in and out of school should have the constant attention of the teachers and the school authorities : there should be open-air schools, children's play centres, ample air and floor space, comfortable well-equipped premises and special schools for physically or mentally defective children.

12. All the children should be placed under similar conditions of development, both in school and out, any variation in the teaching given to different children being due only to their different aptitudes and tastes. There should be an end to all social distinctions between the various kinds of schools. The school will then become a genuine « unity school », both in spirit and structure.

## METHODS

In order to promote the development of the social sense along the lines specified above, the International Federation of Trade Unions lays down the following methods, which are based on the research and recommendations of the International Trade Secretariat of Teachers.

(a) Teaching should proceed from the concrete to the abstract. It should gradually widen the child's horizon, which is at first limited to what immediately surrounds him, but should then be enlarged by education and travel and deepened in the sphere in which his education is specialised.

(b) The teaching should make clear the fundamental features of economic life and its world inter-dependence.

(c) A point to be specially developed is labour solidarity. Particular emphasis should also be laid on everything which facilitates the comprehension of this fundamental idea, such as travel, and knowledge of foreign languages (possibly of some auxiliary international language). Chauvinism and militarism should be combatted with the utmost energy.

(d) The essential basis of the teaching method should be the idea of « creative work », whether manifested in some means of expression, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, drawing, dancing, etc., or in creative technical ability.

(e) The school should be organised as a community of work. By an application of the principles of self-government, the relations of the children among themselves and to the teacher should make the school a democracy. Stimulated by the teacher's example, the solidarity, friendship, joy and sense of responsibility shown should create in each class an atmosphere of healthy community life and should make it a model for future society.

(f) In the continuation school (4th period) the principle of creative work should be widened by the active co-operation of all the students, without exception, in the actual life of industry (or commerce, etc.), chiefly through the statutory establishment of the half-time system.

(g) In all stages there should be a drastic reform of the examination system, examinations being used only to provide rational guidance for the different forms of intelligence. Over-pressure for the sake of examinations would thus disappear.

(h) Institutes for educational research should be organised in order to utilise as effectively as possible the experience of the whole teaching body and the resources of scientific method.

The teaching staff should have facilities for acquiring the highest culture. This high level of culture will stimulate them to make research into new methods of teaching.

## RESOLUTION ON THE RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG WORKERS INTO THE TRADE UNIONS

### Methods of Propaganda and Forms of Organisation.

When methods of recruitment and propaganda and forms of organisation of the young workers are being considered, it is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental differences existing between the political and Trade Union traditions of one country and another.

Broadly speaking, the Committee feels that young workers organised within the Trade Unions should be able to find through them opportunities to meet their special aspirations for physical, mental and cultural development.

According to the special requirements of each country, these aims should be pursued either by the formation of Youth Groups within the Unions themselves or by the appointment of a certain number of leaders for propaganda and for the organisation and management of youth activities.



These should be developed as far as possible in close collaboration with similar institutions of the Socialist and/or Co-operative Movements, or specific educational and sports organisations.

Where such Youth Groups already exist or specific Youth Leaders have already been appointed, either on a Trade Union or inter-Trade Union basis, co-ordinating organisations should be set up.

#### **Training of Leaders.**

Special attention should be devoted to the training of youth leaders to take charge of the Youth Groups now and of active young Trade Unionists to assure continuity of the dynamic forces in the service of the Labour Movement and provide the leaders of the future.

#### **Recruitment of Young Unemployed.**

Trade Unions and Trade Union Youth Groups already existing or envisaged, should also devote their efforts to the recruitment of and propaganda among the young unemployed.

Sections of young unemployed could be created either by the institution of a special rate of contribution, facilitating entry into the Trade Union Movement, or by appropriate measures where the rules of the Union (or statutory regulations) do not allow of the ordinary recruitment of young workers.

(In some countries, although the school-leaving age and age of admission into wage-earning employment is 14, young people cannot become members of Trade Unions until they are 16. In others, the rules of the Trade Unions do not allow of the admission of young people until they have obtained employment.)

#### **Social Demands.**

Propaganda among the young unemployed and young workers in general could be furthered and facilitated not only by intensification of the policy of the creation of employment for young people, as for all the unemployed, but also by appropriate social demands relating to :

- relief for young unemployed;
- unemployment insurance;
- raising the school-leaving age;
- extension of vocational training;
- the placing at the disposal of Trade Unions or Youth Groups, by the

authorities, of the necessary premises for educational work, recreative and sports activities.

When collective agreements are being concluded, conditions of work corresponding more nearly to their wishes and requirements could be laid down for young people.

#### **Statistics.**

The Committee considers that it would be extremely useful and interesting to know exactly for each country the present position of the young workers in relation to unemployment (total number of unemployed and the number of young unemployed as percentage of the whole), and changes in Trade Union membership (percentage of young workers organised, decrease or increase in the number of young Trade Unionists — below twenty-one — in proportion to the decrease or increase in total membership); and it therefore expresses the wish that the National Centres should proceed to an enquiry with a view to obtaining this information, which would then be incorporated into an international report and transmitted to all National Centres for their information.

## MEMORANDUM

submitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1935, on behalf of the IFTU International Committee of Trade Union Women.

It has been very satisfactory to note the considerable amount of progress which has been achieved since the War in the way of the political, civil, economic and social rights of women, and in a number of international fields of political, economic and social life.

In some countries, women have attained complete political equality, in others they have also attained complete equality in the way of civil rights. It cannot be denied, however, that in many countries — even those which are considered to be the most enlightened and advanced in the political and social fields — this evolution towards equality between the sexes has not proceeded at the pace set immediately after the war. On the contrary, in some countries, differential treatment and discrimination between the rights of men and women are still practised to such an extent that they arouse indignation each time the attention of public opinion, and especially that of women, is drawn towards them.

### Political and Civil Emancipation.

There is a steady increase in the number of women who are struggling for their political and civil emancipation, and their efforts to attain equality continuously find more support among the whole body of public opinion, men as well as women.

The International Committee of Trade Union Women notes that the League of Nations is again taking up this question by placing the problem of the nationality and the general status of women on the Agenda for the Assembly.

The International Committee of Trade Union Women, in complete agreement with the International Federation of Trade Unions of which it forms a part, holds that

- (a) the married woman should have the right of option either to keep her own nationality or to take her husband's nationality, and that the nationality of a woman shall not be changed for the sole reason of (i) her marriage, (ii) a change in the nationality of her husband made during the marriage.
- (b) the right of the woman to repatriation, i.e., the right of the re-acquisition of former nationality, in consequence of the dissolution of the marriage by legal separation or by the death of the husband, which right already exists in many countries, should be made general by international agreement.
- (c) in order that women ignorant of the law shall also be in a position to benefit from the laws, women must everywhere be informed of the legal position upon marriage, as well as in the event of a change of nationality on the part of the husband, and their declaration demanded.

## General Status of Women.

On the second point of the general status of women the Committee is in general agreement with the principle of equality stated in the Convention of Montevideo, but it would utter a warning against a hasty decision on this convention. It notes with alarm that the proposal to remove all legal distinction based on sex may be a menace to the protective legislation already secured for women workers by the Movement in some countries.

It realises that the problems which are raised are of considerable complexity and probably of greater scope than is imagined by some organisations which urge the immediate and complete application of their demand. It would therefore recommend the greatest care and caution in the choice of terms and texts, which might easily give rise later on to abuses in the way of interpretation. It is enough to take as an example Article 1 of the Treaty of Montevideo on the subject of the status of women, which demands absolute equality between men and women. Such a formula could be interpreted as applicable also to social legislation and more particularly to legislation for the protection of women and the mothers of the future, which was certainly never intended by the authors of the Treaty.

In this connection, the International Committee of Trade Union Women urgently draws the attention of the League of Nations to the fact that in any case the examination of any social aspect, and of labour legislation, is and should remain the exclusive domain of the International Labour Organisation. The International Committee of Trade Union Women is convinced that it speaks on behalf not only of the women workers it represents, but of nearly all women workers of the world when it demands the maintenance of social protection for women and mothers and an even more rapid development of protection in industry, commerce, agriculture and in work in the home, where the necessity is making itself felt with even greater urgency.

For all these reasons, the International Committee of Trade Union Women would propose :

- (1) That questions relating to the status of women should be submitted to a more thorough consideration and, if possible, should be examined in the first place by a Consultative Committee of representatives from international women's organisations.
- (2) That aspects of the question relating to social and labour legislation should be remitted to the International Labour Organisation for consideration and report by the appropriate Committee of that organisation.

## SECTION IV

# Guiding Principles for the Social Policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions

## INTRODUCTION

- (1) In submitting these guiding principles for the social policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions, we confirm the principle which is at the root of all labour action, whether national or international. The trade union organisations emphatically condemn the capitalist regime which is responsible for economic anarchy and social injustice, the initial causes of the successive economic crises which are adding so terribly to the injustice and privations from which the working classes always suffer, even in normal times. Labour will always fight with all its might this economic and social system, which is based on the domination of the workers by the owners of capital, and will always strive to substitute for it a new order more in keeping with justice and the interests of the community.
- (2) So long as the present system of exploitation persists, the protection of man and his labour, in all forms and all spheres, will always be an imperative duty for the working classes all the world over. The protection of the workers by means of international social legislation is coming to be a more and more essential element in trade union action. Social action is becoming more imperatively and urgently necessary in proportion as production becomes more technical and labour more mechanical, both these factors tending to accentuate the exploitation of labour by unduly increasing its output.
- (3) In setting forth our programme of social policy we cannot refrain from the remark that the exceptional nature of the world crisis through which we are passing calls for remedies equally exceptional. An unprecedented economic crisis is raging throughout all the countries of the world. It is threatening the whole of the proletariat and is heaping upon the workers privations and sufferings which are becoming more and more intolerable. Far from making any attempt to combat effectively the disastrous results of the crisis, capitalism is aggravating the crisis by piling up protectionist and other commercial restrictions, and cutting down wages and social insurance.
- (4) The IFTU has from the outset strongly opposed this absurd refusal to recognise the real interests of the community. At Stockholm, in 1930, it issued a thrilling appeal to the trade union organisations of all countries, reminding them that their most urgent duty is the organisation of the strongest resistance to social reaction, the defence of wages and the protection of the unemployed.
- (5) As the crisis grew worse, the IFTU intensified its action in every possible way, linking up its work in 1931 with that of the Labour and Socialist International in order that it might be reinforced in every sphere. In a series of joint resolutions, the two Internationals formulated the most urgent demands, and those which had the best chances of success, setting forth the tasks of each and calling for the

action which, both nationally and internationally, is most urgent. The most important of these were : the maintenance of real wages; the maintenance of the workers' purchasing power; the creation, extension and development of aid for the unemployed; a considerable practical reduction of hours of work with a view to securing a more just distribution of work during the crisis; the organisation of big public works, and finally, the elimination of the political and economic factors which are aggravating the crisis.

- (6) It is necessary to point out here that, in mobilising all the forces of Labour in this way, the IFTU has done all it can to fulfil the task which the very grave situation of the Labour world has imposed upon it.
- (7) This is not the place to give a detailed survey of this action which, owing to its exceptional nature, does not fall within the framework of the programme of social policy, which is to provide guiding principles for trade union action in normal times, in so far as there can be any normal times under the capitalist regime.
- (8) The IFTU will not overlook the necessity of intensifying its activities for the restoration and expansion of social legislation on the most uniform and international lines. To attain this object, the action must be well prepared and the trade unions of all countries must, as far as may be, adopt the same principles so that they may be enabled to co-ordinate their activities in a single international action.
- (9) These are the reasons which have actuated the IFTU in its compiling of the present guiding principles of social policy. By providing both a definition of the objects to be pursued and a basis of common action, they will serve to stimulate national effort and to promote international collaboration in their achievement.

#### I. — LIBERTY OF ASSOCIATION

- (10) The very first condition for the struggle of the working class, in whatsoever sphere, is freedom to develop its authority and power. The IFTU therefore demands full freedom for organisation in trade unions for all workers. salaried employees and civil servants, together with freedom to hold meetings and freedom of the press. It further demands the abolition of all strike prohibitions and similar measures which may be used to prevent or hamper strikes.
- (11) Consideration for mankind in general calls for the complete abolition of all victimisation and such proceedings as the keeping of "black lists", which make it difficult or even impossible for the workers to obtain work.

#### II. — SOCIAL INSURANCE

- (12) The capitalist method of production uses up enormous quantities of man-power with the utmost ruthlessness, only to throw them aside to a fate of hopeless misery when their physical and mental strength has been exhausted. The rapid tempo of present-day work and the

mechanisation of the factories are daily imperilling the lives and health of increasing numbers of workers, without sufficient care being taken to protect these victims of the capitalist system and to save them from ruin when their earning capacity has been injured or completely destroyed.

- (13) The workers are entitled to adequate protection against the occupational and social risks which threaten them and their families. Under present conditions, compulsory social insurance is the best way of providing for such protection.
- (14) The present economic system is based upon a distribution of the means of production such that the masses of the people possess nothing but their physical and mental strength; it further rests upon freedom to employ or not to employ the labour available, and upon the irresponsibility in this economic system for individuals whose labour is unemployed or is already exhausted.
- (15) The wage-earner may, at any moment in his career (except in cases covered by legislation on workmen's compensation or by insurance against industrial accidents and occupational disease) be attacked by disablement which may temporarily or permanently deprive him of his share in active life. Robbed of his earning capacity, the disabled person, if he is not insured, becomes a charge upon public assistance or charity and is thus exposed to humiliation and destitution.
- (16) The wages of labour must provide the worker with means sufficient not only to meet his needs and those of his family during the period when he is working at his trade, but also to enable him to protect his family against the great risks which constitute a standing menace to the working class budget, such as sickness, accident, unemployment, maternity, premature invalidity or death. The wages actually paid to workers are barely sufficient to meet their immediate needs, and it is impossible for most workers to accumulate any appreciable savings.
- (17) Universal insurance based on the worker's participation in production can alone save the worker from financial and mental anxiety, and ensure those who can no longer take part in active life their due share in the means of subsistence.
- (18) The International Federation of Trade Unions demands therefore in all countries the establishment, development and statutory safeguarding of compulsory systems of :
- (19) (a) Sickness Insurance, which must comprise the workers and salaried employees and their families, irrespective of the amount of their wages or salaries, and must provide as full compensation as possible for wages or salary lost, together with free medical attendance and medicaments. The assistance for the family must be supplemented by compulsory comprehensive maternity insurance.

- (20) (b) Invalidity, Old Age and Survivors' Insurance, for the purpose of safeguarding livelihood when earning capacity has been permanently diminished or destroyed through old age, sickness or the premature exhaustion of working strength. Survivors' insurance must on the death of the breadwinner guarantee an adequate subsistence to his wife and children or to other dependent survivors.
- (21) (c) Unemployment Insurance. State unemployment insurance must safeguard the worker and his family when it is impossible for him to use his working strength for his and their maintenance. Unemployment insurance must comprise all categories of workers and salaried employees, including landworkers, home workers and seamen.
- (22) The funds required for sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment insurance could be derived either from the contributions of employers, or from the contributions of employers and insured persons, plus grants from public resources, — or entirely by state provision, according to the methods most appropriate to individual countries.
- (23) (d) Accident Insurance (workmen's compensation). the object of which must be to safeguard the livelihood of those workers and salaried employees (with their families) whose capacity for earning their livelihood is wholly or partially destroyed by industrial accident. Special efforts must be made to obtain protection by insurance against occupational disease. Occupational disease must be placed on an equality with industrial accident in social insurance.
- (24) The costs of accident insurance must be borne by the employers alone.
- (25) Social insurance as a whole must fulfil the following functions : the restoration of the health and earning capacity of the worker, the provision of the fullest possible compensation for the loss of wages or salary caused by the various evils covered by it, and the prevention of the onset of these evils by means of precautionary measures, chief among which are regulations for the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational disease.
- (26) The benefits provided by social insurance can be adjusted to the various wage incomes of the different categories of workers or may be a fixed amount for all categories — according to the method found to be best in the specific country.
- (27) The benefits must take family burdens into account.
- (28) Social insurance, as an institution for the protection of the worker, must be placed to a large extent under the self-government of the insured persons. The nomination of representatives of the insured persons on the social insurance bodies must be made by the trade unions as the recognised defenders of the interests of the workers.

- (29) The working class must strive to put an end to all discrimination in national social insurance legislation between native and immigrant workers. Until this has been done, the IFTU demands the conclusion of reciprocity agreements on the widest basis, so that the social legislation of each country may benefit all the workers of that country, without distinction of nationality.

### III. — LABOUR PROTECTION

- (30) The rapid tempo of the modern capitalist factory, with its tendency to increase production, makes it an imperious necessity that man's mental and physical strength should be husbanded and that care should be taken of the sole property owned by the working class, this being also the most valuable asset of the nation as a whole.
- (31) The most effective protection against the premature diminution or destruction of man's working faculties is the limitation of working hours (the duration and payment of which should be adjusted to the productivity of the work) i.e., his possession of sufficient leisure for recreation and for recovery from the fatigues of his work. The adjustment of working hours to the present increase in productivity will at the same time provide the best means of guarding the great bulk of the workers from the fate of permanent unemployment due to the progressive use of machinery in the economic system.
- (32) To cover such period as is necessary to enable the worker to equip himself for other work, compensation might be paid to those workers and salaried employees permanently displaced by rationalisation who have no prospect of utilising their special knowledge elsewhere.
- (33) Then there is the need for providing special protection for specific categories of workers, especially women, juveniles and children, and the wisdom of enabling the workers to experience the full benefits of shorter working hours by far-reaching provisions of the most varied kind. Comprehensive protection for labour is the only way of saving the worker from danger to his health and from the possibility of the premature exhaustion of his earning capacity.

The International Federation of Trade Unions therefore makes the following demands for all countries :

- (34) Hours of Work.  
(a) The 40-hour week or 5-day week to be established as the maximum working hours in all countries and all enterprises.
- (35) In principle the 40-hour week should be established in the form of a 5-day week.
- (36) In works with continuous processes and in those which for technical reasons cannot be closed down on Sundays a shift system should be established providing for a 40-hour week.
- (37) In undertakings which are dangerous to health or involve risk of accident, in underground work and especially exhausting work the working week should be shortened to less than 40 hours, in which case hours of work should not exceed 7 per day.



- (38) (b) The introduction of special rest intervals, to be counted as part of the working hours, especially when work is being done with moving bands and other processes in which technical progress and the tempo of the work have caused greater danger of accident or risk to health.
- (39) (c) Universal prohibition of night-work (between 10 p.m. and a.m.) for all undertakings which are not forced to do night-work either on account of their nature or for technical reasons. A higher wage rate must be paid for Sunday work and night-work, both to shift-workers and also in exceptional cases. The total number of hours of overtime shall not exceed sixty in any one year.
- (40) (d) Working hours of land-workers must be regulated with due regard to seasonal influences, and with strict adherence to the principle of the 40-hour week and the average annual working hours as computed on this basis.
- (41) The reduction of hours of work should not cause any reduction in the standard of living through wage-cuts.

#### Holidays and Leisure.

- (42) Apart from the demand for Sunday rest and adequate intervals of rest during normal working hours, longer consecutive holidays are becoming increasingly necessary, because the present rapid rate of production is so exhausting to the bodies and nerves of the workers and salaried employees that without such longer intervals of holiday they are in danger of premature loss of the capacity for earning their livelihood. Longer periods of time are especially necessary to enable overstrained nerves to relax and recover.
- (43) The International Federation of Trade Unions therefore demands in all countries, in addition to the Sunday rest and the general prohibition of night-work :
- (44) (a) Legislation establishing a consecutive weekly period of rest of at least 36 hours.
- (45) Statutory regulation of shop closing.
- (46) (d) An annual consecutive holiday for both manual and non-manual workers, with continued payment of wages or salary, the duration thereof to be graduated according to length of service and to the physical strenuousness and nature of the work.
- (47) (c) For apprentices and young wage-earners between 16 and 18 there must be at least 2 consecutive weeks of holiday with pay. As a transitional measure, until all wage work is prohibited for children under 16, these must have at least 3 consecutive weeks of holiday with pay.
- (48) The holiday homes founded or to be founded by trade unions and other working class organisations in order that holidays may be wisely spent should receive grants from the state or other public bodies

### The Protection of Children, Young Persons and Women.

- (49) Children and young persons must be guarded by appropriate protective measures from being brought into the productive process at too early an age and thus subjected to a strain which would hamper their physical and mental development and do them lifelong injury. Suitable measures must also be taken to enable young persons to acquire adequate knowledge and proficiency in their trades. The need for the very young to earn money, a need which is deeply rooted in the capitalist system of human exploitation, must not be allowed to hamper the intellectual development of the young. The wage-earning woman is also in special need of protection.
- The International Federation of Trade Unions demands therefore for all countries :
- (50) (a) Compulsory and free school attendance, up to the end of the 18th year (inclusive of vocational training and advanced education), comprising a minimum period of twelve years, divided into different educational periods based on the mental and physical development of the child. The three periods to be considered in respect of compulsory education are : 1) elementary education, the same for all children, without distinction of sex (6 to 12 years of age); 2) lower-grade middle school education (12 to 16 years of age); 3) higher-grade middle school education or vocational education (16 to 18). From 14 onwards, differentiation in education is desirable for the sake of adjustment to the first manifestations of individual aptitudes and tastes. The teaching given in the third period should be a systematic preparation for the exercise of a calling (industrial, commercial, agricultural, artistic or domestic) or for higher education.
- (51) (b) Statutory prohibition of<sup>1</sup> all wage-work for children and young persons up to the age of 16.
- (52) (c) The vocational education of the third period, from 16 to 18 years of age, must be given in the ordinary working hours of young workers. The employer must allow the young worker to attend a school during working hours without reducing his earnings. The trade unions must have due influence on this vocational education. The institutions created for the training of young workers and apprentices must be supplemented by adequate regulations making it impossible for masters to take on too many apprentices. The vocational school system must be supplemented by the founding of vocational guidance centres, with the co-operation of employers and workers.
- (53) (d) Prohibition of night-work for women except in certain cases essential to the interests of the community and determined after consultation of employers' and workers' organisations. Absolute prohibition of night-work for young persons up to 18 years of age.
- (54) (e) Prohibition of the employment of young persons and women in dangerous or unhealthy work, in tending dangerous machinery, or in underground mining.

- (55) (f) General prohibition of the employment of women for 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after childbirth, no obstacles of any kind being put in the way of her resuming her calling afterwards.

#### **Home Work.**

- (56) The persons employed in home work form in almost all countries that section of the working class which are exposed to the acutest form of the ruthless exploitation of the capitalist system. In so far, and so long as there is no prospect of achieving the prohibition of home work, desirable though this is in principle, the IFTU demands the inclusion of home workers in all branches of social policy, and furthermore :
- (57) (a) Prohibition of home work for all work which may give rise to serious prejudice to health or to poisoning, and for hygienic reasons special prohibition of home work in the food and drink trades.
- (58) (b) Legislation establishing and regulating medical and house inspection of home industry.
- (59) (c) Expansion of the system of shop stewards in a form suited to the workers of a home work industry.
- (60) (d) Creation of joint wage boards or wage committees to fix wages and to determine minimum rates in home work.

#### **Collective Agreements and Trade Union Right of Consultation.**

- (61) The protection of the workers, the safeguarding of an adequate standard of living, and the observance of labour protective legislation are only really effective when they have become the collective gains and the general property of the working class. The International Federation of Trade Unions demands, therefore, in all countries :
- (62) (a) The regulation of working conditions by the system of collective agreements between employers' organisations and trade unions.
- (63) (b) The establishment for workers of all categories of works' representation on equal terms of employers' and workers' organisations to facilitate the settlement of labour disputes by arbitration. The chairman of such committees shall have no right to vote except with the unanimous consent of both parties.
- (64) (c) The establishment for workers of all categories of works' representative bodies (Labour Committees, Works' Councils, Shop Stewards with rights guaranteed either by law or by collective agreement, and adequate protection against victimisation.
- (65) (d) The duties of such bodies vary in different countries in accordance with established practices : they include the settlement of disputes of workers among themselves or with the employers, the establishment

and supervision of factory measures for the protection of health and the prevention of accidents, consultation in the appointment or dismissal of new workers, the carrying out of legislation for the protection of Labour and the supervising of the observance of the provisions of collective agreements in collaboration with the trade unions.

- (66) (e) The IFTU demands with especial emphasis the right of the trade unions to be consulted in the preparation and carrying out of measures of rationalisation.
- (67) (f) Legal disputes between employers and individual workers as to wages, periods of notice, holiday conditions, fines, etc., to be settled in Labour Courts, consisting of employers and workers on equal terms.
- (68) (g) The IFTU demands the establishment by law of Labour Exchanges, either public or under the joint management of employers and workers, which would find employment for workers and apprentices free of charge. It demands the abolition of all fee-paying employment agencies, including those for seamen.
- (69) The fixing of wages and the establishment of other statutory regulations dealing with Labour is primarily the business of national trade unions. In principle, however, the IFTU demands the payment of wages and salaries in cash, the abolition of the truck system, and the prohibition of work on a commission basis unless a reasonable minimum salary is assured.

The IFTU further demands :

- (70) (a) Abolition of the radius clause in labour contracts. As a transitional measure, payment of wages while the radius clause is still in force. Adequate protection of the intellectual and material rights of all workers and salaried employers who in respect of their inventions are in the service of others, this protection to be insured by framing on suitable national and international lines legislation dealing with the rights of inventors and the like.
- (12) (b) If periods of notice are fixed for special groups of workers, these should in no case be more advantageous to the employers than to the workers; as far as is appropriate to individual trades and individual countries, the period of notice should be more advantageous to the workers.
- (72) (c) A clear distinction between labour contracts and the leases of company dwelling-houses.

#### IV. — APPLICATION AND SUPERVISION OF LABOUR PROTECTION

- (73) Practical experience has shown that it is not enough to pass social insurance and protective legislation in defence of the health and life of the worker, but that the real crux of the matter lies in the way

in which such laws are applied. The efficacy of all social legislation depends on the form and adequacy of the regulations providing for its execution and supervision.

- (74) Social legislation must therefore be supplemented by protective legislation and by regulations providing for the supervision of its observance.
- (75) Protective measures of the kind demanded in the international sphere by the IFTU are :
  - (76) (a) Legislation ensuring the widest protection against occupational risks.
  - (77) (b) Legislation making it compulsory upon employers to provide first aid in case of accident.
  - (78) (c) Legislation making it compulsory to label working materials containing poison and to indicate the amount contained.
  - (79) (d) Extension of such legislation by international convention.
- (80) Specific measures are needed for specific trade categories. Such are : an international convention concerning the carrying of heavy loads; the protection of seamen against specific occupational diseases, especially tropical diseases; the recognition by all maritime states of the agreement for the protection of human life at sea and the further expansion of this agreement; the creation of an international seamen's code; the issue of regulations fixing the number, qualifications and composition of ship's crews, together with the abolition of all exceptional penal regulations for seamen, and the inclusion of institutions for facilitating and accelerating the settlement of labour disputes.
- (81) The IFTU also demands a greater measure of health protection in rationalised factories and the expansion of regulations for the prevention of accidents, especially suitable measures laying down that machines must be equipped with safety appliances, these to be supplemented by appropriate propaganda among the workers by means of placards, information, photographs, etc., calling attention to the dangers threatened.
- (82) The best way of attaining this end is to establish an efficient factory and workplace inspectorate, which must give special attention to the strict observance of the laws and regulations dealing with factory hygiene, this to be done personally in respect of the staff and also by sanitary measures regulating the building of the factories themselves : also measures providing rational supervision of the health of apprentices.

- (83) The IFTU demands the co-operation of the Trade Unions, not only in discussing, taking decisions respecting, and carrying out legislative measures for labour protection, but also in the admission of duly qualified workers to the factory inspectorate service, and the co-operation of trade unionist shop stewards or works' councils in the practical measures taken to apply protective legislation, such co-operation being supplementary to and in aid of an adequate state service of factory inspectors.
- (84) Factory inspection must also be extended to home work.
- (85) Together with these measures, there must also be early instruction in vocational schools of the methods of preventing accidents and concerning the protective legislation in force.
- (86) It is the duty of the State to see that a sufficient number of the younger doctors are efficiently trained for the special field of social hygiene.
- (87) All the demands made in the social sphere must be regarded as applying to all categories of workers, without any exceptions whatsoever. The IFTU, in enumerating its social principles, is consciously seeking to educate for progress, a progress which must be shared by all the workers of the world. All legislation, etc., which restricts or hampers the freedom of movement of the worker and his choice of a place of work should only be approved temporarily in so far as it is found necessary for the protection of the working class of the country in question.
- (88) The IFTU is however fully convinced that the health and welfare of the working class is not dependent alone upon their level of wages and the extent of legal protection afforded to them; it also depends very largely upon the working class housing conditions in the various countries.
- (89) The IFTU demands therefore that in all countries special attention shall be devoted to the working class housing question, in order that the working population may have dwellings worthy of human beings and may not be exposed to permanent hygienic dangers at home, in addition to those which they suffer in the pursuit of their callings.
- (90) The International Trade Union Movement is aware of the fact that the welfare of mankind cannot be safeguarded until the capitalist economic system has been supplanted by a Socialist system of economic planning, based on the principle of economic administration for covering human needs. The demands set up in the « Social Policy » of the IFTU are minimum demands, which are imperatively called for by respect for man and his labour as the highest good of every nation. To fight for them is the duty of the trade unions of all lands — to attain them will be a great step forward towards the establishment of Socialism.

## SECTION V

### The Fight for Disarmament and Against War

#### MEETING OF THE JOINT DISARMAMENT COMMISSION OF THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS ON THE 20th MAY, 1933.

On the afternoon of the 20th May the Joint Disarmament Commission of the two Internationals met under the chairmanship of Comrades Albarda (LSI) and Jouhaux (IFTU) to discuss the position of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva and, in particular, the proposal of Roosevelt, the American President, and Hitler's attitude to the disarmament question. The meeting was attended by the following:

Representing the LSI: Albarda (chairman), Gillies, de Brouckère, Renaudel, Vandervelde, Modigliani, Bracke, Bauer (for Deutsch), Hiltferding (for Breitscheid), and Adler, Secretary of the LSI;

Representing the IFTU: Jouhaux, Jacobsen, Tayerle, Citrine, General Secretary Schevenels and Assistant Secretary Stolz.

Comrade Jouhaux gave a full report of the work of the Disarmament Conference, stating that the appeal of the American president had met with a certain amount of sympathy from the International Labour Organisation, especially as his appeal runs counter to the tendencies which have imperilled the work of the Disarmament Conference. He expressed his regret that, although Roosevelt's appeal shows America's willingness for closer co-operation in the work of the maintenance of peace, yet it gives no precise information on this point. The chief difficulties in the negotiations of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, — which will undoubtedly be continued — are to be found in connection with the questions of qualitative disarmament, the control over the manufacture of war material, and the elimination of weapons for offensive warfare: and further in reference to the last-named point, the control of aviation. Jouhaux considers that it is a success for the unremitting efforts of the international working class that there is universal recognition to-day of the need for international permanent control of the war industry, both public and private. The policy of the workers' organisations will continue to be to secure such control during the manufacture of war materials, and not postpone it till the goods come into the market.

The very thorough discussions were finally summed up in the following resolution:

« The Joint Disarmament Commission of the LSI and the IFTU declares that the systems of dictatorship which are multiplying in Europe are grave dangers for peace and constitute a particularly serious obstacle to the realisation of disarmament.

In spite of this obstacle, and even because of it, the action in favour of disarmament must be energetically continued by supporting every serious and effective attempt to secure a substantial reduction of armaments. With this end in view, the workers' and Socialist organisations will support every loyal effort made to avoid a failure of the Disarmament Conference. The Commission considers that the British Disarmament Plan, though insufficient, may be taken as a basis of discussion which will make it possible to secure

- 1) the suppression of defensive armaments,
- 2) the establishment of an international, permanent and mobile procedure of control,
- 3) the conclusion of pacts of non-aggression, including, in particular, an undertaking not to have recourse to aggression, to any sort of violence, or to an invasion in any circumstances.

The Disarmament Convention must also include provisions for the suppression of the freedom to manufacture arms and munitions of war. The manufacture which is permitted, whether it is State or private manufacture, and also the export of arms, must be placed under the control of a permanent disarmament commission.

The system of licences to be established for the manufacture and export of arms must comprise licences specifying the number and character of the arms to be manufactured and exported. These licences must be reported to the Disarmament Commission in order that it may take opportune action in cases in which the convention is infringed.

The Joint Commission desires to warn the workers not to allow themselves to be deceived by the appearances of the speech made by the dictator Hitler, which are in formal contradiction with the whole previous attitude and activity of the Nazis and of their leader.

It must not be overlooked that the whole tendency of the Hitler Government is to secure the re-armament of Germany.

Although we maintain the right of all countries to equality, which we have always defended, we shall continue to declare that this equality can only be realised by progressive, simultaneous and controlled disarmament.

We cannot admit that a dictatorship, based on violence and the negation of the most elementary human rights, which has no other preoccupations than to make preparations for the military education of young people, to establish a military régime of compulsory labour and to arm its storm troops of social reaction should draw its authority from a vague international convention which tacitly leaves it free to do these things. »

#### JOINT DISARMAMENT COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (24th AND 25th AUGUST 1933)

On the 24th and 25th August 1933 the Joint Disarmament Commission of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) and the Labour and Socialist International (LSI) held a meeting at Paris, which was attended by Comrades Jacobsen, Jouhaux and Schevenels on the part of the IFTU and passed the following resolution, which was confirmed by the LSI Congress which was sitting at Paris at the same time:

« The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Conference of the Labour and Socialist International note the fact that the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations has not yet secured positive measures of disarmament. On the other hand, the continued violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaties by Japan, the growth of Fascism in Europe through the advent of the Hitler Movement to power in Germany and the open desire to re-arm in secret which is displayed by German Fascism, are threatening mankind at one and the same time with an increase in armaments, to which large countries seem to have committed or resigned themselves, and with the possibilities of a general war.

These facts should make the peoples and the governments, and particularly the working class, consider the seriousness of the situation, which is created in particular by the re-armament of a State, which, while stamping out all democratic rights and liberties, decides in favour of external violence as well as in favour of violence at home, and creates the myth of a war of revenge and expansion.

The General Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations must resume its work without further delay with the determination to secure an effective reduction of armaments, which alone is capable of diminishing the dangers of war.

The LSI and the IFTU reaffirm their common attitude in favour of the equality of rights and duties of all nations, an equality which cannot find its realisation to any degree in the re-armament of any country whatsoever.

Among the measures they consider as essential, and which are made even



more necessary because of the secret armaments and because there are countries where there are no rights of political and trade union organisation, no freedom of press and of opinion, the IFTU and the LSI underline the necessity for the complete abolition of the private manufacture of armaments and the creation of a system of supervision exercised permanently and on the spot in regard to all countries by international organs of investigation.

The IFTU and the LSI address an urgent appeal to the members of all working-class organisations to provide their help in establishing this system of supervision and enabling it to function.

In full agreement with the International Trade Union Congress held at Brussels in 1933, the LSI and the IFTU declare that the general strike remains the supreme weapon of working-class action against war, after all means of political and Parliamentary pressure have been tried and proved unavailing.

Within the framework of present international treaties the moment for the final intervention of the working class is determined by the recourse to arbitration, either as a result of the action of the President of the League Council in calling for arbitration in virtue of Article 11 of the Covenant, or of an appeal to arbitration made by any government acting on the basis of the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris, or, failing this, by a decision of the IFTU and the LSI that it is indispensable in view of the grave nature of international events. Every country which refuses to accept this procedure must be considered as the aggressor by the international Labour Movement. From that moment it is the duty of the organised workers to organise the general strike in that country. It is the duty of the organisations in the other countries to support this movement and to declare a boycott of the aggressor country.

The two Internationals call the attention of the world to the dangers residing in the repeated and tolerated violation of general covenants and treaties. In this manner the authority of international institutions is diminished and day by day the possibility grows of a return to the international anarchy which provoked the war of 1914 and which has already and very recently permitted a war of conquest in the Far East by the non-application of the new international treaties.

The Governments must therefore take note of the fact that Socialism and the working-class organisations will hold them responsible if they do not pursue a more courageous and vigorous international policy.

At a time when the Fascist governments are creating uneasiness and mistrust, it is the imperative duty of the democratic governments to show no accommodating spirit in regard to these violations of international agreements and to refrain from associating themselves with any weakness in the task of disarmament.

The Disarmament Conference can neither come to an end nor fail, so as to leave the road open to re-armament, to a new competition in armed peace and to a world catastrophe.

A substantial disarmament convention under rigorous supervision is a guarantee of universal security. It must be concluded. »

#### MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL IN WEYMOUTH FROM THE 27th TO 29th AUGUST, 1934.

« The General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions calls the special attention of the workers to the dangers of the international situation.

The economic crisis and the dictatorships which have secured power in various countries, have fomented to the greatest possible degree national antagonisms and have fostered chauvinism and militarism.

The world, and particularly Europe, is bristling with bayonets, and fleets of warplanes are being held in readiness to pour out poison gases over the civilian populations.

Once again the armaments race has become the aim of the policy of the governments.

More than ever resolved to struggle against war, the organisations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions confirm the decisions taken at the International Congresses of Stockholm and Brussels, which demand that the League of Nations should take preventive action against war by the procedure of international arbitration for all political and economic conflicts between the nations.

The IFTU will have to denounce the aggressor nations and to adopt against them measures of direct action (boycott, general strike, etc.) suitable to check their bellicose attempts.

The Executive of the IFTU is instructed to follow closely the development of events, so as to be in a position to take decisions for the action which it is necessary to take.

In connection with the Disarmament Conference, the General Council of the IFTU refuses to accept the failure of this last hope of the mass of the people and demands that from the reopening of the discussion of the Conference the proposal now in the hands of the President, Comrade Henderson, for the suppression of the private manufacture of armaments and for the establishment of international supervision of the manufacture, sale and transport of arms and munitions of war, shall be accepted. »

#### REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, MEETING AT WEYMOUTH, 27th AND 28th AUGUST, 1934.

##### Action against War and Disarmament.

The twelve months which have gone by since July 1933 have been enough to modify profoundly the aspect of the most difficult and disquieting problem which at present confronts us. This is the question of propaganda against the war mentality and action against a possible recurrence of the cataclysm of 1914-1919. For this question, by imperceptible or abrupt stages, according to the trends of international politics, has been transferred into the terrible problem, heavy with responsibility, of direct action against war — the plague whose shadow hangs over us and whose imminence is unfortunately becoming generally accepted as inevitable. This resignation in the face of oncoming disaster is perhaps the worst effect which Fascism has everywhere had on the morale of the peoples, more particularly by creating a state of mind which is the forerunner of the war psychosis.

There is however no justification for black despair, for believing that there is no way out or that the world working classes themselves are awaiting with resignation what seems to be inevitable, a train of events against which their will and courage can avail nothing. But it is nevertheless true that the state of the world gives no grounds for optimistic speculations, or even for a hopeful outlook. The great ideals of such high promise, which presided over the setting up and activities of the League of Nations and its connected bodies, have suffered a most disquieting weakening. Instead of a harmonious international system of recognition of mutual and peaceful obligations, we see developing, or more properly being reborn, that tendency towards what are now euphemistically known as regional pacts and what was formerly called the balance of power, a phrase full of sinister memories and evil auguries. At the risk of still further darkening the picture, mention must also be made of the open restart of the mad race in armaments which, without the aid of a miracle, the Disarmament Conference, seems powerless to prevent.

It was the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the disappointing progress of the Disarmament Conference which resulted from it which started off the armaments race again and gave rise to a change in the mentality of the politicians and the methods of the diplomats towards the old system of the balance of power in Europe, based on a network of alliances and counter-alliances, either public or secret.

It should be noted in passing that one of the main reasons for the discredit in which certain people are trying to submerge the League of Nations, although this body is very useful in spite of its present inadequacies, for the withdrawal of Nazi Germany from Geneva and for its disparagement by Fascist Italy is the

prohibiting influence which this institution exerts, willynilly, on those who are trying to return to a system of secret alliances and underground negotiations. This consideration alone would if necessary be enough to decide in favour of those who think we should return to Geneva, for they think that it is there if anywhere that a possibility of bringing about an improvement in the present situation lies. They believe in fact that without this the efforts made to consolidate or rather to maintain peace be the conclusion of general pacts against all kinds of aggression, like that of Locarno and that of the « Eastern Locarno » serve as scarcely more than a convenient screen for methodical and Machiavellian preparation for war.

In the face of the events and tendencies of the day, which are at the same time both provoked and fed by the Fascists, Geneva should take a definite line : fight against Fascism, the accomplice of capitalism, which is deliberately pushing the world into war. The duties and responsibilities cannot from now onwards be evaded.

The development of events has naturally given rise to controversy and contrasts in points of view among Trade Unionist and members of allied parties. Thus, discussion arises once again about the problem of national defence and about the idea sometimes put forward of a « preventive » war, i. e., of an armed fight of democratic countries against those under Fascist domination. These points are merely mentioned to show that the workers have not remained inactive and paralysed before the threatening future.

We do not propose to include in this report an account of all the events which have occurred within this short space of time, which has been marked by such remarkable changes, especially as all these events are receiving our constant consideration in all countries without exception.

For the international Trade Union Movement, indeed, it is not merely a matter of realising to the full the complicated situation into which we have been thrust by the lamentable failure of some governments and the perfidious complicity of others, backed up by the insatiable appetite of the arms racketeers and cannon merchants which has been again unleashed. Our task is to find ways of preventing, arresting or circumscribing the catastrophe which we fear.

Under no circumstances whatever is the proletariat prepared to let itself be inveigled by any kind of promise into a fresh massacre.

The International Trade Union Congress held at Brussels in July-August 1933, when the world situation was not so disquieting as it is to-day, took important decisions, of which the import and timeliness are just as great if not greater to-day in view of the gravity of the situation.

The text of the resolution which was adopted is as follows :

« The Sixth Ordinary International Trade Union Congress at Brussels, 30th July to 3rd August, 1933, places upon record its continued determination to fight for disarmament and the prevention of war. It acknowledges with gratitude the importance of the work already carried out by the International Federation of Trade Unions against war and in face of the complication and difficulties created by the events of the last few years. The International Labour Movement considers that propaganda against war must be continuous and enthusiastic and must be one of the essential aims of the organised working class. In this propaganda no effective method can be neglected : pamphlets, films, lantern slides, model lectures and petitions, etc. must be prepared. International demonstrations, when possible on the frontiers, addressed by speakers of different nationalities, must be organised simultaneously in the various countries as a preparation for international anti-war weeks. It must urge the complete abolition of the private manufacture of armaments, and an effective national and international control over the production of and trade in arms and munitions of war. It calls upon the united Labour Movement of the world to join in the struggle against war and to assist in providing such financial aid as may be necessary for the financing of those sections of the working class who may be called upon to take active measures against aggressor nations. It recognises that the general strike is the ultimate weapon of the working class against war, but believes that working class action, to be effective, must be taken at the psychological moment. Within the present structure of international society this moment is indicated by the appeal to arbitration of the President

of the League of Nations, or the appeal of any government acting in pursuance of the Peace Pact of Paris, or at such time as may be determined by a joint committee of the IFTU and the Labour and Socialist International specially formed for the purpose of giving a lead to the working class when that state of crisis exists. In its view every political, economic or other dispute must be submitted to arbitration, if not capable of settlement by the League of Nations. Any country which refuses to accept this procedure must be considered by the International Working Class Movement as the aggressor country. From this moment the duty of the organised workers of the aggressor country is to declare a general strike. The duty of the organisations of the other countries is to support this movement and organise a boycott of the aggressor country.

This Congress, having considered specifically the situation created by the dictatorships existing in various countries, which are not only suppressing individual liberty, but also a danger to the liberty of nations, instructs the Executive of the IFTU to take such steps as will ensure the political and economic isolation of any such state which menaces peace. It considers that resistance should not be left entirely to the organised working class, but that lovers of freedom and peace throughout the world in every grade of society, but especially youth and women, should rally in defence of their beliefs and lend every moral and material support to all working class activities against war.

Although the Congress has pledged itself to continuous propaganda against war, it voices the opinion that the workers of the world will be profoundly disappointed if the Disarmament Commission fails to achieve immediate practical results and therefore appeals to the Geneva Conference to continue its labour until success is achieved. »

This resolution, expressing the point of view of the IFTU at its Brussels Congress, envisages a triple end: conclusion of a disarmament convention, direct defence action against the danger of war, action against aggressors.

Regarding the first point, the action is being carried on and whenever the time was appropriate the necessary efforts have been made to obtain a convention on reduction and limitation of armaments, suppression of the private manufacture of arms and munitions or at least permanent international and public supervision of the armaments industry and trade. We have to admit however that, as shown elsewhere in the introduction to this report, no progress at all has been made in this sphere.

With regard to action against an aggressor nation and proletarian action against the danger of war, the Brussels Resolution lays down all the necessary lines for working class action. It expresses quite clearly the intention of the organised workers of the world of tirelessly pursuing their action against war and of mobilising at the desired moment all their energies to avert the menace. The resolution shows that the internationally organised workers have decided to resort, at the critical moment, to their supreme weapon, the general strike, which is to be used by the workers of any country of which the responsible government refuses to submit itself to arbitration and which will therefore be considered by the international working class movement as the aggressor country. At this moment, the organisations in the other countries will have to support this strike action and organise a boycott of the aggressor country. Bearing this in mind, the Executive decided to consult the National Centres, as it considered that, if the measures envisaged were to achieve success, the action should be fully prepared beforehand so that there would be no delay when the time came. The Executive therefore decided to ask for replies to three definite questions which were circulated on the 20th October, 1933:

1. What do you consider to be the best practical way of carrying out the Anti-war Resolution, especially in connection with the general strike? Above all, what measures would you yourselves take?
2. Do you consider that the IFTU Executive is competent to determine the best moment for launching the action prescribed by the Brussels Resolution?
3. Do you consider that, when the Executive has decided this question of the propitious moment, it would be necessary to convene the General Council or some other form of International Conference before proceeding to take action?

The Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions has already received a certain number of replies to this consultation or is aware of the point of view likely to be taken. Some National Centres have not yet finished consulting all their affiliated organisations, or are still awaiting the decision of their respective Congresses. This means that the Secretariat of the IFTU is not yet in a position to present a complete and exhaustive report on this question, but it has compiled for submission to the General Council all the views of which it so far has knowledge, so that as much light as possible may be shed on the question.

The following is a brief summary of the replies received and the information which has so far been obtained.

The National Centre of Belgium replies that as its country does not pursue an imperialistic aim, it is hardly likely to start a war, but nevertheless, should this occur, the Centre thinks it has enough influence on the working class to enable it to declare a general strike. It considers the Executive of the IFTU competent to determine the best moment for launching the action « if it is still possible for it to meet in full session. » It should be understood, the Centre states, that everything should be done with the agreement of the Trade Union organisations directly concerned and it feels that to think of calling either a meeting of the General Council or any sort of international conference before taking action would mean postponing such a meeting until the end of hostilities.

The Joint National Centre of Czechoslovakia points out that, to be effective, action against war must be started before its outbreak. Once the war has started, it would not be possible to proclaim a general strike, and the Trade Union Movement should therefore decide on a general strike when war seems imminent. The determination as to aggressor countries should rest with the IFTU, and the Executive of the IFTU is the competent body to determine the best moment for the beginning of activities. It thinks that before action is entered on, the Executive of the IFTU should convene a conference of the countries concerned and the LSI, for it is a very serious matter requiring the support of all who are interested in preventing war; if circumstances make it advisable, the General Council of the IFTU should also be called.

The Estonian National Centre considered it impossible to declare a general strike under present conditions and thought the Executive of the IFTU was the competent body to determine the time for launching the action and for directing activities.

The National Centre of Finland replies that, in view of the present weak state of its organisations, it does not feel in a position to reply to the questions asked.

A definite reply has not yet been received from the British Trades Union Congress. In view of the extreme gravity of the decision to be taken, our British comrades decided to submit the question for thorough consideration to the National Joint Council, made up of representatives of the Trades Union Congress, Labour Party and Parliamentary Labour Party. The National Joint Council approved a draft statement which will now be submitted to the Congress of the Trade Unions and the Conference of the Party. This text, although it is as yet only provisional and has therefore not been made public, is of great importance. Judging from the summaries in the press, it appears that the British comrades' aim is to develop a collective peace system in such a way as to make it a sure guarantee of peace. They declare that British foreign policy should be based on the League of Nations, working with the co-operation of non-Member States. The fundamental idea is to conceive of peace as a positive, constructive enterprise, as the building up of a co-operative world commonwealth. Such a conception is exclusive of the old system of alliances and counter-alliances, which there is an attempt to-day to revive. The Statement declares that the old idea of maintaining the balance of power as the final aim of British policy should be abjured once and for all. It condemns all wars of aggression but recognises that the British Government might have to put its forces at the disposal of the League of Nations in restraining an aggressor nation which declined to submit to the authority of the League and which flagrantly used military measures in defiance of its pledged word.

In short, the principle underlying this statement is that all countries should bind themselves not to resort to force, that measures should be envisaged to ensure that any peacebreaker would find himself faced with the united forces of the commonwealth of nations, that recourse to arbitration should become an article of

international obligations, and that effective resistance to war should be organised on the national plane. As at the time of writing the draft had not yet been submitted for approval, we are unable to give here the final decision of the Trades Union Congress.

In Holland, the National Centre, like the Belgian National Centre, considers the possibility of its country declaring war to be very remote while Holland would never seek to evade its obligation to submit to arbitration. The Centre nevertheless mentions a series of points which might usefully form the subject of a more detailed consultation:

- (a) is a general strike really practicable?
- (b) in this connection, what are the relative strengths of the Trade Unions of various orientations?
- (c) what influence does our movement exert in the vital industries?
- (d) extent of the private armaments industry in proportion to the State armaments enterprises;
- (e) existence and if so the size of corps of military police or private armies;
- (f) state of public opinion;
- (g) what political groups exist and what is their respective influence?

The Dutch comrades suggest that if the replies given by the National Centres concerned do not refer to the eventuality of a general strike, the Executive of the IFTU should consider the setting up of a sub-committee to draw up a questionnaire dealing in detail with the three questions which have already been dealt with in the consultation. Moreover they think that the Executive is the competent body to determine both the best moment for launching the action and the means of carrying it out. If time permits, an International Congress should be convened on as broad a basis as possible, or at least an emergency meeting of the General Council.

The Latvian National Centre considered that, in view of the present situation, it would be very difficult to call a general strike, although this would be possible for them if their own country were a party to a military alliance likely to draw them into belligerent activities. But if their country were attacked, which would be the only possibility of belligerent activities in the Baltic States, a strike would be impossible.

The National Centre of Spain points out that, in virtue of the Spanish Constitution, the President of the Republic cannot sign the declaration of war without due regard to the standards laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations and then only if all possibilities of arbitration are exhausted. The Spanish Centre would proclaim a general strike if these provisions were not respected by the government and it cannot see any reason why the same should not be done in similar circumstances in any other country if the IFTU judges it suitable. It thinks that the Executive of the IFTU should determine the moment to begin activities but considers that it would be well for it to act in conjunction with the workers of the country concerned. Finally, it thinks that all anti-war action proposed by the workers of one or more countries should be discussed at a meeting of the General Council.

At the time of compiling this report, these are the replies which have been received by the Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions. As mentioned above, the consultation is not yet completed and will not be even by the time the General Council meets.

It therefore seems scarcely possible, if any useful result is to be obtained, to hold the general debate which the Executive had in mind when placing this question on the agenda for the General Council. To take stock of the whole question and arrive at practical conclusions which could be ratified by all National Centres, the Council would have to be in full possession of the information. This not being so, it would perhaps be better to postpone until a future session a thorough consideration of the problem and a final decision on the particular points submitted to the Council, and to restrict the debate to an exchange of views on the necessity and methods of intensifying the general propaganda and action against the danger of war, the war mentality and the military and imperialistic spirit which is making headway with public opinion. The General Council may, on the other hand, consider it useful to adopt some of the suggestions of the Dutch National Centre, among others and, in so far as it seems useful having regard to the different situations in different countries, to subdivide the questions set out in the circular of the 20th October, 1933, in order to obtain more precise and detailed information on certain points.

REPORT OF THE IFTU GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING IN COPENHAGEN  
FROM THE 21st TO 23rd MAY, 1935, ON ITEM 8 OF THE AGENDA

DISARMAMENT ACTION — THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

Where do we stand to-day?

The section dealing with the fight against war in the IFTU's Report on Activities for 1930-32 says in summarising the situation that « during the period under review Trade Union anti-war action mainly took the form of a struggle for disarmament. » This fight assumed, if possible, even greater importance after the opening of the Disarmament Conference in February 1932, and was intensified in direct proportion to the immense difficulties with which the conclusion of a general Disarmament Convention was faced.

A memorandum submitted to the Disarmament Conference states very clearly what the workers regard as the aim of the Conference and what their attitude would be in the case of its failure.

The workers' main demand for a « substantial, immediate and general reduction of armaments » is headed by the statement that « the system of disarmament will only be complete and durable if it is based on equality of rights and duties ». And point 2 of the memorandum further states that « it is out of the question for equality to be reached by the rearmament of the countries which have been disarmed by the peace treaties ».

The introduction to these demands states that « if there were to be another postponement or if the Conference were not to yield important practical results, there would be no avoiding the admission of complete failure. The Labour Movement would have to draw its conclusions and to determine its action accordingly. »

The time has now come for the admission of this failure and for the appropriate conclusions to be drawn. For there exists no shadow of doubt that, even if the general Disarmament Conference is carried to a finish, the result can in no case be the « Convention for the Limitation and Reduction (!) of Armaments » which is demanded in the IFTU's programme and which was the original aim of the Conference, but that, at the most optimistic estimate, it will result in a Convention for the stabilisation and limitation of armaments, a limitation which, in view of the armaments race entered into since Hitler seized the power and Germany left the League, will mean an upward-tending stabilisation and limitation. Article 1 of the draft Convention originally submitted to the Disarmament Conference, in which the « High Contracting Parties agree to limit and, so far as possible, to reduce their respective armaments » is to-day a dead letter. The end of the negotiations between the Powers, either inside or outside the Disarmament Conference will amount to something like that « equality by the rearmament of the countries which have been disarmed by the peace treaties », which was described in the memorandum of the workers' as disastrous. Hitler has always conceived and will continue to conceive his « equality of status » as allowing him to maintain a military machine corresponding to his own ideas of « security » and equaling or indeed exceeding the military apparatus of the other countries.

This is the present situation, which is still further aggravated by a tendency indicated as follows in the report submitted to the IFTU General Council meeting in Weymouth: « Instead of a harmonious international system of recognition of mutual and peaceful obligations, we see developing, or more properly being reborn, that tendency towards what are now euphemistically known as regional pacts and what was formerly called the « balance of power » — a phrase full of sinister memories and evil auguries. » « At the risk of still further darkening the picture, » the report continued, « mention must also be made of the open restart of the mad race in armaments which, without the aid of a miracle, the Disarmament Conference seems powerless to prevent. »

The miracle has not intervened. The system of regional pacts, the old « balance of power », has been still further extended since the General Council meeting in Weymouth. The fact that such treaties are being concluded outside the League of Nations and that their exact contents are not made known, has the effect, even if they are obviously of a defensive character, of rendering void a great deal of the power they could exercise as instruments of peace within

the framework of the League. Defensive alliances, which are not concluded within the framework of the « collective peace system » on a League basis, postulate an opponent, or else they lead, owing to the « balance of power », to the conclusion of counter-defensive alliances and thus to a general alignment which must sooner or later lead to war.

The whole position is to-day typified by the fact that regional air pacts are being talked of, while even yesterday the abolition of military aviation and the internationalisation of all air transport were officially being discussed by the Disarmament Conference.

Up till a short time ago the anti-war action of the Trade Unions rightly took the form especially « of a struggle for disarmament »; to-day the question of the direct fight against war has again come into the forefront, bringing with it new and serious considerations as to the action to be taken in case of war and the direct prevention of war, in addition to the discussions on the fight for disarmament which must of course go on in any case.

#### (1) Disarmament Action.

As a conference for considering and drawing up a « General Convention for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments » the Disarmament Conference can be regarded as having been adjourned since June 1934; that the work can still go on in the form of consideration of individual aspects of the general problem of disarmament is only due to the fact that, on the initiative of the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference, various committees are meeting or trying to meet. These are in particular the committees on the manufacture and trade in arms, and on the question of publications of budgets and the general purposes committee.

In the last-named, which has a pronouncedly political character, the questions to be discussed are the formation of a « permanent Disarmament Committee » envisaged by the Conference and Litvinov's proposal for the transformation of the Disarmament Conference into a permanent Peace Conference.

The two other committees are to deal with questions which are of the very greatest importance, as has been shown by the United States Arms Enquiry and the agitation being made in every country, on the IFTU's initiative, for regulation of the manufacture of arms. In giving this problem its special attention, the Weymouth meeting of the General Council emphasised this point and demanded that « from the reopening of the discussions of the Conference, the proposal now in the hands of the President, Comrade Henderson, for the suppression of the private manufacture of armaments and for the establishment of international supervision of the manufacture, sale and transport of arms and munitions of war, shall be accepted. »

By directly linking up the treatment of this problem with the resumption of the work of the Disarmament Conference, the Weymouth meeting of the General Council was not only keeping in line with the standpoint of the Trade Unions, which know that the singling out of certain aspects from the whole question can constitute a great danger to the whole work of disarmament, but also with the principles laid down in the League Covenant, of which Article 8 shows that the problem of the private and public manufacture of arms and munitions is a problem inseparable from that of disarmament.

In this sphere, special prominence and emphasis must again be given to the demands put forward in the Conventions and resolutions on the supervision of the trade in arms and regulation of the private manufacture of arms submitted in 1924 by Jouhaux, Thorberg and Oudegeest to the provisional Joint Disarmament Committee, and the resolution adopted by the Joint Conference of the LSI and the IFTU, meeting in Zürich on the 22nd and 23rd May, 1932, which stated that:

« The logical solution of this problem is the total suppression of the private manufacture of arms, and every effort must be made to secure the nationalisation, with publicity by the States, of the industrial enterprises which are devoted to it.

Equally bound up with disarmament is the problem of the international trade in arms and munitions of war. Action in this sphere is more indispensable to-day than it has ever been before. In order to assure respect for a general disarmament convention, it is indispensable to organise, independent of the international control in the various countries which democracy alone can



render really effective, a strict international control both of the public and private manufacture of war material and of the international trade in arms.

In order to render effective the action in this sphere which is incumbent upon the workers, it is indispensable for the convention to forbid states to treat the disclosure of infringements in manufacture as a crime. For all these reasons, and until the private manufacture of arms is completely suppressed, it is necessary to insist upon the regulation and strict effective control of the manufacture of arms and the international trade in arms. »

The general fight for disarmament and the Disarmament Conference itself must not only be continued, but special efforts must be made, internationally and nationally, to push forward with the movement for the supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms, at a time when the revelations of the Arms Enquiry in the United States and in other countries about the scandalous machinations of the arms manufacturers have created a favourable world atmosphere for the action, and have already given rise to successful practical measures taken by the governments or parliaments of several countries. As this question, which is now to the fore, is of particular interest to certain occupations, it would perhaps be fitting to convene again the Anti-War Committee of the IFTU and of International Trade Secretariats, which dealt in 1932, on the decision of the Executive, with action against the transport and manufacture of material of war in the case of threatening war danger and with the nationalisation of these industries and their supervision, so that it can work out the details of the workers' demands, according as the negotiations proceed in Geneva on the basis of the existing draft Conventions and the resolutions already adopted, and taking into consideration the practical measures which have already been applied in individual countries. In view of the change in the world position, with the increasing danger of war and the necessity of combatting it which becomes daily more urgent, the immediately essential task of this Committee would be a fresh examination of the chances of action of the workers and the working out of appropriate suggestions.

## (2) Fight Against War.

We have already pointed out in the introduction that the questions of the direct fight against war and action to be taken by the workers in case of war have come more to the fore than ever before in view of the changes in the political situation and the extremely doubtful fate of the Disarmament Convention. The International Trade Union Congress held in Brussels in 1933 was quite aware of the changed conditions and the new dangers, this awareness being expressed by the narrowing down of the general question of an international general strike in the case of war to the more precise question of the attitude to be adopted towards the aggressor. All the workers of the world were appealed to « to join in the struggle against war and to assist in providing such financial aid as may be necessary for the financing of those sections of the working class who may be called upon to take active measures against aggressor nations ». Aggressor nations were defined as follows: « In its (i. e., the International Working Class Movement) view every political, economic or other dispute must be submitted to arbitration, if not capable of settlement by the League of Nations. Any country which refuses to accept this procedure must be considered by the International Working Class Movement as the aggressor country. From this moment the duty of the organised workers of the aggressor country is to declare a general strike. The duty of the organisations of the other countries is to support this movement and organise a boycott of the aggressor country.

In connection with this new problem, the IFTU Executive decided to organise a consultation of the National Centres on the three questions of: (1) What do you consider to be the best practical way of carrying out the Anti-war Resolution, especially in connection with the general strike? Above all, what measures would you yourselves take? (2) Do you consider that the IFTU Executive is competent to determine the best moment for launching the action prescribed by the Brussels Resolution? (3) Do you consider that, when the Executive has decided this question of the propitious moment, it would be necessary to convene the General Council or some other form of International Conference before proceeding to take action?

As regards the first point, the replies received show that the countries consulted were fully aware of the new aspect of the problem which lays emphasis on action against the aggressor. In the replies of some countries this was expressed in the remark that the country in question could in no case be an aggressor, thus rendering an answer to the question superfluous. In these cases, it was overlooked that the problem is one for the present time and for the future as well. Guarantees which exist to-day may perhaps have disappeared to-morrow and must be replaced by other guarantees and by a different attitude on the part of the workers (this being shown, for example, very clearly in the case of Spain, where the National Centre — this was of course before the tragic events of a few months ago! — confidently replied that it would proclaim a general strike should the President of the Republic infringe the Constitutional provision under which he can only sign the declaration of war if all possibilities of arbitration are exhausted and with due regard to the standards laid down in the League of Nations Covenant).

During the general discussion of all these questions, which had to be postponed at Weymouth as all replies had not then been received and will now take place at this year's meeting of the General Council, distinction will have to be made between the problem as it appears at the present moment and the general question for the future.

Nearly all the countries which replied to the above questions answered (2) and (3) to the effect that the IFTU Executive is in fact the competent body to determine the moment, in cases of danger, for applying the measures provided for in the Brussels resolution, but that an attempt should be made beforehand to convene the administrative organs such as the Executive, the General Council, a joint Conference of the IFTU and LSI, etc.

The Dutch National Centre proposed the more detailed consideration of the question and the « setting up of a sub-committee to draw up a questionnaire dealing in detail with the three questions which have already been dealt with in the consultation ». The Centre also suggested as further points: (a) is a general strike really practicable? (b) in this connection, what are the relative strengths of the Trade Unions of various orientations? (c) what influence does our movement exert in the vital industries? (d) extent of the private armaments industry in proportion to the State armaments enterprises; (e) existence and if so the size of corps of military police or private armies; (f) state of public opinion; (g) what political groups exist and what is their respective influence?

At the time of the Weymouth meeting no definite reply had been received from Great Britain, where the Labour Movement has given its closest attention to the whole question of the prevention of war and has attempted to draw practical conclusions from the new situation created for the individual countries by the Brussels resolution. Since then, the memorandum drawn up by a joint committee of the Trade Unions and the Party has been approved by the British Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party.

This memorandum is of first-class importance for the treatment of the problem of prevention of war. It is not only suitable as a basis for the general discussion envisaged on the whole question, but it puts forward new questions, which must come up for discussion, both nationally and internationally.

The introduction to the memorandum states that:

« The Committee in their statement drew attention to the need for deciding whether the Trade Union and Labour Movement should offer opposition to every war. It goes without saying that the Movement would strenuously resist any attempt on the part of the Government to involve the country in a patently aggressive action against another nation. On the other hand, having in mind the recent events on the Continent, it was felt that there might be occasions when the Movement would assist any defensive action taken to preserve the nation, and its democratic institutions. From the discussion emerged the fact that it would be impossible to lay down a definite line of action for all future emergencies. In any case, the Movement would have to be consulted, as is provided for in the Congress Standing Orders. »

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, the basic attitude towards the problem of disarmament was re-affirmed by quoting a resolution passed at the Labour Party Conference in Hastings, stating, *inter alia*, that « this Conference favours the total disarmament of all nations throughout the world and the creation of an international police force ».

This is followed by a section, headed the « Collective Peace System » which expresses itself, in line with the IFTU, definitely in favour of the League of Nations and equally definitely against that « balance of power » which can only lead to a new armaments race and another world war: « Labour's foreign policy is based on the collective peace system. The collective peace system means the League of Nations plus such co-operation between the League and Non-Member States as may be established either in the Pact of Paris or other treaties, or by any other means. » « Labour believes we must abjure once for all the old negative, backward-looking, competitive idea of maintaining the balance of power as the final goal of British foreign policy. That idea is based on belief in State absolutism, international anarchy, and the inevitability of war. In its place Labour resolutely substitutes as the goal in foreign policy the constructive, positive, forward-looking idea of a Co-operative World Commonwealth. »

After reference has been made to the social and economic factors of peace, the memorandum continues on the differences between offensive and defensive war: « It is necessary to define what is meant by war. It is necessary to distinguish between a war of an aggressive character and a war undertaken in defence of the collective peace system. Labour is emphatically opposed to any form of aggressive war, but we recognise that there might be circumstances under which the Government of Great Britain might have to use its military and naval forces in support of the League of Nations and which flagrantly used military measures in defiance of its pledged word. Labour's policy is directed (a) To expounding and clarifying the undertaking not to resort to war by a non-aggression treaty backed by a definition of aggression, and, ultimately, by revision of the Covenant. (b) To providing machinery and obligations for the final settlement of all disputes by pacific means. This includes facilities for peaceful change in the status quo. (c) To abolish all national armed forces maintained for the purpose of self-defence against other nations, and to substitute an international police force under the League's authority.

The first step in this direction is to abolish national air forces, establish an international force of interceptor and scout planes under League orders, and internationalise civil aviation. The last is also part of Labour's programme for organising world transport.

This policy of reducing national armed forces in return for international guarantees of security backed by international armed forces can be carried out first by a group of countries within the League as a regional agreement under Article 21 of the Covenant. (This Article runs as follows: « Nothing in this Covenant, shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace ».)

Under the heading of « Peace Act », the memorandum goes on :

« The most important legislative measure contemplated by Labour's foreign policy, however, is the Peace Act of Parliament. This Act is to put on the Statute Book our national interpretation of our obligations under the collective peace system and will thereby show to our own people and to the world how seriously we take these obligations and just what we understand them to mean.

The Peace Act will bind the Government (a) To submit any dispute with another State to some form of pacific procedure, and never to resort to force as an instrument of national policy ; (b) To report at once to the League and to comply with the League's injunctions on the basis of reciprocity, in case of having to use force in self-defence.

In addition the Peace Act will empower the Government to apply any economic and financial measures necessary to take its share in collective action to cut off relations with a peace-breaker.

Finally, Labour policy recognises that making a reality of the collective peace system by advancing in the direction of a Co-operative World Commonwealth implies profound changes in our views on the rights of the State over the individual in war time, the duties of citizenship and the nature of patriotism.

Specifically, it means that loyalty to the world community on the issue of peace over-rides any national duty, and notably our duty to the Government in war. We are world citizens because of our country's membership of a world community bound by common treaty obligations — the rudimentary constitution of a nascent World Commonwealth.

Our world citizenship is still strictly limited in nature, owing to the limited character of the treaty obligations that bind us to the rest of the world community. Therefore our world peace loyalty comprises only three duties of citizenship. But these duties rank first of all the duties of good citizens. They are: (a) Arbitration insistence. The duty to insist that our Government settle all its disputes by peaceful means and eschew force. (b) Sanctions Assistance. The duty unflinchingly to support our Government in all risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take part in collective action against a peace-breaker. (c) War Resistance. The refusal to accept our Government's unsupported claim to be using force in self-defence; insistence on submitting this claim to the test of international judgment, or of willingness to arbitrate; refusal to serve or support our Government if it were ever condemned as an aggressor by the League or designated itself as an aggressor by becoming involved in war after refusing arbitration. »

The question of the general strike is dealt with as follows:

« Labour is fully cognisant of the various implications of a General Strike against war. The present Standing Order 8 (h) of the Trades Union Congress which states that a Special Congress should be called in the event of there being a danger of an outbreak of war covers the position and, in spite of the psychological difficulty of taking action once the war spirit has been roused, provides them with the best means of dealing with such a situation. The lack of an independent Trade Union Movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria, etc., makes the calling of a General Strike against their Governments an impossibility. In other countries such as Japan, the Trade Union organisation is too weak to be able to restrain its Government.

It is quite possible that aggressive action might come from some of those countries. A general strike under such circumstances could not possibly be made effective by the Trade Unions in those countries.

The responsibility for stopping war ought not to be placed upon the Trade Union Movement alone. Every citizen who wants peace and every other section of the Labour Movement, must share the responsibility of any organised action that might be taken to prevent war.

The refusal to handle munitions of war is another suggestion which has been made. Apart from the technical difficulties of defining and identifying such munitions, if conducted on a large scale by the Trade Union Movement, such a refusal would very rapidly develop into a general strike. This question is so closely bound up with that of the general strike, that it would be most unwise to go beyond the provisions of the existing Standing Order 8(h) of the Trades Union Congress.

There is no alternative to the collective peace system except a relapse into international anarchy, a race in armaments and, sooner or later, war or revolution or both. Development of the collective system is the only policy that holds out any hope of producing a warless world, of preventing war by organising peace. Those who reject this policy, to whatever political camp they belong, can never suggest any alternative which is not based on the assumption that war is inevitable and which is not directed solely to proposing what should be done after war has broken out. »

Although the IFTU General Council will proceed to a preliminary general discussion of all the problems thrown up by the questionnaire of the Secretariat, the Dutch National Centre's proposals and the British Labour Movement's memorandum, it cannot hope to reach definite decisions in this year's meeting. But, by means of a private, and therefore free and frank, general discussion, the foundations should be laid for the systematic treatment of all the problems which have arisen since the Brussels Congress (possibly by a sub-committee as proposed by the Dutch National Trade Union Centre).

In this connection, special attention must be called to the fact that the number of replies received is lamentably small and that some of the replies are very

meagre in view of the importance of the problem and the decisive nature of the time when it is being dealt with. As the fight against war is an item which will continue to appear for the time being on the agendas of all meetings of the IFTU and will require very responsible decisions, and as, moreover, the treatment of problems of this importance, extent and many-sidedness can only be carried out in a practical and efficient manner if the bodies and individuals which have to deal with them are completely informed on the subject and perform their work with devotion and continuity, National Centres might give their serious consideration to the idea of entrusting a specific comrade or committee with the special task of dealing with all the principal questions connected with this matter as they arise, whereby it would rest with the National Centres whether they should utilise such comrades as technical advisers in international discussions. Only in this way would it be possible to lay down in a way acceptable to all the policy of the IFTU and of the National Centres on this subject, in accordance with the existing national and international situation and bearing in mind all the practical and tactical necessities, and to make sure by means of systematic publicity in the various countries that the individual workers also, who have in the last resort to shoulder the responsibility for practical action, shall be fully informed about all phases of the IFTU policy. Only in this way will it be possible to make this problem the middle point of the negotiations in the International Trade Union Congress to be held next year and to take decisions which shall correspond to the size, responsibility and ideals of our Movement!

#### RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL ON THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE (30th JULY 1935)

The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International note with the greatest anxiety the alarming increase in the signs that an outbreak of war in Abyssinia is to be feared at any moment. They note, further, that the efforts made to find a peaceful solution of the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia have as yet produced no result.

The two Internationals therefore utter an emphatic warning. They lay particular emphasis on the incalculable consequences which such a war would inevitably entail. The peace of the world, and particularly of Europe, is indivisible!

It would be intolerable if the Council of the League of Nations, after having only recently condemned unilateral breaches of treaties, were now to allow an open breach of treaties, and the League's own Covenant, by Fascist Italy.

It would be intolerable if the League of Nations, at the very moment when it is having an inquiry made by a Commission into the methods of applying sanctions against unilateral breaches of treaties, did not enforce against Italy, the aggressor, the provisions of its Covenant.

If in this case where right and wrong are so clear, the League of Nations fails to employ the methods which its Covenant provides to guarantee peace and to apply sanctions against the aggressor, its already seriously diminished authority may receive a fatal blow and the foundations of a collective peace system be destroyed.

If the aggressor knows with certainty that all the sanctions provided for by the Covenant will be applied, this is the strongest guarantee of peace.

The two Internationals declare with emphasis that all must share the responsibility for an outbreak of war who have not done everything in their power to prevent it.

When States Members of the League of Nations provide Fascist Italy with everything she needs for war, and yet prevent any delivery of arms or war material to menaced Abyssinia, thus making it impossible for her to defend her own territory, they are plainly supporting the aggressor.

The two Internationals appeal to the whole world to join with one voice in a protest against Italian Fascism, which is on the point of breaking the peace. They call upon the organisations of the Labour Movement and the supporters of democracy and freedom, to exert their combined influence upon the governments of their respective countries, and to take every possible action with a view to securing a peaceful solution of the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia.

International Federation of Trade Unions.  
Labour and Socialist International.

**THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS  
AND THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL  
ON THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN CONFLICT (26th AUGUST, 1935).**

The Joint Anti-War Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International met in Paris on the 26th August to define its position in the present stage of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute.

It definitely confirmed the resolution already adopted by the two Internationals, especially as regards the obligation of the League of Nations to make the Covenant respected in its entirety, as also all peace treaties, and to take all sanctions against Italy, which is universally recognised as the aggressor in the present conflict.

The Joint Committee decided to renew its appeal to all affiliated organisations. Trade Union and political, urging them to intensify their action and to organise mass demonstrations in their countries on the eve of the meeting of the League Council.

The Joint Committee also decided to convene an extraordinary session of the IFTU General Council and the LSI Executive for the 6th September, to consider the various proposals for action which the Joint Committee had examined in detail.

**JOINT ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION  
OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL  
(5th SEPTEMBER, 1935).**

On the 5th September, 1935, the Joint Anti-War Committee of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions met at Geneva to make preparations for a joint Conference of the IFTU General Council and the LSI Executive, which opened on the morning of the 6th September. Fifty-two delegates, representing the Socialist Parties and the National Trade Union Centres of twelve countries, and eleven of the International Trade Secretariats, took part in the proceedings, the object of which was to consider the problem presented by the Italo-Abyssinian dispute.

At its first session — when the chair was taken by Louis de Brouckère — the Conference dealt with the problem as viewed from the standpoint of the League of Nations. It heard two introductory statements by George Hicks (Great Britain) and Léon Jouhaux (France), and, after an exchange of views, adopted the following resolution unanimously:

« This special Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, meeting at Geneva on the 6th September, 1935, confirms the unwavering allegiance of the two Internationals to the cause of peace and condemns the aggressive attitude of Fascist Italy towards Abyssinia.

In view of the present situation, the Conference, in the name of millions of workers, makes a supreme appeal to the League of Nations to fulfil its mission to preserve peace and insure the supremacy of right over might.

The imminent danger of war plainly indicates the urgent duty of the League and makes it imperative that the Covenant, the whole Covenant, be now applied, including the sanctions provided for in the Covenant.

The two Internationals, conscious of their duties towards peace, are ready to fulfil them in their entirety, and confidently assure the League of the whole-hearted support of the workers, both men and women, they represent, in any measures it may take for the effective application of whatever sanctions may be necessary against the aggressor. »

Having adopted this resolution, the Conference decided to communicate it to the President of the Council and to the League Secretariat, for transmission to the Members of the Council, and appointed a delegation consisting of de Brouckère, Hicks, Jouhaux and Pietro Nenni for this purpose.

The Conference met again in the afternoon — with Schevenels in the Chair — to consider the various aspects of the problem from the point of view of future eventualities. After a thorough discussion, in which many delegates, representing both the political and trade union organisations, took part, it was unanimously

decided that the Joint Anti-War Committee (LSI/IFTU) should keep in constant touch with the development of events, and that it be authorised to convene without previous notice a further special Conference of the IFTU General Council and the LSI Executive as soon as circumstances render such a step imperative. The Joint Committee and the secretaries of the two Internationals were instructed to get into touch immediately with all affiliated political and Trade Union organisations with a view to making a concrete study of all steps to be taken for the purpose of (1) increasing the pressure brought to bear on the League of Nations and the various Governments in order to ensure that the obligations arising out of the Covenant shall be fully implemented; (2) arousing public opinion throughout the world and preparing it for action against the aggressor; and (3) preparing the decisions to be adopted at the above-mentioned special Conference, by both Trade Union and political organisations, in view of the various eventualities which may arise.

#### MEETING OF THE JOINT ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE OF THE IFTU AND LSI (27th SEPTEMBER, 1935).

The Joint Anti-War Committee of the IFTU and LSI held a meeting in Paris on the 27th September with de Brouckère in the Chair; on this Committee of Six, the IFTU was represented by its General Secretary, Schevenels, Hicks (deputising for Citrine) and Tayerle (deputising for Jouhaux), while the LSI was represented by de Brouckère, Leon Blum (deputising for Albarda) and F Adler, the Secretary of the LSI. Jarrigion attended the meeting on behalf of the International Transportworkers' Federation.

The Committee examined the political developments since the joint meeting of the IFTU General Council and the LSI Executive held in Geneva on the 6th September. After a thorough exchange of views on the present position, the Committee took important decisions on the fresh steps to be taken, and also envisaged the convening of another joint Conference.

At the close of the meeting, the following declaration was adopted unanimously:

“ The Joint Anti-War Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International (Committee of Six) draws attention to the extreme gravity of the situation. It is even more obvious to-day that only the energetic policy of collective security demanded by the two Internationals in their resolution of the 6th September can still preserve peace.

The Committee appeals to the workers of all countries to prepare immediately to support with the necessary intensity the sanctions which the League of Nations will in our opinion decide to apply. ”

#### JOINT CONFERENCE OF THE IFTU AND THE LSI IN BRUSSELS ON THE 12th OCTOBER, 1935.

The meetings of the Executive and General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in Brussels on the 11th October were followed on the 12th October by a Joint Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, which was attended by ninety-six delegates. Sixty of these represented thirteen National Trade Union Centres and fourteen International Trade Secretariats, and thirty-four represented seventeen political Parties. Delegates from the International Women's Committee and the Socialist Youth International were also in attendance.

The Conference accepted reports from L. Jouhaux (IFTU) and Louis de Brouckère (LSI) on the proceedings in the leading organs of both Internationals. After a short exchange of views in which general agreement was expressed, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

“ This Joint Meeting of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, in conference at Brussels on October 12th, 1935, desires to place on record our satisfaction at the decision of the League of Nations in declaring that the aggressor in the Italo-Abyssinian

dispute is Italy. In the name of humanity and civilisation it requests that prompt and effective sanctions be taken to check and swiftly put an end to this monstrous outrage upon international law.

It assures the League of Nations of the whole-hearted support of all the organisations it represents in the application of whatever sanctions may be necessary to stop this outrageous war and to restore peace.

It urgently desires that no delay shall occur in specifying the sanctions to be applied and the extent to which it is proposed they should be employed.

It hopes that the Italian Government will be firmly informed that in the ultimate terms of settlement it shall derive no benefit from its acts of aggression.

The organisations represented at the Joint Conference reaffirm the decisions taken at Geneva on September 6th and at Paris on September 27th, and declare that they have taken all practical steps to fulfil them, thus placing at the disposal of the League of Nations the strength of the Workers' organisations and the power of Labour opinion for the defence of peace and right. »

The Conference also unanimously agreed on the following telegram being sent to Benes, President of the League Assembly, reaffirming the standpoint of the workers and their preparedness to support all sanctions:

« The Joint Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, meeting in Brussels on October 12th, feels that only rapid and firm sanctions applied against Italy, the violator of the peace, can put a rapid end to Italy's aggression against Abyssinia, and also reduce the serious dangers which threaten peace in the rest of the world. It therefore hopes that the League of Nations will apply without delay the sanctions necessary promptly and effectively to prevent Italy from continuing the war.

The two Internationals, conscious of their duties towards peace, are ready to fulfil them in their entirety, and confidently assure the League of the whole-hearted support of the workers, both women and men, they represent, in any measures it may take for the effective application of whatever sanctions may be necessary against the aggressor.

It calls upon the League of Nations to declare immediately that it will restore peace on the basis of law, as defined by the Covenant, and will refuse to take account of the advantages which the aggressor hopes to derive from his violence. »

#### Telegram of sympathy to Comrade Henderson.

« Comrades assembled in Matteotti Hall Maison du Peuple Brussels at Joint Conference of International Federation of Trade Unions and Labour and Socialist International to consider measures in support of collective peace system send you fraternal greetings and best wishes for your early restoration to good health enabling you to return to your great work for world peace towards which you have made unprecedented personal contribution.

Schevenels — Adler. »

#### THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS: SUBJECTS AND METHODS OF THE BOYCOTT

Having appointed a Committee of Experts to examine all replies received regarding the application of the sanctions and to answer any enquiries of the Governments, the League's Co-ordinating Committee adjourned on the 6th November, leaving it to the Chairman to convene the next meeting.

The Committee has not left any point of its programme in obscurity. It can pride itself on having conceived every measure it has decided on and submitted to the governments strictly in the spirit of the League Covenant and without any shadow of equivocation.

We give below an exact statement of the sanctions, and the provisions and exceptions laid down in connection with them, based on the official text:



### **First Proposal: Prohibition of Export of Material of War to Italy.**

There can be no two opinions on this point. The prohibition applies to the direct and indirect consignment of all material of war and all contracts, even those now being carried out. Even aeroplane engines are included. Raw materials important for the manufacture of material of war are covered by Proposal N° 4 for the prohibition of certain exports to Italy. But all chemical raw materials required in chemical warfare (mustard gas, lewisite, certain ethyl and methyl compounds etc.) and gunpowder and explosives are incorporated into this first proposal (chemical warfare is incidentally prohibited by the Convention of the 17th June, 1925, but there is no agreement which prohibits the *manufacture* of such material of war).

As far as concerns the fifty-six Member States, this decision has not been adopted by Albania, Austria, Dominica, Hungary and Paraguay.

### **Second Proposal: Financial Boycott.**

This refers to all direct and indirect loans and bank credits, and all share issues, irrespective of whether they are issued by Italy herself or any intermediary individuals or countries.

This proposal has not been adopted by the countries mentioned above nor by Peru.

### **Third Proposal: Embargo on Direct and Indirect Import of Italian Goods.**

The Governments prohibit the import from Italy and Italian possessions of all goods (with the exception of gold in specie and coin, books, periodicals, geographical maps, and music). The embargo also includes goods coming from Italy which are made up in other countries, unless 25 % or more of their value is due to the working up in other countries. Current contracts are also included, but not goods which are already en route, or the luggage of individual persons.

As regards the clearing arrangements arising from Proposals 2 and 3, the Governments have to refuse all new deposits of lire in clearing accounts for exports to Italy. As far as is necessary, they must suspend the operation of all clearing agreements or payment arrangements with Italy, and they must even arrange for the payment into a national fund of all amounts due for goods which have already been imported and not paid for, this money to be used if necessary for the payment of debts contracted by exports to Italy.

Peru and Venezuela, in addition to the first list of countries, have not accepted this proposal.

### **Fourth Proposal: Embargo on Exports to Italy.**

The prohibition of consignments to Italy, either direct or indirect, including the fulfilment of current contracts, but goods already en route at the time of coming into force being exempt, applies to: horses, mules, donkeys, camels and all other transport animals, rubber, bauxite, aluminium, alumina, iron ore and scrap iron, chromium, manganese, nickel, titanium, tungsten, vanadium, their ores and ferro-alloys, ferro-molybdenum, ferro-silica, ferro-silico-manganese, ferro-silico-manganese-aluminium, tin and tin ores, including all ores, scrap and alloys of the above elements.

Since then a second list has been submitted to the Governments which the Co-ordinating Committee will decide to apply as soon as the Governments notify that efficacy of application can be assured. This list includes petroleum, and its subsidiary products, derivatives and waste products, cast iron, iron and steel (steel alloys included) cast, forged, rolled, drawn, pressed or stamped, coal (including anthracite and lignite), coke and its by-products and derivatives.

Here it must be pointed out that certain products in the second list are already being exported no longer from some countries, and the negotiations which are now going on — also with non-Member States — show promise of bringing about a speedy decision, especially in the case of petroleum.

The governments have undertaken to do their utmost to find out the destination of the above-mentioned goods and to check the export of such products, as soon as it takes on an abnormal form, so as to prevent reconignment.

This decision was not adopted by the first-named list of countries, nor by Peru and Venezuela.

#### Fifth Proposal: Mutual Aid.

This proposal is for the Member States, in accordance with the League Covenant, to make good between themselves all falling-off in exports and imports, thus taking part in the organisation of an international system to make up by mutual assistance for all financial and economic disadvantages arising from the application of sanctions.

The application of this proposal is at the moment still under discussion, and can only be gradually put into effect as the difficulties are overcome. For this reason, the replies and observations of the different Governments are not yet available.

A legal Sub-Committee has expressed the view that any legal action which Italy might initiate for the non-fulfilment of contracts should not be admitted. The same applies to all treaties of amity (which, for example, prohibit participation in international agreements), non-aggression pacts, etc. Regarding possible consequences arising from the most-favoured-nation clause, the Committee goes so far as to state that the Member States are justified in taking advantage of anything to their benefit which may arise from the position, while on the other hand care should be taken that Italy derives no such advantages. In this the Committee takes the view that it is Italy which is breaking an agreement, while the application of sanctions is a perfectly legitimate action on the part of the Member States, and that Italy is also committed to the Covenant. As regards any agreement which may have been made for free communications with non-Member States, the Committee states that duty to the League comes before all other agreements, and that no Member State can avoid its obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant on the pretext that it has entered into undertakings with a third country.

#### MEETING OF THE JOINT ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE OF THE IFTU AND LSI IN PARIS ON THE 17th DECEMBER, 1935.

In connection with the tension and difficulties created by the Hoare-Laval « peace plan » (partially removed since then by the unqualified abandonment of the proposals), the Joint Anti-War Committee of the IFTU and the LSI at a meeting in Paris on the 17th December, 1935, unanimously adopted the following resolution, which was immediately transmitted to the League Secretariat to be passed further and was made public through the press and news agencies.

« The League of Nations is at the turning point of its history. It must decide whether the Covenant is to become a reality and if, in this historic hour, every enterprise of war for conquest will be indicted and repressed, or if mankind will revert to wars of spoliation and pillage.

The Laval-Hoare proposals are based on the whole principle of imperialist policy of conquest. They grant an aggressor, defined as such by the whole world, the premium of territorial advantages and of spheres of economic influence as a reward for his cynical breach of the Covenant.

The Joint Anti-War Committee of the LSI and the IFTU, which met in Paris on December 17th, beseeches the League of Nations and all its members to stand unflinchingly in this moment, which is decisive, for the Covenant and for the peace of the world by the application of efficacious Sanctions against the imperialist aggression committed by Italian Fascism.

The LSI and the IFTU have repeatedly declared the inflexible resolution of the international working classes to assist by all means the Sanctions against disturbers of peace. »

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT MEETING OF THE IFTU EXECUTIVE  
AND THE LSI BUREAU ON THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR  
(16th JANUARY, 1936)

« This joint meeting of the Bureau of the LSI and the Executive of the IFTU, held in Paris on January 16th, 1936, has received and discussed reports from the Socialist Parties and National Trade Union Centres in the various countries on the struggle of the working class for peace, and has also considered the international situation in general.

It notes with great satisfaction that world public opinion is demanding with increasing vigour and success the application of sanctions and a solid organisation of collective security. It emphasises, in particular, the success obtained by public opinion in the two great countries whose attitude must make the greatest contribution to the repression of Fascist aggression. Public opinion in Great Britain manifested itself in such a magnificent manner that the Laval-Hoare Plan was frustrated. In France the greatest hopes are raised by the courageous action which is being carried on with growing success. The two Internationals call upon all their affiliated organisations to redouble their efforts, as the vigilance and determination of the mass of the people are more necessary than ever for the re-establishment and consolidation of peace in spite of the underhand manoeuvres from so many suspect quarters.

It expresses its solidarity with the young Italians who have been forced on the battlefields, and with all the victims of the bestial war started by Fascism, without distinction of colour or camp.

It condemns with the deepest indignation the inhuman methods of Fascist barbarism, which vents itself in deliberate and murderous attacks upon hospitals, and upon the sick and wounded.

It calls upon the League of Nations to apply with their full force the sanctions provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations against the crime committed by Italian Fascism upon international law and elementary humanity. It urges the States upon which the application of sanctions most directly depends, not to hesitate any longer before taking the necessary initiative. It calls, in particular, for the immediate application of the embargo upon oil, coal, iron and steel.

It draws attention to the fact that the system of sanctions provided for by Article 16 of the Covenant imposes upon each member of the League of Nations precise and strict duties, and especially the duty to come to the aid of a country which might be attacked while carrying out its duties as a member. Effective action in the present conflict between Italy and Abyssinia might be irremediably compromised if the Powers, and more particularly the Mediterranean Powers, were not determined to offer a common resistance to a sudden attack upon one of their number, and if the collective defence were not adequately prepared in advance.

It cannot protest too strongly against the abuse of the great and complicated problem of the distribution of the raw materials of the earth — which must be solved in an atmosphere of peace — as a pretext for prolonging the war against Abyssinia, and for giving the peace-breaker the prospect of a reward in another form.

It points out once again that no compromise with the aggressor, but only the strict application of international law and an exemplary rebuff for the peace-breaker can deter other aggressors. If Mussolini's aggression were not suppressed there would be little chance of escaping in the near future an act of aggression by Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan.

The quickest possible conclusion of the war in Africa without concessions to the Fascist aggressor is the most urgent demand of the working class in its struggle against Fascism and in favour of peace. »

## The Fight against Fascism

### IFTU STATEMENT OF THE 14th FEBRUARY, 1934, ON EVENTS IN AUSTRIA

The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which held a special meeting in Paris on the 14th February, 1934, to consider tragic events in Austria, declares its feelings of solidarity with and admiration for the Austrian workers in their heroic fight in defence of their rights, liberties and even lives against the armed attack of the Austrian government and its Fascist adherents.

The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been horrified at the calculated policy of provocation which has been deliberately pursued against the Austrian people;

It denounces the barbarous behaviour of the state police and military forces in using artillery against women and children, and in their inhuman reprisals against the men who were defending their liberty — behaviour which has given rise to international complications and paved the way for the seizure of power by the Nazis and the out-break of war;

reasserting its belief in humanity, peace and liberty, it appeals to the working classes and to the whole world to protest against these barbarities, and has decided to take all the necessary steps to show in a practical manner the solidarity of the international working class with the Austrian workers, whatever be the outcome of their fight.

### MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

#### Help for Austria!

In face of the tragedy which is at this moment spilling Austrian blood, the International Federation of Trade Unions desires first of all to proclaim its strong sense of solidarity with and its deep admiration for Austrian Labour, which with incomparable heroism is defending its faith, its liberty and its life against the vile and criminal attack of the Austrian Fascists.

It protests against the base calumnies which the Austrian Government is heaping upon the Labour organisations in seeking to lay on their shoulders the responsibility for the bloodshed and civil war. It is not the workers who have been striving to undermine legal and constitutional government in Austria; they have always endeavoured to defend it. The enemies of legal government are those who, with the power in their hands but false to their oath, have for months past been systematically seeking to destroy the constitutional guarantees which it was their duty to safeguard.

The International Federation of Trade Unions is in a position to prove that for some weeks past it would have been possible to consolidate the government by securing for it the strong support of the three parties, the Christian Socials, the Social Democrats and the Agrarians (Landbund), all three being equally determined to defend Austrian independence and what was left of the democratic regime. Such a government, strong in the support of a majority of the population, would have been able to safeguard order and re-establish constitutional guarantees. It would have been able to protect the country from Fascist aggression. It would have been a sure guarantee of Austrian independence and therefore of European peace.

The final decision rested with Dollfuss. He deliberately refused to enter into any agreement of the kind and took every possible step to prevent such peaceable solution being reached in spite of him.

The International Federation of Trade Unions denounces in the eyes of the public opinion of the whole world a crime thus planned in cold blood.

It calls upon the working class, upon the nations in their entirety and above all, upon the government of all countries laying claim to a love of humanity and peace to demand the cessation of the barbarous and inhuman reprisals now being taken by the police and military forces of the Austrian government on women and defenceless children and on the men who are fighting for liberty and peace.

It launches a strong appeal to public opinion and to the responsible governments, urging them to realise the extreme danger of imminent war arising out of the idiotic policy of Dollfuss and his Fascist adherents. These governments would be taking

upon themselves very heavy responsibilities if they were to hesitate to take every possible step to ward off the catastrophe which is now threatening in Austria and will shortly be fatal to Europe.

Reiterating its homage to the heroism of the Austrian defenders of liberty and peace and again declaring its solidarity with the Austrian population and all the victims of Fascist bestiality, the International Federation of Trade Unions, conscious of its duty of humanity and solidarity, has decided to organise throughout the whole world a relief action on behalf of the victims. Its chief reliance is upon affiliated National Trade Union Centres which, it trusts, will publicly demonstrate their horror of the barbarities of Austrian Fascism and, moreover, take the initiative in organising help in their respective countries.

#### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL TO KARL SEITZ

The joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, held in Paris on the 16th November 1934, addressed the following telegram to Comrade Karl Seitz, who was then in the sanatorium of Auersperg :

« The Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International, which is proud to count you among its members, and the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting jointly in Paris, congratulate you on the exemplary courage which you have shown during the imprisonment to which you have been subjected out of revenge, and hope that the scandal of this flagrant breach of freedom, which has shocked all Europe, will now come to an end.

For the International  
Federation of Trade Unions :  
Léon Jouhaux.

For the Labour and  
Socialist International :  
Emile Vandervelde. »

#### THE INTERNATIONAL RED AID AND THE MATTEOTTI FUND

A proposal for joint action contained in a letter sent by the International Red Aid (Moscow) to the International Federation of Trade Unions, Labour and Socialist International and the Matteotti Fund was replied to by these three bodies on the 18th January as follows :

« In your letter of December 29th, 1934, you approached the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International with a suggestion that the « International Red Aid » and the « Matteotti Fund » should « carry on a united campaign in favour of the Spanish workers », and you « take this opportunity of raising the question of joint international action for the innumerable victims of terrorism in the various countries. »

We do not wish to discuss in this letter the despicable calumnies which the « Red Aid » is spreading against the « Matteotti Fund » in connection with our relief campaign in Austria. Nor do we wish to be drawn here into a discussion as to the sense in which the « International Red Aid » is an organisation « above party ». It is sufficient to recall the following statement made by the President of the Communist International in his opening speech at the Congress of the « Red Aid » in Moscow on May 25th, 1925 : « The International Red Aid is a Communist organisation which takes as its goal the provision of help for the workers who are persecuted by the bourgeoisie throughout the whole world. The International Red Aid is not a philanthropic or a charitable organisation — it must regard itself as a limb of the international proletarian movement. The Executive Committee of the Comintern regards the International Red Aid as one of its branches and indeed as one of the most important of them. » (Red Aid Congress Report, p. 28.)

The Communist International has of course every right to create auxiliary institutions according to its needs, just as the LSI and the IFTU have created an auxiliary institution in the Matteotti Fund. But in consequence of this it must always be realised that the International Red Aid is an auxiliary institution of the Communist International and has no independence.

It is our fervent desire that the real unity of the working class, which would increase its capacity for action to the maximum, may be realised. But a united front between the auxiliary institutions does not mean the organic unity which we advocate.

We will not conceal from you, however, that your suggestion for the « calling of relief conferences in all the countries in question » by the International Red Aid and the Matteotti Fund in common, is bound to give rise to other and more particular objections at this moment. We are convinced that co-operation between our Matteotti Fund and the Red Aid at the present time would in no way assist the relief campaign which we have undertaken on behalf of the victims of the terror in Spain, but would on the contrary prejudice it most seriously. We are fighting for regular legal proceedings in Spain, for the maintenance of legal guarantees, and against the death penalty. At any joint relief conference, such as you suggest, the question would quite automatically be raised why the Red Aid, which reported at its last Congress that it has 8 1/4 million members in the Soviet Union, refrains from advocating in the Soviet Union as well the legal guarantees which it demands in the capitalist countries.

We understand and desire that the Soviet Union should defend itself with every energy against all counter-revolutionary machinations. But we do not understand, and we shall always protest against it, that in the Soviet Union trials take place in the absence of the defendant and the defending counsel, that appeals against sentences, and petitions for pardon, are not considered, and that death sentences are carried out without any respite immediately after the pronouncement of the sentence. The struggle which we are carrying on against the criminal destruction of legal security by the Fascist dictators is seriously prejudiced by the terrible decrees put into force by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR on December 1st, 1934.

These are the reasons which necessarily lead to the fact that the moral power of conviction of the propaganda of the Red Aid is very considerably diminished at this very moment. In the circumstances we regard the present time as most unfortunate for raising the question of joint action between our Matteotti Fund and the International Red Aid. The only way open at the moment is for each of the two institutions to seek for itself to come to the aid of the working class victims as best it can. Such attempts might be very successful if the Red Aid were to abandon its struggle against the Matteotti Fund, and confine itself, as the latter has always done, to its own sphere of activity.

On behalf of the International Federation of Trade Unions, quite a number of delegates; on behalf of the Administrative Committee, every labourer; International: F. Adler; on behalf of the Communist Party, W. Schevenels; of the International Solidarity Fund (Matteotti Fund), Adiefa.

**DECLARATION BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE IFTU,  
MEETING AT ZÜRICH, 9th TO 11th APRIL, 1933**

The International Federation of Trade Unions strenuously opposes Fascism and dictatorship in any form. Fascism is the negation of democracy and inevitably brings in its trail the suppression of the liberties of the people.

The war and the world economic crisis brought about conditions in Germany which our comrades in that country have ceaselessly striven to mitigate. By their action they won the respect of the workers in other countries. They believed in obtaining redress by reason and persuasion. Hitlerism stands for methods of force and for a perverted nationalism which are a grave danger to peace.

It is one of the great tragedies of history that Germany, which had risen to such a high cultural level, should now have committed in its name acts of atrocity that fill the world with horror. Civil rights have been suppressed, freedom of opinion abolished, the organs of the free press prohibited, Trade Unions attacked, their members persecuted, Trade Unionists and Social Democrats held as hostages, all save those who are servile to the Government's policy subjected to the Nazi terrorism. Acts of this kind are unworthy of a civilised country which claims a place in the comity of nations.

The economic depression of world capitalism, bringing in its trail millions of unemployed and under-employed, hopelessness, misery and despair mounting in volume, has been unscrupulously exploited by the enemies of the people.

By their malicious propaganda and activities the Communists have deliberately divided the forces of the workers and thereby weakened their powers of resistance.

The rise of Fascism, that has now fastened itself upon the German people, is a warning to all workers. They must take steps to prevent its emergence wherever democracy is still in being. One of the best guarantees for freedom and peace and democracy is a free and unfettered Trade Union Movement.

To the working masses of Germany we express our heartfelt sympathy in their hour of trial. We assure them that they can always confidently rely upon the solidarity of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

All lovers of freedom must be roused into activity against Fascism and its attendant dangers by voice, by pen, by organisation, by education and by any appropriate economic and political action; this rule of force against reason, of the iron hand against public will, must meet with unremitting opposition from us.

Hail Liberty! Hail Peace! Hail Democracy!

Hail International Solidarity!

#### RESOLUTION ON THE NAZI TERROR OF THE IFTU EXECUTIVE MEETING OF THE 17th AND 18th MAY, 1933

" The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Paris on the 17th and 18th May, 1933, considers it its duty, at the outset of its work, to make the most vehement protest against the renewal by the Hitler Government of Germany of the acts of violence of Italian Fascism. In complete defiance of the will of the German working class, the Hitler Government is suppressing the free trade unions, seizing their offices and robbing them of their means of work and of their libraries and funds.

The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions assures the persecuted and imprisoned German labour leaders of its keen sympathy with them and it also expresses its deepest sorrow for the death of leaders assassinated by Hitler's bands.

Besides these violations of established rights and these deeds of violence to the Federation of Trade Unions :   
 Léon Jouhaux.

THE INTERNATIONAL RED   
 THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS cannot be

A proposal for joint action   
 (Moscow) to the Intern   
 International and the   
 18th January

#### RESOLUTION ON THE NAZI TERROR BY THE JOINT MEETING OF THE IFTU EXECUTIVE AND LSI BUREAU OF THE 19th MAY, 1933

" The Executive of the IFTU and the Bureau of the LSI, meeting in Paris on May 19th, 1933, feel compelled to raise a most vehement protest against the new and unprecedented acts of terrorism and barbarism committed by Hitler Fascism. They express their feelings of sympathy and solidarity with the persecuted workers and with all the other victims of the Fascist dictatorship.

The conscience of all the civilised peoples spontaneously revolts against the monstrous acts which accompanied the rise of this dictatorship, not only by verbal protest but also by other positive action in the political, financial and economic spheres.

No less energetic must be the resistance to the attempts of all systems of Fascism to propagate and impose their political system upon other countries by every means, with the sole aim of encouraging in those countries the restoration, behind a screen of demagogy, of regimes of social reaction which have long been out of date.

They urge the workers and all the nations to realise the grave danger for international labour legislation, world peace and civilisation, constituted by this fanatical nationalism and this political and social reaction, involving forced labour and social dumping, which are presumptuously represented by Italian and German Fascism as a new social order, and call upon them to continue incessantly their implacable fight against the enemies of peace, democracy and social progress. "

## GENERAL BOYCOTT AGAINST GERMAN GOODS

Resolution of the International Trade Union Congress in July-August, 1933.

« The Sixth International Trade Union Congress at Brussels, July 30th to August 3rd, 1933, reaffirms the determination of the Trade Union Movement to defend to the utmost the democratic rights and liberties of the peoples and to resist Fascism and dictatorship in all their forms.

It records unanimous approval of the decision of the Executive of the IFTU in conjunction with the Bureau of the LSI in Paris, May, 1933, in vehemently condemning the acts of terrorism and barbarism committed by Hitler Fascism.

The extraordinary dangers created by the German Nazi régime call for extraordinary measures. The Congress therefore proclaims a general boycott against German goods and products. It welcomes the action of individual National Centres which have already decided on the necessary steps in this direction. All affiliated organisations are now called upon to take immediately, according to their possibilities, the measures requisite to make the boycott effective.

The Congress calls upon the working class and all people of good will to join in the boycott and to assist the victims of the struggle against Fascism by contributing generously to the Matteotti Fund.

The Congress further calls upon all people who believe in liberty and justice to assist the International Labour Movement in the struggle for the defence of freedom, without which no civilisation is possible. »

### MANIFESTO OF THE IFTU AND THE LSI (JANUARY, 1935)

To the Workers of all Countries!  
To all Democrats and Lovers of Liberty!

The struggle between democracy and Fascism has entered upon a new phase, which may perhaps be of dominating importance for a long time to come. No one can escape the feeling that the fate of the European continent will be decided during the next few years. In the democratic countries every effort must be made to maintain and defend the rights and liberties of the people. In the long run democracy will only be victorious if it is possible to awaken a new belief in the idea of liberty in the countries now ruled by Fascism.

During 1934 Fascism has made new advances in quite a number of countries.

In Germany and Italy the dictatorships are suppressing every movement of their subjects in the direction of freedom by means of the most frightful terrorism. The subterranean struggle of the workers against Fascism, the only struggle that is open to them, demands more and more victims.

In Austria the violent combat in February placed clerical Austro-Fascism in power. In the course of a magnificent relief campaign the workers of the various countries provided assistance through the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International for the victims of the fighting. But in spite of this tremendous and magnificent effort of solidarity, further funds are still necessary for the support of the families of the victims and the protection of the courageous spirits who have combined for renewed action in Austria and are in constant danger of imprisonment or confinement in a concentration camp.

In Latvia the coup d'état of May 15th deprived the leading figures in the Labour Movement of their freedom. Hundreds are still in concentration camps. The court martial, which shuns the light of publicity, imposes sentences of long terms of imprisonment after charges which are obvious prevarications. The families of the prisoners are in distress, and they need the assistance of others.

But incomparably greater is the number of victims in Spain. The great rising in October against the threat of clerico-fascism was put down in blood by the forces of reaction. In Madrid alone at least 50 were killed, and the commune of Asturias mourns more than 3,000 dead, the victims of the guns of the warships, the bombs of the aircraft, and the butchery of the Spanish colonial troops. The prisoners number tens of thousands. Without any concrete charge people are being thrown in large numbers into the concentration camps, in which the most intense physical suffering is caused by the overcrowding alone. Thousands of families have been deprived of their breadwinners, and are exposed to hunger.

Never before has the necessity for international solidarity arisen for relief on a large scale so urgent.



The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International have given careful consideration at a joint meeting to the position in the various countries governed by Fascism and dictatorships. The means of the central Trade Union and Socialist organisations in the various countries do not suffice by a long way for all that has to be done. Funds must be raised on a far wider scale than ever before. During the course of the years the Matteotti Fund of the IFTU and the LSI, which was originally founded for the assistance of the victims of Italian Fascism, has raised as a central institution, and through its subsidiary committees in various countries, more than 4,000,000 French francs for the countries without democracy. The relief campaigns for Austria, for which the IFTU raised over 6,500,000 French francs, and the LSI over 1,000,000 French francs, were organised as special actions, but in the same spirit. During the year 1930-1931 the Matteotti Fund carried out a great relief campaign for the victims of the Pilsudski dictatorship, and another in 1933 for the victims of the Hitler dictatorship. It has now been decided that the international character which this Fund has always borne shall also be given expression in its name. In future it is to be called the

#### International Solidarity Fund of the IFTU and the LSI

for the Countries without Democracy (Matteotti Fund).

We call upon all lovers of freedom, all who have a feeling of international solidarity, to contribute their share so that the Fund may be placed in a position to provide adequate help without delay. All contributions are welcome. Collections on behalf of the International Solidarity Fund should be organised in all countries on a large scale. Single contributions and the proceeds of collections should be sent to the following address : International Federation of Trade Unions, 9 Avenue d'Orsay, Paris (7<sup>e</sup>), or paid direct into Account No. 834 of the Crédit Lyonnais (Agence ZS), 3bis Avenue Bosquet, Paris (7<sup>e</sup>). Contributions should be endorsed "International Solidarity Fund".

The men and women who have fought and continue to fight for our common ideal, for liberty, must not go unprotected. Out of the hell of Fascism, out of the prisons of the dictatorships, comes the appeal for international solidarity.

It must not go unheard.

Workers, democrats, decent people in all countries :

It is our duty to help!

Walter M. Citrine, President of the IFTU ; W. Schevenels, General Secretary of the IFTU ; L. Jouhaux, General Secretary of the French National Trade Union Centre ; Corn. Mertens, General Secretary of the Belgian National Trade Union Centre ; H. Jacobsen, Treasurer of the Danish National Trade Union Centre ; E. Kupers, President of the Dutch National Trade Union Centre ; Edvard Johanson, President of the Swedish National Trade Union Centre ; R. Tayerle, General Secretary of the Czechoslovakian National Trade Union Centre ; Emile Vandervelde, President of the LSI ; F. Adler, Secretary of the LSI ; Paul Faure, Secretary of the Socialist Party (SFIO) of France ; J. Van Roosbroeck, Treasurer of the LSI ; Robert Grimm, Swiss Social-Democratic Party ; J. W. Albarde, President of the Parliamentary Labour Party of the Socialist Party of Holland ; Rickard Lindström, Swedish Social-Democratic Party ; Antonín Hampl, President of the Social-Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia ; W. A. Robinson, Chairman of the British Labour Party ; James Middleton, Secretary of the British Labour Party ; George Lansbury, President of the Parliamentary Labour Party of Great Britain ; Léon Blum, President of the French Parliamentary Labour Party ; Louis de Brouckère, President of the Committee for the Examination of the Situation of Political Refugees.

January, 1935.

## Economic Policy

MEMORANDUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION  
OF TRADE UNIONS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY  
AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE, LONDON

The International Federation of Trade Unions considers it its duty to submit to the governments and experts represented at the World Economic Conference, in the name of its membership of almost 14 million members, the following memorandum which originates in its anxiety for the 30 millions of unemployed in the world and it once more solemnly reminds those who hold in their hand the fate of mankind of the desires and demands of the organised working class.

The International Federation of Trade Unions deplors the fact that although it was universally recognised, at the time of the Lausanne negotiations of a year ago, that a Conference was urgently necessary, yet this Conference was postponed for month after month, valuable time being thus wasted in which want and distress were allowed to grow unchecked. It points out that as far back as June 1932 it published a resolution which reads as follows :

« The International Federation of Trade Unions desires to lay special stress on the fact that both the last International Labour Conference and the Council of the League of Nations have agreed on the necessity of finding a definite solution of the reparations problem and the problem of other international political debts, in the interests of the whole world over ; this solution is becoming a more and more urgent necessity.

» Resolutions passed by the International Labour Conference and the Council of the League of Nations show with equal force that the solution to the problem of reparations will only be found when the nations have solved the general problems of war debts, money and credit, production and exchange in a spirit of practical realism, with a view to the rebuilding of economic activity on a broad co-operative basis, taking into account the systematic and progressive development of the needs of the people and the methodical extension of international exchange.

» The International Federation of Trade Unions which represents those sections of the population which suffer most from this crisis demands that the voice of Labour shall be heard at the Conferences charged with solving the above-mentioned problems. »

The following were some of the demands of the resolution referred to above which was passed at Geneva by the Sixteenth International Labour Conference :

« The League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation should be invited to the forthcoming Conference which is to meet at Lausanne to settle the problem of reparations and other international political debts ;

» States should take joint action to settle general problems of currency and credit and to lay the foundations for an international monetary system possessing the necessary qualities of stability ;

» The problems of production and international trade should be examined by governments in collaboration with delegates from the most representative organisations of employers and workers in each country, for the purpose of concluding, in a severely practical spirit, such International Conventions as will ensure the resumption of economic activity, on the basis of broad concerted plans, taking into consideration the gradual and systematic increase in the consumption of the masses and the co-ordinated extension of international trade. »

The International Federation of Trade Unions must point out that so far nothing definite has been done to fulfil these demands. The Preparatory Conferences for the International Economic Conference have met without the competent organisations of the working class having been invited to send representatives—representatives of the International Labour Office have been heard, but no attempt has been made to adopt their carefully-thought-out and closely-reasoned demands.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, having thus been given no opportunity to take part in the world economic conference, has no alternative but to choose this method of bringing its proposals and demands before the conference and the general public. The attitude which the Conference adopts towards the demands of the working class will fix the responsibility of the governments and will show the millions of unemployed and employed men and women whether the spirit of the conference is that of self-interest and laissez-faire, or whether it is inspired by an honest desire to promote the welfare of all mankind.

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The Experts' Report, which comprises the agenda compiled by the experts and their proposals, together with explanatory notes, does not contain any proposals to overcome the crisis except such as have long been under discussion. The chief objective of the careful compilation of all the measures which might tend to release the present national and international economic « jam » has been to ensure « the recovery of an economic system threatened by bankruptcy » and not to deliver men and women from unemployment and distress! Although the experts say that

« it will not, in our judgment, be possible to make substantial progress by piecemeal measures. A policy of « nibbling » will not solve this crisis. We believe that the Governments of the world must make up their minds to achieve a broad solution by concerted action along the whole front »,

yet they nevertheless propose a series of isolated measures which are to galvanise into life the slackening machinery of economic liberalism (laissez-faire)! And yet it needs little more than our present very meagre experience to show that every way out of the present crisis is barred unless the measures taken are collective. The whole Report is a compromise—an attempt to set free the locked wheels of the capitalist economic system by the « more liberal » methods of an outworn economic outlook. The working class cannot but feel that this attempt is foredoomed to failure.

We shall not find our way out of the present crisis and prevent fresh crises, nor shall we be sure of eliminating distress and want from the world until large efficient economic units, especially in Europe, are managed in a single world combination by economic planning based on the principle of the supplying of needs of all the peoples, as demanded internationally. The International Federation of Trade Unions is well aware that this view is not that of the multitude to-day: it is also aware that the dissolution of the present economic system cannot take place at one stroke. But the conviction is gaining ground in constantly widening circles that past economic policy has been mistaken, for although it might seem to bring advantage to this or that country, yet in the long run it has brought nothing but increased misfortune to all. There is no solution to be found in the old methods: the only possible way of salvation is to think and act on fundamentally different lines. So it is the duty of all those who bear responsibility to deduce the right conclusions from the visible trend of economic events, that is, to realise that their one and only mission must be to promote the transformation of the capitalist economic system into the collective system of internationally ordered economic planning.

The false interpretation put upon inescapable economic necessities and the constant confusion between cause and effect are like scarlet threads running through the whole Report of the Experts. The chief fault of the Experts, however, is their failure to realise the economic value of the purchasing power of the people. It will suffice to say that in America and Germany alone the purchasing power of the peoples has in the last four years fallen by about 220 milliards of marks, a shrinkage which is almost half the figure of 1929. This shows clearly enough how contrary to common sense is the new demand for still further wage-cuts and thus a still further reduction of the income of Labour, and how ineffective would be such policy to overcome the economic crisis. There is conclusive evidence that the wage level is not so important a factor in the costs of production as the employers try to make out. The recognition that the collapse of national and international economic life is largely due to the destruction of purchasing power leads us straight up to the first all-important demand of the working class for the

Maintenance of the wage standard and restoration of the standard of living to its former level in countries whose mass purchasing power has been greatly reduced by unemployment and short time work;  
Raising the standard of living in all countries in which the average level is comparatively low.

The second essential demand of the trade union movement of the whole world is directly connected with the first : it calls for the

#### Reduction of hours of work.

No one who can think socially will be able to understand how it is that the agenda of a Conference convened in order to overcome a world economic crisis which is causing the unemployment of 30 millions of persons does not contain one word about the need for any international agreement for the statutory reduction of hours of work! The International Trade Union Movement protests very strongly against the disregard of this obviously urgent necessity : in fact, such disregard is the more incomprehensible because no one disputes the fact that in the present age of machinery and technique there would not be nearly enough work to give everybody employment for 48 hours a week, even if world prosperity were to increase beyond the dreams of avarice. The International Federation of Trade Unions demands, therefore, that the question of hours of work shall be discussed at the world conference and that an internationally binding convention shall be adopted, providing, as a first stage, that the

#### Forty Hour Week (Five Day Week)

shall be established by law as maximum hours of work in all countries and all concerns without exception.

But even if hours of work are reduced by law, it will not be possible to relieve the congested labour market and bring back to normal living conditions the millions who have fallen victim to the economic system and the crisis unless

a comprehensive large-scale programme of public international works

be set on foot. The International Federation of Trade Unions is filled with indignation that the Experts' Report should fall so completely in this respect for want of understanding of the actual situation. The present stagnation of economic life is not due to lack of credit, but to reluctance to invest. The Experts' demand for the restarting of the international flow of capital cannot come to fruition by capitalist means, for it is the uncontrollability and planlessness of private initiative which has led to the shattering of the economic system and the destruction of all confidence in the ability of the capitalist economic system to go on functioning. Private initiative having broken down years ago, the loss of it must be offset by the issue of orders by the state and publicly-owned or publicly-controlled concerns. Only an international programme for the creation of work, to be financed by means of state guarantees and mutual interstate responsibility, can give the initial impetus needed to restart the international capital markets and can provide the guarantees required to guard against the « dangers of over-borrowing » which the experts fear. Finance generally would be greatly facilitated if a stop were put to the mad armaments race and the funds thus released were used for productive purposes.

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The International Federation of Trade Unions approves all measures which would impose restrictions on the initiative and caprice of private capital by means of international measures of organisation, such measures to constitute suitable stages towards the economic planning which is inevitable in all spheres. There is no need to repeat here that the International has for years opposed customs wars, protectionism, commercial restrictions and the shattering of the peaceful commercial relations between the peoples : such measures annihilate world economic interchange of goods and cannot but intensify the crisis instead of alleviating it. The International Federation of Trade Unions considers it is imperatively necessary to conclude a

#### customs peace

in the form of an internationally binding agreement, to be followed by the systematic breaking down of customs barriers : it believes that the Ouchy Agreement would be a good basis for such action. But the success of such agreement and the equally necessary creation of a new economic balance in world economic life will only be possible if the utmost attention is devoted to

#### most-favoured-nation treatment.

The International Federation of Trade Unions demands a new formulation of the most-favoured-nation clause, to be universally recognised. This clause should be used to build up a new network of commercial treaties which would safeguard peaceful economic co-operation in every possible way, and also regional agreements to which all states could become parties, thus providing opportunities of close economic collaboration between groups of countries. Without fundamental revision of the most-favoured-nation clauses there must, especially in Europe's case, be a deplorable delay in the process of economic rehabilitation.

Little proof is needed to show that the currency war, like the commercial war, must be overcome and prevented in the future. Even now there will be no doubt where the responsibility lies if the practical opportunities for solving this problem at the World Economic Conference which do actually exist are on any pretext left unused.

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The International Federation of Trade Unions agrees with the experts that « a policy of nibbling will not solve this crisis ». It holds the view that only a fundamental reconstruction of the economic system and entirely new economic management, which can only take the form of economic planning, will avail to ensure the well-being of mankind. This could be largely achieved even under present conditions if carefully planned measures promoting the interests of all could be substituted for the present arbitrary measures which only promote the interests of mutually hostile individuals or groups. The « policy of piecemeal measures » against which the experts warn us, would be nothing but patchwork which would fall to pieces at the impact of the next shattering economic blow.

Although without illusions as to the outcome of the World Economic Conference, yet the International Federation of Trade Unions, without putting forward any demands beyond those already specified—since the Conference would assuredly be unable to fulfil them at the moment—considers that it is its imperative duty to point out the necessary and indeed the only practicable ways of making an end of the economic chaos and at the same time increasing the purchasing power of the peoples and paving the way to an economic system, the only kind worthy of humanity, which supplies all human needs :

- Planned production of raw materials, regulation of production and planned distribution of goods with a view to increasing consumption by increasing purchasing power; in particular, the establishment of an international planning board for production and distribution and the creation of binding international production agreements;
- Planned capital policy, tending towards a large-scale international programme for the creation of work and including the creation of an international institute for financing purposes;
- Planned credit policy, to be preceded by the cancellation of war debts, the liquidation of commercial debts, the establishment of an international clearing and sinking fund institution : the control of banks ;
- Planned central bank policy, forming the basis of planned economic administration on an international scale, including the democratisation of central banks and the standardisation of their statutes, etc. ;
- Planned creation and distribution of work with a view to providing employment for everyone; the establishment of an International Labour Exchange ;
- Planned currency policy system by the creation of an international currency unit to be preceded by the stabilisation of the currencies : in particular, the establishment of a world bank of banks ;
- Planned control of prices and monopolies, mainly by means of an international monopoly office.

In the interest of the speedy achievement of the most indispensable measures, the International Federation of Trade Unions solemnly repeats its old demands for the establishment of an international economic council and an international economic court of arbitration, whose duties would be, with the due co-operation of the organised working class, to introduce and supervise these measures of economic planning and also to supervise the due observance of commercial agreements and treaties.

The organised working class expects the International Economic Conference to take full account, in its work and resolutions, of the urgent necessities of the times and to inaugurate an economic policy based on the principles which the International Federation of Trade Unions has enumerated above.

## REPORT TO THE IFTU GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING IN COPENHAGEN (21st TO 23rd MAY 1935)

The most important requirement in the fight against Fascism is absolute clarity as to the social and psychological factors which produce it. There is, generally speaking, unanimity as to what these factors are and they are so often mentioned that it is unnecessary to go into details here or to emphasise the national differences which obviously exist. Broadly stated, the rise of Fascism is due to the social and economic disintegration of the capitalist system, which has been particularly aggravated by the world economic crisis.

It seems important to emphasise, however, that Fascism is not entirely due to economic causes, but is partly attributable to a number of impulses of an idealistic nature, in particular those of a nationalist nature, and, in the special case of Germany, those appertaining to the « race myth ».

The Trade Union attitude towards Fascism must be based first of all on the fact that by their very nature the Trade Unions are the champions of the economic interests and of the conditions of life and labour of the workers. In destroying democracy, Fascism at the same time demolishes the rights of combination and of association, and freedom of speech and of the press, thus presenting also a political problem for the Trade Unions. The fight against Fascism in the political sphere becomes one of the vital questions for Trade Unionism, which is, in the best sense of the word, identical with democracy.

If they are to carry on a successful fight against Fascism, the Trade Unions must have the courage to draw the logical conclusions from new experiences. The whole of the Labour Movement has for generations been thinking in terms of « class », which was no doubt adequate for the childhood of the Labour Movement. Economic and social developments, however, have rendered this primitive designation of « class against class » inadequate.

There are no longer merely two classes, but a multiplicity of different sections which cannot be separated from each other by hard and fast lines. Overlapping has blurred the boundaries between the « classes ». A man's ideas and therefore his actions are not really decided by his social origin but by his own position in society. Material things are certainly a decisive factor underlying the behaviour and the desires of the different sections of the population, but there are in addition, as the Fascists have so clearly shown, other very important aspects of human thought, such as conceptions of the nation, the home, the family, tradition, culture, religion and education. The outcome of the Saar plebiscite showed very clearly the great importance which such conceptions of the home and the nation have for mankind, overcoming in a moment the most acute political and economic differences.

In addition to these positive experiences, which have already brought about a change in the tactics of the Trade Unions in their fight against Fascism, the development up-to-date of Fascism, both in those countries in which it has seized power and in others where it is still aiming at power, provides important pointers for the direction of our fight against Fascism.

The Trade Unions are fighting for political, cultural and spiritual freedom, and, while struggling to maintain the freedom of Trade Union association, they are fighting for their very existence and the basis of their day-to-day activities which can only go forward on a democratic foundation.

The most important fact seems to us to be that the methods of brute violence used by the Fascists in this fight cannot be effectively countered by methods which give a foretaste of similar violence to come should the positions be reversed. The Saar plebiscite was very instructive in this way too, because it demonstrated the failure of the political United Front between the Social Democrats and the Communists, which was regarded by many as a universal panacea to bring victory by winning over all the mass of the workers.

The harnessing together of democratically-minded Socialists with dictatorially-minded Communists does not mean — and this avowal must be made courageously! — any strengthening, but a weakening, of the fight against Fascism. It means a weakening because the principle of democracy comes to be questioned even among the supporters of democracy themselves; because the unequivocal democratic creed, both within our ranks and beyond them, becomes sullied with the suspicion that concessions at least are being made to dictatorship; because finally a working class front of a purely proletarian character inevitably loses the support of all the other sections of society whose co-operation, as we know, is essential for the defeat of Fascism and the creation of a new economic and social order.

It should be particularly emphasised here that the abhorrence of the dictatorship methods of violence and terror aroused among all sections of the populace and not least among the workers (who have been most affected by it), does not even in the Fascist countries offer the slightest chance of success to, and indeed deprives of all its point, the slogan of a counter-dictatorship of the workers. We believe that it is just in the Fascist countries that our deeply-rooted aversion to any kind of dictatorship must be most clearly and plainly expressed, not least because a successful fight can only be waged in the Fascist countries with the help of the peasants, craftsmen, middle classes, etc., who cannot be won over to the idea of any kind of dictatorship whatsoever. We can reach these sections of the people if we place in the forefront the ideals of human dignity, democracy, self-determination and freedom, which have wrongly been brought into discredit.

As Fascism is a past master in the art of winning over all sections of the population, a successful counter-attack can only attain its goal if we can reach all classes of the population too and make quite clear to them exactly what Fascism really means.

No one can accuse us of trying to prevent or of not desiring the formation of a really sincere United Front of the workers, aiming at a common purpose, but the very importance of unity itself makes it essential at the same time that this unity shall not be established at the price of automatically isolating us from the other classes of the people — the peasants, craftsmen, the middle class, non-manual workers and officials, etc. The political United Front, even if it is not clear as to its ultimate aim, must inevitably bring with it such isolation for our movement, and not only isolation but it will actually alienate the other sections of the population instead of making them rally to our ideals.

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Our anti-Fascist propaganda and tactics must therefore be based on the idea of convincing all the people that the arbitrary domination of capitalism — unchecked by the voice of the people — and which is more brutal the more dictatorial it becomes, is alone responsible for the need and misery not only of the manual workers but of all those who earn their bread by hand or brain. Capitalism looks on Fascist dictatorship as the last resort to avert the breakdown of the whole system and wants to turn to good account its temporary access of power. For this reason, Fascism must of necessity run to terrible extremes of cruelty and persecution because it is bound to supplement economic tyranny and oppression by spiritual and cultural slavery. The destruction or paralysis of the Trade Unions and political organisations of the workers, which were the protagonists of freedom, is a completely logical development, as is clearly shown by what has occurred in Germany, Italy, Austria, Dantzig, Estonia, Latvia and Spain. We regard it as the essential element in the fight against Fascism to emphasise the fact that Fascism does not mean any kind of change in capitalism's methods of domination, but simply their climax. We must tear away the mystic veil of the « corporate state » in which Fascism has muffled itself, and show that it is only the last stage in the march of capitalism, which has in each epoch had its own specific characteristics. (There are therefore very good grounds for using the terms « industrial capitalism », « finance capitalism », « monopoly capitalism » and finally « Fascist capitalism ».) This will provide us with the best chances of winning over all sections of the people for the fight which we are leading for the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy based on the fulfilling of needs.

The agitation for the « Labour Plans », and the economic planning demanded by the Trade Unions therefore appear to be the pivotal points in the fight against Fascism.

The Fascists realise this; like the capitalists throughout the world, they have seen the magnetic pull of the words « economic planning » and they are trying to get the great masses of the people on to their side by themselves talking about « economic planning ». Our anti-Fascist activity therefore demands the continuous repetition of what we understand by economic planning, and the confrontation of the technical rationalisation which the Fascists disguise as « economic planning » with our aims and ideals. It is just this point which our agitation must make quite clear, if we are not to run the risk of the idea of really democratic Socialist economic planning to meet human needs being brought into disrepute by the abuse of these terms. It will be seen that all the effective Plans which have so far been drawn up have one point in common — economic planning for the benefit of the whole community and not for that of the working class alone. The Plans also make it quite clear that the transformation of the economic and social order which is our goal will be striven for with democratic means and on a democratic basis.

The most important points in the fight against Fascism in all the countries where it is trying to seize power are thus laid bare.

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In those countries in which Fascism is already in power, the fight to be carried on for its overthrow is exceptionally difficult, because the agitation and propaganda methods allowed under democracy have been abolished in these countries. But there is no material difference between the fundamental attitude in these countries and in the democratic countries. Anti-Fascist activities in the Fascist countries must be based on the dissatisfaction which is becoming more and more widespread among all sections of society as the Fascists break one after another of their promises. Our agitation must thus be directed towards the future, and must not exhaust itself in references to the position before the Fascists usurped power. It must aim at linking up references to the past with the goal of a new economic and social order to be attained with the overthrow of Fascism. The first stage to be striven for within the Fascist countries must be a foothold — be it never so scanty — for democratic activity, of which the attainment is bound in the end to blow the whole Fascist dictatorship sky-high.

This struggle in the Fascist countries can and must be efficaciously backed up from outside in various ways. The Trade Unions, like all democratically-minded and freedom-loving individuals, have a primary interest in seeing a Fascist regime overthrown as soon as possible and they thus have the duty of doing all they can to further the underground work in these countries. The Trade Unions and the supporters of democracy in the other countries have the further task of carrying on in their own countries the spiritual fight against Fascism and intensifying it wherever possible by bringing economic weapons, such as the boycott, into play against the Fascist countries. The International Trade Union Movement has never suffered from the illusion that the use of the boycott, for example, would prove the decisive blow in the undoing of Nazi Germany, but it has valued the economic attack on Fascism much more for its psychological and moral effects. It is still to-day absolutely necessary, and of great assistance to the underground struggle in the Fascist countries themselves, that the widest possible and most continuous publicity should be given to the inhuman methods of Fascist dictatorship.

In the anti-Fascist fight, both inside and outside Fascist countries, one factor should be given special prominence, namely, the tremendously increased danger of war which has arisen through the usurpation of power by the Fascists. By linking up increased anti-war propaganda with the cultural and economic demands for a new world order, we shall overcome Fascism and have a chance of making headway with our ideas among those sections of the people who are near to the workers and stand by them.



## IFTU DEMANDS FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING (1)

### PREFACE

- (1) The objective of the working class is to overthrow the economic order of private capitalism, which is built up on the private ownership of the means of production by the relatively few and which, as its only incentive is to obtain as high profits as possible, pursues its course anarchistically and without regard for the interests of the community. The working class seeks to substitute for this economic order a planned economic administration, the first principle of which will be to ensure an adequate supply of the needs of all. Such planned economic administration is alone able to give all men, and the working class in particular, their share in the natural wealth of the world and to enable them to enjoy the benefits rendered possible by the perfection of technique.
- (2) The working class considers it possible to build up an economic order based on the supply of needs even under present circumstances, especially as the failure of the mechanism of the economic order of private capitalism is steadily driving out private initiative and private economic administration and substituting for them economic administration by the State, its finances and its power. In any case, it will only be possible to put an end to the present economic crisis and to prevent the recurrence of similar catastrophes if the State intervention which has already taken place in certain countries, ceases to be merely sporadic and is adopted universally and systematically.
- (3) To achieve these objects, there must be a fundamental reconstruction of the economic system : the power of disposing of means of production must be transferred to the community and the various sections of a planned economic system must be fitted harmoniously in one with another. This objective can be pursued even within the framework of the present capitalist economic system and, if we are to avoid more terrible upheavals, it must be done on the basis of the present economic system. Hence the working class demands that in all countries the process of reconstruction shall go forward systematically under public control by the planned intervention of the State in economic administration, in order to substitute for machinery which is to-day ceasing to work a rationally-framed administration based on economic planning, functioning in the interests of the community.

### I. — THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM

- (4) One of the most striking features of the present economic structure is that the world economic system has very largely lost its pre-war characteristics. Countries which, being agrarian states before the war, were then large purchasers of European industrial goods have

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(1) Compiled in Summer 1932 ; terminated in December 1932.

during and since the war begun to develop industries of their own, so that there has been a great increase in the industrial capacity of the world and also, inevitably, a complete shifting of the markets for industrial commodities. The result of this enormous creation and shifting of industrial capacity for production is that the breaking of world economic ties, due in the first instance to the war, has now been rendered permanent. The end of the war does not stand for the date on which the pre-war interdependence of world economic life could be restored, for all attempts to re-forge these links were doomed to speedy failure : it means that pre-war markets have been lost for ever to the new industries which sprang up during the war and were at once fostered by strong protective measures. In pre-war times there was competition between the European industries for predominance in oversea markets : after the war the fight was more and more a fight with newly-created industries in these countries, so that, instead of the pre-war competition between European industries for virgin markets, there is now bitter rivalry between European industries both among themselves and with the new oversea industries.

- (5) This struggle has gradually tended to aggravate more and more the world economic situation. It has become clearer year by year that it is the need of the newborn industries to be protected against the powerful assaults of their older European rivals which has caused the abandonment of Free Trade : the convention of Great Britain into a protectionist country meant the fall of the last important free trade stronghold in the world. A simultaneous phenomenon in the world economic system has been a maldistribution of capital, to a degree never before paralleled in history. This trend has ended in wild errors in the investment of capital, to a degree so colossal that the outcome of this fatal policy has been the « Superabundance Crisis », a catastrophic decline in world trade, and unprecedented mass unemployment. In fact, owing to a mistaken conception of national interests, this new and disastrous policy has succeeded in ousting the principle of international division of labour and international exchange of goods.
- (6) The abandonment of this principle, which has dammed the normal flow of the stream of world credits, and finally led, by way of the credit crisis, to the currency catastrophe, quickly brought to a standstill the partial and tentative resumption of pre-war relations of which there were signs immediately after the war. The catastrophic decline in world trade which is by turns a result of the crisis and a factor in its aggravation, is now drawing perilously near to a complete collapse of the world economic system. But the feature of outstanding importance is the complete transformation of the structure of world economic life in less than two decades. Before the war the distinguishing characteristics of the world economic system were the endless connections and interconnections which formed the fundamental basis of world trade : to-day the partners in world trade are fewer, but greater. Economic areas have become larger; instead of having an economic system consisting of many small

countries we see more and more plainly the development of an economic system consisting of continents. The United States of North America, which before the War was one of the chief markets for European industries, has now been converted by its customs policy into a highly protectionist economic unit. Soviet Russia with its wealth of natural resources and its 160 millions of population, is also a united economic block of great size. Since Britain's abandonment of the gold standard and the principle of free trade, the agitation to make the British Empire an economic unit has been greatly strengthened.

- (7) But in Europe, outside Great Britain and Russia, there is a very sharp contrast to this trend. As compared with pre-war times, the number of economic territories has been increased, so that the area of Continental Europe outside Russia, already relatively small, has been brought into great inferiority to the big economic units, deliverance from which can only come through the creation of a single European economic unit.
- (8) Without prejudice to its struggle to abolish the dominion of private capitalism over the economic system, the working class in principle approves that tendency of world economic life which is now leading to the constitution of larger economic units, and it will lend its aid to all activities to this end. The present situation in Europe is indeed proof positive of the fatal results of a narrow economic outlook, and makes it the urgent duty of the working class to work hard for the organisation of Europe as a single economic unit. But this approval of the big-economic-unit policy must not be confounded with an approval of the objectives now pursued in these big economic areas. They must no longer be strongholds of monopolistic capitalism, but must be converted into carefully planned spheres of regulated production within the world economic system, and organised for the purpose of supplying adequately all human needs.
- (9) The adoption of this view will determine the attitude of the working class to a whole series of questions which are closely connected with the problem of the big-economic-unit, such as the questions of customs unions and regional agreements. In so far as the conclusion of customs union and regional agreements, that is, commercial or economic co-operation between two or more states, does not become an instrument to promote political rivalries, the working class approves these measures, because it regards them as a stage towards the creation of still larger economic areas. It approves them chiefly because such commercial agreements make a breach in the policy of protectionism, lowering customs walls and removing trade obstacles generally. But it ceases to approve of them from the moment when they serve, not for purposes of economic division of labour and the promotion of the mutual exchange of goods through the abolition of obstacles to trade, but to make the economic situation, as created by the larger economic units, more difficult for the rest.

- (10) Hence the working class entirely rejects all the activities which can so easily take shelter behind the doctrine of autarchy (which may mean self-sufficiency pure and simple, or may be economic imperialism). Self-sufficiency means the overthrow of world economic division of labour and the international exchange of goods to an even greater degree than now ; it means isolation from the world market, and such isolation brings in its train a worsening of living conditions for the masses. It represents yet more diversion of capital into the wrong channels and entails a very great danger of maldistribution of capital, if the achievement of the utmost measure of economic independence, at which it aims, is obtainable only, as is nearly always the case, by creating new industries which merely add to the already inordinate world capacity of output and thus intensify present sufferings. When it is a mere cover for imperialism and is hardened by a determination to obtain by force the elements lacking to economic self-sufficiency, self-sufficiency means commercial war waged not merely, as heretofore, with commercial weapons, but with military weapons. The working class must combat it all costs, therefore. Hence, working-class approval of the policy of big economic areas must by no means be taken to mean their approval of the principle of self-sufficiency.
- (11) The working class considers that the establishment of big economic areas within the world economic framework is a tendency which it approves, firstly, because a large economic area constitutes a big zone for the play of trade union activities, a zone not hampered or narrowed down by national obstructions ; and secondly, because, as it is well aware, an improvement of the social conditions of the workers can only be permanent if it is international, that is to say, established in the biggest possible area. Thirdly and chiefly, the working class is in favour of big economic areas because the principle underlying them is in harmony with its own aim, that of establishing a planned world economic system for the adequate supplying of human needs.
- (12) The planning which is needed in the economic process will be, the more effective if it is done, not on a miniature scale only, where the economic results could only be slight ; but on a very wide scale, covering areas which have a wide measure of economic influence within the economic framework of the world. This in no way lessens the necessity for small national economic units to strive hard to put in hand their own measures for transformation : for the greater the success achieved in establishing fundamentally new elements in the management of economic life, the more rapidly and smoothly will the great economic transformation be effected throughout wide areas. The economic plans which the working class would like to see carried out in conjunction with its demand for economic reconstruction are in view of their aims adapted to big areas : they would have to be applied from the outset to wide districts of production and consumption, and they are meant to serve the largest possible masses of mankind so that they need a big economic area as the basis of

their functioning. The objective of the working class must be, therefore, to create big efficient economic areas adjusted to the economic capacities and individual characteristics of the various countries, and thereby to establish a balance in world economic life, not in order to strive for an entirely impossible ideal of self-sufficiency or autarchy, but to build up a world economic division of labour and an international interchange of goods on the basis of these big areas under economic planning.

### III. — COMMERCIAL POLICY

- (13) The shattering of the capitalist economic system in the war and post-war period has, especially in the last few years, broken down very rapidly and almost completely the former principles of trade policy. The earlier view was that free trade, as little restricted as might be, was the best basis for supplying the needs and ensuring the prosperity of all countries. But, especially since the end of the War, the extensive intervention in economic life rendered necessary by it has caused ever-widening circles to adopt the belief that the protection of national industries is more important and more highly to be esteemed than a world economic division of labour. Imperialism, militarism and last, but not least, the need of protection of the new industries created in various countries during the war have led to protectionism which, especially in the last few years, has taken on very acute forms in connection with the credit and currency crises. The result is that, despite the nominal recognition that customs barriers, the quota system and other protectionist measures cannot but accentuate the crisis, and in blatant disregard of the views expressed at the World Economic Conference of 1927, world trade has been enormously diminished.
- (14) The working class has for years protested very strongly against this commercial war: it has called for the breaking down of the customs barriers and has urged commercial agreement; but no notice has been taken of its demand. To-day the world is faced with the fact that high protectionism, which has been one of the results of the aggravation of the economic situation, has at the same time enormously accentuated the world economic crisis. To-day, unless the suffering of the masses caused by the economic crisis is to be intensified, it is the world's task to reconstruct as quickly as possible normal trade relations between the countries, although it is, of course, impossible for the working class to advocate a reversion to the ideal of *absolutely* free trade. The working class considers that the only way out of the commercial chaos is, first of all, to make binding agreements between all countries, pledging them to take no more measures which would increase the present degree of protection. Furthermore, the governments of all countries must give binding undertakings for a general reduction of customs walls and protectionist barriers, with a view to reconstructing, in the interests of the welfare of all peoples, the world economic division of labour and the international exchange of goods which have now been so widely destroyed.

- (15) Some of the measures which have to-day been adopted for definitely protectionist purposes would seem to be of practical use in promoting the above end. The attitude of the working class to all the various measures adopted in commercial policy is guided solely by the consideration whether these measures tend to make the present situation more difficult, or whether they are merely transition forms leading towards the establishment of normal commercial relations. The working class does not consider that a solution is to be found either in free trade or in protectionism : it feels that the rejection of protectionism is primarily a problem of organisation, and that there must be many different ways of solving this problem.
- (16) The working class thinks that the maintenance of the principle of most-favoured-nation treatment is an essential precursor to the restoration of normal economic relations, since this is the only way of establishing equal conditions of competition and it is also a valuable means of assimilating wage conditions. Preferential systems, by means of which two or more states grant each other mutual customs privileges, do serve to promote the establishment of closer commercial relations between the countries in point, but they also tend to hamper commercial intercourse with the states outside the preferential agreements. In the long run such agreements have never made any considerable breach in protectionism. Nor will the present untenable commercial conditions be mended by laying down quota systems, limiting import or export to specific quantities and prohibiting any excess of these. Both the preferential system and the commercial practice of fixing specific quotas, which may not be exceeded, have hitherto only served to call forth either reprisals, or one-sided preferences on the part of the excluded countries, so that both remedies, far from mitigating the general situation have only aggravated it.
- (17) Quite other is the attitude of the working class to many of the commercial remedies which have been applied during the last few years under the pressure of the crisis, mostly in consequence of the depreciation of certain currencies.
- (18) An attempt has been made on quite a considerable scale to obviate currency and payment difficulties by direct barter, or clearing of goods. This direct barter of goods, which is of course a reversion to quite primitive trading forms, is not without its importance : but it is not a method which can ever become the basis of world trade.
- (19) More deserving of attention is the clearing of foreign exchange (Devisen), a method which is being employed to an increasing degree as an instrument of commercial and currency policy. But this method of clearing foreign exchange, when regarded as a commercial device, conceals within itself great dangers, since, for instance, it facilitates the control of trade in goods the import of which it is desired, for reason of protectionism or self-sufficiency, to restrict or wholly

prevent : this because all that the controlling authority has to do is to refuse to release the requisite foreign exchange. In countries in which import is restricted by means of the quota-system—which is of course a form of protectionism—the simultaneous conclusion of an agreement for the clearing of foreign exchange has often served as a very effective means of supervising the quota policy and ensuring strictness in its application.

(20) The practice of clearing foreign exchange must be rejected as a means of commercial warfare, but the working class considers that in other ways it constitutes a starting-point for the establishment of currency unions (see Section III).

(21) The working class takes the view that such protectionist measures which are chiefly of the nature of emergency action may facilitate in some measure commercial intercourse — provided they are not specifically intended to hamper it — but that they must not be permitted to import any fundamental change into the basic principles of commercial policy. The working class has always striven to modify commercial policy in the direction of a general reduction of all obstacles to trade. Moreover, its demand for the complete reconstruction of the whole economic system embodies the view that planned economic management on the lines of the supplying of human needs must be based on the principle of state-organised international exchange of goods through foreign trade monopolies, which must take the place of the feeble commercial policy in vogue to-day and so often prostituted to the promotion of private interests. If economic management takes as its basic principle the service of the community, then there is no alternative but to organise world trade systematically : and the international division of labour which this would mean is only possible by means of an equally systematic organisation of foreign trade relations. The creation in all lands of foreign trade monopolies controlled by the State or the public serves, therefore, to lessen the confusion of our present system of private profit-earning which, since it cannot be controlled, inevitably leads to chaos and all manner of abuses. If a single central controlling authority were to take sole charge, the wheels of the economic system would run much better and more smoothly, since instead of many divergent private interests, we should have one only, the interests of the community as a whole.

(22) Without prejudice to the demand for an organised system of foreign trade by means of foreign trade monopolies, import and export offices or other institutions of the kind (under whatsoever name) controlled by the state or the public, the working class demands the most rigorous state control of the big and powerful economic bodies which private capitalism has created in the form of cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic institutions, so that these institutions may be prevented from prejudicing the community. The working class believes that, although the founders of these institutions were not thinking of economic planning, but only of how

they could secure the highest profits, yet in reality these forms of organisations, a typical product of modern monopolistic capitalism, do represent a starting-point for economic planning, and may therefore facilitate the inception of state control. It demands that these beginnings shall, under the management of the State, be utilised systematically to promote the interests of the community. Such control of cartels, syndicates, trusts and monopolies would also at once lessen the tremendous prejudice caused by errors in the application of capital, such errors being an inevitable feature in a state of things in which the machinery of production is multiplied and these monopolistic institutions are established for reasons of rivalry and the hope of profit, without any question being asked as to whether, in view of the large surplus producing capacity, any further expansion is needed, either nationally or internationally.

- (23) The working class demands, therefore, that the creation of foreign trade monopolies controlled by the State or the public shall be accompanied by similar control of cartels and other monopolistic organisations of the same kind (see Section V).

### III. — CURRENCY QUESTIONS

- (24) The war, with its extraordinarily high demands in all countries alike in respect of finance, wrought great havoc in the currency conditions not only of the belligerent states, but of almost the whole world. It has taken the European states especially years to recover from the pernicious effects of inflation and gradually to stabilise their currencies, and complete success has not even yet been attained. During the whole of the post-war period the working class has always emphasised the demand that currencies be stabilised, because it has recognised that stable currency conditions are essential to the rehabilitation of national and international economic life. When the chief currencies had been stabilised deflation set in and devastated economic life anew, the ultimate result being that the world economic crisis intensified the currency and credit crisis to an enormous degree. When in the autumn of 1931 Great Britain abandoned the gold standard, the number of countries still clinging to it was very small indeed: throughout almost the whole of the world there was either inflation, or the previous stability of currency had been upset by being no longer anchored to the gold standard.
- (25) The chief causes of the currency crisis were the war debts and reparations problems, owing to which there was in the course of a very few years an enormous outflow of the gold of the whole world to the United States of America. The only other way in which the nations paying reparations and war debts could have acquitted themselves of their debts would have been by exporting goods, and this was rendered impossible by the protectionist policy of the States: hence there had to be constant consignments of gold to maintain the balance of payments of these countries. Owing to these



and other causes, the last few years have seen an unprecedented migration of gold and unparalleled accumulations of it. The abandonment of the gold standard by Great Britain was as much a result of withdrawal of gold as the open inflation to which many other countries had been driven by their financial straits. The war and the events since the war have therefore been potent factors in the currency catastrophe. Nor can it be doubted that the upsetting of the international economic system has been only too powerful a reason on the commercial side for the exceptionally fatal results of the currency situation. Gold has been rushed into the countries which seemed to offer the safest refuge for it politically and it has been the very countries most in need of it which have lost the most capital and have thereby been deprived of their natural basis for the granting of credit to industry.

- (26) Yet another damaging factor has been the policy of the big Central Banks, which have been universally deflationist, and have thus intensified the crisis instead of helping to overcome it. The banks of issue of the individual countries have sought to stabilise their exchanges singlehanded and independently of the rest. Moreover, political factors from various quarters have played a great part in causing attacks on currencies of other countries : the supreme economic necessity for stabilising the purchasing power of money has been completely lost sight of, being partly hidden in a fog of nefarious political designs and partly annihilated by the collapse of the capitalist economic system.
- (27) The working class has always held the standpoint that a standard international currency is needed to ensure smooth cooperation in the international credit sphere. It has remained equally faithful to the view that the creation of a standard international currency will not be possible without a standardisation of the central bank system and close cooperation of the big banks of issue among themselves. It holds that the only way out of the present currency dilemma is to be found in deliberate planning with the object of putting as speedy an end as possible to the present currency and credit conditions ; instead of aimless policy which only aggravates the crisis, there must be, by means of international cooperation, a planned utilisation of such credit as exists.
- (28) It is because it holds this general principle that the working class has formulated definite views with regard to the events of the last few months. Under the pressure of the international currency crisis, which has meant for most countries an outflow of gold and a loss of the foreign exchange accumulated by them to pay their foreign debts, various states have now resorted to the method of compulsory control of their foreign exchange. They have usually done this by permitting foreign exchange to be used only in payment of imports immediately necessary for the life of the State. Those European countries which are suffering from a lack of capital and still more, the countries of South America, have also declared their inability to pay and suspended the payment of international interest

and sinking fund on their foreign loans. Private creditors, endeavouring to save what they might from the all-too-plain collapse of credit and currency, have taken over this practice of declaring themselves unable to repay the credits taken up, and have done so on so large a scale and in so short a space of time that many states have only been able to protect themselves from financial collapse and the total ruin of their currency by means of moratoriums and other standstill agreements. The working class considers that the emergency policy of limiting the use of foreign exchange is a method which must be abandoned as quickly as possible, if it be desired to prevent the still further shrinking of international trade.

- (29) But the working class takes a different view of the clearing of foreign exchange, which denotes more or less cooperation between the banks of issue or big banks of the countries concerned, or, in other words, considerable progress in the working alongside (or against each other) of such banks. The clearing of foreign exchange may well be a starting-point for new forms of international currency policy, inasmuch as the clearing of their foreign exchange by two or more countries may offer opportunities for the formation of currency unions, which would assist very substantially in diminishing the present difficulties of international payments.
- (30) The labour movement believes that such currency unions, whose advantages are increased if they go hand in hand with commercial unions, would be definite beginnings of a standard international currency and it will therefore give strong support to any efforts made in this direction. The question of the currency union is of especial importance in Europe, where currencies have been multiplied as a result of the war, so that there are now 30 instead of the 21 of pre-war times. If Europe is to be organised as a single economic unit it is absolutely essential that there should be a return to close cooperation in respect of currencies, a useful type of which was the former Latin Coin Union.
- (31) One of the conditions for the creation of good currency conditions internationally is a prompt move towards the stabilisation of currencies, on conditions agreed internationally, irrespective of whether the gold standard is the basis of the currency or whether some form of « international index currency » is selected as the basis of the stability which is the paramount consideration. The second condition is that the central banks of issue shall no longer be the organs of private capitalism, as most of them now are, for it would be impossible to establish a currency policy which could be utilised for the international division of labour without shutting out the powerful interests of private capitalists. Labour has for years demanded the democratisation of the banks of issue and placed in the foreground of its policy an intensification of international cooperation between the banks of issue. It considers that other pressing needs of the time are a standardisation of the statutes of central banks, and if a gold standard is restored, in their regulations for gold cover.

It as moreover already urged that the Bank for International Settlements of Bâle, set up in order to liquidate was debts and reparations payments, would be a very suitable instrument to prepare for and effect the cooperation of the banks of issue, although it cannot be alleged that this desirable object has as yet been even approximately achieved. Labour again demands therefore that the creation of a Central Bank of Central Banks shall be put in hand at once, if necessary on an entirely new basis, should the BIS prove not to be the right instrument to accomplish the purpose. One of the chief functions of this Central Bank of Issue of the world would be the promotion of currency unions for the purpose of establishing a standardised world currency by way of the creation of continental currencies — this especially in Europe.

- (32) Only when a standardised international currency has been established shall we be delivered from the disturbances which have been so marked in the last few years owing to manipulations of the international exchange rates. We shall then be able to make full use of world potentialities of credit, which will fulfil one of the conditions essential to the overcoming of the crisis and to the functioning of international economic planning.

#### IV. — CREDIT QUESTIONS

- (33) The chief feature of the banking policy of the present capitalist economic system is that the banks, which are both reservoirs for the accumulation of money capital and distributing stations of this accumulated national property, do not provide or distribute credit in accordance with the economic interests of the community, but are merely actuated by the desire to obtain as high profits as possible. The world economic crisis has shown that the organisation of banks which, like their policy, is based on private capitalism, has been a failure : and that the capitalist system of credit has collapsed owing to its own defects.
- (34) In nearly all lands big banks which held a dominant position in the credit system have either collapsed completely or have been saved only through the intervention of the state in the form of state subsidies. The state, that is to say, the community, has thus been obliged to take on itself the responsibility for damages caused by the failure of the financiers of the whole world to do their duty in regard to the capital entrusted to them and to fulfil their rightful functions in respect of national economy and the provision of credits : instead, they have yielded to their lust for power and striven to use their facilities for granting credit to strengthen their hold over the industries, a policy which has been rendered even more deadly by the excesses of speculators. For the sake of profit-seeking and speculation, they have also granted credits, without aim or plan, for competitive reasons : this action of theirs has greatly contributed to disorganise the economic system in all lands, an outstanding evil being the support thus given to irrational rationalisation and the excessive capacity for production which has followed upon it.

- (35) Labour takes the standpoint that it will only be possible to put an end to these untenable conditions in banking and the credit system and to destroy speculation and replace the present planless economic confusion by a planned distribution of credit when the influence of private capitalism in the banks has been broken and a state-controlled banking system has taken the place of the present private banking system. It would be the duty of such state-controlled banking system to cooperate closely with the Central Bank of Issue in distributing credit and capital according to plan. The stock and commodity exchanges would have to be supervised and speculation held in check by strict control of arbitrage and forward buying, etc. The working class demands therefore that the banks be placed under public control, the controlling authority being itself under the definite guidance of the state. The same demand is put forward in respect of insurance companies which accumulate the capital saved by the people in exactly the same way as the banks, for the credit policy of such institutions is open to precisely the same objections as that of the banks.
- (36) The working class therefore demands the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies. Until this has been completed down to the last jot and tittle, there must be state controlling bodies, perhaps the establishment in every country of a board to control the credit and investment policy of banks and insurance institutions, even during the transition period. The numerous failures of banks and insurance institutions have furnished ample evidence that a planned credit policy which will prevent the squandering of national property and eradicate the evils of a biased distribution of credit will not be possible until the banks and insurance institutions are no longer appendages of private capitalism, and until credit is distributed in accordance with a planned scheme and capital guided from the point of view of the interests of the community. The planned distribution of credit and the planned guidance of capital are essential conditions both for the overcoming of the crisis and for a planned administration of the economic system in general.
- (37) Since in so many countries the state has been compelled to intervene in order to protect the economic system from the fatal consequences of a complete collapse of the banks and the whole credit system, the working class demands that the influence which the state, acting in some cases at the express desire of the bank directors, has thus obtained, which influence will be in proportion to the shares taken over by it, be used to put systematic pressure upon the future investment and credit policy of these banks. The State (in other words, the community) is even to-day compelled to supervise the business management of the banks and to safeguard the influence which it even now possesses over the banking institutions.
- (38) Internationally, planned work in connection with Labour demands for currency policy can only be done when there is a guarantee in the individual countries for credit control and capital guidance functioning in the national interests of the respective countries. But the working

class also takes the standpoint that the taking over of the banks and the present banking system do not provide sufficient guarantee : it is also the duty of the state to guide according to plan the whole of the distributive machinery of the banks (now competing with each other) and incidentally to take steps to put a stop to speculation with all its fatal results. Credit must be distributed with a view to providing all sections of national economic life with the capital needed by them. Hence the demand for a planned distribution of credit is bound up with a systematic planned reconstruction of the whole machinery of credit. A Central Banking Board, which will also supervise the insurance institutions, must vigorously put this work in hand as soon as bank and insurance institutions are brought under control, that is to say, in the transition stage to their complete nationalisation. An important starting-point of the planned guidance of the whole of the banking and credit system is to be found in the public credit system, which is already of considerable economic importance : this takes the form of state or semi-state institutions, such as public credit institutions, savings banks etc.

## V. — PRODUCTION

- (39) The distinguishing feature of the economic situation of the world to-day is that, both for the production of raw materials and for industrial output, the machinery and plant available is far greater than is needed to satisfy the present demand, the industries making « capital » goods being much better equipped than those making goods for consumption.
- (40) The cause of this double disproportion is to be found in capitalist economic methods, which are not dominated by the point of view of supplying human needs as efficiently and reasonably as possible, but only encourage private initiative to act when there is an attractive prospect of high profits. Those branches of industry which have promised speculative profits have inevitably been overcapitalised in quite a short period of time, so that there has, of course, been an insufficient yield of profit on the capital thus invested, because it has been impossible to utilise to the full the industrial plant which, being based on speculative expectations, has proved to be too large for normal purposes. This chaos in the realm of production has been greatly aggravated both by the war and by post-war developments, partly because the breaking of world economic bonds by the world war has compelled a number of countries to set up industries for themselves and partly because the growth of nationalism and the reawakening of imperialism have led to excessive protection of native industry. The result has been that an enormous quantity of world trade has been brought to a complete standstill.
- (41) Rationalisation and technical progress have further contributed to raise to gigantic proportions the productivity of human labour and the capacity for output of industrial machinery and thereby also the potentialities of output of raw materials. This tendency has not only

caused capacity of production, especially nationally, to rise to a point far in excess of what is needed or what can possibly be consumed : it has also completely changed the structure of the whole economic and social edifice. In the course of this development the once independent employer has gradually become merely one of the constituent parts of an employers' association which, like others of its kind, has arisen partly to counterbalance the working-class organisations, and partly because it is desired, in the interests of employers themselves, to check unbridled competition. Meanwhile, many handicrafts have continued to dwindle and growing sections of the population have slid down into the proletariat or been transferred to new economic functions. Social and economic trends ran on parallel lines, combining to constitute a process of concentration, the final result of which has been that out of a great variety of originally independent small or medium-sized businesses, there have arisen, under the further stimulus of rationalisation and technical progress, enormous businesses, fewer in number, but much more powerful economically. Some of these have taken the form of trusts, so that they constitute single concerns; others are giant combines bound to each other by many a link and holding in economic life the position of monopolies.

- (42) In view of an enormous increase of production and a tremendous rise in capacity of production of industry in the last years, there is to-day a « crisis of superabundance ». The world is slipping deeper and deeper into the mire of unemployment and destitution, and this in spite of overflowing stocks of goods! Those who control the raw materials of industry and the means of production see no other way of safeguarding their own profits than to strangle production, to store the goods they have produced and to destroy great masses of products, although the needs of consumers are undoubtedly great enough to justify an increase in production and to ensure the consumption of every morsel of the agricultural raw materials. A chaos of superabundance — this is what unrestricted capitalism leads to, in its planless march towards capitalistic monopoly.
- (43) The working class has made bitter war upon this trend of development, accompanied as it has been by an unscrupulous exploitation of human labor which has gone so far as to rob millions of their daily bread. From its fundamental hostility to the economic dominion of private capitalism springs also labour's attitude to certain partial manifestations of it within the sphere of production.
- (44) In principle, the working class has had no objection to the concentration process because, although this has made the capitalist economic order even more untenable than before by maintaining profit-seeking as the basis of economic activities, yet it did at first bring more order into the sphere of organisation, which had been that of thousands of concerns working planlessly alongside of each other, and these reforms will doubtless become important starting-points for planned economic management when economic life is radically reconstructed. Monopolistic production, too, which has established trust and other kinds of giant concerns of the same order, is to be welcomed in

principle, because planned production could be much more easily established under its aegis than with large numbers of small concerns. But this acceptance of structural changes is by no means equivalent to approval of the economic management of these concerns. In cartels, syndicates and other similar forms of organisation brought forth by capitalism, the working class sees practical possibilities for a planned economic administration, provided that the present widely accepted principle of competition is cast out both from within and outside these forms of organisation, the power of the propertied sections is broken down and profit being eliminated, the new forms of economic administration are used to promote the principle of a planned supplying of human needs.

- (45) The attitude of the working class to the question of technical progress and rationalisation has also been clearly recognised for years past : the working class endorses technical progress and welcomes rationalisation, because both open up opportunities for lessening the expenditure of human labour. Technical progress and rationalisation must both be approved when regarded from the angle of supplying mass needs more easily and more efficiently, while at the same time reducing hours of work. But the working class is inexorably opposed to the application of technical progress and rationalisation if economic rulers only use these means to their own advantage and against the working class and whenever partial rationalisation, seen from the standpoint of the community, involves national economic losses rather than gains. Hitherto employers have utilised technical progress and rationalisation merely as means of increasing their own profits and expanding their own personal power : so that, although these new methods have enormously increased capacity for output, they have not helped towards a better supplying of the needs of the masses nor towards cheapening goods. In fact, the frightful result of their adoption has simply been that, in total disregard of all the dictates of mankind's social and economic sense, millions of workers and salaried employees have been rendered permanently unemployed.
- (46) Hence the working class demands that working hours shall be constantly adjusted to the sliding scale of rationalisation and technical progress. Work that is already in hand or that needs doing should be distributed evenly among all the workers available. In its combating of unemployment the working class demands, first of all, and as a temporary expedient only, the statutory establishment of the 40-hour week or the 5-day week in all undertakings and all countries as the maximum working hours. The working class is well aware that a much greater shortening of working hours is necessary to give all men work again, and that shorter working hours would be sufficient to ensure all men a much better satisfaction of their needs than is the case to-day.
- (47) These measures must be supplemented by a carefully regulated national and international labour market policy, in the controlling

bodies of which the working class must have a preponderant influence. Labour exchanges and vocational guidance on a national basis must be in close cooperation with an International Labour Exchange, whose duty it would be to provide internationally the labour required. The authority for the international creation of employment which, in concert with the planning organs of the Department for the Supply of Needs, would have to supply the requirements of the big economic areas under the Economic Planning System, would be an excellent instrument for giving effect to such carefully planned Labour market policy.

- (48) The normal course would have been for technical progress to lead to the reduction of hours of work and of prices, and for this to be accompanied by increased consumption and the reabsorption elsewhere of such labour as was released. But this natural course has been interrupted by the profit-seeking ambitions of the economic rulers, so that rationalisation has been used only to intensify the economic catastrophe which is the natural outcome of capitalism. Hence the working class demands that the means of production and its plant be transferred from private hands to the community. It is the more set upon this because the pressure of the crisis has already made it necessary for the State (that is, the community), to lend its aid to prevent the breakdown of indispensable or vitally important concerns, and thus the State has already become a large financial shareholder in means of production; in addition to which, it is often the chief provider of credit for the economic system in general, through a variety of institutions founded for the purpose.
- (49) The working class demands in the first instance that all those branches of industry which have claimed or received state assistance shall be placed under the permanent control of the State and shall subsequently be converted into constituent parts of a state-owned or state-controlled economic system. For this state-owned or state-controlled economic system the working class demands, as a transition measure, a Central Planning Board. In the view of the working class, however, such state intervention, although it may perhaps prevent any further aggravation of the crisis and thus save a further increase of suffering and destitution, cannot prevent the recurrence of similar economic catastrophes. It is therefore necessary that state intervention in economic life, instead of being granted reluctantly and planlessly whenever there happens to be an emergency, should be guided by a pre-arranged plan. The practical object should be gradually to transform the economic order of private capitalism into an economic order for the supply of human needs and to do this by means of a fundamental change of structure.
- (50) Apart from such transition measures, the working class demands that the key industries, the wealth of the soil, the vitally important raw materials industries, all power and public utility administrations (electricity, gas, water) and all traffic and transport machinery shall be handed over to the community.



- (51) Enumerated in detail, the working class demands the nationalisation of : mining and all its subsidiary industries; the iron and steel industry including the shot industry and all metallic ore mining; the chemical industry, inclusive of artificial fertilisers; the most important kinds of building materials, especially cement, while all public utility undertakings, such as gas, water and electricity, must be under public control.
- (52) For economic and political reasons the working class demands that when the iron and steel industry is nationalised, the whole of the armaments industry shall be brought under state control.
- (53) Not until the whole machinery of production, beginning with the raw materials industry and ending with the finished goods industry, shall have been subordinated, by means of state control, to the supreme principle of serving the interests of the community will the abuses and defects of the present system of production be eliminated and the substitution of an efficient system of economic planning will take the place of the present planless overlapping of the machinery of production which leads so inevitably to economic catastrophe. As soon as the most important branches of industry have been nationalised, controlling bodies forming part of the Central Planning Board must be set up for every section of production, to supervise the volume and form of production and the further shaping of the machinery of production, a special feature being the wise utilisation of technical progress and rationalisation : the volume and form of production will then be determined solely by the principle of the adequate supplying of human needs. This same principle of the supplying of needs also makes it essential that the rest of the machinery of production, which has to be carried on with smaller businesses of great variety, shall be brought under certain rules, so that in the future economic order such businesses as are not subject to nationalisation shall not be able to prejudice the universal principle of economic planning. Economic planning on the sole principle of supplying needs as fully as possible will be unable to dispense with small businesses and handicrafts, for it will need both, especially the latter, in the service of a planned supplying of the masses with all the goods they require for consumption.
- (54) In the great edifice thus erected on the principle of economic planning, individual branches of industry and industrial districts would in each country be grouped under a Central Planning Board, which would direct and control the whole of the national economic system.
- (55) Internationally, the working class demands that there shall be planned and systematic cooperation both in the producing and distributing of raw materials and in the chief branches of industry individually, the guiding principle being always the international division of labour. This would put a stop to the present wasteful exploitation of raw materials and would also ensure the greatest conceivable world economic efficiency from the point of view of the supplying of human needs.

- (56) But until such international regulation of production has been established and safeguarded by the nationalisation of the various branches of production and the cooperation of the national controlling organs, there must, as an intermediary stage, be binding international production agreements for all important raw materials and semi-manufactured goods similar to that which has long been desired in respect of coal; and international cartels and syndicates must be placed under public control and utilised to this end. (See Section VII).

## VI. — TRAFIC TRANSPORT DISTRIBUTION

- (57) The same defects and abuses which are characteristic of the other parts of the economic machinery are also to be found in the traffic and transport system as a whole, and above all in the commercial machinery serving for the distribution of goods and supplying of the masses. Owing to competition, inland commercial machinery in particular consumes far more labour and energy than it need. Planless work which both overlaps and competes has caused a quite unnecessary and very expensive inflation of the distributive machinery, which raises prices, with the practical result that commodities are forced to go the round of a long chain of commercial middle men before they finally reach the actual consumer. Incidentally, such faulty organisation also involves a great waste of goods which are either wholly or partially spoiled. The needless multiplication of commercial machinery is in almost all countries a typical feature of capitalist planlessness, and it works out very prejudicially to consumers.
- (58) The working class created many years ago consumers' associations to provide the people with mass goods in the most efficient and cheapest way, the distribution being on the basis of cooperative consumers' associations promoting the interests of all their members. In many countries these associations, together with the big departmental store concerns, have already become the chief centres for supplying large sections of the population and as such, they constitute useful models for reorganising the whole machinery of distribution.
- (59) The working class demands that the machinery for the distribution of goods shall be organised on the basis of an economic system functioning for the supply of human needs, the organisation to be by the shortest and quickest methods, to the exclusion of all unnecessary and circuitous processes which only add to the expense. By this means the producer will obtain more for his goods, while the consumer will only need to pay a much lower price, owing to the exclusion of the profits which now go into the pockets of the many intermediaires.
- (60) Until profit-seeking can be entirely eliminated and production and consumption can be systematically based on the supplying of human needs, the working class demands the expansion and promotion of consumers' cooperative societies under state protection. If these

are traders' cartels, they must also be placed under the control of the Monopoly Office (see Section VII) as must all undertakings of a similar monopolistic nature, such control being especially strict in respect of price fixing.

- (61) Under an economic system for supplying human needs, mass goods must be systematically distributed on the basis of the common weal, by an Inland Trade Board, whose duty it would be to collaborate with the other organs of economic planning, especially those dealing with production and agriculture, in ascertaining needs and providing for smooth and prompt distribution of goods. This Inland Trade Board would have a trade monopoly in all important mass goods, although smaller businesses would also be retained in order to supply other goods. All trade which is not directly nationalised would be controlled by the Inland Trade Board, in order to prevent the creeping in of abuses which might imperil the standardisation which must be the ruling principle of a planned economic system.
- (62) The supplying of the masses with the prime necessities of life, especially water, gas and electricity, would be the monopoly of the State alone. Even now these public utilities are very largely in public hands. The working class demands that the influence of private capital shall be entirely eliminated from their production and distribution. All public utility companies providing electricity, gas and water must be entirely public-owned (see Section V).
- (63) If the masses are to be efficiently supplied with what they need, the whole of the transport system and the whole network of traffic must be controlled and administered on a pre-arranged plan. The working class demands that the most important means for the transport of mass goods and passengers shall, if this has not already been done, be withdrawn from the private profit-seeking system and transferred to public ownership. First and foremost, the postal, telegraph and telephone system, railway traffic, large-scale navigation and long-distance motor-bus transport must be placed under public control and managed solely in the interests of the community. Similarly, all air traffic and the whole of the aviation system must be controlled by the public, and efforts made for the internationalisation of air traffic.
- (64) Until an economic system for the supplying of human needs has been completely established and the traffic, transport and distribution machinery has been adapted to the general system of economic administration and made a part of it, the working class demands that the traffic concerns which will later be nationalised and the companies engaged in supplying the needs of the masses shall be placed under a National Planning Board for public economic administration. Moreover, in the interim period the State must eliminate the worst defects and abuses of the distributive machinery by creating trading monopolies for specially important mass goods.

## VII. — THE REGULATION OF PRICES

- (65) Under the principle of free competition, which was the original basis of the capitalist economic system, prices were regulated in accordance with the law of supply and demand. That competitor was then proved to be the best whose costs of production were the lowest; the law of supply and demand forced the employer to work at the lowest possible costs of production, since these gave him the upper hand in the competitive struggle. The law of supply and demand operating together with the principle of free competition at first benefited the consumer in general. But the absolutely free functioning of capitalist principles could not but lead first to the ousting of producers who were incapable of competition and then to equality among the remaining producers, which meant their being gradually obliged to reduce their rates of profits as soon as they were unable to lower wages any further. Historical development has shown that the capitalists have shaken themselves free of the principle of free competition, because in this fight of all against all the simultaneous operation of competition and of the law of supply and demand eventually caused the rates of profit to be too low.
- (66) When this point was reached, capitalism proceeded to encroach upon the principle of free competition in order to put a stop to this unwelcome phenomenon. Free competition was gradually ousted by agreements made between the former competitors for the sake of safeguarding their joint profits, the result being that in the modern capitalist economic system there is very little freedom of action left to the individual employer.
- (67) Cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic organisations have enabled employers very largely to eliminate competition among themselves and to secure dominion over the market and the consumers by artificial means. From that moment onwards, the regulation of prices came under the operation of other laws or, in other words, it was subjected to the influence of a dictatorship due to the dominion of the monopolistic organisations. The amalgamation of employers into the cartels, syndicates and the other similar bodies which are so conspicuous a feature of the economic system means that prices are determined by the costs of production and rates of profits of the most unprofitable or worst-managed member of the cartel or syndicate. This has introduced into the economic system a new element of costs, which has had a fatal effect upon further development of these organisations.
- (68) Under the shadow of the powerful cartels and syndicates there grew up new groups of competing enterprises, which owing to the more rational equipment of their plant were able to take advantage of the high prices guaranteed by the monopoly and thus to amass exceptionally high profits. On the one side, the effect was the planless mal-investment of new capital, which tended to intensify the inordinate capacity of production of the various industries, this new capital having, of course, had to be withdrawn from other sections

of economic life. But although the creation of cartels and syndicates had put a stop to outside competition, acute competition arose within the cartels and syndicates, because they were from their very nature forced to resort to the allocation of quotas of production and sales, and these were usually determined by the different degrees of efficiency of the individual concerns. Thus, any strengthening of power within a cartel or syndicate, and hence also in the economic system generally, brought in its wake the need to increase the output capacity of the concern for the sake of being able to claim a larger share of the quota, whether such increase were necessary or practicable from the economic point of view or not. These quota disputes are an outstanding feature of the monopoly system of economic administration and have contributed enormously to the intensification of the planlessness of economic administration as a whole : they have also added to that excess of production capacity of favourably-placed branches of industry which is to-day so characteristic of the whole situation.

- (69) Yet another important element in costs arose to influence price-fixing, this being the growing importance of « fixed costs », which have now become the paramount factor. These came into being through an expansion of capacity of production to a degree which could not be utilised for actual production. The advantage derived at first by the economic system as a whole from the stabilisation of prices was quickly sacrificed to the far greater disadvantage of the high levels at which prices were stabilised by the cartels and syndicates. It was possible to fix prices at these unreasonably high levels solely because enterprises which could never, singlehanded, have attained so commanding a position in the economic system were able, through the creation of artificial monopolies, to obtain a power over the consumers which enabled them to exploit the latter, to the prejudice of the whole community.
- (70) The working class regards cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic forms of organisation as the starting-point of a planned shaping of production and distribution. These opportunities of planned economic administration will however continue to be illusory so long as such organisations are created and administrated for the sole purpose of safeguarding profits and attaining to power which is used, not for, but against the economic order in general, since it is a deliberate blow at consumers.
- (71) The working class demands, therefore, that the power of these monopolistic organisations shall be broken by the creation of a State Cartel and Monopoly Board in every country, whose duty would be to supervise their plant, production and market policy and, most important of all, to dominate their price-fixing. All cartels and kindred organisations of employers, such as combines, trusts etc., which hold a monopolistic or nearly monopolistic position in economic life, must be brought under the control of this Cartel and Monopoly Board. The Office must represent the interests of the community in respect of

production and price-fixing : in respect of the maldistribution of capital which has led to the present chaotic conditions it must cooperate with the Banking Board and the Central Bank of Issue and be guided by the necessities of the whole economic system.

- (72) Nationally, the control of prices to be exerted by the Monopoly Board must concentrate chiefly on attaining the right balance between prices and wages, since no planned economic administration is really possible if the two great economic zones of production and consumption are not in harmony. The working class has always waged vigorous war against the principle, always predoomed to failure, of low wages and high prices, since it holds that a disturbance of the balance between production and consumption is the only true cause of the crisis. To cut wages during a time of crisis and so to deliberately reduce purchasing power has never remedied any crisis, but has always tended to aggravate it. The working class defends the principle of high wages, because it knows that it is only through high wages that it is possible to expand capacity for production and again it is only by means of the expansion of economic capacity to the full that the welfare of mankind can be ensured and promoted.
- (73) Internationally, the working class demands international control over prices : partly by bringing international cartels, syndicates and other monopolistic enterprises under the control of an International Cartel and Monopoly Board in close cooperation and in constant touch with the national controlling organs : and partly by ensuring that stability of world market prices which is so necessary for the smooth functioning of the world economic system. The deflationist policy of the various countries and the heavy fall of world market prices have shown all too clearly how devastating and how inevitable is catastrophe if no measures of any kind are taken to maintain prices.
- (74) The working class takes the standpoint that it is impossible to overcome the present crisis until a halt has been called to the further fall of the world market price level and a new level of world prices has been formed and stabilised which will guarantee the countries producing agricultural and industrial raw materials the necessary purchasing power. The stabilisation of prices must be sought, not by strangling production or by destroying goods, but by increasing mass purchasing power through the increase of consumption. In so far as this leads to a rise of world market prices, the working class is of opinion that it may be possible, when national measures are taken against the price dictatorship of monopolistic organisations, to raise and stabilise the world price level and yet to avoid a rise of the price level in countries whose inland price level has not followed the downward slide of world prices.
- (75) The working class takes the view that the reduction of the prices of specific products by the destruction of the arbitrary power of the monopolistic organisations,—together with a simultaneous change in customs policy—does not preclude the demand for a rise in the world price level : justice can be done to both demands, provided

that the right measures are carried through on a pre-arranged plan. It holds the view, moreover, that even a raising of world prices and their stabilisation at the new level would not involve any permanent improvement in the economic situation unless there has also been a systematic eradication of all abuses connected with the regulation of prices in the national economic area.

- (76) The planned regulation of production is the right method for achieving this end (see Section V).

#### VIII. — AGRICULTURE

- (77) Apart from the question of the prevailing economic system, agriculture is of the utmost importance because it is the chief source of the nourishment of the people. This, however, has not prevented the capitalist economic system from adopting an agrarian policy which has attached greater weight to the transitory profits of the agrarian producer than to the safeguarding of the food supplies of the people. The mistaken view held in almost all countries that a national basis of food supplies must either be created or protected has rarely led to any real benefit to agriculture, to say nothing of the economic system in general. The regulation of prices attained by protectionist policy has, on the contrary, injured consumers without being of any effective help to agriculture as a whole or guaranteeing it the necessary yield on its outlay.

- (78) Of paramount importance for the solution of the agrarian question which is in all countries one of the gravest of problems, is a knowledge of the present trend of agricultural development. The chief features of this trend of development are greater mechanisation and the scientific improvement of the artificial fertilisation of the soil. A study of such development shows that agriculture is faced by questions which go down to the very roots of its existence, as for instance the introduction of tractors and combined reapers and threshers in connection with the opening up of enormous new areas for extensive cultivation. Furthermore, by drawing agriculture into the orbit of the capitalist economic mechanism, a change has been wrought in the nature of agricultural cycles which, formerly dependent chiefly upon harvests, are now increasingly influenced by the general causes of the crisis. Added to this, there are other factors making for difficulty, such as important changes in the growth of populations and in the respective proportions of the various sections of the populations, which cause a general shifting of purchasing power and lead to variations in the kinds of goods consumed.

- (79) The working class holds the view that the complete solution of the whole agrarian question and of that of each individual nation is only possible on the basis of the supplying of all human needs and by division of labour and cooperation between the spacious and extensively cultivated agrarian districts of the typical grain-producing

countries and the intensively cultivated agrarian districts devoted to dairying, poultry-rearing and the like. Within the large economic units which are to be formed the prevailing nationalism of agrarian policy, too often guided by imperialist considerations, should be replaced by a continental agrarian policy inspired by principles of division of labour. Differences in climate and accessibility of markets are arguments in favour of large economic areas as the basis of farming and of planned agrarian policy.

(80) But even before this ideal can be achieved, remedies must be found for the chief abuses of economic administration by private capitalists in the domain of agriculture which are to be found in almost all countries alike. These consist, nationally and internationally, of the inevitable planlessness of production carried on for profit only, the lack of any regulation of the markets and lastly, the fundamental error of a policy of agrarian protection in all countries. In respect of agrarian production, then, the working class maintains its general views on trade and customs policy, but desires to emphasise the fact that protectionism in agriculture has almost always ignored the fundamental connection between mass purchasing power and agrarian prices, with the result that high inland prices have indeed been attained, but planless production has led to over-production and yet has failed to secure either adequate consumption or an adequate yield on outlay.

(81) The working class would like to see the same economic policy applied to agriculture as it demands for the production, trade and distribution of industrial products. Hence the necessity, until the principle of an economic administration aiming at the supply of needs shall have systematically diverted agrarian production towards the needs of consumption, of replacing the present system of commercial policy by a planned regulation of prices by means of state trade monopolies under public control, to cover all the most important agricultural mass goods. This will not only equalise the international differences in prices which have arisen out of agrarian protectionism and cause such great diversity in the cost of living in different countries, but will also tend to prevent the price fluctuations which are due to the unregulated methods of capitalist production and which are so prejudicial to producer and consumer alike : the regulation of prices may also enable us to regulate the channels of production.

(82) In connection with the demands of the working class in respect of inland trade and price policy, Labour further demands the rationalisation of the agricultural markets. The establishment of wide-spread sales and distributing cooperative societies will do much to bridge the wide gap now filled by « middle men » and thus ensure higher prices to the farmer while lowering the cost of living for the urban consumer. Close cooperation between the agricultural cooperative societies (distributive and sales) and the consumers' cooperatives of the towns should accelerate this process. The standardisation of agricultural produce is an important step towards the improvement of quality and the regulation of production.



- (83) The working class also demands that large estates and forests shall be transferred to the community and shall be managed either as public monopolies or as large-scale cooperative enterprises. In agrarian districts which are backward in agricultural applied science, especially those of Europe, suitable measures of rationalisation should be adopted (improved machinery, better means of cultivating the soil, planned irrigation and drainage, regrouping of scattered land for convenience of farming, better methods of rearing stock) in order to obtain the maximum yield from the areas available for agriculture, while at the same time reducing the cost of production. The promotion of productive cooperative societies is of especial importance in this connection. The Commission of the International Labour Office dealing with Cooperation Questions would here have a sphere of action to which it could devote its special attention.
- (84) In an economic system for the supplying of human needs, it is the duty of an Agrarian Planning Board, in close cooperation with the other organisations of that system, to draw upon the whole of the resources of agriculture in order to satisfy the needs of the community.
- (85) Another duty of this Agrarian Planning Board would be, in collaboration with the industrial controlling organs, to determine the nature and volume of the international division of labour in such manner as would make it possible for each individual country or large economic area to develop the maximum degree of efficiency and would ensure cooperation between industrial and agrarian states for the benefit of the general public. The stream of purchasing power would then serve to adjust the respective selling and consuming capacities of industry and agriculture and the necessary balance would be restored between these two paramount sections of economic life.
- (86) The solution of these problems is especially urgent for Europe. But they will not be solved till Europe is a single economic unit and till her industrial and agrarian states are no longer adversaries, but partners.

#### IX. — ORGANISATION OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM FOR SUPPLYING HUMAN NEEDS

- (87) The working class holds that the transformation of the economic order to one which will supply all human needs — that is to say, an economic order organised from the sole point of view of the best possible supplying of the needs of the population and on the principle of the common service of the community, — is possible and must be begun on the basis of the present capitalist economic order. In order to fulfil the demands which have been drawn up for the various sections of economic life, it is both possible and necessary to create a banking board in every country, which in cooperation with the Central Bank of Issue would be gradually transformed into a credit planning board with powers covering the whole nation. On the pre-

sent economic basis it is also possible, in addition to the cartel and monopoly board which, in controlling cartels, syndicates and other monopolistic organisations and in exercising control over prices, is already working in the direction of the regulation of production, to set up foreign trade controlling organs which in international cooperation with the foreign trade organs of other countries would set about organising trade relations, international division of labour and world exchange of goods. Besides this, the economic branches which are under state control could and would have to be brought together into a single organisation in accordance with a preconceived plan. The central boards for public economic administration in every country must first of all control those branches of industry which are already under state influence or will inevitably come under it in course of time. It would be for each state to determine for itself the best way of establishing its own controlling organs.

- (88) From these transition forms, which are instruments for the transformation of the capitalist economic order into a Socialist order supplying all human needs, there would be a gradual development of the institutions which are indispensable for the planned establishment of a complete system for supplying all needs.
- (89) In such system for the supplying of human needs the chief authority taking over the administration of the economic system and the responsibility for all economic measures would be a national planning board, which would be of the same nature as a National Economic Council. It would assess all needs and would then take measures to supply them, aiming always at the steady improvement of its service. Its measures would be decided upon and carried out in the closest cooperation with the other planning boards which would be set up for the individual economic departments. The credit planning board, which would take over the functions of the banking board in cooperation with the Central Bank of Issue, would have to deal, on carefully planned lines, with the whole question of capital and would therefore have to guide capital and distribute credit, also on planned lines. Then there would also be, according to the economic structure of the country, a production planning board for industry and an agricultural planning board in the form of economic councils. The production planning board would, in cooperation with the controlling organs for the supplying of consumers, take over the functions of the cartel and monopoly board. In addition to the organ controlling distribution, which would regulate the inland market, there would be the foreign trade monopoly board.
- (90) The national grouping together of these economic councils responsible for the planning and carrying out of measures would have to be so managed that in each body all sections of the population which are important constituent parts of the community would be represented in proportion to their importance; the organisations created for the purpose being recognised as the competent representatives of the specific sections of society.

- (91) The whole economic system would then have to be administered with a view to safeguarding the stabilisation of the standard of living of the entire population in proportion, first of all, to the existing economic capacity : and only gradually would there be progress towards an improvement of the standard of living. The national planning board would have to determine the rate of growth of the production and distribution machinery, that is to say, the volume of that part of the social product which would be withheld from consumption in order to be devoted to the accumulation of capital.
- (92) The organisations of economic management for the supply of needs of each individual country would in their turn establish the closest relations with each other and would, through cooperation, substitute solidarity for competition, thus systematically building up a planned economic system for the supply of needs in the large economic areas. When this has been done, a general economic council for large economic areas would be created side by side with the National Economic Councils. Under the principle of international division of labour the economic policy of the general economic council for large economic areas would be decided by a World Economic Council, which would have to fulfil the duties at one time entrusted to the League of Nations, but left undischarged by the latter for lack of adequate opportunity to function. The planning boards for the various economic branches within the national or large economic areas would work in close cooperation with each other and would be called upon to guarantee the carrying out of the economic policy laid down by the World Economic Council.
- (93) Until this objective shall have been achieved, the International Trade Union Movement maintains its old demands, « that the economic bodies connected with the League of Nations be developed into an International Economic Office in which the organised working class shall participate in the degree which is due to them and that all economic disputes which have not been settled by direct negotiation between the States concerned be submitted to an international court of arbitration ».
- (94) It is the duty of the working class in each individual country to throw their whole energies into the struggle to establish these principles. The condition for their achievement, beginning with the transformation of the capitalist economic order and proceeding by way of the transfer of the means of production to community ownership, must end with the setting up of a planned Socialist economic order for the supplying of human needs, this being the only economic order worthy of mankind.
- (95) Socialism is not a system to be established in the future, it is a duty for the present time!

**REPORTS**  
**of the National Centres**  
**for the Years 1933, 1934 and 1935**

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**Commission Syndicale de Belgique.**

**BELGIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE**

The three years under review fall into two parts — from the 1st January, 1933, to the middle of March, 1935, and from this latter date to the end of the period.

The first period was that of the 'one-sided deflationist policy pursued by the worst enemies of the workers, a policy which has had disastrous consequences for the great majority of the Belgian people, in particular for the workers, and brought the country to the brink of ruin.

The second period was that of the van Zeeland government, in which five representatives of the workers participated. Since coming into power this government has pursued a policy of national recovery which has contributed considerably towards placing the nation's industry on a sound basis and ameliorating the lot of the working classes.

We say that the first period was one of « one-sided » deflation because the restrictions were mainly on expenditure on social services, particularly on unemployment insurance. The policy of deflation was naturally one-sided since the government was made up of the worst kind of reactionaries, if not actual representatives of high finance.

It is especially the unemployed and those in charge of unemployment relief who have suffered from this policy. No month has gone by without one or more emergency decrees and dozens of circulars being issued by the Ministries, restricting the rights of the unemployed to benefit, excluding certain categories altogether, imposing annoying measures of supervision on the unemployed, and furthermore complicating extremely the work of those in charge of relief.

In view of the situation created by this policy, the Belgian National Trade Union Centre convened a Congress for the 5th April, 1933, which voted a resolution enumerating the demands of the Trade Union Movement as regards unemployment insurance. This programme was communicated to the Minister of Labour and Social Services, who merely acknowledged its receipt, and in reply issued a few days later another decree which still further aggravated the situation for the unemployed. This was incidentally a characteristic of the deflationist government — systematically to disregard all the demands submitted by the free Trade Union Movement.

Having regard to this policy, the National Centre convened an extraordinary Congress for the 1st July, 1934, which was of a demonstrative character, and was attended by nearly six hundred delegates, including numerous unemployed workers. This Congress was the point of departure for an immense campaign throughout the country, in the course of which the National Centre organised a petition of the unemployed, local and regional demonstrations and a national demonstration of the unemployed which took place on the 10th December, 1934, in Brussels.

This campaign was carried on for (1) the fight against the government's starvation policy and (2) the fight for the reabsorption into industry of the unemployed through the Labour Plan.

This however did not prevent the government from continuing its disastrous policy. The National Centre continued to keep the workers aware of what was going on, and on the 2nd January, 1935, it called a meeting of its National Committee to examine once again the whole situation. The question was raised here of whether the Unions should continue to bow before the government's draconian measures as regards unemployment or whether they should finally abandon the administration of unemployment relief.

Affiliated organisations were asked to give their views on the two questions.

The majority felt that there could be no question of abandoning the organised unemployed to their fate and that it was necessary to intensify the protest campaign.

On the 20th January, 1935, the National Centre organised another Demonstration Congress and on the 29th January it organised in Brussels a meeting of 1,200 unemployed, who appointed a deputation to submit to the King a petition drawing his attention to their desperate situation and demanding work.

A few days later, Theunis, the Prime Minister, announced in the House of Commons the creation of a National Labour Commission to « restore its vitality to the nation's industry ». The National Committee of the National Centre decided to accept an invitation to be represented on the Commission and Comrade Meriens was appointed to represent the Trade Union Movement. A short time afterwards, however, when the government had prohibited the organisation of a national demonstration which was to have taken place in Brussels on the 24th February, a joint extraordinary Congress of the Belgian Labour Party and the National Centre decided, as a protest, to withdraw all the workers' delegates from the Commission.

The general discontent waxed from day to day and on the 20th March, 1935, Theunis resigned in view of the heights it had reached. This was the end of the policy of deflation.

For the sake of completeness it should be noted that during this whole period, the fight for the amelioration of the lot of the unemployed went hand in hand with that for the application of the Labour Plan, in which the Belgian Trade Union Movement played an important part.

The following table shows the growth of unemployment during the period described above :

MONTH	Total Membership	Completely Unemployed	Partially Unemployed	Days of Unemployment
<b>1933</b>				
January . .	937,903	207,136	196,237	6,983,120
February . .	957,391	201,305	185,052	6,102,729
March . . .	973,794	195,715	186,942	5,630,066
April . . . .	993,353	190,143	187,222	5,384,325
May . . . . .	992,611	162,781	176,174	5,556,471
June . . . . .	1,016,645	145,881	158,005	4,216,113
July . . . . .	1,037,653	142,119	168,653	4,760,004
August . . . .	998,086	135,105	162,361	4,100,532
September . .	1,013,644	138,131	163,067	4,096,268
October . . .	1,016,911	146,988	144,998	4,870,163
November . .	933,091	156,690	148,023	4,509,114
December . .	980,406	194,279	163,537	5,517,147
<b>1934</b>				
January . . .	962,890	206,855	183,712	7,062,633
February . . .	960,359	195,404	178,556	5,843,292
March . . . .	975,378	182,561	162,780	5,458,229
April . . . . .	968,309	188,478	170,352	6,600,165
May . . . . .	970,145	170,261	162,511	4,984,232
June . . . . .	966,145	165,342	163,216	4,915,140
July . . . . .	962,695	167,979	175,974	5,936,835
August . . . .	965,319	164,969	169,255	5,118,777
September . .	963,265	173,118	156,408	5,101,024
October . . .	959,166	173,368	153,422	5,831,928
November . .	954,920	193,212	150,897	5,737,929
December . .	955,464	212,173	167,562	7,088,451
<b>1935</b>				
January . . .	945,309	234,300	158,406	6,544,048
February . .	939,814	220,777	157,160	6,418,185

The second section of the period under review started on the 25th March, 1935, with the appointment of the van Zeeland government, which included five representatives of the Labour Movement.

On the 28th March, a deputation of the National Centre presented to Delattre, Socialist Minister of Labour and Social Services, the programme of demands of the National Centre as regards unemployment insurance, social questions, and the combatting of unemployment. This programme contained the following demands :

- (1) suppression of all iniquitous measures as regards unemployment insurance ;
- (2) structural reform of the unemployment insurance system ;
- (3) application of the forty-hour week ;
- (4) until this is put into effect, distribution of available work among all workers ;
- (5) formation of joint industrial councils ;
- (6) reform of factory inspection ;
- (7) compulsory sickness insurance.

Under the pressure of the Socialist Ministers, the government brought in a number of improvements to the unemployment relief system, but, although these were satisfactory to a large part of the working class, the National Centre convened its National Council on the 15th November, 1935, and drew up a programme of demands, which was supported by a widespread propaganda campaign throughout the country and the organisation of a series of regional congresses.

The substance of the programme was as follows :

« The National Council of the Belgian National Trade Union Centre, meeting on the 15th November, 1935, notes with satisfaction that the present government has broken away from the deflationist policy of preceding governments and has started to introduce new blood into the nation's industry, allowing of thousands of unemployed finding work again.

It asks for the acceleration of this new economic policy, notably by the application of large-scale works and the granting of finance to provincial and municipal authorities to allow of them working usefully.

In order to hasten the completest possible reabsorption of the unemployed into industry, the National Committee holds that.

- (1) hours of work should be reduced to forty per week, with maintenance of the standard of living, with strict application of the Eight-Hour Day Act of 14th June, 1921, in the meantime ;
- (2) the school-leaving age should be raised to sixteen for all ;
- (3) the pensionable age should be fixed at sixty and workers of that age should be assured a pension on which they can live.

In view of the rise in the cost of living and in the prices of everyday necessities, and in order to bring to an end a system which is prejudicial to the interests and the dignity of the insured workers, the National Council regards it as indispensable for (1) the rate of unemployment benefit to be increased by 10 %, and ... .. (8) for an all-round and obligatory system of unemployment insurance to be instituted, with contributions payable by workers, employers and the state.

In view of the increase in the cost of living and in particular of the rise in the price of necessities, the National Council demands rapid and energetic government action to restrict the rise in prices ;

affirms the necessity of adjustment of the wages of all who have to live on the returns of their labour ;

holds that a national and bilateral enquiry should be made into the remuneration of labour, to be organised by the government ;

appeals to public opinion and to the government of economic reconstruction, whose policy is directed towards the maintenance and augmentation of mass purchasing power ;

urges the government to reserve its favour and its contracts for those industrialists who conform to this policy ;

energetically demands legal dispositions guaranteeing mass purchasing power ;

demands the formation of joint industrial councils and the conclusion of collective agreements in all important industries or sections of industry ;

demands with the shortest possible delay :

- (1) the reorganisation of factory inspection ;
- (2) the suppression of the flagrant injustices created by the deflationist government, in cutting down the resources which had been considered as the absolute minimum for the aged, widows and orphans, those in receipt of family allowances and of disablement pensions.

Finally, in the conviction that the country will only overcome the difficulties in which it has been for the last five years and return to permanent prosperity by structural reform, the National Council of the National Trade Union Centre decides to give its enthusiastic and effective participation to the propaganda for the application of the Labour Plan. »

At the time of writing, the van Zeeland government has already to its credit the application of the following demands, only to mention those submitted by the National Centre :

- (1) prolongation of the school-leaving age to sixteen for all young people who cannot find work ;
- (2) suppression of certain restrictions in the unemployment insurance scheme, increase of relief to those having exhausted statutory benefit, special winter relief ;
- (3) suppression of certain exemptions from the Eight-Hour Day Act, making for its stricter application ;
- (4) addition of ten joint industrial councils to those already in existence ;
- (5) reform of factory inspection.

We give below the latest unemployment figures, which show how far the unemployed have been brought back again into industry ;

MONTH	Total Membership	Completely Unemployed	Partially Unemployed	Days of Unemployment
<b>1935</b>				
March . . . .	943,256	206,511	148,408	6,144,438
April . . . . .	937,201	181,110	127,419	6,013,371
May . . . . .	931,231	159,551	114,534	4,687,524
June . . . . .	923,852	146,581	104,066	4,106,719
July . . . . .	915,970	138,376	109,049	4,793,677
August . . . . .	909,191	136,139	106,627	4,105,503
September . . .	913,277	136,726	109,125	4,683,731
October . . . .	897,117	130,981	95,069	3,855,193
November . . .	898,572	143,407	83,012	3,898,136
December . . .	901,104	162,166	102,174	5,110,997
<b>1936</b>				
January . . . .	898,412	167,063	99,858	4,724,361

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The van Zeeland government expressed in its governmental programme its desire to do everything in its power to facilitate the adjustment of wages by the establishment of closer contact between the workers' and employers' organisations, and the Minister of Labour has lodged a Bill regulating the functioning of the joint industrial councils. This question raises the problem of the legal status of the Trade Unions.

The National Trade Union Centre has set up a special Committee to draw up a report on this question, and, in order to facilitate its work, it organised at the end of December, 1935, three one-day study conferences at Ostend, during which the whole problem of the legal status of the Unions, with its advantages and disadvantages, was dealt with. The special Committee is continuing its work at the



present time in the light of the resolutions passed by the Ostend study conferences, and will soon be submitting its report, which will have to be presented for definite decision to a special Trade Union Congress.

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To show the interest felt by affiliated Unions in international affairs, we would point out that out of the twenty-three Unions affiliated to the National Centre, nineteen are affiliated also to their respective International Trade Secretariats. Some of our organisations cover several categories of workers and are therefore affiliated to several different Trade Internationals.

Only four of our organisations are not affiliated to their respective Internationals — the organisations of journalists, doctors, jewellers and workers in the defence forces — for whom there are as yet no Internationals in existence.

## Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

The period 1933 to 1935 has been one fraught with difficulty and anxiety for many thousands of Canadian wage earners, and the seeking of measures to cope with unemployment and resultant distress have been paramount in all activities of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

As in other countries, the ranks of the organized workers lack solidarity and the old established trade unions in affiliation with the Congress are beset with dual organisations of various types and character, such as sectarian, communistic, independent and the self styled « Nationalist », whose policy and activities consist of an appeal to patriotism which is paraded at all times for the benefit of unwary workers in an attempt to wean them from international organisations which, in most cases, have established benefits covering unemployment, old age, death and disability, etc.

The work of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which heretofore has been chiefly legislative in character, was extended during the year 1935. Realising that certain classes of workers not covered by its affiliated organisations were being organised in the various dual unions above referred to, the 1934 Convention decided on a change of policy to meet this situation and since then the Congress has been issuing charters to workers engaged in industrial activities. Such charters are only granted in cases where the affiliated Trades and Labor Council in the district involved has given its approval. This precautionary provision is made with a view to preventing infringement upon the jurisdiction of organisations already connected with the Congress.

As a result of this policy, the membership has shown a constant increase among classes not covered by affiliated unions, but the bulk of the membership remains, as previously, incorporated in Canadian branches of international unions.

Due to unemployment, there was a recession in membership during the years 1933 and 1934 and an upward trend in the latter half of 1935 with the result that an increase of more than 2,500 over the previous year was reported to the Convention of that year.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has not held any special gatherings other than the annual Convention which meets during the month of September each year, that of 1934, in Toronto, being a special event taking the form of celebrating the Golden Jubilee of its founding in the year 1883 in that city.

It has actively participated in developing a peace consciousness among the Canadian people by co-operating closely with the League of Nations Society in Canada and also by constant educational anti-war propaganda on its own behalf. It has also participated in the work of the Canadian Welfare Council, an organisation whose activities have been devoted primarily to the problems of direct relief and public assistance, protection of children and the maintenance of decent standards of family life throughout the Dominion. Membership is maintained in a number of other national bodies through which the interests of workers may be advanced, such as the National Research Council and the Dominion Council of Health.

Its main accomplishment in the legislative field has been the securing of the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation under which a Commission of three was appointed in July, 1935, to bring a national unemployment insurance plan into effect. During the 1935 Session of Parliament it also secured recognition by the Dominion Government of responsibility to give effect to a number of ILO Conventions which had previously been held to come within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. Legislation to give effect to these included an eight-hour day Bill, a measure to establish minimum wage-fixing machinery and a Bill to bring into effect provisions of the one day's rest in seven Convention.

As a number of the provinces claimed violation of the British North America Act (Canada's Constitution) all four measures have been subsequently submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada for decision as to their validity and pending the Court's decision no action has been taken to put them into effect.

The number of unemployed has shown no diminution during the three years under review and while there is no machinery for the tabulation of accurate figures of numbers actually unemployed, official reports from provinces and municipalities show that the number receiving public assistance has averaged one and one quarter million throughout the entire period, at least half of whom would normally be wage earners, the others being dependent women and children. To these must be added a large number who, though unemployed, have not reached the state of destitution which would qualify them for public relief. This would probably double the figure above quoted. Then, too, large groups, such as railway maintenance staffs, have been working short time (twelve to fifteen days per month), miners three to four days per week, etc., the whole showing a picture which indicates the extent of the problem that Canadian workers have faced through the ravages of unemployment.

The Congress has continued with the monthly publication of its official journal, "The Canadian Congress Journal", without interruption.

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## Odborové Sdružení Československé.

### JOINT NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

At the beginning of 1933, the Joint National Trade Union Centre of Czechoslovakia had sixty-six affiliated Trade Unions with a total of 631,750 members, forty-six of these being national Unions with 407,543 members, and twenty German Unions with 224,207 members. By the agreement concluded between the two bodies in 1926, the German Unions are represented in the Joint National Centre through the German Centre, which has its seat in Reichenberg.

At the end of 1934, the Joint National Centre had sixty-three Unions with 690,074 members, forty-six of these being national Unions with 405,945 members and seventeen German Unions, with 213,132 members. On the whole, the state of organisation has not changed very much. The Centre covers all classes of the workers, both manual and non-manual, and those in both public and private employment.

The relationship of the German Unions, represented in the Joint National Centre through the German Centre, to the national Unions is regulated by joint councils set up in the individual trades and through conferences called as occasion arises to deal with questions common to both sides. The Joint National Centre always gives its support to the formation of joint councils, which have to carry out the agreement made as regards the Joint Centre and, if things go so far, have to put into effect the amalgamation of the Unions. The representatives of the German Centre are also on the central bodies of the Joint Centre. On the whole, this arrangement has worked well, only being disturbed when the Union of Transport Workers in Aussig united with the Union of Food and Drink Workers in Bodenbach to form the Union of Transport and Food and Drink Workers in Aussig, although, according to the agreement, amalgamation can only take place between Unions covering the same trades, i.e., the Union of Transport Workers with the parallel national Union and that of the Food and Drink Workers with its parallel national Union.

The experience gained of the working of the 1926 agreement has led to reconsideration of the question of how far the agreement can be observed.

Attempts at concentration are being continued. In 1935 it was possible, with the help of the Joint National Centre, to amalgamate the Union of Printers' Assistants in Brunn with the national Union of Printers' Assistants in Prague.

The efforts of the National Centre, especially among the public employees, were also instrumental in getting agreement between the Union of Public Employees and the National Union of Workers in Public and Civil Services, by which the Union of Public Employees regulates its sphere of action within the framework of the National Union. The Centre has also laid down the outlines for the uniform organisation of higher grade officials in the public services.

The Centre has set up local and regional Trades Councils to promote the activities of the affiliated Unions, and runs local secretariats to carry on this work. The number of these Trades Councils has risen from 145 in 1933 to 164 in 1935.

The Central Trade Union Council, made up of representatives from the Unions, held twenty-one meetings in 1933, seventeen in 1934 and eighteen in 1935. There are special committees on economics, social affairs, women's work, youth work and public employees, which held forty meetings altogether in 1933, fifty-two in 1934 and eighty-eight in 1935.

### Congresses and Decisions.

The Trades Union Congress was held in Prague from the 8th to the 11th December, 1934, and was attended by 395 delegates, six fraternal delegates and other visitors. The Congress unanimously reaffirmed its faith in political and economic democracy, advocated organic unity and its opposition to Communist splitting tactics, and adopted a resolution expressing the necessity of using all means to counter disruption, urging the Central Council to pursue further the aim of collaboration of all classes of the workers, proposing the formation of united unions within the National Centre and the continuation of the efforts started by the agreement made with the German Centre in Reichenberg, and advocating organic unity and not the "united front".

The Congress also dealt with economic and social demands, which it incorporated into a programme.

The proceedings showed that the Trade Union Movement is well aware of modern trends, political, technical and economic, and the Congress clearly expressed that it is the duty of the Trade Unions not to look on inactively at industrial changes, but to take systematic and constant action to see that political democracy is complemented by industrial democracy.

Demands were formulated bearing on industrial production, agriculture and all the most important contemporary problems.

A resolution was adopted on the question of industrial production which demanded the amendment of cartel legislation, the publication of cartel agreements and Trade Union representation on the Cartel Committee, as means of countering the disastrous effects of the price, production and social policy pursued by monopolies. The resolution also demanded the formation of associations with compulsory membership, in each sphere of production, with the task of organising production according to plan and with due regard to the interests of workers and consumers. It is also emphasised that the Trade Union Movement can only accept rationalisation which is accompanied by a rise in purchasing power and in the social position of the workers.

The Congress also put forward demands for economic planning in agriculture, the extension of publicly-run industry, support for co-operative production, measures for the revival of industry and the increase of consumption, the insertion of economic planning into a world scheme of economic planning, thorough reform of the state fiscal system, reduction of hours of work, relief for the unemployed and, to assist young workers, raising of the school-leaving age, reduction of working hours to thirty-six per week, longer holidays and the thorough reform of apprenticeship.

A Conference of Women Trade Unionists was held on the 29th September, 1935, attended by eighty delegates. It discussed important contemporary questions, the future of women in the Trade Unions and the extension of the women's paper. The Conference resulted in new urgent demands being put forward and gave an impetus to propaganda.

### Educational Work.

In 1933 the National Centre organised ninety-two lectures, attended by an average of fifty-two persons. The Unions issued 112 periodicals, and the number of volumes in their libraries rose from 127,997 in 1933 to 131,770 at the end of 1934.

In 1934 the National Centre gave special attention to local educational work, arranging for lectures and complete courses to be given locally, in conjunction with the Workers' High School, to whose activities the Centre gave moral and material support. A total of seventy-six courses were organised for unemployed and a total of a further eighty lectures, attended altogether by 1,853 persons.

At the end of 1934, affiliated Unions issued 109 periodicals, eighty-eight of these being published by the Czech Unions — 60 in Czech, 41 in German, 6 in Hungarian and 2 in Polish.

The Central Youth Council dealt in the years 1933 to 1935 with questions of organisation, social services for unemployed youth, continued employment of journeymen, continuation education, courses for youth officials, etc. Activities were especially developed after the Tenth Trade Union Congress, held in 1934, had urged the formation of Youth Councils to intensify the work. Such Councils have been set up by affiliated Unions, local Trades Councils, etc.

A School for young officials was organised in October, 1935, which was attended by thirty-five students, and proved a great success. A further Youth Congress was held in November, 1935, in Prague, and was attended by 177 delegates. This Congress drew up proposals for the reform of continuation education, protection of young workers, improvement of relief for young unemployed, etc.

### Economic Questions.

As in other countries, the economic crisis in Czechoslovakia has produced increased unemployment, as is shown by the following figures of persons registered at the employment exchanges:

	1933	1934	1935
January . . . . .	872,775	838,982	818,005
July . . . . .	640,360	569,450	566,559
Average for the year.	738,267	676,994	686,500

Bearing in mind the figure of 4,449,883 wage-earners given by the 1930 census, the unemployed are seen to form 15.42 % of the total. The National Centre is naturally concerned not only to relieve the unemployed but to find them work.

It has been the efforts of the Social-Democratic members of the Government and in Parliament which have largely contributed to getting increased sums voted for relief and productive work schemes.

In 1933, 1934 and 1935 sums of Kč. 844,407,662, 649,701,776 and Kč. 655,060,000 respectively were allocated from public funds for relief. This was paid out partly in the form of cash benefits, through the Unions, and partly in benefits in kind granted to persons who had either exhausted their Trade Union benefit or were not entitled to it through not being members of a Union.

The Trade Unions bear a considerable share of the burden of unemployment, for they are obliged to pay out an appreciably increased rate of unemployment benefit. The sums paid out by the Unions, including the State grant, were as follows (in Kč):

	Trade Union benefit	State benefit	Total
1933. . . . .	89,459,932.72	326,163,517.08	415,623,449.80
1934. . . . .	83,792,203.35	212,115,354.86	295,907,558.20
1935. . . . .	85,000,000.—	218,000,000.—	303,000,000.—

In 1933 the system was reorganised, against the will of the Unions, and the State grant considerably reduced, from being between twice and four times the Trade Union benefit to a sum equal to or triple the Trade Union benefit. The State grant is paid for six months, although some groups are allowed to receive it for a further quarter, but at a reduced rate. The National Centre has naturally made great efforts to get this hardship removed or alleviated, and has submitted its demands on this point, on which negotiations started in 1935.

We can only make brief mention here of the numerous measures proposed by the National Centre. Measures were demanded against cartel price and production policy, and another demand was for protection against the closing down or partial closing of private or public undertakings without economic justification. These efforts resulted in the promulgation of a Government decree which obliged employers who contemplate closing their works of dismissing their workers en bloc to apply to the competent authorities for permission. The Unions are represented at the enquiry made into each case, and this measure has in fact prevented the closing down of a number of works or has at least provided compensation for the workers dismissed.

Owing to the efforts of the National Centre on the question of collective agreements, Government Decrees were issued limiting the period of denunciation and providing for collective agreements in the textile industry to cover also undertakings which had not subscribed to them.

In view of the progress of rationalisation, the Centre energetically pushed its demand for reduction of hours of work, and promoted a parliamentary Bill on this subject, which was unfortunately defeated by the bourgeois parties. The National Centre also negotiated with the employers' organisation for working hours to be reduced to forty, or forty-two, per week, by agreement. This came up against the difficulty of maintaining the wages level, but agreement was eventually reached in the glass, brewing and chemical industries, for hours to be reduced to forty-two per week with partial maintenance of wages.

The National Centre has also given constant attention to the currency question, which was of particular importance at the beginning of 1934, when Czechoslovakian currency was devaluated. The National Centre demanded that devaluation should not lead to an increase in prices, which would then have to be made up for by a corresponding rise in wages. Devaluation was expected to produce a revival in the export trade, but the effect was only temporary and not of lasting benefit.

Owing to the economic crisis, wages movements in the last few years have been rarer and were for the most part in defence of existing wages. In 1933 there were 203 strikes and 6 lockouts, in 507 works, employing 68,175 workers altogether, of whom 34,942 were involved. The strikes and lockouts also indirectly affected 3,767 workers, so that 38,709 workers were affected altogether. The great majority of the strikes were successful.

In 1934 there were 213 strikes in 443 works, involving 35,535 persons. Most of the strikes in 1933 and 1934 were of only short duration, the longest being that of 2,110 miners in Rositz, which lasted six weeks and was not successful. This lack of success was mainly due to Communist agitation, which demanded a stoppage of work without regard to the industrial situation. Another important strike was that of 35 upholsterers in a Prague firm which broke out on the 13th October, 1932, and ended in September, 1933. Owing to large-scale black-legging, this strike was not a success.

No complete information about strikes in 1935 is as yet available; the provisional reports show that there were altogether 283 strikes and lockouts in 584 works, involving 57,000 workers.

The National Centre concentrated its efforts not only on protecting the workers from the effects of the crisis, but on ensuring them the opportunity to work. To this end, it demanded that production should be organised on a proper plan.

One of the proposals made was for the increase of public works.

The demands have produced positive success, for in the years 1933 to 1935, public works entailing the expenditure of four thousand million Czech crowns have been carried out. Works on a considerable scale have also been carried out by the provinces and municipalities, utilising in all about two thousand million crowns of public money. The works have been mainly road-building, water supply, land

drainage and irrigation, railway line laying and lighting supply. The experience obtained on these works has led the National Centre to draw up new regulations for the award of public contracts, the main demand here being that the State and the municipalities should obtain good work, the contractors fair prices and the workers a just wage.

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## Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband der Freien Stadt Danzig.

### DANTZIG NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE

On the 12th May, 1933, just after the Nazi occupation of the Trade Union offices in Germany, a Nazi official was empowered by the Dantzig Court to take over the Dantzig National Centre and the Unions. The lawsuit as to the legality of this procedure is not yet concluded. The Nazi official handed over to the German Labour Front the funds and property of the free Trade Unions. In the same month, the Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband der Freien Stadt Danzig (National Trade Union Centre of the free City of Dantzig) was set up. As at that time no one thought the lawsuit would last 2 1/2 years, the new organisation was only intended to form a kind of reservoir for all workers' groups which had been able to avoid Nazi « assimilation ». Work was held up not only by the lack of all funds, but also and mainly through the systematic prevention of any kind of activity, even the holding of meetings being prohibited. These obstacles originated in the Labour Front, which had the complete support of the police. Nearly all the leading officials were charged with corruption and many were imprisoned. In no case was the charge proved. Nearly every speaker at meetings was taken into preventive arrest and no meeting could be held in peace. The paper issued at that time, called « Der Gewerkschaftskampf », was prohibited for six months.

The attempt was made to keep going several Trade Unions, but they were not able to keep their members, who were thoroughly terrorised, and they had moreover to compete with the Labour Front, which had all the former funds of the Trade Unions at its disposal.

At the end of July, 1933, there were elections to all the Works Councils, which produced a devastating result, on account of the reign of terror and the widespread fear among the workers, particularly in the public services. In those cases where the Unions did have the majority on the Works Council, the government intervened to bring the Nazis into power.

These elections were followed by mass dismissals of Socialist workers. In many works, particularly those under public control, all the officials of the former Unions were systematically victimised.

On the 4th November, 1933, the decisive attempt was made. The Police President declared the Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband dissolved, on the grounds that it was hindering the government's plans for « corporate reconstruction ».

The prohibition was contested, but it nevertheless paralysed for nearly a year the activities of the organisation. The prohibition was only raised on the 22nd August, 1934.

From this time onwards steady progress was made. It was possible to win back again the progressive workers from the Nazi organisations. The number of those paying contributions to the Labour Front and attending its meetings has since then fallen by at least a half.

The Centre naturally could not organise all those who came over from the Labour Front, as it had no reserves from better times which would have allowed of a benefit system being set up. It is moreover not allowed to appear before the Labour Court, so that it has had to confine itself to propaganda and advisory work. In view of the continuation of the terror against every individual member, only the really progressive sections of the workers have so far joined.

The Centre has not adopted the procedure of forming separate trade organisations. The special trade interests of the different groups are taken into account by their grouping into nine trade sections, each section managing its own affairs but being supervised and guided by the Executive of the Centre. New rules were introduced as from the 1st January, 1935.

The only Union with complete autonomy is that organising the workers on the Polish State Railways and in the International Port Authority, but this also works in close connection with the Centre.

The activities of some sections have been badly affected by decrees and administrative regulations, particularly that of the agricultural workers, whose section is the only one which the government has tried to make into an organisation with compulsory membership.

The activities of the Centre were specially hardly hit by the adoption in May, 1934, of the Act for the Regulation of National Labour, which abolishes the right to conclude collective agreements, destroys the system of Works Councils and only allows of an insignificant measure of workers' control in the regulation of working conditions. No more Works Council elections have been held since the summer of 1933. The Centre's struggle to get new elections held has so far been without success.

The substance of the collective agreements has on the whole remained intact until now; the decrees of the Labour Trustee have not produced any improvement or unification.

The government boasts of having reduced the number of unemployed. This is certainly shown by the statistics, but as a matter of fact the number of unemployed is higher by about 35,000, or 50 %, since the Nazis came into power. The lower figure in the statistics has been obtained by the organisation of compulsory labour service for young persons, the despatch of between 7,000 and 8,000 Dantzigers into Germany and a rigorous cutting down of benefits. The Centre has given a great deal of attention to the fight against Dantzig unemployed being forced to go to Germany.

On the 2nd May, 1935, the Dantzig guilder was depreciated by 42 % to bring it down to the level of the Polish currency. This devaluation produced a rise of about 50 % in the cost of living, but there has been no change in wages. By the issue of decrees and by bringing pressure to bear on the employers, the government prevents any success being obtained by the workers in their fight, led by the National Centre, for the adjustment of wages. Not even the unemployment and welfare relief rates — which were considerably reduced in 1932 — have been adjusted to the devalued currency.

Since September, 1934, the National Centre has issued « Die Arbeit » twice monthly.

(Closed in November, 1935.)

## **De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark.**

### **DANISH NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE**

For the Danish National Trade Union Centre, the period under review has been one of progress, consolidation and increased strength. Nearly all the affiliated Unions have recorded increases in membership — in some cases considerable increases — during the last three years, and several other Unions, which had hitherto remained aloof, have affiliated to the Centre, so that good progress has been made both as regards the number of members and the number of affiliated organisations.

On the 1st January, 1933, the National Centre had fifty-nine affiliated national Unions and one local Union, with a total of 300,000 members. During the year the Agricultural Workers' Union, with 18,000 members, resigned from membership owing to competence disputes with the Factory Workers' Union (Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund), but as the remaining Unions showed a corresponding increase in membership, the total membership on the 1st January, 1934, was 301,806 in fifty-eight national Unions and one local Union. In 1934, the Agricultural Workers' Union amalgamated with the Factory Workers' Union, and the Unions of Dairy Workers and Postal Workers affiliated to the Centre, so that at the 1st January, 1935, the number of affiliated organisations was sixty-one, and membership had risen to 354,736 (294,715 men and 60,021 [or 16 %] women).

This satisfactory trend continued in 1935. By the end of October, 1935, the Bricklayers' Union, with about 7,000 members, the Waiters' Union, with more than 5,000 members, and the Cooks' Union, with about 800 members, had all affiliated to the National Centre, and, as most of the other Unions have been increasing their membership, the total affiliated should be at least 370,000 by the end of 1935.

There are at present still ten national and nine local Unions outside the Centre, with a total of about 55,000 members. By the end of 1935, the total number of organised workers in Denmark should be about 425,000. There are in Denmark no Unions other than free Trade Unions.

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As collective agreements in Denmark since the war have only been concluded for one year, the Trade Unions have to negotiate in the spring of every year for new agreements, and the situation is made even more difficult by the fact that the central employers' organisation always demands simultaneous agreement and prolongation of all agreements for all the trades concerned. When agreement is not reached in one trade or another, the employers threaten a general lock-out. For this reason, the negotiations all fall together in the spring, and in the last resort have to be carried on between the central organisations of the workers and employers. This is the reason why there are every year threats of great labour disputes in Denmark, although the last large dispute actually occurred in 1925, and there have in the meantime only been smaller conflicts.

During the period under review, the Trade Unions have aimed at maintaining or improving the wages level. In 1933 all the collective agreements were denounced by the employers' federation, which demanded an all-round 20 % wages cut on the ground of the much lower wages and resulting competition of foreign countries. As the Unions resolutely refused to accept any wages cut, the situation became acute. At the last minute, the Government intervened and brought in a Bill prohibiting any strike or lock-out for one year, until the 1st February, 1934, and prolonging unchanged for one year all the collective agreements. This Bill, which passed into law on the 31st January, 1933, was hotly contested by the employers as in infringement on the regulation of wages, and objections were also raised in the Unions that the Act was an attack on the rights of the Unions. The Act certainly was contrary to the principles of the Trade Unions, which are opposed to State intervention in regulation of conditions of work, but in reality the Act was in favour of the workers and preserved the Unions from what would otherwise inevitably have been a labour dispute on a large scale, which would almost certainly have ended with a considerable cut in wages.

In the spring of 1934, the same situation occurred again. This time, however, the employers demanded wages reductions in certain trades, and, as no agreement could be reached, the National Arbitrator intervened and issued an award which was finally accepted by both parties. The employers' demand for reduction of wages was rejected and the Unions' claim for no wage cuts won all along the line.

The statement made by the President of the employers' organisation at the end of the negotiations that « the employers can give up the idea of making the necessary « adjustments » to wages as long as the Labour Government is in power » characterises the whole situation.

There were however some new factors in the negotiations in 1934, which may be of international interest. In the first place, a new Arbitration Act was passed by Parliament in 1934, which laid down uniform provisions as to the voting in employers' and workers' organisations on the awards issued by the National Arbitrator. The Act laid it down that an award is to be regarded as rejected if, with at least 75 % of the members concerned voting, more than 50 % of the votes are cast against the award. For each one per cent. by which the total votes fall below 75 % of those entitled to vote, the necessary percentage for a rejection rises by one-half per cent. If less than 25 % of those entitled to vote actually take part in the ballot, the award is regarded as accepted. The National Arbitrator can also decide that the arbitration awards made for different industries are to be regarded as a unity, i.e., that all the votes cast in all the Unions are to be pooled. This provision will prevent some Unions, which only represent a minority of



all the Trade Unionists concerned, causing a great labour dispute by rejecting the award, as has been possible up till now.

This Act was in force for the first time in the dispute in 1934. It aroused opposition among the Unions, which was expressed at the Trade Union Congress held in Copenhagen from the 8th to the 10th May. A vote of no confidence in this connection against the Government and the Executive of the National Trade Union was however defeated, with twenty-four votes cast against.

A Committee appointed by the National Trade Union Centre is occupied at the moment with the drafting of uniform voting rules for the Unions.

In the same year, the strike in the Co-operative abattoirs, involving 5,000 workers, was settled by an Act of Parliament providing for compulsory arbitration. Both sides submitted to the award of the Court. It was expressly declared by the legislature that this Act did not create a precedent, as it had only been promulgated in view of the danger arising from the cutting off of Danish bacon supplies to England.

The negotiations in 1935 took on a rather different form, since agreements had in the meantime been concluded in certain important industries, i.e., engineering, clothing, tobacco, etc., for the prolongation of agreements to 1936 or 1937. There was not the usual all-round denunciation of collective agreements and only some of the Unions, which wanted an improvement in wages and working conditions, denounced their agreements. For the first time since the crisis broke out, it was possible to obtain wage increases for the worst paid workers. A total of forty-seven occupations and groups obtained improvements, in some cases in the form of increased holidays. In two important industries an agreement was concluded for the remuneration of young workers. Bearing in mind the wages policy pursued up till now by the employers' association, the results of the negotiations in 1935 can be regarded as a great success.

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Owing to the close collaboration in Denmark between the Social Democratic Party, which has been in power for seven years, and the Trade Unions, the latter exert a far-reaching influence in industry. The guiding principle of the economic policy of the Danish Labour Party has always been and still is to safeguard Danish exports and to increase at the same time the opportunities of employment for the Danish workers.

Currency regulations were introduced in order to control imports and exports, and these have proved a powerful instrument in the hands of the Government in the conclusion of trade treaties and the arrangement of imports so as to allow of Denmark making her purchases from those countries which are prepared to take her products. In this way it has been possible to maintain the equilibrium of the balance of trade and to prevent the import of such industrial products as can be produced in Denmark itself. The regulations also allow of the Government introducing an element of planning into industry. While protecting and promoting agriculture, in which the position has considerably improved in the last few years, the Government has applied far-reaching measures of protection to industry, in which employment has shown a considerable rise. As the extensive import regulations on certain articles have given rise to an increase in prices, the Government has announced its intention of introducing the national supervision of prices.

Economic developments have been characterised by the decline in agricultural production and a rise in that of industry. The export of agrarian produce represents Denmark's most important source of income, and, since the value of these exports fell from about 1,400 million kroner in 1929 to about 907 millions in 1934, Denmark was forced to limit its imports — a factor which has been of benefit to industry. Denmark's industrial production shows a steady upward trend.

The index figures of industrial production (1931 = 100) were 99 in 1932, 105 in 1933, 117 in 1934 and 123 in September, 1935. There was a corresponding rise, although not such a marked one, in the number of workers employed in industry, while the figure for agriculture fell. This development gave rise to an appreciable increase in industrial exports from Denmark, of which the values were 230 million kroner in 1933, 258 millions in 1934 and 142 millions in the first half of 1935. Compared with the first half of 1934, industrial exports in the

first half of 1935 rose by 23 %. Out of Denmark's total exports, industrial exports represented 18 % in 1933, 21 % in 1934 and 25 % in the first half of 1935.

In addition to the increased employment due to foreign trade changes, the workers' organisations have systematically advocated the creation of employment for the great number of unemployed. It would take too long to go here into all the measures and legislation which have been introduced in this field, and we therefore confine ourselves to reporting that more than 500 million kroner have so far been utilised from public funds for the creation of employment.

All these efforts have led to a considerable falling-off in unemployment. The average annual percentages of unemployment among all workers insured against unemployment (totalling at present about 388,000) were 28.8 % in 1933, 22 % in 1934, 12.6 % at the end of June, 1935, and 15.2 % at the end of September, 1935.

Unemployment relief is usually kroner a day for those with dependants and 3 kroner for unmarried or single members of the Unemployment Funds. The statutory period of benefit is at least 70 days and there is no maximum limit. In general, however, the period must not exceed 120 days. At the expiration of this period, unemployed members receive relief from what are called the « continuation funds », the maximum period being here seventy days and the rates being the same as those paid by the ordinary Unemployment Funds. At the expiration of this period, unemployed workers receive relief from what are called the « Social Offices », but this is only granted after a means test.

In the autumn of 1931, the currency was devaluated in line with sterling, the Danish krone being pegged to the English pound in the same proportion as hitherto, i.e., £ 1 = 18.16 kroner. In order to assist agriculture, the krone was further devaluated in 1933, its new value being fixed at 22.40 to the English pound. As Great Britain is Denmark's best customer for agrarian produce, this development meant that agriculture received a larger surr for its exports to England, while at the same time having to pay more for fodder, which is imported mainly from the United States. The general view is that the change has benefitted agriculture, and the industrial export figures show that it has also not been disadvantageous to industry. It cannot be denied, however, that it did lead to a rise in prices at home.

At the present time, the right wing of agriculture is energetically advocating the further devaluation of the krone, but this is opposed by industry and trade and also by the workers.

The currency question, incidentally, was one of the main reasons for the general elections held in October, 1935, which gave the government a victory even beyond its expectations. The Labour Movement wants the present value of the krone to be maintained, and further holds that international currency stabilisation and the extension of international trade relations are desirable. It fully realises, however, the difficulties in this field and its economic policy is guided by the view that no change in the present economic situation can be counted on in the near future.

Neither the Party nor the Trade Unions has made a decision of policy on the currency question, nor has any « Labour Plan » or « Programme of Economic Planning », in the international sense of the words, been drawn up. On the other hand, under the heading of « Denmark for the People! », the Party issued a manifesto to the Danish people on the 23rd May, 1934, which has the character of a Labour Programme and describes briefly the aims and work of the Party as regards the most urgent economic and political questions. Both the Party and the Unions are working in conjunction and with method for the consolidation and extension and greater order of Danish industry, with the aim of bettering the position of all the people, and they hold that such a consolidated national industry offers the best foundations for the world economic development which will later on be necessary.

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# Suomen Ammattiyhdistysten Keskusliitto (SAK) r. y.

## FINNISH NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE

The activities of our organisation have shown considerable progress during the period of 1933/1935. A particularly strong increase in the membership of the Trade Unions was noted as far back as the autumn of 1933, this being mainly due to a falling off in the crisis, which at the same time tended to weaken the Fascist movement which had raged during the three previous years. The strengthening of our organisation which began thus, continued steadily, as can be seen from the following table of membership:

Year	Membership at 31st December			Branches	National Unions
	Men	Women	Total		
1933. . . . .	15,450	4,397	19,847	544	15
1934. . . . .	20,912	6,248	27,160	617	16
1935. . . . .	—	—	ca. 35,000	640	18

Three new Unions have affiliated, namely those of the seamen, hotel restaurant workers and of the transport workers. The principle of the organisation has been followed as far as possible. In the more industrial districts, Trades Councils have been set up, thirty-three of these being set up in 1935. The Unions have also given attention to work among the young, for instance the Trade Union Centre published a book about Trade Unions among the young in other countries, and youth sections for carrying on work have been set up in conjunction with the Trades Councils.

The Congress of the National Centre was held in the spring of 1935. The former Executive and officials were re-elected. The most important work was those regarding efforts for the thirty-six-hour week, emphasis on propaganda work and recruitment through courses of lectures and one-day conferences.

Movements to get improvement in wages and to get the unemployed out of the years 1930-32 owing to unemployment movement, again came to the fore in 1935 in the depression.

Ninety-eight collective agreements were concluded in 1935, covering in the year 1935 115,000 workers.

The National Trade Union Centre has an educational organisation and the workers' educational course has been organised each year in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Centre, the average of forty people. In the same way one-way courses for officials are organised in various ways, particularly active in 1935 and new ones are being organised.

Unemployment has shown a falling off since 1933. The official sources given in the following table do not give a true picture of the situation, since the official statistics only cover the unemployed. However, the figures give some idea of the development in unemployment.

Number of Unemployed According to Official Statistics and Unemployment Benefit Paid Out by the Trade Unions.

Year	Unemployed	Trade Union Benefit
1933 . . . . .	41,026	715,640.80
1934 . . . . .	19,208	492,912.—
1935 . . . . .	17,695	—

The economic crisis and the efforts of the Fascist Movement led in the years 1930/32 to arbitrary wage cuts. As a result of the weakness of the Unions, the workers were not able to prevent reduction of wages, the result being a further fall in the standard of living of wage earners, which is in any case very low in Finland. During the period 1933/35, however, when the strength of the organisations had increased, it was possible to obtain wage increases. We have no complete statistics about the development of wages, and the figures given below for the wages of building workers in Helsingfors do not give an accurate picture of this, since the building workers of Helsingfors have for decades been better paid than those in other places and have for many years had collective agreements. The following figures thus represent maximum wages, but they also give an idea of the general development of wages.

Wages of Building Workers in Helsingfors, 1926-1935.

	Hourly wages in Finland					
	1926	1928	1931	1933	1934	1935
Painters . . . . .	12.—	13.—	10.—	7.—	9.50	10.50
called masons . . . . .	10.50	11.50	8.—	7.—	9.—	10.—
the masons' assistants . . . . .	8.—	8.80	6.—	5.—	6.50	7.—
1 k . . . . .	9.75	11.—	7.50	6.50	8.—	9.—
2 k . . . . .					9.—	10.—
workers . . . . .	9.75	11.—	7.50	6.—	8.—	9.—
. . . . .	8.—	8.80	6.50	5.—	9.—	10.—
. . . . .	9.—	9.80	7.—	5.—	5.50	6.—
. . . . .					7.—	8.—
. . . . .	9.—	9.80	7.—	5.—	6.50	7.—
. . . . .					8.—	9.—
. . . . .	9.—	9.75	7.—	6.—	8.—	8.75
. . . . .	8.25	9.—	6.50	5.50	7.—	7.75
. . . . .	7.25	8.—	5.50	5.—	6.—	6.75
. . . . .	7.—	7.75	5.50	4.—	5.—	6.—
. . . . .					5.—	5.50
. . . . .					4.—	4.50
. . . . .					4.50	5.—
. . . . .					7.—	9.—
. . . . .					9.—	10.—
. . . . .					7.—	9.—
. . . . .					10.—	10.—
. . . . .					10.—	10.—

The years 1933/1935 have been very hard ones for the Finnish working class, for the political power has been in the hands of reactionary bourgeois parties which have brought various Bills to restrict the rights of the workers. There is no social legislation and it was only in 1935 that the Committee appointed by the Government brought in a Bill for old age and invalidity insurance, which was to be dealt with by Parliament in the spring of 1936.

On the instructions of the Government, a Bill regarding compulsory arbitration of labour disputes was drawn up in 1935, according to which the workers employed by the municipalities and the State are deprived of the right to strike. This Bill would also restrict the activities of the Unions. It aroused great opposition on the part of the Unions and about 300 protest meetings were organised by the Unions in the autumn of 1935 against this attempt to restrict their activities. It is not yet known whether the Government will actually bring the Bill before Parliament. The Trade Unions are in any case firmly resolved to fight against such legislation with all the force at their command.

Since 1930 our National Trade Union Centre has issued a weekly paper called:

« Palkkatyöläinen » (The Wage Worker). It serves also as the organ for most of the Unions. The greatest part of the members receive the paper gratis at the expense of the Unions, the weekly circulation being between 20,000 and 30,000. The following Unions have their own monthly organs: employees, graphic trades (twice monthly), seamen, and hotel and restaurant workers.

The National Trade Union Centre has published in Finnish the IFTU's Demands for Economic Planning and the Educational Programme adopted by the International Trade Union Congress in Brussels, and about 2,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sold so far. A book has also published about Trade Union work among the young in different countries and another one was published at the end of 1935 (120 pp.) about wages and collective agreements.

## Confédération Générale du Travail.

### FRENCH NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE.

The depression, from which all the workers have been suffering for years, has naturally had its effect on the activities of the French Trade Unions, but satisfactory to note that the effects of unemployment on the membership of the French National Centre (CGT) have been in no way proportionate to the wide nature and duration of the crisis. The number of membership cards issued in 1934 was only less by a few thousands than that of the previous year, which shows the crisis has not affected membership.

The activities of the French Trade Unions over the past few years, marked by three events — the general strike called on the 12th February, a reply to the threats of the Fascists, the compilation during 1934 of economic and social recovery and the decision of the Congress of September for the restoration of Trade Union unity.

#### The Strike of the 12th February, 1934.

From the beginning of 1934 onwards there were in Paris more and more important demonstrations of reactionary groups. Encouraged by the authorities, which was quite different from that taken by the demonstrations, the enemies of the present form of State feeling them more threatening and openly proclaimed their aims. The CGT adopted unanimously on 6th February, 1934, removed the last shadow of doubt as to its position and methods by utilising the existing widespread unrest and a new finality in their rights guaranteed organisation had decided on this decisive stroke, with political considerations continued.

On the 7th February, the Council of Management of the Confédération Générale du Travail examined the situation created by the tragic events of the preceding night. The Council felt that the government was much more inclined to capitulation than to put up an energetic resistance to a group whose power lay not in its strength but in its weakness. The members of the Council of Management were unanimously on the side of the government for the defence of freedom and the principles of a democratic regime. As the Government had resigned, the situation was extremely uncertain and the need was to strengthen public opinion in this state of bewilderment by gaining the support of the workers. It was therefore decided, as a demonstration to rally round the CGT all classes of society believing in freedom and the defence of the Republic, imperfect as it is and lacking in many respects in what it has given the workers, to call a general twenty-four hour strike for the 12th February.

The CGT is entitled to consider that its rapid decision, its sang-froid and the prestige which it enjoys had a very stimulating effect and that, thanks to its action, the Fascists were made to realise that there is another power in the land which is not without force and not without cohesion.

The strike of the 12th February, 1934, organised by the CGT was a gesture expected from it by all democrats in the defence of French freedom, but the menace continues to exist and the CGT remains on the alert.

## The Labour Plan.

In view of its constitution, the interests it represents and the aims it pursues, the CGT was competent to express its opinion about the means to be adopted to overcome the crisis and re-organise industry. A complete plan of economic recovery was therefore drawn up after much work and thorough preparation. This plan makes no break with the general ideas which have always been defended and promoted by our organisation. It contains ideas which have appeared in earlier programmes of the CGT, and all the main principles are ones which have been adopted by Congresses.

After the war, the CGT demanded the formation of a real Economic Council. About 1920 it made a detailed study of industrial nationalisation. Since the beginning of the depression it has, while continuing its campaign for a reduction of hours of work, demanded a large-scale programme of public works. The programmes which were drawn up bearing in mind the actual situation and the necessary measures for re-absorbing the unemployed and overcoming the crisis contained the germ of a concrete industrial plan, which was mainly the work of a meeting of the National Council held in February, 1934. This plan was drawn up with all the greater rapidity because the events in February had made it clear that freedom can never be more threatened than in a period of economic instability and that every longstanding crisis, in connection with the inevitable budgetary crisis, is bound to bring with it a crisis in the government.

The CGT has accomplished its historical mission by undertaking a task which at the same time an economic and social character. The National Council held in February laid down the general outlines of the Plan for combatting depression and on the 7th April, 1934, the OGT convened in Paris the « States of Labour » which was attended by more than 3,000 delegates from the Unions and kindred organisations. This general assembly unanimously adopted a manifesto on economic reconstruction to be carried out in a state of emergency which enumerated all the measures to be utilised to overcome the crisis of unemployment and ensure livelihood and work for the workers. It is worthy of representatives of small traders and small farmers spoke here side by side with representatives of the wage earners.

The General Assembly represented a large step along the road. The economic plan was embodied in a definite form in September, 1934, from the outline laid down in the General Assembly's manifesto and on the 6th October the National Council unanimously adopted the « Labour Plan », of which the main lines are summarised as follows :

- 1. The necessity for economic control which raises the problem of the distribution of national income;
- 2. The necessity for organising economic planning through nationalisation of the main industries;
- 3. The necessity for economic planning as abolition of the crisis through the abolition of unemployment, raising mass purchasing power and placing

This indicated the way to be pursued but the most difficult task still remained to be accomplished — organising a committee to put the plan into execution.

As a matter of fact two parallel campaigns were organised at the same time. On the one hand, emphasis was laid on that part of the plan aiming at directly combatting the depression and unemployment through reduction of hours of work, and a large-scale programme of public works, but active propaganda was also carried on for the general movement on behalf of the whole plan.

In the first place extensive propaganda had to be made for the idea of a constructive plan and to make the people understand the basic principles. Posters, pamphlets and other publications were issued. Several thousands of meetings were held up and down the country and on the 23rd June a national demonstration was organised by meetings being held for the plan in the different « Départements ». The campaign was carried on with great intensity so that there was a steady increase in the number of supporters of the plan. At the beginning there was a good deal of lack of understanding for the idea but the opposition gradually melted away and the idea made headway. To-day it is not exaggerated to say that all who are interested in social questions support the idea of economic planning and are giving

to the CGT's Plan the attention which it deserves, with the exception, of course, of all those who live and prosper on economic chaos.

The National Congress of the CGT, held in September, 1935, unanimously adopted the following resolution :

« The twenty-third Congress of the Confédération Générale du Travail approves without reservations the plan of economic and social recovery drawn up as a result of deliberations and studies pursued by the CGT since its last Congress.

It considers that the different parts of the plan constitute an indivisible whole which outlines the bases for a new economic system which will cure the depression and re-absorb the unemployed into employment.

The application of the plan raises all kinds of problems, either in the way of intensifying the study of the different points or of popularising the plan and winning public opinion over to its side. In order to solve these problems the Congress instructs the responsible bodies of the Confédération Générale du Travail to set up a permanent Trade Union planning committee. The tasks of this body will be to

(1) pursue the necessary studies in conjunction with the national unions and, if necessary, appropriate technical advisers ;

(2) to intensify and organise propaganda for the Plan (press, posters, pamphlets, brochures, cinemas, wireless and training of propagandists).

As regards the application of the Plan the Congress affirms that, although the Confédération Générale du Travail, true to its « raison d'être » of trade unionism proper, its tradition and its role, could not take any part in the formation of any government whatsoever, it is nevertheless prepared to take full responsibility in the industrial sphere.

The Congress demands that the CGT shall take part in the control of industry through the bodies proposed for this purpose in the Plan. »

#### Trade Union Unity,

To give the history of unity and of the position consistently assumed by the Confédération Générale du Travail would mean going into all the Congresses held since the split. The problem of the reconstruction of unity was considered in particular at the Congresses held in 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929 and 1931, when resolutions were adopted which would have enabled the split to be healed without humiliation on either side. In 1933, the Trade Unions of the CGT again discussed the question and it is difficult to describe adequately the feeling then expressed. Nothing gives a better idea of this perhaps than the resolution adopted unanimously by acclamation. This is not a text which lays down the conditions and methods but a stirring appeal for concord and for all the workers with all their rights guaranteed to be re-united in a unified CGT.

But the appeal was without effect since purely political considerations continued to determine the policy and decisions of the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (Communist Trade Union Movement).

It was only the CGT which remained true to the principle of unity, which, without for a single instant abandoning this desire, it has preserved intact in the minds of its supporters. It has always opposed collaboration in the form of a united front, joint action, etc., as this would only tend to perpetuate the split.

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The meeting of the National Council of the 5th and 6th October, 1934, dealt with these questions with greater urgency, both in view of the general situation and in regard to a change which had then become evident in the attitude of the Russian Government towards the French Government.

During this meeting hopes were expressed for the realisation of unity, and contact was made between the CGT and the Communist National Centre. Nothing, however, had been given up in the Communist Trade Union Movement of the doctrines of the Communist Party and its independence was only recognised in a way which deprived it of all value. This could be judged not merely from the utterances of persons without authority but from information and recommendations coming from the higher authorities and authorised leaders. The precision and

downtightness of these statements made it clear that unless the CGT acted with care and received all the necessary guarantees, it would merely become a dupe, to the great detriment of trade unionism as conceived by its members.

It was then agreed that a sub-committee of the CGT and a sub-committee of the CGTU should each draft a resolution dealing with the independence of the Trade Union movement, and the texts should then be compared to see if agreement were possible on the fundamental points. Agreement was not reached in several meetings of these sub-committees and it was not until the 24th July, 1935, that the first result was obtained, the following text being drawn up :

« The Trade Union Movement fulfils its duties and decides its policy in complete independence of the employers, governments, political parties, philosophical sections and all other external groups.

It reserves the right to accept or to reject appeals for specific activities made to it by outside bodies. Similarly it reserves the right to take the initiative in those cases where the question of collaboration arises from time to time, in the belief that its neutrality in respect of political parties cannot be taken to imply indifference to the dangers which threaten civil liberties or reforms achieved or to be conquered.

The statutory Trade Union meetings and congresses are the only bodies qualified to take decisions.

Trade Union democracy guarantees to each Trade Unionist the right freely to defend his point of view within the Union on all questions concerning the life and development of the organisation.

As the Unions include workers of all shades of opinion, no member may be placed at a disadvantage for expressing the opinion he holds outside the Union. Freedom of opinion and the free play of democracy which are provided for and guaranteed by the fundamental principles of Trade Unionism are irreconcilable and incompatible with the formation of units working within the Trade Unions as fractions with the object of influencing or diverting the normal functioning of democracy inside these organisations.

The Unions, which by their nature and composition, bring together workers from different organisations, manifest the greatest broadmindedness to maintain their unity.

Their rules must lay down methods of maintaining cohesion, respect for the principles accepted by both sides and the statutes which have been adopted.

The rules will assure the maintenance of the Unions in their constant role of defenders of the workers' interests. »

This made possible the decision taken in September, 1935, by the Congress of the CGT and by that of the CGTU which brought about Trade Union unity. The details were laid down in a resolution adopted unanimously by the Congress of the CGT and approved by the Congress of the CGTU. The text follows :

« The Congress approves with satisfaction the agreement reached between the delegations of the two National Centres and notes that the existence of fractions and the work of fractions within the Trade Union Movement are formally and categorically condemned and that unity should be reconstituted on the base of complete Trade Union independence.

The Congress notes that the state of the discussions allows of a definite agreement being reached between the two National Centres and of unity being put into application in the near future.

A Joint Committee made up of an equal number of representatives from each of the National Centres will organise the application of unity.

The National Committee arising out of a fusion of the Trade Union branches and National Unions and Trades Councils will meet before the end of this year and will have to record the re-constitution of the old CGT, proceed to appoint the provisional bodies to assure the working of the CGT during the period of transition, decide on the earliest possible date for the Unity Congress, which should not be held later than the 31st January, and lay down the agenda for this congress, bearing in mind the questions raised by the restoration of unity.

The National Committee meeting held after the Unity Congress will appoint the Administrative Council and the Executive of the re-unified CGT.



This procedure will allow of agreement being reached to-day between the two Congresses and will provide for the re-constituted CGT to enter into function with uniform membership cards and stamps as from the 1st January, 1936. »

#### Peace.

The great problems of international relations, disarmament and the real organisation of peace have not been neglected by the CGT. In connection with these questions the Congress of September, 1935, adopted the following resolution :

« The Congress confirms the unchanging support of the workers for peace, and condemns the aggressive attitude of Fascist Italy towards Abyssinia. In the present situation it makes on behalf of the workers a supreme appeal to the League of Nations for it to fulfil its mission of saving peace and assuring the supremacy of right over might.

The urgent tasks before the League Council are determined by the imminent danger of war, which makes it essential that the Covenant, the whole of the Covenant, and in the first place, economic and financial sanctions, should be applied.

On behalf of all affiliated organisations, the Congress affirms its determination to throw all its energies into the service of peace and to obtain the application of all the economic sanctions which are necessary against the aggressor. »

#### Workers' Education.

The educational work of the CGT is carried on through a special body working within the movement and known as the National Centre of Worker's Education, which was set up by decision of the 1931 Congress.

The results obtained have been very satisfactory. The report submitted to the 1935 Congress and adopted by it, stated that 918 students had been registered in the first year, 2,088 in the second, and 3,650 in the third year, making a total of 7,500 over the three years. The actual number of students is still higher, since nine courses were run by the Trade Unions through the « Voix du Peuple », a periodical, published by the CGT.

In order to join the courses, unorganised workers or members of other organisations have joined up with affiliated Unions, but this should be the exception, the usual way should be in the opposite direction. The secretaries of Unions must intensify propaganda among their members and send us a greater number of students.

Up till now the Workers' Educational Centre has recruited its students mainly by direct appeals either through the labour press or through the co-operation of those who have already joined, and the Unions must play a more active part in this field.

The results obtained prove that the work is useful and of value, but they have only been made possible through the untiring efforts of several leaders who believe in the work and have acted accordingly. The number of these leaders must be extended. We can never tire of repeating that nothing can be done in this field except through collective effort.

## British Trades Union Congress.

#### Membership.

The total membership of trade unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress at September, 1935, was 3,388,810, nearly 100,000 more than the total for 1934. The year 1934-1935 was the first since 1930 to show an increase in trade union membership.

#### Amalgamations.

In 1933 an amalgamation took place between the Amalgamated Society of Operative Lace Makers, the Auxiliary Society of Female Lace Workers, and the Auxiliary Society of Male Lace Workers; and in the same year the National Union

of Asphalt Workers and the Northern Asphalt Workers' Union agreed to amalgamate under the name of the Amalgamated Union of Asphalt Workers. During 1933 and 1934 amalgamations were completed between the Transport and General Workers' Union and the « Altogether » Builders Labourers and Constructional Workers, and the United Order of General Labourers. In 1935 the National League of the Blind and the Amalgated Union of British Blind agreed to a fusion.

#### Congresses and other Meetings.

The 1933 Congress passed a resolution instructing the General Council « to take all possible steps to secure the speedy adoption of the Forty Hour Week, as a maximum, without reduction of pay, and the most drastic restriction of overtime ». Similar resolutions were passed by both the 1934 and 1935 Congresses. In the same year the General Council was instructed to take all necessary steps to obtain legislation ensuring one day's rest in seven for all agricultural workers. This Congress also called for the appointment of a National Housing Board to co-ordinate all the available resources in men and materials, and to initiate a really adequate scheme of housing and slum clearance as a national social service; the abolition of fee-charging agencies; the limitation of all distributive workers' hours to 48 by immediate legislation; and Congress urged the necessity for a maximum working week of 48 hours with one clear day's rest without loss of pay for all employees in hospitals and institutions.

As the result of a resolution passed by the 1932 Congress, arrangements were made for the commemoration of the Dorsetshire Labourers' Centenary at Dorchester in 1934. A memorial volume was published and six cottages were erected and are tenanted by old trade unionists. The Commemoration included a pageant, a sports programme, and the first presentation of a play « The Six Men of Dorset » specially written for the occasion. The 1934 Congress was held at Weymouth, a few miles from Dorchester.

The 1934 Congress passed a resolution reaffirming its complete faith in the principles of Socialism and democracy. The General Council was urged to press for the raising of the school leaving age to 16, with adequate maintenance allowances, the better regulation of juvenile labour in non-industrial employment, and raising of the income limit under the Unemployment and Health Insurance Acts to at least £ 500 per annum. Attention was called to the disastrous effects of closing down or removing large industries to other parts of the country. The Government was asked to control and supervise such changes by means of a Survey Board, and to pass an Enabling Act, to enable Local Authorities to trade in order that employment might be found for the displaced workers. A resolution was passed calling upon the General Council to take steps to secure amendment of legislation which would make it illegal for an employer to impose as a condition of service membership of company Friendly Societies, social insurance bodies, or bodies formed for the purpose of recreation and sport.

The 1935 Congress passed a resolution criticising the Government's policy of economic nationalism and lack of consideration for working conditions or consumers' interests as holding no hope of a solution of the problem of unemployment and the depressed areas. Congress regarded as futile the Government's efforts at stabilisation of the existing economic system and called for a policy directed towards the fullest public utilisation of our available resources and international economic co-operation; such a policy would necessitate a co-ordinated plan based upon the public ownership and control of the great basic industries and services, the development of organised marketing both at home and abroad, and international arrangements aimed at the expansion of the world's purchasing power and thereby of world trade. Other resolutions demanded legislation to make the maintenance of the unemployed a completely national charge, and provide scales of benefit without the imposition of humiliating conditions, demanded the substitution of trade union rates and conditions for the degrading rates and conditions existing in unemployed work schemes, and pledged the TUC to render the Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain the maximum assistance in its efforts to raise the standard of the mineworkers' wages.

A long resolution was passed by the 1935 Congress dealing with peace and war. Resolute faith in a collective peace system operating within the League of Nations was declared, and determination to take all appropriate action to make that system a reality. The British Government was called upon to take the initiative through

the League of Nations in convening a new conference of all nations concerned in order that an international agreement might be established for the supervision of the manufacture, sale and transport of arms. The Government was also asked to urge the League of Nations to summon a World Economic Conference to consider the international control of the sources and supply of raw materials with the application of the principle of economic equality of opportunity for all nations in the undeveloped regions of the earth. Congress also passed a resolution calling upon the Government to amend the Unlawful Drilling Act of 1919 so as to prevent the existence of private armies, and to enforce heavy penalties for illegal detention of citizens in so-called club-houses or barracks.

The Annual Conference of Trades Councils in May, 1933, passed a resolution calling on the General Council to institute a campaign for the international introduction of a forty-hour week without wage reductions and to urge the earliest possible introduction of legislation to enforce this reform in this country.

The Annual Conference of Unions catering for Women in January, 1933, passed a resolution in favour of the problem of equal pay for equal work receiving the attention of the Trades Union Congress. Similar resolutions were passed by the Annual Conference of Trades Councils in 1934 and the National Conference of Labour Women in 1935.

#### Industrial Events and Activities.

The National Government's Unemployment Bill was introduced in October, 1933. Leaflets and Speakers Notes were published and articles were printed in the Labour Press, and agitation against the Bill was organised throughout the country by means of conferences and meetings. Representations were made to the Government, and amendments were moved in the House of Commons by the Parliamentary Labour Party, some concessions being obtained. The Bill became an Act in June, 1934. Great resentment was felt all over the country at the Unemployment Assistance Regulations, which were later withdrawn largely as a result of the campaign organised against them by the General Council.

The General Council were invited by the Government to submit nominations for the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee, and Mr. Arthur Shaw, of the National Union of Textile Workers, was appointed. They were also invited by the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee to submit views on several matters, including the utilisation of the Unemployment Fund Surplus, which at December, 1934, amounted to over £ 10,000,000. Various proposals were submitted by the General Council, including recommendations for increasing children's allowances and benefits to men and women. Children's allowances were actually increased by 1s. (from 2s. to 3s.) as from 31st October, 1935, just a fortnight before the General Election.

A deputation from the General Council, certain unions and the National Federation of Insurance Workers waited on the Minister of Health in December, 1933, to protest against the reduction of women's benefits and penalisation of the unemployed under the National Health Insurance and Contributory Pensions Act.

In 1934 the General Council submitted a memorandum to the Home Office Departmental Committee which had been appointed to examine the Two-Shift System for Women and Young Persons, and on which the trade union movement were represented by Mr. Arthur Shaw, of the National Union of Textile Workers. The General Council considered that the Committee should recommend that there was no necessity for the two-shift system as it is at present known; that the two-shift system should only have been allowed in the case of adults, and even then should have been confined to the hours of 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. The Departmental Committee reported in May, 1935, and recommended that the temporary provisions of the original Act allowing the employment of women and young persons in a two-shift system between the hours of 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. should be made permanent with certain modifications.

A deputation was appointed by the General Council in 1934 to present to the Minister of Labour a resolution passed by the 1933 Congress, protesting against employers' evasions of Trade Boards determinations, and calling attention to the absence of proper enforcement. It was learned subsequently that two additional inspectors had been appointed.

In February, 1935, a deputation from the General Council, which was received by the Home Secretary, suggested that licences should only be granted where

every person employed received wages and worked under conditions as agreed between the trade unions and employers, or, should such agreements not exist, enjoyed wages and conditions similar to those agreed between theatrical employers and unions. The Home Secretary, although holding that the question should be dealt with between employers and workers, agreed to give consideration to the suggestions of the deputation when preparing draft regulations.

#### Wages.

The decline in wages which had been in progress since 1927 appears to have been checked in 1934, although there is no very remarkable change in the level of wages at the end of 1935 as compared with the end of 1932. According to Ministry of Labour statistics, in 1933 there was a decrease of less than 1 per cent. as compared with 1932; 1934 showed an increase of 1 per cent. on 1933; and 1935 showed an increase of 1 1/2 per cent. on 1934.

The following table gives the approximate figures for those industries for which detailed statistics are available :

Year	Approximate no. of separate individuals reported as affected by		Estimated net weekly amount of change in rates of wages		Estimated net weekly increase (+) or decrease (-) in rates of wages of all workpeople affected
	Net increases	Net decreases	Increases	Decreases	
1933 .	179,500	894,000	£ 17,250	£ 82,500	- 65,250
1934 .	1,344,000	85,500	95,500	4,000	+ 91,500
1935 .	2,337,000	54,500	194,500	7,000	+ 187,500

The statistics do not relate to agricultural labourers, Government employees, domestic servants, shop assistants or clerks.

The index number of wage rates calculated by the Ministry of Labour (1924 average = 100) shows a slight increase from 94 1/2 at the end of 1932 to 96 at the end of the third quarter of 1935. The cost of living, although fluctuating slightly during the three years shows practically no change at the end of the third quarter of 1935 as compared with the end of 1932. By combining the two index numbers it can be seen that real wages show an increase from 15 1/2 per cent. above the 1924 level at the end of 1932 to over 17 per cent. above that level at the end of the third quarter of 1935. This index number does not reflect the effect of unemployment on earnings.

In 1933 nearly three quarters of the net decrease in wages was accounted for by wage reductions in the building industry; over 500,000 workers suffered a net loss of over £ 48,000 per week. In 1934, 50,000 building workers gained a net increase of nearly £ 5,000 per week, and in 1935 over 500,000 workers in this industry gained increases amounting to £ 47,000 per week.

In 1934 nearly half of the net increases occurred in the coalmining and transport industries, and in 1935 the largest groups of workers to gain wage increases, in addition to the builders already mentioned, were engineers, railway workers, seamen, brick and pottery workers, workers engaged in textile dyeing and finishing, and in electricity supply undertakings.

#### Trade Disputes.

The total number of workers involved directly and indirectly in disputes was 136,000 in 357 disputes in 1933, 134,000 in 471 disputes in 1934, and 271,000 in 553 disputes in 1935. The aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress during the year was 1,070,000 in 1933, 960,000 in 1934, and 1,920,000 in 1935.

The largest disputes in 1933 occurred in the coal mining and transport industries. Most of the disputes beginning in 1934 affected individual firms only. The

most important disputes were those of plasterers and their labourers in Scotland, asphalt workers and artificial silk operatives.

In 1935 disputes in the coal mining industry accounted for nearly 40 per cent. of the total number recorded.

#### Collective Agreements.

After negotiations between the Minister of Labour with representatives of employers' and workers' organisations in the cotton manufacturing industry, the Cotton Manufacturing Industry (Temporary Provisions) Bill was passed at the end of June, 1934. The Act provides for wages agreements to be made legally enforceable and has already been applied in one case.

An agreement was arrived at in September, 1934, between workers' and employers' associations in the South Wales coalmining industry which provided for the nomination by the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Mines of three independent arbitrators who should decide the minimum percentage to be paid on basis rates, and the subsistence allowance.

An award issued by the arbitrators, giving the workers a slight increase, was put into operation in October, 1934.

In connection with a dispute which occurred in January, 1935, between British Actors' Equity Association and a London theatre management, a scheme for the establishment of a London Theatre Council was endorsed by the organisations. The objects of the Council, which was to be equally representative of managers and artists, with an independent chairman nominated by the Minister of Labour, included the approval and maintenance of standard forms of contract and the registration of approved managers and artists.

In February, 1935, an agreement was signed by the general managers of the railway companies and the presidents and general secretaries of the three railway unions setting up machinery for negotiation.

The National Joint Conciliation Board for the Road Motor Transport Industry (Goods) arrived at an agreement in 1934 as to the wages and working conditions of drivers and assistants in England and Wales, to come into force as from January, 1935. In February, 1935, the Scottish Conciliation Board arrived at an agreement.

Trade Boards have been established in the Fustian Cutting and Cutlery trades, and minimum time rates have been fixed by the Boards. Rates were formerly very low in these trades and in very many cases the Trade Board minimum rates have meant substantial increases.

#### Workers' Education.

The General Council have been represented on the following educational bodies: The National Council of Labour Colleges; the Workers' Educational Association; the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee; Ruskin College; Oxford Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies; Cambridge Board of Extra-Mural Studies; British Broadcasting Corporation Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education; Joint Consultative Committee on After-Careers of Extra-Mural Students; and the Industrial Health Education Society.

In each of the three years the General Council awarded six scholarships for one year's residence at Ruskin College.

The Trades Union Congress Summer School was held at Ruskin College in 1933 and 1935 and at Dorchester in 1934.

Week-end schools have been held in various towns, including week-end schools for women trade unionists.

In 1933 and 1935 the General Council provided four scholarships for British trade unionists to attend the IFTU Summer School, and in 1934, when the summer school was held at Dorchester, six scholarships were provided.

In 1934 a summer school was organised by the Workers' Educational Association in co-operation with the International Labour Office for the study of international problems of special interest to trade unionists; the General Council provided two scholarships for this school.

In 1934 in response to an invitation by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education the Trades Union Congress Education Committee submitted a memorandum expressing the view that the school-leaving age should immediately be

raised to fifteen plus, that this should be accompanied by the provision of adequate maintenance allowances, undesirable class distinctions in education should be removed, technical education not be given any place in the curriculum before the age of fifteen, and that provision should be made for representation of the trade unions concerned in co-operation between industry and technical schools.

#### Sports Association.

The membership and spheres of activity of the National Workers' Sports Association are increasing. Sports meetings and tennis championships have been held in addition to regular fixtures.

#### Economic and Industrial Planning and Legislation.

A scheme for the socialisation of the cotton industry was submitted to and approved by the 1935 Congress; a scheme for the iron and steel industry had been submitted to the 1934 Congress; and a scheme for the socialisation of the coalmining industry is in preparation.

The Offices Regulation Bill, dealing with sanitary conditions, overcrowding, underground offices, rest rooms and the appointment of inspectors, was introduced in November, 1933, but rejected in March, 1934.

A Distributive Workers' Charter and a Shops (Sunday Trading Restriction) Bill were drawn up in 1932-1933 by the Executive Committee of the Non-Manual Workers' Advisory Council of the Trades Union Congress and accepted by the General Council.

In July, 1933, a deputation was received by the Under Secretary for Home Affairs to consider (a) the hours of employment of young persons in the distributive trades, and (b) health and sanitary conditions in shops. In February, 1934, the Government's Shops Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, and passed in July, 1934.

The Movement's Workmen's Compensation Bill came up for its second reading in February, 1933, but was defeated. In January, 1934, a deputation from the General Council and certain unions was received by the Home Secretary. The deputation urged (a) the introduction of a short Workmen's Compensation Bill dealing with compulsory cover of risk by employers, and machinery for appeal against Medical Referee's decisions, and (b) the introduction of a Factory Bill. The necessity for the revision of factory legislation was stressed, and reference was made to a statement in the 1932 Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories to the effect that factory legislation in Great Britain was quite out of date.

The Home Office supported the introduction of a Private Member's Workmen's Compensation Bill on the question of the compulsory cover of risk by colliery owners. The Bill by no means came up to the needs of the Movement, but during the passage through the House it was strengthened in matters of detail, and it became law in June, 1934.

Consultations have taken place between a sub-committee of the Film Producers' Group of the Federation of British Industries and a sub-committee of the General Council on the subject of children in films. The Film Producers were demanding an amendment of the law which would allow children to act in British films. A joint report finally adopted by the General Council and the Film Producers' Group agreed that some modification of existing law was desirable, so that children could be utilised for the purpose of screen work, subject to the introduction of proper safeguards.

The Final Report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance was published at the end of 1932. A detailed examination of the findings was undertaken by the General Council, and at the request of the Minister of Labour a memorandum was presented to him.

#### Relief of Unemployment.

A deputation from the General Council and various unions on the subject of test work was received in November, 1933, by the Minister of Health, to ask that "in all schemes of test work the work should not be such as would ordinarily be performed for wages". It appeared that local bodies were setting able-bodied unemployed to work in ordinary wage-earning occupations for the amount of relief

which they received. The complaint was also made that test workers were not covered by the Workmen's Compensation Acts. The Minister of Health promised to investigate cases submitted by the deputation.

From time to time further cases have been sent to the Minister for investigation, and in many instances substantial success has been achieved as the result of persistent following up.

In May, 1934, a special committee was appointed by the General Council to consider the question of services rendered to the unemployed by the General Council and by other bodies. The General Council, through the trades councils, had organised over 130 unemployed associations, with memberships varying in number from 50 to over 1,000, which ensured the existing legal rights of members, conducted local agitations in connection with work schemes and Public Assistance administration. In some cases social and educational activities were also undertaken. Services and facilities were also offered by the trade unions to their unemployed members, who were always treated in the same way as full-benefit members. The Committee felt that some provision should be made by unions to enable skilled workers to retain their skill as after a period of unemployment they frequently lost their "touch".

The Committee endorsed the recommendations of a previous sub-committee that "no support should be given to training and vocational schemes which had for their object the supply of semi-skilled labour in competition with skilled workers, or for the training of men and women to take their places in industries in which there is already considerable unemployment", and that "in no circumstances should schemes be recognised where goods are produced for sale".

The 1934 Committee recommended also that a condition of co-operation with voluntary organisations should be that adequate representation should be given to the local trade union movement.

#### Unemployment Statistics.

The total number of insured workers in Great Britain and Northern Ireland who were unemployed at the end of 1932 was 2,775,802 (2,335,717 men and 440,085 women); this dropped by the end of 1933 to 2,262,896 (1,945,525 men and 317,371 women); at the end of 1934 to 2,066,447 (1,746,152 men and 340,295 women), and at the end of 1935 to 1,858,239 (1,549,958 men and 308,281 women). The average percentage unemployed during each year was 19.9 in 1933, 16.7 in 1934, and 15.6 in 1935.

#### Unemployment Benefit.

The rates of benefit are : 17 s. for men and 15 s. for women, with an additional 9 s. for an adult dependant and 3 s. for each dependent child. Juveniles' benefits are : under 17 years, 5 s. for girls and 6 s. for boys; between 17 and 18 years, 7 s. 6 d for girls and 9 s. for boys; between 18 and 21 years, 12 s. for women and 14 s. for men.

#### Monetary Standard.

Great Britain went off the gold standard in 1931.

The General Council was represented at the World Monetary and Economic Conference held in June, 1933, by A. G. Walkden and the General Secretary in the capacity of industrial advisers. A memorandum sent by the General Council to the Prime Minister stated that the policy of the Labour Movement, industrial and political, was that wholesale prices should be raised to a suitable extent and should thereafter be kept reasonably stable, and this object was incompatible with a reversion to the gold standard in its old rigid form. It would be preferable from the Labour point of view to manage monetary policy with reference to a wholesale price index number rather than that it should be governed automatically by the size of gold reserves.

#### Publications.

Pamphlets published during the three years included in 1932-1933 : "The Right to Live (TUC Defence of the Unemployed)", "John Smith Has an Accident (Case for Workmen's Compensation)", and "Bedaux (TUC Examination of the Bedaux System of Payment by Results)". 1933-1934, "Workers' Control", "Menace of Dictatorship", "Government Evades Its National Responsibility", "Insurance for

Health », and « The Tolpuddle Martyrs »; and 1934-1935, « United Against Fascism », « Iron and Steel (TUC Socialisation Scheme) », « Trade Union Recruitment », « Fair Wages Clause », « What the TUC is Doing », « Dermatitis », « Cotton (TUC Socialisation Scheme) ». In addition to these pamphlets each year reports, leaflets, notes for speakers, and a calendar were issued, and in 1934 the « Dorsetshire Labourers' Centenary Memorial Volume » was published. Pamphlets published jointly with the Labour Party included « Hitlerism », « Meerut Prisoners » and « Workless » in 1932-1933; « Austrian Democracy Under Fire », « Manifesto on Peace and Freedom », « May Day Manifesto » and « Labour and the Unemployment Bill » (Manifesto) in 1933-1934, and « Labour » and another « May Day Manifesto » in 1934-1935.

## ΓΕΝΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΟΜΟΣΠΟΝΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

### NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE OF GREECE.

#### Organisation.

The National Trade Union Centre of Greece has nine affiliated National Unions, of (1) maritime workers, (2) dockers, (3) railwaymen, (4) non-manual workers, (5) tobacco workers, (6) mill-workers, (7) bakery workers, (8) building workers, (9) metal workers, which have a total of 450 branches.

There are twenty-five Trades Councils in the towns of Athens, Piraeus, Salonica, Kavala, Drama, Xanthia, Comotini, Larissa, Volo, Chalkis, Corinth, Aegion, Patras, Kalamata, Pyrgos, Zante, Corfu, Chios, Syra, Mitylene, Canea, Rethymno, Heraclea, Gythion and Alexandropolis, and local affiliated Unions in Eleusis, Laurion, Seres, Tripolitza, Leucas, Cephalonia, Samos, Epiros, Aliverion and Katakolon.

#### Congresses and other Meetings.

During the period under review, one general Congress and ten Pan-Hellenic Conferences were held. Some of the affiliated Unions, of which the most important were the Seamen, Dockers, Non-Manual Workers, Tobacco Workers, Mill Workers and Bakery Workers, also held Congresses during the period 1933-1934, which dealt mainly, of course with their special trade interests.

The Congress of the National Centre examined the important social problems of the country and decided to aim at (1) augmentation of wages; (2) unification of all the workers in the National Centre; (3) improvement of conditions of work and of hygiene; (4) application of the social insurance legislation; (5) suppression of indirect taxation and modification of the fiscal system as a whole, with the aim of exempting the workers; (6) suppressing expenditure of the Ministries of National Defence, and (7) organising working class opposition to (a) armaments, (b) war and (c) Fascism.

#### Economic and other Activities.

A total of 290 strikes took place during the period 1933-1935, made up of 74 in 1933, 76 in 1934 and 140 in 1935, and covering a total of 347,000 workers. Of these 290 strikes, 185 were completely successful, 70 partially successful and 45 failed. Most of them (90 %) were called to gain a rise in wages, while forty were general strikes covering all the workers in the town in which they were called. These strikes resulted in twelve persons being killed, forty imprisoned, forty-two wounded and seventy-six exiled.

The law on social insurance passed in 1934 provides for a Social Insurance Institution, which would be a public body, administered by a Board. The Board, which is already in function, is composed of eleven persons, of whom four represent the employers, and four the workers elected through the National Trade Union Centre.

No action has been taken in the field of economic planning.

There were 156,177 unemployed in 1933, 162,695 in 1934 and 175,628 in 1935. There is no state relief for unemployed workers, only certain branches of industry being insured against unemployment through their insurance funds.



At Christmas and Easter, a sum varying between 500,000 and 1,000,000 drachmae per annum is distributed to the unemployed, this sum being raised by collections.

The only measures adopted by the Government towards fulfilling the workers' demands have been the extension of the Eight-Hour Act to certain branches of industry and promulgation of the Act on collective agreements (which was not supported unreservedly by the workers).

Workers in some trades have obtained a partial rise in wages. As a result of the abandonment of the gold standard in 1932, Greek currency lost nearly 60 % of its stabilized value. The general fall in prices has not resulted in an excessive rise in the cost of living, although there has been a rise of 15 %, while the rise in wages of 4 % has not kept pace with it. Thus for the workers the effects of the devaluation have been a fall in real wages.

No publication has been issued by the National Centre, owing to lack of funds.

## Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen.

### DUTCH NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE

The number of Unions affiliated to the Dutch National Centre fell during the period under review from thirty to twenty-nine, the Union of Roadmakers having withdrawn from affiliation.

Membership of the Centre, which was 339,403 at the 1st January, 1933, had fallen at 1st October, 1935, to 289,228. The importance of this loss should not be minimised, but it should be noted that the decline in membership has been less steep than during the last economic crisis. It must moreover be borne in mind that the decline was accentuated by the Government's ban on staff in the defence forces joining the free Trade Union Movement.

Although the Centre set up a Youth Council, made up of representatives from the General Council and of Unions organising young people, to deal specially with the question of propaganda among and recruitment of young workers; there has been a decline in the number of young members during the period under review, doubtless due to a great extent to the depression. The number of young members fell from 3,938 at the 1st January, 1933, to 1,870 on the 1st October, 1935.

The Executive of the Centre is at present made up as follows: E. Kupers (President), F. van de Walle (Vice-President), S. de la Bella, jr. (Secretary-Treasurer), C. van der Lende (Secretary), P. S. Noordhoff (Editor) and H. Lindeman (Chief of the Unemployment Relief Section).

A great loss was suffered by the Centre through the death of G. J. A. Smit, jr., who was a member of the Executive, and played an important part both in the national and international movements.

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A great deal of the Centre's attention has naturally been concentrated on unemployment relief work. The number of registered unemployed in Holland was 274,413 at the 1st October, 1932, and 366,045 at the 1st October, 1935. There have been various cuts in unemployment benefit during the past three years, and on each occasion, the National Centre has lodged a vigorous protest. Thus a great demonstration Congress was organised at the end of 1933 against the proposal to cut benefit and to worsen the conditions. On the 11th April, 1934, another special Congress was held, which protested against the Government's intention of cutting down the rates of relief all over the country. Another demonstration Congress, held on the 8th and 9th September, 1934, dealt with the demands of the free Trade Union Movement for creation of employment and for unemployment relief. In connection with this Congress, a petition for improved unemployment relief was drawn up, and no less than 1,556,747 signatures of Dutch adult citizens were obtained for it. This campaign obtained from the Government a number of small improvements.

In this connection, mention must be made of the creation by the National Centre of local Unemployed Associations, which all unemployed workers can join, and which hold the views of the free Trade Union Movement. At the present time there are already sixty-five of these local associations.

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The National Centre also organised a special Congress to deal with the question of reduction of hours of work, at which reports were given on the hours of work in those trades in which the workers have as yet no protection, or work more than forty-eight hours. The Congress also discussed the forty-hour week, and a comprehensive memorandum on reduction of hours of work was submitted to the Government immediately after the close of the Congress.

The ordinary triennial Congress of the National Centre was held in May, 1935. Reports were given on legal decisions in labour disputes, factory regulations and workers' control. Resolutions were adopted for the raising of the school-leaving age by one year and the establishment of a central tuberculosis fund of the free Trade Union Movement. Instructive addresses were also given on the New Deal in the United States and on modern labour law.

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There has been a steady decline in industry in Holland during the past few years, as is shown by the unemployment figures given above. The figures of national income, bankruptcies, stock exchange quotations, also show how bad the decline is.

It is therefore comprehensible that the workers and the Trade Union Movement should have taken up a defensive position. The employers are continually demanding fresh wage cuts, against which the Unions are fighting with all the forces at their command. Special mention in this connection may be made of the long seamen's strike carried out in 1933 in IJmuiden. But all the efforts of the Unions could not prevent an all-round and considerable decline in wages, although the cuts have not been so great as those desired by the employers.

There is a difference of opinion in the Movement as to whether devaluation of the currency would be advantageous or not to Dutch industry. Up till now, the question has not been answered definitely one way or the other. The supporters and opponents of devaluation are about equally balanced within the Labour Movement. There is also great difference of opinion on this question outside our Movement. Up till now, the Government has been energetically against devaluation.

No special mention need be made of the efforts made by the Fascists and Communists in Holland, as in other countries, to make capital out of the depression. Immediately after the catastrophic breakdown in Germany, however, a special Bureau for propaganda against Communism and Fascism was set up by the Labour Party and the National Centre. Numerous meetings of officials and about five hundred members' meetings were held, in which the events in Germany and the outlook for Holland were discussed. In this connection, a weekly paper, for distribution to members, was published against Communism and Fascism, appearing each week in an edition of about 100,000. The halt called in our country to the advance of Fascism and Communism is certainly largely due to our campaign.

In 1934, the National Centre and the Party set up a joint Committee to draft a Labour Plan; this Plan was ready in 1935 and was adopted in October, 1935, by a joint Congress of the two organisations. It was thereupon discussed in many meetings of officials and in the spring of 1936 is to be discussed by five or six hundred canvassing meetings.

This survey cannot be concluded without mention being made of the untiring efforts of the National Centre over the period under review to promote international solidarity. In 1934 a relief campaign for the victims of Austrian Fascism was organised and brought in 123,400 guilders.

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## Magyarországi Munkásegyletek Szövetsége

### HUNGARIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE

In the years 1933/1935, the Hungarian Trade Unions were up against great difficulties owing to the economic crisis. Very many industrial workers were unemployed or were working short time, and this led to a reduction of wages. As there is no statutory unemployment relief scheme in Hungary, no exact figures are available for the number of unemployed workers. A survey can only be obtained through the Trade Unions and the membership figures of the different

Workers' Insurance Institutes, which were as follows over the last three years (annual average) :

	Total number of insured workers	Men	Women
1932 . . . . .	862,469	545,433	317,036
1933 . . . . .	856,285	533,500	322,785
1934 . . . . .	916,840	580,258	336,582

Of the figure for insured workers given above, 455,263 were employed in industry in 1934, and 535,305 in 1935, which corresponds to an 18 % increase. The average annual number of unemployed in the Trade Unions was as follows :

	Budapest and environs	Provinces	Total
1933 . . . . .	15,257	10,669	25,926
1934 . . . . .	11,879	9,107	20,986
1935 . . . . .	9,525	8,789	18,318

The number of unemployed on the registers of the National Unemployment Exchange were as follows :

	Budapest and environs	Provinces	Total
1933 . . . . .	49,013	84,946	133,959
1934 . . . . .	59,957	66,983	126,340

In spite of an increase of workers in employment there has been a further fall in wages. The above-mentioned Insurance Institutes give a survey of wages, since they show how many unemployed fell during the year from the higher insurance classes to the lower ones (the lowest class is of workers earning an average of 0.80 and the highest class of workers earning 6.00 pengoes a day).

#### Percentage of Insured in Different Insurance Classes.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
1932 . .	9.0	12.2	23.6	19.3	11.4	7.0	5.9	11.6
1933 . .	9.6	11.0	36.4	11.7	9.3	7.0	5.2	9.8
1934 . .	11.1	12.5	35.9	11.6	8.9	6.5	4.8	8.7

The total of wages paid out compared with the total value of industrial goods produced in the last few years gives an idea of the income of workers employed in factories :

	Total number of industrial workers in employment	Value of industrial goods produced (in pengoes)	Average annual wage (in pengoes)
1932 . . .	182,541	1,822,622,000	1,232
1933 . . .	199,429	1,763,429,000	1,184
1934 . . .	214,883	1,935,240,000	1,122

According to official information, the average annual wage over the whole country of an industrial worker was 938 pengoes in 1932 and 859 pengoes in 1935. The corresponding figures for Budapest and its environs were 1,125 pengoes in 1932 and 1,059 pengoes in 1935.

Contrary to the fall in wages, the prices of foodstuffs have risen during the last few years, which has meant a fall in the workers' standard of living. At the end of 1934, the cost of living of a family was 57.21 pengoes per week and at the end of 1935 it was 60.15 pengoes. Of these sums, 16.27 pengoes were spent in foodstuffs in 1934 and 18.83 in 1935. Wages rose somewhat at the end of 1935 but prices of food rose by 16 %, which again meant a fall in the general position of the workers.

The general decline in the economic position over the last few years is mainly due to a fall in the prices of agrarian produce, which has also had its effect on foreign trade, which has declined recently, especially if one compares turnover in the last few years with that of 1928. Foreign trade figures for recent years are as follows (in pengoes):

	Imports	Exports	Trade balance
1928 . .	1,211,411,000	825,974,000	- 385,437,000
1932 . . .	328,538,000	334,512,000	+ 5,974,000
1933 . . .	312,643,000	391,337,000	+ 78,694,000
1934 . . .	344,897,000	404,198,000	+ 59,301,000
1935 . . .	398,400,000	458,800,000	+ 60,400,000

As a result of the bad economic position, the State reduced its expenditure, and certain taxes, especially the tax on food, which is a burden on the poor people, were raised. State expenditure and income was as follows:

	Income	Expenditure (in thousand pengoes)	Balance	Proportion paid out in pensions (in pengoes)
1931-1932	1,412,889	1,387,709	+ 25,180	213,304,168
1932-1933	1,177,495	1,184,039	- 6,544	201,496,347
1933-1934	1,188,094	1,185,338	+ 2,756	246,894,546

Total number of those in receipt of pensions : 124,581.

As a result of attempts at autarchy, Hungary was also compelled to regulate the movement of currency and a strict prohibition was issued against home currency being sent abroad; the exchange of goods was also placed under State supervision. In the attempt to preserve the purchasing power of the Hungarian pengoe, a percentage of supplementary payment was laid down for all foreign payments, these being as follows at the 1st February, 1936 :

Austrian schillings 13, German marks —, Czech crowns 34, Polish zloty 55, Yugosl. dinar 35, Italian lira 20, sterling 53, French francs 53, Belgian francs 53, USA dollars 53, Dutch guilders 53.

These measures were not without effect on the conditions of the workers. The wages of agricultural workers fell automatically with the fall in the prices of agrarian products, since the workers are for the most part paid in kind. The purchasing power of the rural population was considerably weakened and this produced unemployment in industry. In view of the inadequacy of foreign markets for industry, those industries which were established mainly in the capital and its environs, had to be considerably cut down. Hungary lost through the Peace Treaty 232,745 sq. kilometres (71.52 %) of its

territory and 13,291,966 (63.59 %) of its inhabitants, with a deleterious effect on the industrial workers. This reduced the workers' powers of resistance, and the means of the Trade Unions were not adequate to protect them against wage cuts.

In spite of the difficulties mentioned above, membership of the Unions has not fallen, as can be seen from the following figures :

	Total membership	Women members	Budapest and environs	Provinces
1932. . .	110,069	15,803	86,560	24,700
1933. . .	111,561	13,888	87,140	24,421
1934. . .	111,783	17,161	89,560	22,223

In 1935, there were twenty-six national and eight local Unions in Hungary, which had altogether 380 branches. Membership contributions had to be reduced owing to the bad economic situation and this produced a fall in income. Income, expenditure and benefits paid out in recent years have been as follows (in pengoes) :

	Income	Total expenditure	Expenditure in benefits
1932. . .	3,725,538.02	3,334,502.20	1,845,468.71
1933. . .	2,941,065.69	2,814,005.47	1,443,436.69
1934. . .	2,820,007.36	2,590,460.47	1,269,417.84

In recent years the Government has been dealing with the settlement of the « labour question ». It has made various statements and has also drawn up a plan for representation of the interests concerned. This plan is of a Fascist nature and was sharply opposed by the Trade Unions and also by public opinion and was therefore dropped.

A committee was set up by Government decree to regulate minimum wages, the president and one-third of the members being appointed by the Government and the other two-thirds being composed of workers' and employers' representatives. The commission can only consider those questions which are referred to it by the Government and its decision can afterwards be amended or annulled by the Government. Minimum wages for carpenters and woodworkers were laid down in 1935. The Trade Unions, although they are not officially entitled to, had to see that these decisions are observed, because the authorities do not provide adequate supervision.

Hours of work for carpenters were fixed by government decree at 48 per week, and it is intended to regulate hours of work in other industries also. Many questions relating to young workers, particularly as regards hours of work, have not been settled. Provisions as regards night work are not observed everywhere; although night work is not allowed for women, many women still work at night in textile factories. It is proposed to abolish night work gradually over three years. Manual and clerical workers in industry and trade and domestic workers are insured against sickness and accidents, and since 1929 there has been a system of old age pensions for these workers, with the exception of domestic workers. Agricultural workers are not insured against sickness but only against accidents, and this is not adequate.

The officers of the Insurance Institute are elected by a general meeting. The delegates to the general meeting are elected by the insured persons, those in the free Trade Unions receiving 77.4 % of the votes and those in the Christian-National bodies receiving 22.6 %. The officials of the Institute are nominated by the Minister without consulting the officers and every decision must receive government approval before it is put into force. The Government is entitled to amend or reject a decision and to ask the management to make a decision within

a definite period on a question submitted by the Government. In view of this state of affairs, there is really only apparent autonomy of the Institute, as it can only carry out such decisions as the Government approves.

There have been in recent years great reductions in benefits in order to cover the deficit of the Institute. In addition, members who wanted medical attention or medicine have to pay a fee of between 10 and 30 hellers. Sickness benefit has also been reduced by 50 % and other benefits have been considerably cut down or suspended entirely. Accident pensions have also been reduced, even in the case of those who have been receiving them for years.

As the following figures show, the number of accidents has increased recently :

	Total number of accidents	Accidents to women	Accidents per thousand workers
1932. . .	25,635	2,357	53.3
1933. . .	26,104	2,856	55.8
1934. . .	29,476	3,380	63.8

The expenditure and income of the Sickness Insurance Scheme of industrial employees were as follows in the last few years (in pengoes) :

	Income	Expenditure and benefits	Administrative expenditure
1932. . .	35,880,101	37,171,598	7,863,765
1933. . .	35,733,273	29,029,425	7,600,498
1934. . .	37,518,978	29,472,739	7,159,317

The Hungarian Trade Unions held their Congress in 1935; it was attended by many delegates from foreign organisations and representatives from the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Office. The Report of the General Council was unanimously adopted by the Congress, and it was decided that the Congress should demand freedom of association and protest against any kind of Fascist organisation or organisation in which membership was compulsory. The non-manual workers in private enterprises held a public conference which protested against the impossible conditions of work and wages of employees and demanded autonomy for the Insurance Institute.

There were important wage movements in the last three years among building and textile workers, which produced a certain amount of success. There was also a great dispute among the miners in Pécs, in which the workers remained 116 days underground in order to gain their demand. There are collective agreements in the graphic trades and in certain small industries. In the printing trade, hours of work have been fixed by a joint agreement at thirty-six hours per week. This made it possible to take on a great number of unemployed workers.

The members of the Hungarian Trade Unions are aware that they can only improve their economic position by their own power and with the help of the unions. In spite of the last fifteen years of political and economic difficulties, the Hungarian Trade Unions stand solidly together with the organisations they have founded, and are convinced that they will be able to develop much greater activities when political and economic conditions improve.

## National Trades Union Federation of India.

Special interest attaches to this report on the activities of the National Trades Union Federation of India, since this is the first report to be made by the Indian Federation as an affiliated National Centre. The decision for provisional affiliation for a two-year period was taken by the first Session of the Federation, held in December, 1933. At the end of the two-year trial period, the second Session, held in Nagpur in December, 1935, unanimously decided to affiliate definitely to the IFTU.

The National Trades Union Federation came into being in December, 1929, through a split in the All-India Trade Union Congress, which had been in existence since 1920. The minority which split off owing to fundamental differences on important questions of policy was first of all known as the Indian Trades Union Federation, and, in July, 1932, it had forty affiliated Trade Unions with a total membership of 78,500.

Efforts to restore unity were made between 1930 and 1933, the initiative coming from the railwaymen's Unions, most of which had not joined either the Congress or the Federation. A Trade Union unity conference was organised, but no immediate results were produced. At a further conference held in February, 1933, it was decided to form a third all-India body known as the National Federation of Labour, but this was almost immediately fused with the Indian Trades Union Federation to form, in May, 1933, the National Trades Union Federation.

The first session of the National Trades Union Federation was held in Bombay in December, 1933, when it had fifty affiliated Unions with a total membership of 136,763, and at the second session, held in December, 1935, a membership of 148,516 in sixty affiliated Unions, covering all parts of India and all trades and industries, was reported.

Further attempts were made to bring about unity, none successful until a Joint Conference was held in August, 1935, of representatives of the National Trades Union Federation and the All-India Trade Union Congress, when it was decided to set up a Joint Labour Board, made up of an equal number of representatives from each side. This Board is to aim at increasing contact between the Unions affiliated to the Congress and the Federation by jointly conducting mutually agreed propaganda, taking agreed joint action and rendering mutual help whenever possible and necessary. Methods proposed for furthering this aim were the organisation of joint labour weeks in different parts of the country, joint May Day celebrations and meetings, joint propaganda meetings and the publication from time to time of joint statements on matters affecting the interests of the working classes.

### Meetings.

Meetings of the General Council of the Federation were held in December, 1933 and 1934, and in May and December, 1935, when a wide range of subjects was dealt with, and meetings of the Working Committee were held in Bombay in December, 1933, and in Madras in May, 1934, resolutions on many important questions being adopted at all these gatherings.

### Social and Economic Activities.

The Indian Trade Unions have always taken a very active interest in the work of the International Labour Organisation, and in 1934, when the Governing Body was extended, the Indian workers obtained a titular seat through the Workers' Group. It is a matter of regret that the Government of India refuses to appoint any advisers to attend the International Labour Conference, as this omission hampers the work of the workers' delegates.

The Indian workers' delegate at the 1934 International Labour Conference pointed out that the Hours Convention was not being properly applied in India and that it did not cover railway workers. He also stressed the need for agricultural workers to be included in the Convention.

At the 1935 Conference, the Indian workers' delegates drew attention to the acute unemployment in India and the special problems which beset it as a young industrial country.

At the Governing Body meeting held from the 29th January to 2nd February, 1935, Comrade Mehta, on behalf of the Indian workers, referred to his complaint about

the treatment of railwaymen made at the 1934 Conference, and stated that, although the Washington Convention had been ratified by the Government of India in 1921, fifty per cent. of Indian railway workers, totalling about 350,000, were still excluded from any statutory protection in the matter of hours of work, while many more were not in full enjoyment of the rights to which they were entitled. The Indian Government delegate gave an undertaking to extend the Convention gradually with the least possible delay, and this was noted by the Governing Body.

During the period under review, there has been disastrous unemployment in India as elsewhere, and very little has been done by the Government towards finding work for unemployed workers, while there is no scheme for their assistance or relief. The situation of millions of people is therefore appalling, and this has been aggravated by the numerous continuous wage cuts in industry, especially the textile industry, and the victimisation which has followed the strikes called to get improved conditions.

The Indian Trade Unions are up against particularly difficult conditions, since they are still in the stage of fighting for recognition by the employers. The Indian employers have hardly yet emerged from the mentality of the capitalists in Great Britain at the beginning of the industrial revolution, and the Government of India, and the Provincial Governments (which are the largest employers of labour) are little better in their attitude towards the Unions. While the Government has ratified a fair number of International Conventions and applied them through legislation to a certain extent, a tremendous amount of headway still remains to be made up. There is no prospect at all of an immediate forty-hour week, the determination of minimum wages remains as distant as ever, working class housing is still primitive, there is no provision for free compulsory education, and, while a small beginning has been made with social insurance in some places, there are no schemes of insurance against sickness, invalidity, old age or unemployment.

The Unions are actively engaged in trying to improve this position. Meetings of the General Council of the National Trades Union Federation have urged the Government of India to ratify and apply the 1934 draft Convention on unemployment insurance, to bring in legislation immediately on other measures of social insurance, and to call a Tripartite Asiatic Labour Conference, while the Working Committee has been asked to investigate and report on measures of economic planning to reduce unemployment.

#### Asiatic Labour Congress.

The idea of inaugurating an Asiatic Labour Congress goes back to 1925, when the Indian and Japanese workers' delegations to Geneva felt that such a Congress was necessary in order to protect the interests of Asiatic workers and enable them to influence the International Labour Organisation in a decisive manner. Efforts were also made to get the ILO to organise a Tripartite Asiatic Labour Conference and a resolution to this effect was passed at the 1931 Conference, but such a Conference has not yet been held.

The first Asiatic Labour Congress was held in Colombo in May, 1934, attended by representatives from India, Japan and Ceylon. China had wanted to be present, but the political situation prevented her from sending delegates. The Congress discussed various important questions of vital interest to the workers, and passed resolutions demanding the immediate reduction of working hours at least to forty per week without reduction of wages, the international control of currency, planned schemes of public works financed by national credit, the prohibition of child labour under fourteen and raising of the school-leaving age to fourteen, minimum wage legislation and comprehensive schemes of social insurance. Other resolutions urged the ILO to expedite the holding of an Asiatic Labour Conference, and assured the International Federation of Trade Unions of the Congress' full co-operation in all matters of common interest.

A draft Constitution for the Congress was adopted and it was decided to hold the next session in India in 1936.

#### Constitutional Reform.

An active campaign of opposition to the new Constitution was carried on by the National Trades Union Federation. This opposition, however, was not successful in preventing the Government of India Bill from passing into law. The Federation then concentrated its efforts on trying to get labour representation through trade union constituencies, and it submitted a detailed memorandum of its proposals.



## General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz-Israel

### Economic Position.

During the period 1933-35 there was much stronger evidence of the return of prosperity in Palestine than in the previous period. There was an extraordinary development of agriculture, industry, building and other trades in connection with increasing Jewish immigration and the influx of capital to all branches of industry. Numerous new agricultural settlements were formed and towns were extended. Industry absorbed many thousands of new workers, and unemployment, apart from insignificant seasonal fluctuations, was unknown.

Palestine became the most important place of refuge for Jews who were persecuted in Germany, and 30,000 refugees entered the country in all.

The following tables show the development of Palestinian industry over this period:

	Total Jewish immigration	Number of worker immigrants and dependants	Average unemployment	Number of factory workers
1933 . . .	30,327	18,953	300	10,000
1934 . . .	42,359	22,053	250	15,000
1935 . . . (9 months)	50,990	22,686	700	25,000

	Number of building workers	Area of orange plantations (in dunam)	Jewish investment capital (in sterling)
1933 . . .	4,000	95,000	£ 5,250,000
1934 . . .	10,000	135,000	£ 8,700,000
1935 . . .	16,000	160,000	—

### Membership.

As most of the worker immigrants joined our organisation and unorganised workers already in the country were also recruited during the last few years, there has been a rapid rise in membership, as is shown by the following figures:

1st January, 1933 . . . . .	35,389
1st January, 1934 . . . . .	47,819
1st January, 1935 . . . . .	67,582
1st January, 1936 . . . . .	ca. 90,000 (estimate)

Nearly 80 % of all the Jewish workers in the country are in our organisation. The Arab section working in connection with our organisation, the Union of Palestinian Workers, has also extended its activities and increased its influence in the ports in particular. In addition to port and railway workers it has been able to organise other groups of Arab workers, employees in factories, stone workers, etc., the number of these workers amounting to about 1,200.

### Organisation, Working Conditions.

During the period under review our organisation was able to consolidate itself in all districts. Certain Unions doubled and trebled their membership. In the towns of Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, and in many agricultural colonies, fine Trade Union houses, suitable to increasing activities, and buildings for cultural institutions were erected, and large funds were invested in them. The sickness funds affiliated to our organisation, which covered about 90,000 persons, were also

able considerably to extend their system of hospitals, first aid stations, workers' sanatoria, etc. The unemployment fund set up in 1933 collected in two years a capital of £ 35,000, 90 % of which came from the workers only.

#### Conferences.

During the period under review the Fourth General Conference of our organisation was held in two sessions (12th to 18th February, 1933 and 9th to 13th January, 1934). The first session again expressed readiness to conclude a general collective agreement on the basis of suitable conditions of work for manual and non-manual workers and the arbitration of disputes on the basis of the collective agreements during their period of validity. Further decisions were taken as regards immigration, settlements, labour, protective legislation, etc.

The second meeting dealt more with internal questions of the organisation, working conditions in productive and building co-operatives, social problems in the workers' colonies and the cultural questions of the movement. Mention in this connection must be made of the formation of a special Youth Educational Centre, which is to direct all the cultural activities of the different working class youth organisations. A meeting of the General Council held in August, 1934, decided after thorough discussion to intensify efforts at organising Arab workers

#### Trade Union Activities.

In spite of the willingness of our organisation to conclude collective agreements, it has not as yet been possible to attain this aim. There has often during this period been great tension between the workers and employers, although a favourable trade position had a softening effect on the violence of actual disputes. The murder of Chaim Arlosoroff, the leader of the Jewish labour movement in Palestine, on the 16th June, 1933, on the shore of Tel-Aviv, and the suspicion of having committed the murder which fell on the Fascist Revisionist Party in the country caused great bitterness. The fight against this Party, which has also set up its own « national » pseudo-trade union, naturally demanded a great deal of attention from our movement and this struggle has only died down quite recently, at least externally, in spite of the fact that many employers naturally try to use this national Trade Union as a blackleg organisation.

Strikes and lock-outs in 1933 and 1934 can be seen from the following table:

#### Strikes and lock-outs of Jewish workers.

	Number of strikes	Number of lock-outs	Number of strike days	Number of lock-out days	Number and percentage of successful disputes
1933. . .	44	5	14,290	1,010	36 (82 %)
1934. . .	68	9	11,313	6,749	55 (81 %)

#### Strikes and lock-outs of Arab workers.

1933. . .	8	1	14,404	2,000	4 (50 %)
1934. . .	8	—	4,145	—	2 (25 %)

Strikes which took place in 1933 were very violent, as a result of the strikebreaking activities of the « National » workers (building strike in the Petach Tikvah colony, and the Jerusalem biscuit factory of Frumin, which went on for many weeks). The strikes in 1934 and 1935 were on the whole not so violent, the aim of the disputes being wage increases and recognition of our organisation by the employers. Mention may be made of the fights for the eight-hour day for bakery workers, raising of the minimum wage for women workers, etc.

In 1934 and 1935 there were some very big strikes of Arab workers which

were supported by our organisation, one in the Iraq-Petroleum Co., in Haifa, in which 500 workers were concerned and which aimed at obtaining increased wages, reduction of hours of work and overtime payment, and another in the cigarette factories of Karaman in Haifa, in which 800 workers were concerned, etc.

No great success has been obtained in the last three years for our struggle for better protective legislation. In 1935, the Government brought in three Bills for the determination of minimum wages in certain trades, determination of periods of notice and obligation of the employers to provide references when workers are dismissed, but these Bills are still only on paper and do not in any way satisfy the demands of the workers for comprehensive protective legislation.

#### Development of Institutions.

The last few years have shown a very satisfactory development for all the co-operative institutions which are subordinate to our organisation. We will confine ourselves to mentioning a few figures. Our Labour Bank, whose capital amounts to-day to £ 130,000, issued loans amounting to £ 455,000 in 1934, as against £ 256,000 in 1932. Deposits rose to £ 350,000 as against £ 185,000 in the preceding year. The thirty workers' savings and loan banks which we have up and down the country lent a total of £ 350,000 in 1934.

The development of our Agricultural Co-operative Settlement Scheme which to-day covers about 12,000 workers in more than a hundred colonies, is best shown by the fact that the Central Sales Co-operative («Tnuwah») has been able to increase sales of milk and other products to more than £ 400,000 as against £ 200,000 two years ago.

The urban productive co-operatives in various industries, especially that in the transport industry, to-day employ 2,500 workers as against 1,000 two years ago. The Workers' Settlements Association has up till now acquired land for the settlement of 8,000 working-class families and has built about 4,000 houses. Our own system of workers' schools, which are run on the most modern principles, has increased the number of its pupils from 3,890 in the preceding year to 7,300 this year.

This does not exhaust the bodies working under our organisation but these figures are enough to give an idea of the progress made by our institutions.

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## Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych w Polsce.

### NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE OF POLAND.

There has been little change in the political situation during the period under review. In 1935, parliamentary elections were held to both Houses. The workers' organisations refused to take part in them as electoral reform had completely nullified the exercise of the suffrage by the majority of the population, and especially of the working classes. Thus, three-quarters of the population did not take part in the elections and the Chambers which were elected only represent a façade to give a semblance of legality to the military bureaucracy.

Inspired by ideas coming from Germany and Italy, the ruling classes thought of attacking the Trade Unions, but the election fiasco, which demonstrated the hostility of the majority of the people to the « Government of the Generals », has held back the Government from its plan of « fascistising » the Trade Unions.

There has been a considerable improvement in the situation of the free Trade Unions, although economic, social and political conditions are most unfavourable. At the end of 1933 the free Trade Unions had 214,333 members and at the end of 1934, 244,499. The final figures of 1935 are not yet available but membership may be estimated at 260,000. The propaganda month organised in October 1935 has already contributed to the upward trend in membership.

The number of affiliated Unions fell from 29 in 1933 to 26 in 1935, on account of the disaffiliation of the Union of Enginemen and Firemen, the amalgamation of the Building, Wood and Pottery Workers' Unions and the withdrawal of an organisation in Upper Silesia which became Nazi. The Union of Hotel and

Restaurant Workers has fused with the Food and Drink Workers, and plans for the amalgamation of Metal Workers, Miners and Petrol Workers are being negotiated. These fusions are being carried out in accordance with the decisions of our last Congress (28th and 29th October, 1933) for the concentration of all Unions into eleven industrial groups.

The agenda before the National Congress of 1933 consisted of the following items : Report on Activities, the Fight against Fascism, the Workers' Social and Political Programme, the Economic Plan. Congress adopted the Report on Activities and the Auditors' Report. The Unions have been carrying on a campaign for the Economic Plan which was adopted by the Congress. The National Centre emphasised the necessity for Unions to associate the fight for the Plan with current Trade Union work. Work is now being done on a detailed programme of action which takes due account of conditions governing the country.

The main wages movements have taken place in the mining, textile and building industries, etc. The strikes have often been of a grave nature owing to police intervention and the workers have several times been fired on by the « guardians of law and order » (Dabrowa basin, Pabjanice, Lodz). The organisations have introduced a new form of strike, the stay-in strike, which was immediately christened « strike à la polonaise », and has since then been adopted elsewhere. This innovation has proved very useful in view of the terrible amount of unemployment which forces people into the roll of blacklegs. The official statistics have even recognised this new form of labour dispute.

Unemployment is far from falling and the number of unemployed remains huge. The official statistics only give a fragmentary view of this situation. In addition there are about 200,000 young people entering the labour market each year. The official unemployment figures reached their peak point, 530,000, in February/March, 1935. During the three years under review the percentage of partially unemployed among industrial workers has never been lower than 30 %.

Disgraceful cuts have been made in unemployment benefit, especially since the amendment of the insurance legislation. Restrictive conditions make it very difficult to obtain benefit.

There has been a worsening in the conditions of work, hours of work having been increased from 46 to 48 per week, holidays cut down and sickness insurance reduced to a minimum. The new system of old age insurance which will only become compulsory in ten years' time is ridiculous, as it only allows a pension of 20 zloty a month to a very small class of workers. The workers' members in the old Parliament raised indignant protests against these attacks on the workers' status, but no account was taken of their views.

The industrial situation in Poland is desperate. The currency has been stabilised for ten years at a rate pegged to the gold standard. The Government representatives admitted in the new Parliament that the situation was very bad. Neither free trade nor the suppression of trade barriers could provide a remedy, but in view of the present bad situation would mean the ruin of several industries.

The National Centre has continued to publish its monthly review and has also published a propaganda pamphlet (6,000 copies) entitled « Trade Union Unity and Independence » and 500,000 pamphlets for Trade Union recruitment.

We would finally mention the aid given by our National Centre to victims of Fascism from Germany and Austria in the way of relief, lodging, etc.

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## Confederatia Generală a Muncii din România.

### NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE OF ROUMANIA.

#### Organisation.

Parallel with the industrial improvement which started in 1933 there has also been improvement in the situation of the Roumanian Trade Union Movement, expressed in the fall in the number of unemployed, an increase in membership, the resulting improvement in the Unions' finances and intensification of Trade Union action. Trade Union membership has shown the following fluctuations since 1929 when the economic crisis started to make itself felt :

Year.	Number of branches.	Membership.
1929	253	35,609
1930	225	30,138
1931	231	30,783
1932	227	27,748
1933	250	41,637
1934	258	44,358

Membership has shown the greatest increase in the Unions of Miners, Metal Workers and Clothing Workers, but there have also been increases in the Unions of Wood, Port and Building Workers.

The material position of the unions is reflected by the variation in the proportion of benefits paid out to total income. In 1926 when unemployment was insignificant in Roumania, this amounted to 3,957,775 lei, or 23 % of the total income of 17,180,707 lei, and by 1931 it had risen to 58 %. The proportions were as follows in the years 1932 to 1934 :

Year.	Total income.	Benefits	Benefits as % of total income.
1932	16,011,622	8,705,433	54
1933	13,007,540	4,905,290	37
1934	14,395,945	4,631,049	32

#### Wages Position.

The recovery in the Trade Union Movement occurred at a time in which, in spite of a revival in production, the situation of the workers was steadily deteriorating as a result of the international currency crisis and autarchic tariff policy originating in the currency and trade measures of the countries on the gold standard. After a short period, when the prices of all consumption goods fell in 1931, there was an increase in prices, averaging 21.7 % for vital necessities; the wages index on the other hand shows that wages have not only not kept up with increase in prices, but have in some industries even fallen.

#### Labour Disputes and Strikes.

The position as regards collective labour disputes which broke out or collective agreements which were concluded in 1933 and 1934 was as follows :

#### Collective Labour Disputes in

	1933	1934	1935 (Jan.-April)
Number of strikes	56	71	42
Number of lock-outs	2	1	5
Latent disputes	222	187	110
Number of workers involved	67,040	36,618	45,359

Thirteen of the strikes in 1933 (13 %), twenty-eight in 1934 (39 %) and twenty-three in 1935 (54 %) were called to gain an increase in wages.

#### Collective Agreements Concluded.

	1933	Years.	
		1934	1935 (Jan.-April)
Number of collective agreements concluded	89	92	53
Number of workers covered	23,693	24,154	18,846
Number of organised workers covered	18,015	19,768	15,610
Percentage of organised workers	76 %	81 %	82 %

## Congresses.

The Congress of the Roumanian National Trade Union Centre held from the 28th to 30th October, 1934, noted recent attempts made to introduce a dictatorship. Congress emphasised that it was impossible to overcome the present crisis and to avoid future crises without radical alteration in the economic system.

As a first measure for the creation of a collective economic system to meet human needs, the Congress advocated the monopolisation of trusts, cartels and the corn trade, nationalisation of the means of production, especially of large factories, monopoly of the means of transport, transfer of the National Bank to State ownership and monopolisation of savings banks and insurance companies.

Further resolutions were adopted on the amendment of labour legislation, the forty-hour week, prohibition of overtime, legislation for unemployment insurance, legal autonomy for the Social Insurance Institutes, old age insurance and a special fund for insuring non-manual workers against invalidity, sickness and old age.

On the question of the United Front, the Congress passed a resolution pointing out, in reply to the proposal for a United Front made by the « Unitary » Trade Unions, that a necessary condition was the actual existence of such organisations. There were no other Trade Unions on a class war basis outside those in the National Centre, the General Council of the « Unitary » Trade Unions being merely a façade. The Trade Union Movement, moreover, took the view that a United Front did not represent a real solution and that only organic unity based on common principles could lead to victory. This unity would have to be brought about nationally in the National Centre and internationally in the IFTU. In stating this view, the Congress recalled the decisive part played by the National Centre and its members in obtaining what has so far been obtained in the way of freedom and protective labour legislation. Although the level of civil liberties and protective legislation is inadequate and there is no unemployment insurance system, and although the workers' wages have fallen to a mere subsistence minimum, the fault for this lies with those who, in the name of unity of the workers, have for years sabotaged the organisations of the workers by purposeless action and demagogic slogans.

The resolution concluded with an appeal to all workers of Roumania not to let themselves be led astray by empty phrases but to join the existing Unions and to bring about unity there in order to defend the common interests of their class and ensure a better future for posterity.

A resolution on the organisation of young workers noted the violation by many employers of the legislation prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen and the employment of children on night work. It also pointed out the lack of adequate educational facilities for young workers, and the Congress therefore declared that one of the most important duties of the Trade Union Movement lies in the defence of young workers and apprentices against the employers and the authorities.

The Congress of the Building Workers' Union, held on the 24th and 25th February, 1934, adopted a number of resolutions on the reorganisation of the Union and decided to move the Secretariat to Bucharest.

The Congress of Railway Workshop Employees adopted the « service rules » drawn up by the management in conjunction with the representatives of the Union. The Congress also formulated those demands which were not taken into consideration in the compilation of the Service Rules.

The Congress of the Dockers and Transportworkers, held on the 14th September, 1935, adopted demands regarding the just distribution of work in the harbours of the Danube, where the wages level has fallen during the depression to between 6,000 to 12,000 lei, especially in 1935. The Congress demanded the introduction of unemployment insurance, and that special consideration be given to the position of the dock workers, with determination of a minimum weekly wage, to be made up, if necessary, out of the Unemployment Fund. The Congress also adopted draft resolutions for wages and working conditions in the merchant marine and urged the formation of a Joint Council to classify seamen, organise employment exchanges and settle disputes between the seamen and their employers. Consideration was also given to the situation created by the inclusion of seamen in social insurance and the dockers' demands for social insurance.

## Social Policy.

Social policy in Roumania has been very retrogressive during the last three years, since the National-Liberal Party has been in power. Right at the outset, the Government infringed the provisions for the election of members to the Chambers of Labour. It also amended other legislation, which reduced the number of Chambers of Labour from twenty to fourteen, reduced the Chambers of Labour contribution by 50 % and increased the number and privileges of the employees and small shop-keepers' section, to the detriment of the manual workers. Furthermore a royal decree of November, 1934, amended legislation for the unification of social insurance, thus negating the improvement which had been expected from unification.

The only result of the struggle in the social field has been the agreement made with the employers' organisations through the intermediary of the Ministry of Labour for the establishment of an unemployment fund raised by voluntary contributions of employers and employees amounting to 1/2 % of wages. This contribution will be paid to the social insurance institutes and the funds will be administered by a central unemployment committee composed of representatives of the Ministry of Labour, the workers and the employers. Benefits will be paid out by local committees which are composed in a similar way.

This system does not satisfy the workers, as in the first place contributions are voluntary and scarcely produce one-tenth of the amount which would be obtained if all the employers paid contributions, and secondly it is only in places where the Unions are strong that proper supervision can be exercised to see that benefits really go to those who are unemployed. The Trade Union Movement is therefore continuing its campaign for the introduction of a statutory unemployment insurance scheme.

## Landsorganisationen i Sverige.

### NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE OF SWEDEN

#### Membership.

The following table gives a statistical survey of the development of the Swedish Trade Union Movement over the years 1932, 1933 and 1934.

#### Membership of the National Centre.

Year December	Number affiliated to Swedish National Centre					Population of Sweden	Membership of National Centre as a/o of total population
	Unions	Branches	Members				
			Men	Women	Total		
1932	41	5,783	547,490	91,103	638,593	6,190,364	10.3
1933	41	5,906	540,577	92,774	633,351	6,211,566	10.2
1934	41	6,043	556,712	96,619	653,331	6,233,090	10.5

#### General Economic Position.

The information given below is intended to give an idea of the general economic situation of the country.

The percentage increases on the main items of the worker's budget, based on the prices in force before the outbreak of war in 1914 and given as an average for each year, are shown by the following table :

### Cost of Living Index.

Year	Food and Drink	Rent	Heating and Lighting	Clothing	Taxation	Other Expenditure	Total Expenditure
1914	July 100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1932	125	206	147	168	172	177	157
1933	121	203	139	164	184	175	154
1934	122	202	136	166	190	174	154

The following figures of wholesale prices show the general position of the market :

### Wholesale Price Index.

Year	Ministry of Commerce Index				Index compiled by « Svensk Finansstiftning »
	Raw Materials	Semi-manufactured goods	Manufactured goods	Total	
1914. . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
1932. . . . .	109	107	110	109	101
1933. . . . .	107	105	109	107	100
1934. . . . .	110	112	116	114	107

### Unemployment.

The extent of unemployment over the three-year period can be seen from the table given below, which shows the number of unemployed as a percentage for each month. The figures are based on the monthly data issued by the Trade Unions :

### Percentage Figures for Unemployment.

Year	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	o/o for the year
1932	24.2	23.8	24.1	20.8	19.0	19.3	19.4	20.0	20.6	22.1	24.1	31.0	22.4
1933	28.8	27.7	28.7	24.3	21.1	20.3	19.4	19.6	19.2	20.2	22.3	27.2	23.8
1934	24.4	24.4	23.8	19.6	15.4	14.0	12.9	13.3	13.0	14.8	17.1	23.7	18.0

The following unemployed applicants for relief were registered with the National Unemployment Commission, the body administering public unemployment relief.



**Unemployed Applying for Relief at the End of Each Month  
during 1932 to 1934.**

MONTH	Numbers applying for relief		
	1932	1933	1934
January . . . . .	103,742	189,225	171,540
February . . . . .	108,032	181,944	166,348
March . . . . .	109,674	186,561	160,345
April . . . . .	111,333	176,825	145,588
May . . . . .	104,094	156,211	116,257
June . . . . .	97,370	145,458	99,628
July . . . . .	94,687	138,855	86,253
August . . . . .	99,826	144,185	83,042
September . . . . .	106,404	151,498	78,918
October . . . . .	123,584	164,747	84,811
November . . . . .	146,981	170,702	92,016
December . . . . .	161,155	171,065	92,881

The assistance given by the public authorities to unemployed in need of relief was, in its broad outlines, as follows :

**Unemployed in Receipt of Assistance from the State or the Municipalities,  
and Expenditure of the Unemployment Commission over the Years 1932 to 1934.**

Year	Unemployed in receipt of relief at end of the year						Number relieved as o/o of all applicants		Gross Expenditure in Kr.
	Employed on public works			Receiving cash relief		Total	30/6	31/12	
	State	Mixed State and Municipal	Municipal	State	Municipal				
1932	14,590	8,494	13,481	35,475	10,238	82,278	52.5	51.1	40,596,038
1933	16,374	12,241	9,237	57,001	14,079	108,932	64.3	63.7	73,200,463
1934	18,401	12,739	4,179	15,617	5,443	56,379	73.3	60.7	88,449,601

**Wage Movements.**

The number of wage movements and disputes and of the workers involved therein can be seen from the following tables :

**Number of Movements or Disputes during 1932 to 1934.**

Year	Total number of movements initiated	Number of movements concluded					Total
		Negotiations	Strikes	Lock-outs	Victimisations		
1932	3,257	2,295	531	33	78	2,937	
1933	3,734	2,842	411	50	120	3,423	
1934	4,242	3,261	607	13	76	3,957	

**Total Number of Workers Involved in Movements or Disputes during 1932 to 1934.**

Year	Total number of workers involved in movements	Number of workers in movements which have been concluded				
		Negotiations	Strikes	Lock-outs	Victimisations	Total
1932	224,750	116,913	87,388	7,763	787	212,851
1933	196,772	125,279	20,809	7,009	487	153,584
1934	184,052	132,185	47,013	354	177	179,729

**Number of Workers Days Lost Through Disputes during 1932 to 1934.**

Year	Working days lost by members through						Total No. of days
	Strikes		Lock-outs		Victimisations		
	No. of days	As a o/o	No. of days	As a o/o	No. of days	As a o/o	
1932	2,315,306	70.5	914,172	27.8	55,980	1.7	3,285,458
1933	5,666,530	93.8	332,849	5.5	40,359	0.7	6,039,738
1934	1,199,460	97.6	14,402	1.2	14,530	1.2	1,228,392

**Amount Paid Out in Dispute Benefit during 1932 to 1934.**

Year	Amount paid out to members in benefit for						Total in kronor
	Strikes		Lock-outs		Victimisations		
	Kronor	o/o	Kronor	o/o	Kronor	o/o	
1932	5,587,986.98	70.0	2,256,777.07	28.2	141,995.70	1.8	7,986,759.75
1933	14,848,626.38	93.4	925,699.47	5.8	117,112.34	0.8	15,891,438.19
1934	3,004,628.86	97.0	46,997.76	1.5	47,071.34	1.5	3,098,697.96

**Collective Agreements.**

Year	Agreements concluded in the years		Agreements valid at 31st December	
	Number	Number of org. workers	Number	Number of org. workers
1932 . . . . .	1,794	173,900	7,019	519,976
1933 . . . . .	1,840	116,791	6,776	481,682
1934 . . . . .	2,512	143,093	7,953	560,812

### Wages and Hours of Work.

We give below the official statistics regarding changes in wages. The table showing the general development of wages over the years 1932 to 1934 in comparison with 1913 gives the percentage increases in hourly and daily rates and the percentage increases in real wages, taking into account changes in the value of money and the all-round rise in the cost of living.

The fact that increases in hourly wages are higher than increases in real wages per annum or per day is due to the decrease in hours of work. As the table shows, the average real wages of the workers in 1934 and thus their standard of living was 43 %, calculated by the year, and 47 %, calculated by the day, higher than in 1913.

The fall in annual income shown in 1931 reached its lowest level in 1933, a rise again being shown in 1934. The reason for this was that the general depression which reigned from 1931 to 1934 then gave way to a measure of recovery, which is confirmed by the figures for unemployment given above.

#### Index of Average Wages.

	1913	1932	1933	1934
Cost of living . . . . .	100	156	153	154
Earnings per hour . . . . .	100	281	271	270
"    "    day . . . . .	100	234	227	227
"    "    year . . . . .	100	212	212	220
Real wages per year . . . . .	100	136	139	143
"    "    "    day . . . . .	100	150	148	147

#### Average Hours of Work during 1932 and 1933.

Year	Average hours of work over the year for			All workers
	Men	Women	Young workers	
1913 . . . . .	2,700	2,700	2,700	2,700
1932 . . . . .	2,085	2,126	2,042	2,090
1933 . . . . .	2,102	2,120	2,041	2,103

#### Educational Work.

The Swedish National Centre's educational work is carried on partly by its own officials, partly through the Workers' Educational Association, which arranges study circles and lectures, and partly by means of a residential school and scholarships enabling members to take a course in the People's High Schools. Scholarships are also given for courses at the Nordiska Folkhögskola in Geneva and for studying the Trade Union Movement in other countries. The National Centre's school in Brunnsvik started its activities in 1929.

The educational work organised by the National Centre through the Workers' Educational Association can be seen from the following table :

### Lectures and Study Circles.

Year	Study circles		Students as a % of total membership of National Centre
	Number	Students	
1931/32 . . . . .	670	28,474	4.87
1932/33 . . . . .	994	34,529	5.40
1933/34 . . . . .	1,015	35,960	5.67

#### Building Fund.

In order that the Unions may have suitable meeting places, the National Centre set up a « People's House Loan Fund », out of which loans are made to building associations so that premises can be built for this purpose. The fund, which, at the end of 1934, had assets amounting to Kr. 1.972.940, has during the years 1907 to 1934 issued a total of 663 loans, amounting altogether to Kr. 3.866.352, of which Kr. 1.599.908 has been repaid, the remainder being outstanding loans.

#### Unemployment Insurance.

Sweden did not use to have a state unemployment insurance scheme, but this lack was remedied by a decision of Parliament taken in 1934. The system now agreed to is based on the voluntary principle, implying that the state makes a contribution to the Unemployment Funds set up by the workers themselves. The state's contribution goes partly towards daily relief and partly towards administration. The amount of the state grant for daily relief is calculated on the average amount of daily relief paid out and on the amount of unemployment among the members. In order to be entitled to benefit, the member of an Unemployment Fund, having never received benefit previously, must have made at least fifty-two weekly contributions during the twenty-four months preceding his becoming unemployed. Members having already received benefit from the fund, must have made at least twenty-six weekly contributions during the twelve months immediately preceding unemployment. Furthermore the member claiming benefit must have reached his sixteenth year, must be capable of and free to work, and be registered at the public labour exchange as seeking work. Members taking part in a strike or lockout may not receive benefit. Daily benefits shall not exceed six and as a rule not be less than two kronor. Within these limits, each Fund can itself determine the amount of its daily benefit, bearing in mind that this must never exceed 4/5 for breadwinners or 3/5 for other members of the usual wages per working day paid in the district for workers in the same trade and with the same qualifications as the unemployed person concerned. Membership of the funds is open to all wage-earners, but not to persons working on their own account. These persons are defined as those who, during the past twelve months, have for more than five months been working on their own account, without having performed at the same time work for wages. The new legislation came into force on the 1st January, 1935.

#### General Activities.

During the period under review, the National Centre, partly on its own initiative and partly on the request of the government or other public authorities, has issued statements or expressed its views on a number of questions. Among the matters dealt with by the National Centre during 1932 were the question of state arbitration in labour disputes, the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies, the wage statistics published by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the activation of factory inspection, compulsory medical examination for workers on unhealthy work, the employment of children in nonindustrial work, and the forty-hour week as a means of combatting unemployment; during 1933 the convention on compensation for industrial diseases, women's work in mines underground, preparatory work for combatting unemployment, a proposed scheme of unemployment insurance, methods for rest and the change of shifts in automatic sheet-glass works, automatic coupling of railways wagons, and reduction of hours of work; during 1934 third party right to neutrality in labour disputes, convention regarding compensation for industrial diseases, unemployment among the young, old age insurance, and revision of the Convention on Hours of Work in Coal-mines.

# Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund.

## SWISS NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE

In our last triennial report we pointed out that the economic crisis broke out in Switzerland nearly a year later than in most other countries of Europe. We only described 1932 as a year of crisis because it was then that the depression overwhelmed the industries working for the home market. By 1933 these tendencies had become more widespread and had accentuated the bad position, which became from year to year more noticeable in these industries. There was a very great decline in building activities in the second half of 1934. The number of building permits fell from 8,700 to 4,900, or by 36 % against the preceding year. This drop became further accentuated in 1935 and has not been made up for by the measure of improvement which the last two years have seen in the industries working for the export market, so that the number of unemployed has still further increased.

In spite of the increase in exports in certain industries, the total decline as compared with 1929 is still tremendous. This can be seen from the fact that in that year clocks and watches to the value of 208 million francs and machinery to the value of 223 million francs were exported. The once prosperous industries of embroidery and straw goods and the export of foodstuffs show a remarkable decline during the period under review.

In view, however, of the undiminished obstacles to international trade, the export position during the last two years must be described as relatively favourable in relation to foreign countries. But the situation in the home industries in the second half of 1934 and in 1935 became so much worse as to be ominous.

The most hardly hit home industry is building. In March, 1935, the number of building permits was 54 % lower than in the preceding year. This represents such a collapse in building as has never been even approximately reached since the crisis broke out.

There has also been such a decline in transport on the National Railways as has not been seen since the crisis started in 1930/32.

The state of the labour market clearly reflected the increasing depression, figures for unemployment being as follows:

	NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED		
	Minimum monthly figure	Maximum monthly figure	Average for the year
1931 . . . .	14,365	50,570	24,208
1932 . . . .	41,441	81,887	53,366
1933 . . . .	49,140	101,111	67,867
1934 . . . .	44,087	99,147	65,440
1935 . . . . (1st half year)	59,678	110,283	82,239

Unemployment increased steadily until the beginning of 1933, but in the winter of 1933/34 it fell for the first time below the figure for the preceding year, only, however, to take on a considerable upward trend again in the second half of 1934 and more especially in 1935.

Prospects for Switzerland are very sombre. Any impartial observer of economic life must admit that the deflationist tendency which has been steadily accentuated since the autumn of 1934 has helped to increase the burden of the crisis, or has at least had a very unfavourable effect on Swiss industry. Moreover we must now look forward to the effects of a fresh wave of cuts. The future state of industry will depend to a very large extent on whether and to what degree the Trade Unions manage to hold up this further deflation.

### Organisation.

The Swiss Trade Unions have on the whole shown themselves to be far less sensitive to the crisis as compared with previous crises than would have been expected. The last great economic depression in 1921/25 brought the Swiss Trade Union Centre a loss of 70,000 members. Since that time, both the Unions and the workers have learnt a lesson from those experiences. The Unions have consolidated and extended their institutions for self-help and a very large proportion of the workers have realised, it is satisfactory to note, that any weakening of their own organisation means at the same time a fall in their own personal economic standards. The Unions affiliated to the Swiss National Trade Union Centre have in every respect stood their ground against the terrific onslaught of the long-standing crisis. The year 1934, however, showed a numerical decrease in membership for the first time during the crisis, this amounting to 2.7 %, and a decline in the income and expenditure of the Unions. The following table provides a survey of the development of the National Trade Union Centre during the period of crisis:

Year	National Unions	Membership on the 31st Dec.		Receipts	Expenditure
		Total	Women	in Swiss francs	
1930. . . .	14	194,041	19,216	20,226,762	18,607,111
1931. . . .	14	206,874	22,570	29,430,869	29,849,599
1932. . . .	14	224,164	24,186	42,777,775	42,307,478
1933. . . .	16	229,819	25,566	50,051,831	44,468,259
1934. . . .	16	223,427	23,473	44,626,990	38,213,778

The average annual membership contribution calculated over all Unions together rose from Swiss francs 62.69 in 1931 to frs. 71.07 in 1932 and to frs. 85.38 in 1933. The year 1934 showed a decline to frs. 75.15.

The following table shows the income of all Unions together distributed over the different items:

	Total income of all Unions in Swiss francs		
	1932	1933	1934
1. Entry fees . . . . .	24,116	13,148	11,377
2. Contributions :			
(a) General fund . . . . .	6,994,315	5,962,181	5,660,139
(b) Unemployment fund. . . . .	4,530,776	7,933,294	7,015,562
(c) Sickness and accidents fund . . . . .	2,120,028	2,224,958	2,181,412
(d) Pensions, invalidity and funeral fund. . . . .	2,034,457	2,351,428	2,794,790
(e) Special levies . . . . .	387,337	1,646,261	585,029
3. Collections :			
(a) For Union purposes. . . . .	61,071	43,244	46,724
(b) For extra-Union purposes. . . . .	283,296	5,256	6,226
4. Grants :			
(a) To unemployment fund . . . . .	24,786,506	27,435,727	24,228,999
(b) To sickness fund . . . . .	158,932	181,955	155,433
5. Interest . . . . .	1,003,108	1,036,322	1,427,809
6. Other receipts. . . . .	393,833	1,218,057	313,490
<b>Total receipts. . . . .</b>	<b>42,777,775</b>	<b>50,051,831</b>	<b>44,626,990</b>

The figures given below show the expenditure of the Unions for various benefits, disputes, victimisation, administration and propaganda (in Sw. francs) :

Year	Unemployment travel, moving	Sickness, invalidity, accidents	Disputes, victimisation	Administration, propaganda
1932. . . . .	32,789,280	3,462,551	687,572	3,013,632
1933. . . . .	33,832,383	4,249,900	731,124	3,299,309
1934. . . . .	27,927,973	4,013,312	359,248	3,588,942

The following disputes were reported during the period under review :

Year	Disputes	Persons involved	No. organised
1932. . . . .	578	82,720	55,927
1933. . . . .	429	121,570	93,984
1934. . . . .	496	87,773	55,925

The figure given below show the way the disputes were carried on, how much they cost and the numbers of those involved :

Year	Strikes	Number involved	Days of benefit	Benefit	Days	Average benefit per day
1932. . . . .	50	4,139	101,846	649,159	27	6.37
1933. . . . .	42	2,593	55,809	386,219	24	6.92
1934. . . . .	24	2,798	29,587	206,109	11	6.96

The results obtained by these disputes can be seen from the following figures :

Year	Reduction in weekly hours of work	Weekly wages increase Sw. francs	Collective agreements		
			No.	Works	Workers
1932. . . . .	9,534	20,775	72	525	7,479
1933. . . . .	2,130	8,258	65	505	6,160
1934. . . . .	4,167	4,333	84	1,652	18,813

#### Congresses and Decisions.

With the aggravation of the crisis the workers' fight for conditions was naturally accentuated also. On the 3rd March, 1932, the Swiss Government issued a press communiqué expressing its support of the employers' demands and demanding reduction of wages and prices. The Swiss National Trade Union Centre immediately issued a counter-manifesto, entirely rejecting wage cuts and deflationary policy. At the same time it demanded measures for combatting the crisis, large-scale creation of unemployment, adequate unemployment benefit, the financing of these measures by the introduction of a national crisis tax and reduction of hours of work. In the negotiations with the government it was obvious that it was not prepared even to undertake the slightest of the measures proposed by the Unions. In view of this situation the National Committee of the Trade Union Centre realised that it would have to fight for the application of its

demands through a referendum. A special Trade Union Congress was called for the 3rd September, 1932, to start the movement. The collection of signatures for the petition for referendum for a crisis tax was started at the end of November 1932 and produced such a result as has never before been obtained for such a petition. In spite of the very short time available for setting the machinery in motion and collecting the signatures, and in spite also of the violent press propaganda carried on by our opponents, we were able to collect more than 237,000 signatures.

In a Bill « on the temporary adjustment to changed circumstance of the wages and salaries of civil servants » brought in on the 20th June, 1932, the Government, true to its word that the Swiss people must cut down their standard of living, proposed the all-round reduction of civil servants' wages by 10 % for the next two years and 15 % for the three following years. In the parliamentary debates the cut was reduced to 7 1/2 % and the length of time to 1 1/2 years. A referendum against this decision was organised by the Swiss National Trade Union Centre in conjunction with the Federation of Workers in the Public Services. This referendum was a great success and forced the Government to submit the parliamentary Bill for decision by referendum. A national referendum was therefore held on the 28th May, 1933, in which 80.5 % of the electorate took part and in which the Bill was rejected by 505,190 votes to 411,536.

In spite of this clear decision of the people the Government and its reactionary supporters held fast to their programme of cuts. In the new financial programme for 1934 they were able to force through a cut in the wages of civil servants. But this was of quite a different nature. Instead of effecting a saving of 35 million Swiss francs for the budget, as had been previously proposed, the final saving was of not quite 15 million francs. It was also possible to secure a tax-free minimum for the lowest paid categories of workers. It was decided to levy also a tax on property over four years which was in effect similar to the crisis tax we had demanded.

The tendency to cut wages in private enterprise, especially in the textile and engineering industries, made further progress in various places. This induced the Swiss National Centre to counter these deflationist tendencies with a programme of reconstruction built up on the widest possible basis and to be applied through a referendum. The Petition for Referendum had the following text:

« A. Insert into the Federal Constitution the following article:

1. The State shall adopt comprehensive measures to combat the economic crisis and its effects, these measures aiming at maintaining an adequate livelihood for all Swiss citizens.

2. To this end the State must aim at:

- (a) maintenance of the people's purchasing power by combatting the general reduction of wages, and of agrarian and industrial prices;
- (b) protection of wages and prices in order to ensure an adequate income from work;
- (c) planned creation of employment and the proper organisation of employment exchanges;
- (d) maintenance of efficient and capable peasant families on their own or rented land by granting a moratorium on heavily mortgaged farms and making easier conditions for the payment of interest;
- (e) moratorium on heavily mortgaged small shops;
- (f) granting of adequate unemployment insurance and crisis relief;
- (g) utilisation of purchasing power and capital power of the country for the promotion of industrial and agricultural export and the tourist traffic;
- (h) regulation of the capital market and supervision of the export of capital;
- (i) supervision of cartels and trusts.

3. The State can call on the cantonal authorities and industrial organisations for aid in the fulfilment of these tasks.

4. As far as is required for carrying out these measures, the State can depart from the principle of free trade and industry.

5. The State shall supply the necessary means for financing these special crisis measures in the form of supplementary credits, which can be raised by all kinds of loans and out of current income.



6. Immediately on the adoption of this article of the Constitution, Parliament (Bundesversammlung) shall make the necessary regulations for carrying it out.

7. The Cabinet (Bundesrat) shall lay before each ordinary session of Parliament a report on the measures adopted.

B. This article of the Constitution shall remain in force for five years from the date of its adoption. This period can be prolonged for a maximum of another five years on the decision of Parliament. »

A Committee of Action was set up to carry on this campaign, made up of representatives from the different Unions and on which the Young Farmers' Party was also represented. In addition to the Swiss Social Democratic Party, various cantonal Democratic Parties and the Farmers' Party of Schaffhausen gave the petition their support. The petition aroused great attention throughout the country; never before has a petition been opposed by the bourgeois parties with such bitterness and with such a flood of articles, pamphlets and lectures as was this movement against economic misery and the crisis. But, in spite of this, a movement has never had such a success as this movement to collect signatures for the petition. In a relatively short space of time, about 335,000 signatures had been collected, this being the highest figure ever reported since the Swiss Constitution first provided for this method of action.

The Government fixed the date of the plebiscite for the 2nd June, 1935. The petition had been opposed by most of the employers' organisations, headed by the great industrialists and supported by the farmers' and trade organisations. Even the Christian-Social workers' organisations supported big business. Those in favour of the petition were all grades of the workers and with them one section of the farmers. A total of 350 newspapers were against the initiative, while there were only about two dozen political papers unreservedly in favour of it, these having a circulation of scarcely more than 100,000. The wireless, one of the most important methods of propaganda, was completely in the service of our opponents, and seven Ministers in office and one ex-Minister travelled up and down the country addressing the people and not shrinking from the most disgraceful misrepresentations. This superiority of our opponents in finance and in propaganda was added to in the last days before the plebiscite by a flood of circulars issued by the banks and insurance companies, by the pressure brought to bear by the employers on their workers and finally by all the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

In spite of all this opposition, 43 % of the population voted for the crisis initiative. Only 7 % was needed to give us the majority; 425,000 electors stood their ground and could not be made to depart from their convictions by any amount of pressure or of political bogeymen. There were 566,000 votes against. Thus the crisis initiative was defeated by the efforts of the industrialists, banks and insurance companies and the Roman Catholic Church, but this has not solved the problem. The workers' front has obtained a very respectable success and the fight for the demands contained in the crisis initiative will still go on.

On the 8th September, 1935, the Swiss National Trade Union Centre again had to deal with an initiative. This time it was an initiative for the total revision of the Constitution, submitted by the Fascist and semi-Fascist organisations led by the National Front, the League for People and Country and the Young Conservative Association, which aimed at destroying democracy and restricting freedom.

This movement was supported by the whole of the Catholic Conservative Party, which hoped in this way to put into effect its plans for a Corporate State, but the collection of signatures brought very little success and, in spite of the subsequent large-scale propaganda made by Fascist and clerical parties, the initiative was rejected in the referendum by 510,000 to 194,000 votes.

#### Social and Economic Activities.

The ensurance of adequate benefit for the unemployed has also been an important point in the Swiss Trade Union Movement during the period under review, and the burden of unemployment, as is shown by the figures given elsewhere in this report, has become steadily heavier on the workers. Swiss legislation on unemployment insurance provides for a grant scheme and in

accordance with this legislation there are public and jointly composed unemployment insurance funds in addition to those run by the Unions. A Government grant is made to all these funds for a period of 90 days, amounting in the case of the Trade Union funds normally to 30 % and for the public and jointly composed funds to 40 % of the daily benefits paid out. In addition to these grants, further grants up to 30 % or more are received from the cantons and the municipalities. The remaining amount of about 30 % has to be found by the fund itself. The amount paid out in daily benefit may not exceed 60 % of normal daily earnings.

The Government grant had very soon to be raised by 10 % for the unemployed in the industries hit by the crisis. At the end of 1932, long negotiations resulted in the introduction, at the cost of the State and the cantons, of a special crisis benefit for those unemployed in the depressed areas who had exhausted their benefit. By decision of the Government on the 20th December, 1934, the following arrangement was made for the period of validity: « Crisis benefit may at the earliest be paid out on the first working day after ordinary unemployment insurance has been exhausted and can at the latest go on until the working day preceding the beginning of the next benefit year. » While the benefit from the insurance funds is determined by the wages lost through unemployment, crisis benefit is based on the cost of living. Crisis benefit in any case may not exceed 50 % of normal earnings for single persons of 60 % for those with dependants, nor may it surpass the following sums:

In municipalities of the	For unemployed single persons Swiss francs	For unemployed with dependants living at home		
		1 dependant	2 dependants	3 dependants
Ist class . . . . .	3.60	5.40	6.30	6.75
IInd » . . . . .	3.15	4.50	5.40	5.85
IIIrd » . . . . .	2.70	4.00	4.80	5.20
IVth » . . . . .	2.20	3.50	4.20	4.60

An additional sum of 45 Swiss centimes or 40 centimes is received for the first and second, and third and fourth classes respectively for further dependants living in the same household. An unemployed person who can prove that he is legally obliged to support a dependant not living in the same household receives the same amount of benefit as if the dependant were living in his household.

During the period from 1st November to 15th March, the maximum rates for crisis benefit laid down can be raised by the following amounts:

For the unemployed person obliged by law to keep	1	2	3
(dependants living in the same household :			
	1.00	1.20	1.40 Sw. fra.

A sum of 20 centimes is received for each further dependant living in the same household. These additional benefits are only paid out in so far as they do not bring the total above the maximum laid down.

On the 1st January, 1933, the Act on technical training came into force. The administrative regulations issued since then in this connection provide for the training of apprentices in various trades, while in other trades negotiations on this point are still in process.

On repeated pressure from the National Trade Union Centre, the Government finally issued a draft B.M. in 1935 on employment in commerce and trade, but the provisions contained therein do not in any way meet the modern demands of the workers. For this reason, the Swiss National Trade Union Centre itself worked out a counterdraft, which it submitted to the Government. Consultation of the authorities, however, will apparently only take place in 1936.

On the question of reduction of hours of work it has been possible to reduce considerably the number of permits issued for the working of overtime in factories. Considerable progress has also been achieved in preventing hours of work being extended beyond the normal 48 hours a week.

## Ujedinjeni Radnički Sindikalni Savez Jugoslavije.

### NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE OF YUGOSLAVIA

The years 1933 and 1934 were years of deep industrial depression, but the Trade Unions were nevertheless able to maintain their position, make progress and increase their material strength and reach a high degree of internal consolidation.

The most important event for the future activities of the Movement in Yugoslavia was the formation of an alliance between all the Unions which support the principles of the IFTU. The alliance, covering about 50,000 organised workers, developed with the aim of becoming the National Centre of the free Trade Union Movement in Yugoslavia. The alliance made its influence felt in the elections to the Chambers of Labour, in which it gained 92,000, or about 70 %, of the 120,000 votes cast.

The Unions affiliated to the National Centre had the following membership : 1933 : 30,421, 1934 : 32,075, 1935 : more than 35,000. Consolidation is shown even better by the rise in the income of the Unions from 2,900,000 dinar between 1929 and 1931, to four millions between 1932 and 1934.

Considerable progress has also been made in the development of some of the affiliated Unions. The provincial Unions of clothing workers were amalgamated to form one Union, and the whole Union was then fused with that of the Textile Workers. The new unified organisation promises well for the future. There is also close contact between this Union and that of the Factory Workers in Ljubljana, which organises the textile workers of Slovenia.

The provincial organisations of Woodworkers in Serajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade have joined together to form a Federation, which has already done useful work.

The dispute about the fusion of the Unions of Building Workers and Painters has been settled, since the Painters' Union, by increasing its membership from ninety to a hundred during 1935, provided enough justification for its independent existence.

The organisations of waiters have also been amalgamated, but they are still up against very difficult conditions. The Unions of Hairdressers in Belgrade and Zagreb have also formed a unified Union, but their conditions are also difficult. The Unions of workers in the food and drink trades of Zagreb and Belgrade have formed one Union, which is of considerable importance.

Negotiations are now going on for the amalgamation of the metal workers' and miners' organisations, for the miners, who are scattered all over the country, can only be brought together through the Metal Workers' Union, which covers the whole land and is one of the largest Unions.

The Union of Land Workers is up against great difficulties, owing to the terrible crisis in agriculture, and the Union of Seamen is also in a difficult position.

The organisation of railwaymen, which has been dissolved by the authorities, has not yet received permission to resume its activities, one of the conditions for this being the prohibition of affiliation of the Union either to the ITP or the National Centre.

The problem of the alliance of free Trade Unions is an acute one not only for the railwaymen, but for all other Unions and for the whole Movement, which is held back by various kinds of chicanery and has no free press to support it.

#### Congresses.

The Congress of the National Centre, held in December, 1934, represents an important event in the history of the Yugoslavian Labour Movement. In addition to dealing with the free Trade Union alliance, the fiscal system, questions of organisation, the press and propaganda, the Congress drew up a Trade Union Programme, covering all Trade Union activities and laying down the policy of the Movement on various important political and industrial questions affecting the life of the nation. The programme laid down a skeleton collective agreement, which does not exist in practice, and contains items dealing with the regulation of hours of work, minimum wages, sickness, invalidity and old age pensions insurance, unemployment insurance and co-operation with international social institutions. The economic section of the Programme demands supervision of production, the consumers to have a voice in this, the supervision of cartels, the organisation of foreign trade, establishment of an Economic Council and the reform of customs and industrial policy in conformity with its views.

The financial demands are for the nationalisation of the National Bank, the placing of credit under public supervision and the establishment of a maximum rate of interest. The educational section emphasises the importance of contact between the Trade Union Movement and the general public, and of the general and vocational education of the workers, and lays down outlines for this. The necessity for collective sport is also stressed.

The section dealing with the Co-operative Movement emphasises the importance of co-operation in the field of consumption, production and town-planning.

The Congress could not disregard the question of Communist cell work within the Unions. It definitely condemned all subversive agitation and adopted a resolution providing for the application of the rules against all undisciplined members. The Communist manoeuvre of the « united front » was at the same time unanimously rejected, organic unity being advocated in its place.

#### Important Social and Other Campaigns.

The question of relief for the unemployed has been the central point of Trade Union activities, which have aimed in the first place at getting a larger number of the unemployed back into work again, and secondly, at providing for those who are unable to obtain work.

As regards the creation of employment, a whole programme was drawn up, which included all possible measures, beginning with the reduction of hours of work to allow of more workers being employed, and including the application of large scale public works. The Trade Union campaign has contributed to a great degree to getting a sum of about one thousand million dinar granted for public works. Another result of the campaign has been the more widespread application of the eight hour day.

It is also largely due to the Trade Unions that the system of unemployment insurance has been systematically extended. Ordinary, special and travel benefit, and benefit in kind was paid to 45,494 persons in 1930, 66,187 in 1931, 147,669 in 1932, 168,390 in 1933 and 107,468 in 1934. Cash benefits totalled 3,408,584 dinar in 1930, 5,101,575 in 1931, 10,319,375 in 1932, 10,484,696 in 1933 and 9,322,648 in 1934.

At the end of 1935, the whole system of unemployment insurance was reformed, this representing an important step forward in the extension of this institution.

Important work has also been done in the maintenance of the existing workers' sickness and accident insurance system, against which systematic propaganda had been made among the public. The attempt to worsen the provisions of the Act was frustrated, but it was not possible to obtain the restoration of full autonomy for the insurance bodies through free elections to their organs of management. The Trade Unions have, however, carried on a campaign against the appointment from above of the officers of the insurance institutes.

Attempts made to amend the new commercial legislation were also frustrated. This Act contains a number of progressive social provisions, complementary to the protective labour legislation. The aim was to reduce the period of notice for manual workers from fourteen days to one, and that of non-manual workers from six or three months to one month; the first two months were to be regarded as probationary, and for this time no period of notice was to be laid down. An attempt was made to bring all disputes arising from conditions of work within the competence of the ordinary courts instead of that of the Labour Courts, and to provide for all wage demands to become invalid unless submitted within six months.

One of the most important points for which the Unions have been fighting is that of minimum wages, for which a widespread campaign has been carried on. We have been able to bring this question before public notice, and it has aroused the attention of a large section of the population. The Minister of Social Affairs has even twice declared his intention of settling this question by statute, and the Unions are continuing the agitation.

#### Collective Agreements.

The years 1933 and 1934 were years of economic deadlock, which held the workers back. Economic recovery began to set in in 1935 and the workers were again aroused, particularly through the campaign for the Minimum Wages Act. From 1930 to 1935 there was a steady decline in nominal wages. Reduction of wages and

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simultaneous reduction in the number of employed produced a steady annual falling-off in wages of about two thousand million dinar.

The end of 1934 saw the beginning of negotiations for collective agreements on a large scale, first of all in the iron industry and immediately afterwards in the textile, boot and shoe and woodworking industries, and to a certain extent in the building trades. In nearly all cases, success was obtained. Wages were raised in the industrial centres, but no change was made in the outlying districts, so that, taken as a whole, wages in 1935 showed a further decline. There was a revival of interest among the workers for organisation, but this interest was systematically throttled by all possible obstacles being placed before the workers and their organisations at every turn. The optimism which arose among the workers had a very good effect on their organisations, so that the number of organised workers is now steadily increasing.

#### Publications.

In addition to the ordinary press organs, which have a circulation of 138,000 monthly (weekly and monthly papers and periodicals), the following books and pamphlets were published, dealing with Trade Union work and various Trade Union problems : « The Yugoslavian National Trade Union Centre 1931-1933 », « The Beta System », « Workers' Wages as an Economic, Social and Cultural Factor », « The Apprenticeship Question as one Section of the Problem of Unemployment », « Unemployment in Yugoslavia ».

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**REPORTS**  
**of the International Trade Secretariats**  
**for the Years 1933, 1934 and 1935**

## International Federation of Bookbinders and Kindred Trades.

Like all other Trade Secretariats, the International Federation of Bookbinders and Kindred Trades suffered a great decline in membership through the loss of the affiliated Unions in Germany and Austria. Membership fell from 92,000 to 42,000, thirteen Unions in twelve countries being at present affiliated.

Owing to these disastrous events, the question arose of whether it was possible for the Bookbinders' International to continue as a separate entity, and, in view of the fact that out of the thirteen affiliated organisations, seven already completely or partially organise the workers in the graphic trades, the idea of fusing the three graphic Internationals naturally arose.

At the Conference held in Strasbourg in September, 1935, this question was discussed in detail and a resolution adopted, advocating amalgamation with the Internationals of the Typographers and Lithographers and proposing the setting up of a tripartite committee to examine the problem and submit a report within a year at the latest. The resolution further stated that the preparatory work must be carried out in such a way that the interests of all the members in the new International would be safeguarded and promoted, and that the Committee should also draw up directions for the realisation of the measures it proposed.

This resolution cannot be regarded, however, as an expression of complete unanimity, since several organisations regarded it only as a step towards an unprejudiced investigation into the possibilities of fusion.

It should be mentioned here that the Secretary of the Lithographers' International, who was present at the Conference, expressed the opposition of his Executive to any amalgamation.

During the period under review, the Internationals of Bookbinders, Typographers and Lithographers have as usual worked together in a comradely manner on all questions of common interest, as had been decided in May, 1930, at the conference of the three Executives held in Interlaken.

The Strasbourg Conference also dealt with the question of hours of work, adopting a resolution on this point which referred to the International Labour Conference's request for the forty-hour week in the graphic trades to be put on the agenda of the 1936 International Labour Conference and appealed to the Workers' Group of the Governing Body to get this request acceded to in the October meeting of the Governing Body. It also urged affiliated countries to make the necessary representations to their governments to get the question put on the 1936 agenda and to carry on untiringly the fight for the reduction of hours of work as the only means of abolishing unemployment and its disastrous consequences for the workers.

For reasons of economy, the Conference decided to cut down the membership of the Secretariat Committee, which consists of three members in addition to the Secretary.

The seat of the Secretariat was transferred from Berne to Copenhagen and Comrade K. Eriksen, Secretary of the Danish Union of Bookbinders, was elected International Secretary in the place of Comrade Hochstrasser.

## **International Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers' Federation.**

Like that of most international bodies, a report covering the years 1933-34-35 must be one of some disappointment.

The circumstances arising out of the severance of the German Unions following the revolution of 1933, and the Austrian revolution of 1934, not only seriously affected the membership of Internationals, but seriously interfered with the organisation of many of them.

The International Boot and Shoe and Leather Workers' Federation was no exception to this fact.

In 1931 our affiliated membership totalled 269,777. Of this, 115,250 represented affiliated German Unions. Consequent upon their withdrawal, our membership in 1933 fell to 153,875. There was a further slight fall in 1934, when our membership was recorded at 151,321. Of this figure the Austrian Unions represented 6,262, and our figures for 1935 have been reduced by this amount. It is exceedingly pleasing to record that an increase in membership has since taken place over a number of the affiliated Unions. The figures upon which fees were paid for 1935 amounted to no less than 158,976, or approximately an increase of 12,000, having regard to the reduction effected by the withdrawal of the Austrian Unions.

Up to the revolution, the centre of the International was in Germany, following which it was transferred to England and has remained here since.

No serious attempt has been made to effect an amalgamation with other International Trade Secretariats, although an approach was made to the Clothing Workers, International. The difficulty is that whilst certain trades are inter-related, it is felt necessary to retain the individuality connected with a specific industry, in order that the interests of such specific industry may be catered for by people fully conversant with its needs. No doubt, however, further approaches in regard to the matter will take place at a subsequent date.

A Congress of the International was held in 1933, when the most important questions dealt with were in connection with the reorganisation and re-moulding of the International, following the dissolution effected by the German revolution. Questions of demarcation, Fascism, unemployment and shorter hours of labour were discussed and resolutions formulated upon them.

A further Congress will take place in July, 1936.

The activities of the International have been largely restricted to the exchange of information concerning working conditions, prices and other economic matters as arising out of the industry as conducted in the various countries.

Assistance has been organised in relation to refugees, and financial help has been rendered to a number of affiliated Unions in regard to local disputes.

The International has suffered severely by the reorganisation in respect to its usual and important publications. The International Bulletin which was usually published quarterly and summarised in an annual report is now restricted to three issues per year and no annual summary has been issued. Matters relating to publications will be dealt with at the 1936 Congress.

Despite the difficulties arising from re-organisation, it is pleasurable to be able to report that the remaining units of the International have become more solidified as a result of the difficulties through which we have recently passed, and that there is also a splendid spirit prevailing within the affiliated organisations, and promise of important and substantial developments within the near future.

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## **International Federation of Building and Woodworkers.**

The International Federation of Building and Woodworkers originated on the 1st April, 1934, out of the amalgamation of the International Union of Woodworkers with the International Federation of Building Workers. Up till now, no success has attended the attempts, made in accordance with the IFTU's plan for concentration of the International Trade Union Movement, to bring the Internationals of Painters and Stoneworkers into this fusion.



### Affiliated Organisations.

At the beginning of 1933 the Czech Union of Upholsterers and the Timber Workers' section of the Norwegian Agricultural and Timber Workers' Union joined the International Union of Woodworkers, and at the beginning of 1934 the Woodworkers' Union in the Serbian part of Yugoslavia also affiliated. On the other hand, the International lost, in addition to the German Unions of Woodworkers and Upholsterers (with memberships of 232,844 and 7,470 respectively), the Sawmill Workers' section of the Yugoslavian Union of General Workers, the Unions of Woodworkers in Bulgaria, Cuba and Luxemburg and the Danish Union of Ship Carpenters.

Mainly as a result of these changes, the membership of the Woodworkers' International fell from 823,182 in fifty-three Unions in twenty-seven countries on the 1st January, 1933, to 574,960 in forty-seven Unions in twenty-three countries on the 1st January, 1934, thus showing a loss of 248,222 or 30.1 %.

In 1933, the International Federation of Building Workers lost the German Building Workers' Union and Carpenters' Union, which had memberships (at the end of 1931) of 390,306 and 94,408 respectively. But at the end of 1933 the Estonian Union of Building Workers affiliated and a further addition was gained indirectly by the re-affiliation of the Plasterers' Union to the British National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. The International's membership fell from 659,456 on the 1st January, 1933, to 381,179 on the 1st January, 1934, or by 478,277 (55.6 %); the number of affiliated Unions remained unchanged at 34 and that of the countries at 19. (In comparing this with former reports, it should be remembered that all the affiliated British Unions of building trade workers which are in the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives are reckoned as one unit and the Irish Free State is counted as a separate affiliated country.)

Thus for the united International there was a fall in membership (allowing for a small correction on account of overlapping) from 1,678,902 to 952,839, or by 726,063 (43.2 %). The number of affiliated countries fell from twenty-nine to twenty-six, and that of the affiliated Unions from eighty-one to seventy-seven.

The united International of Building and Woodworkers recorded the affiliation of the Union of Building Workers in Tel-Aviv, Palestine, on the 1st January, 1935, of the Danish Union of Carpenters on the 1st June, 1935, and the Trinidad Union of Building and Woodworkers on the 1st January, 1936. It gained new membership indirectly through the affiliation of the Amalgamated Society of Wood-cutting Machinists and the Amalgamated Union of Asphalt Workers to the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives in Great Britain in October, 1934, and January, 1936, respectively, and through the transfer of the National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators, which also belongs to the NFBTO, to the International from the Painters' International. On the other hand, the Czech Union of Upholsterers and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of South Africa withdrew from membership, and the small Bricklayers' Union in Memel had to be struck off. The two Unions in Austria (with a total membership of 42,140), which were dissolved by the authorities in February, 1934, had first of all to be struck off, but they were soon resuscitated underground, united in April, 1935, and again affiliated to the International on the 1st May, 1935. There was a further loss of 35,970 members, because the British Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers stated that it no longer desired membership of the International for its Ship Carpenters section.

It was very regrettable that the large American Union — the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America — covering the United States and Canada, whose membership had already become very problematical, had to be finally struck off during 1934. The number of affiliated Unions fell by three owing to the fusion on the 1st January, 1935, of the Unions of Building and Woodworkers in France and Poland and the amalgamation of the British « Altogether » Builders' Labourers with the Transport and General Workers' Union — which is also affiliated — but these changes did not entail any loss in membership for the International.

### Membership.

After these reorganisations, new affiliations, expulsions and withdrawals, the International had on the 1st January, 1935, seventy-one affiliated Unions in twenty-one countries with a total of 670,279 members; on the 1st January, 1936, the

corresponding figures were seventy-six Unions in twenty-three countries with an estimated membership of about 700,000. A comparison between the position at the beginning of 1934 and the beginning of 1935 — leaving on one side Austria, America, the British Ship Carpenters and the small gain from the affiliation of the Palestine Union, after deductions in respect of withdrawals and expulsions — shows a gain in membership of 22,667, accounted for by the rise from 340,936 to 371,154 (30,218 or 8.9 %) in the membership of forty-two Unions (including the fourteen in the British National Federation of Building Trades Operatives), and the decline from 215,469 to 207,918 (7,551, or 3.5 %) in the membership of fifteen. Losses, although mostly small ones, were sustained in the main by the gold bloc countries of 1934, namely Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland and Switzerland.

#### Meetings.

From the 4th to 6th August, 1933, the International Union of Woodworkers held its eighth Ordinary Congress in Brussels, which was attended by thirty-one delegates, representing twenty-four Unions in eleven countries. The decision dealt practically exclusively with questions of organisation, which have in the meantime been superseded by the amalgamation.

The Tenth Conference of the International Federation of Building Workers was held on the 27th and 28th July, 1933, also in Brussels, attended by twenty-eight delegates from Unions in thirteen countries. This Conference decided on several changes in organisation, which have likewise been superseded by the amalgamation. It also protested against the persecution of our German comrades and the suppression of their organisations, recommended affiliated and friendly organisations to boycott German goods, expressed satisfaction at the preparations started by the International Labour Office for an International Convention on safety in the building industry and finally energetically advocated large-scale public works for alleviating unemployment.

The Executive Committee of the International Union of Woodworkers met four times in 1933 and once in 1934; the General Executive Council of the Building Workers' International met four times in 1933, and its Management Committee once each in 1933 and 1934. When the amalgamation took place on the 1st April, 1934, the Executive Committee of the Woodworkers and the General Executive Council of the Building Workers were jointly appointed to form the General Executive Council of the amalgamated International until the first joint Congress, and this joint body met in Weymouth in August, 1934, and in Copenhagen in August, 1935. The Management Committee, which is made up of two members from each International, the President, two Vice-Presidents and the Secretary, met twice each in 1934 and 1935.

#### Secretariat.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that the Brussels Congress of the Woodworkers elected Comrade W. Hauwaert (Brussels) Secretary, while the Building Workers elected Comrade J. W. van Achterbergh Secretary, the latter becoming Secretary of the united International after the amalgamation.

#### Information Service.

The information service of both Internationals suffered from the very inadequate administrative services with which they had to put up until the amalgamation. But the Woodworkers nevertheless published up till the 1st April, 1934, in addition to an eight-page printed Bulletin (since discontinued), eight duplicated Press Reports with a total of forty-seven pages in each language, and a fifty-one-page Report on Activities in 1929-1932. The Building Workers' International also issued several Press Reports and a printed Report on 1932, which was later bound with the Minutes of the Brussels Conference to form an eighty-page volume. Since the fusion, the information service has been considerably extended; up till the end of 1934, in the 1 3/4 years of the fusion, seventeen issues of the duplicated Bulletin were issued, with a total of 127 pages per language. The total circulation was 565, including 175 English, 150 German, 100 Danish, 85 French and 75 Spanish. In addition, the Report on Activities in 1933 also appeared in four languages, with forty-seven pages and the same circulation. It should be noted that in some cases the Bulletin has been accompanied by special pictorial supplements.

## Propaganda.

Propaganda has been actively carried on; useful contacts were established or strengthened with many organisations, mainly in Austria and New Zealand, but also in America, South Africa and other overseas countries. As is shown by the three affiliations in 1935, tangible results have already been achieved and it is hoped that they will soon be followed by further success. Of particular importance in this respect are the personal contacts made at the 1935 International Labour Conference with representatives of the building workers of America and New Zealand.

## Safety in the Building Industry.

The work begun in the International Labour Office, on the impetus of the Building Workers' International, for the introduction of better measures of accident prevention in the building industry, has been continued with success, and the question is to come up at the 1936 International Labour Conference in Geneva with a view to the adoption of a Convention.

## Reduction of Hours of Work.

Much attention has also been given to the question of reduction of hours of work in building and civil engineering and on public works. This question came to the fore when the Governing Body of the I.L.O. decided in September, 1934, to include the building industry and public works in the list of those industries to be considered first of all in connection with the adoption of special Conventions on the reduction of hours of work. The International immediately distributed to all affiliated and non-affiliated Unions of building workers a circular and questionnaire with full information. In January, 1935, it submitted a fully documented memorandum to the I.L.O. Governing Body, which received widespread attention, and it was represented at the 1935 Conference in Geneva by Coppock, the President, and its Secretary. As will be remembered, the proceedings in Geneva led to the adoption only of a Convention on the principle of the forty-hour week and a special Convention on the bottle glass industry, discussion of the other industries, including the building trades and public works being postponed till 1936.

## Anti-Fascist Work.

A special place in the activities of the International was occupied by the fight against Fascism and reaction. In August, 1934, an appeal for funds was addressed to all the Unions of Building and Woodworkers in the world, and the money received in response, mainly from Scandinavia and Holland, was placed to the Fund Against Fascism and for Democracy and Liberty, which had been established in 1933 by the International Federation of Building Workers and later taken over by the amalgamated International. This Fund was used to give financial aid to Germany, Austria, Danzig, the Saar and Poland, which, although very modest, has nevertheless proved effective.

Mention should be made in this connection of the fact that right from the outset, the International has advocated the widest possible co-ordination in the practical anti-Fascist activities of the IFTU and the International Trade Secretariats.

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## International Clothing Workers' Federation.

The membership of our International was 216,903 (114,698 women) at the 1st January, 1933; 230,729 (143,363 women) at the 1st January, 1934; and 231,187 (144,465 women) at the 1st January, 1935.

During the period under review, an International Congress was held in London on the 23rd and 24th August, 1934, at which the following addresses were given:

- (1) The National Industrial Recovery Act, and in particular its importance for the United States clothing industry.
- (2) The situation in Germany and Austria and the task of our International.

In January, 1933, statistics were published on the hourly rates and weekly wages of bespoke tailors from 1914 to October, 1932. These figures also included a survey of rents in the different countries, the employers' expenditure per worker on social insurance and the development of the cost of living indices in the different countries. In April, 1933, we published statistics on the hourly rates and weekly wages and other conditions of work of furriers and leather-dressers over the years 1914 to 1933.

Our International was considerably strengthened at the end of May, 1935, by the affiliation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America, with 150,000 members.

## International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees.

### Membership.

Since the reconstruction after the war of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, there has been no period fuller of heavy setbacks than that under review. In Germany, Austria and Latvia, the victory of Fascism has destroyed the free Unions of non-manual workers, and thus depriving the International of very great organic, moral and, not least, material support. The loss of no less than thirteen Unions in these three countries has naturally affected the structure of our International.

Membership of the International was :

880,741	on the 1st January, 1932 ;
880,917	»            »            »   1933 ;
488,313	»            »            »   1934 ;
432,423	»            »            »   1935.

### Withdrawals.

During the period under review the following organisations have withdrawn or been dissolved :

#### Austria :

Zentralverein der kaufmännischen Angestellten ;  
Bund der Industrieangestellten ;  
Reichsverein der Bank- und Sparkassenbeamten ;  
Bund der Bank- und Sparkassengehilfen ;  
Verein der Versicherungsangestellten ;  
Reichsverein der Zeitungsbeamten.

#### Czechoslovakia :

Reichsverein der Bergbau- und Hüttenangestellten.

#### Germany :

Zentralverband der Angestellten ;  
Bund der technischen Angestellten und Beamten ;  
Allgemeiner Verband der deutschen Angestellten ;  
Deutscher Werkmeisterverband ;  
Polier-, Werk- und Schachtmeisterbund.

#### Great Britain :

National Union of Commercial Travellers.

#### Latvia :

Vispareja Darbinieku biedriba ;  
Latvijas komivojazeru biedriba.

Poland :

Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Bankowych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej.

**New Affiliations.**

The following organisations have affiliated during the same period :

Great Britain :

National Union of Cooperative Officials.

Spain :

Sindicato Español de Trabajadores de Comercio ;  
Federación de Empleados de Oficinas de España.

Switzerland :

Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter  
(Angestelltensektion).

**Congresses and Other Meetings.**

Executive Meetings : Four meetings of the Executive have been held as follows :

(1) Geneva, 17th-18th June, 1933 :

The discussion at this meeting was all more or less concerned with the loss of the German Unions.

The amalgamation, brought about in January, 1933, of the French Union of Bank Clerks with the French Employee's Union was noted. There was a thorough discussion of the composition of the ILO's Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees. The Austrian representative on the Executive gave a full account of the situation in Austria. As a result of the loss of the German Unions and the subsequent heavy loss in income, various economy measures were decided on, and affiliation fees were raised from 30 Dutch guilders per thousand members per annum to 45 guilders, as from the 1st July, 1933.

The Executive adopted the proposal of Comrade Robert Klein for the foundation of co-ordinating bodies between countries (working alliances, etc.), and Comrade Klein at the same time announced the formation of the « Working Alliance of the Free Trade Unions of Non-Manual Workers of Central Europe ».

(2) Paris, 21st-23rd March, 1934 :

At this meeting, Comrade J. Hallsworth (President) paid a moving tribute to the comrades who had passed away during the period under review, namely G. J. A. Smit, Jr. (Amsterdam), the General Secretary, and Comrade Otto Schweitzer (Berlin).

It was decided to convene the next International Congress for the 12th and 13th July, 1934, in Brussels. Comrade W. G. Spiekman (Amsterdam) was appointed acting secretary until the Congress.

It was also decided to recommend the Brussels Congress to appoint Comrade Spiekman secretary of the International and to leave the Secretariat in Amsterdam. In this connection preparations were made for certain amendments to the rules to be proposed to the Congress. The suggestions presented by the IFTU for the structural reconstruction of the IFTU or the incorporation of the International Trade Secretariats into the IFTU were rejected in the form submitted.

It was also agreed to request the ILO to appoint Comrade W. G. Spiekman to fill the vacancies on the Advisory Committees on Salaried Employees and on Women's Work caused by the death of Comrade Smit.

(3) Brussels, 11th July, 1934 :

This meeting made the final arrangements for the Congress, held also in Brussels on the 12th and 13th July, and dealt with motions regarding the appointment of the secretary and the seat of the International. The necessary amendments to the rules in this connection were also dealt with.

(4) Geneva, 31st March and 1st April, 1935 :

This meeting had before it written and oral reports by the Secretary and the members of the Executive on the position in the different countries. There was also a thorough discussion of propaganda measures in Europe and other parts of the world. Special attention was given to the position of non-manual workers in the Fascist countries and the subjects to be considered by the meeting of the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees to be held in Geneva on the 3rd and 4th April. It was decided to call International Conferences of the Trade Groups in October, 1935. It should also be mentioned that the Executive unanimously elected Comrade Robert Klein (Prague) Vice-President of the International  
The Brussels Congress, 12th and 13th July, 1934.

The Congress of the International held in Brussels on the 12th and 13th July, 1934, elected Comrade J. Hallsworth (General Secretary of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers) President of the International, and elected W. G. Spiekman, who had been acting secretary since March, 1934, Secretary of the International. It was also agreed to leave the Secretariat in Amsterdam.

The Congress decided to cut down the number of Trade Groups from seven to four, and to constitute them as follows :

1. Commercial Employees ;
2. Bank, Insurance and General Office Employees ;
3. Commercial Travellers and Agents ;
4. Technical Employees and Foremen.

Of the amendments to the rules which were unanimously agreed to, we would mention here one amendment cutting down the number of members of the Executive from fourteen to ten, the Executive then being composed as follows :

- J. Hallsworth, Manchester, President, Great Britain ;
- R. Klein, Prague, Vice-President, Czechoslovakia ;
- O. Capocci, Paris, France and Belgium ;
- J. Hansen, Copenhagen, Scandinavia ;
- C. W. Jacobsen, Amsterdam, Holland ;
- N. Kertesz, Budapest, Hungary and South Eastern Europe ;
- L. Santamarina, Madrid, President of the Trade Group of Commercial Employees ;
- J. A. Lundgren, Malmö, President of the Trade Group of Bank, Insurance and General Office Employees ;
- K. Pacovsky, Prague, President of the Trade Group of Commercial Travellers and Agents ;
- Geo. W. Thomson, London, President of the Trade Group of Technical Employees and Foremen ;
- W. G. Spiekman, Amsterdam, Secretary of the International.

Reports were given on the following subjects.

(1) Relations of the International Trade Secretariats with the International Federation of Trade Unions. — Rapporteur : J. Hallsworth, Manchester.

The Congress unanimously confirmed the view taken by the Executive at its Paris meeting in March, 1934, that the plan submitted by the IFTU for the reconstruction of the International Trade Union Movement was not acceptable. The Congress advocated the fundamental and complete reorganisation of the Trade Union Movement on the basis of affiliation of National Centres to the IFTU and according to trades and occupations.

(2) The Tasks of the Working Alliances Within the Framework of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees. — Rapporteur : R. Klein, Prague.

(3) The Social and Economic Position of Salaried Employees in the Scandinavian Countries. — Rapporteur : Julius Hansen, Copenhagen.

(4) The Position of Non-Manual Workers in Europe To-day. — Rapporteur : A. Creech Jones, London.

### Trade Group Meetings.

The following meetings of Trade Groups were held during the period under review, being well attended by delegates both from affiliated and friendly organisations:

**Commercial Travellers and Agents, Brussels, 10th July, 1934 :**

Comrade C. W. Jacobsen, Amsterdam, gave a very full report on the Trade Union organisation of commercial travellers and agents, and Comrade K. Pacovsky, Prague, dealt with the legal position of travellers on commission and social legislation in the different countries, and with the subject of « International Trade and the Commercial Traveller ».

**Trade Group Conferences in Paris, 15th-18th October, 1935 :**

The four Trade Groups constituted by the Brussels Congress held meetings in Paris from the 15th to 18th October, 1935, inclusive, when reports were submitted on the contemporary problems of the four classes of non-manual workers,

Each of the four Trade Groups also elected its Executive.

### Efforts in the International Economic and Social Spheres.

**International Trade Union Movement :**

The Conference of the International Trade Secretariats with the IFTU Executive, held in August, 1934, in Weymouth, elected, inter alia, Comrade W. C. Spiekman (Amsterdam) to the IFTU/ITS Co-ordination Committee set up then.

**International Relief Work :**

During the period under review, international relief work was instituted for the comrades in the Saar, the non-manual workers involved in a sympathetic strike with the textile workers in Verviers (Belgium) and for the non-manual workers in the Fascist countries. All this work produced satisfactory results.

**Social Policy :**

The Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees of the International Labour Office met twice during the period under review, once in March, 1933, and again in April, 1935, both times in Geneva.

Resolutions were passed on the following points :

1. Shop closing.
2. Sunday closing.
3. Holidays with Pay.
4. Protection of Young Non-Manual Workers (technical training).
5. Admission of Foreign Workers (exchange).
6. Legal Position of Travellers and Agents in Commerce and Industry.
7. Working Conditions of Bank Clerks.

Comrades J. Hallsworth (Manchester), R. Klein (Prague), S. Aufhäuser (in Prague) and W. Spiekman (Amsterdam) (the last-named since March, 1934), are on the Advisory Committee representing free Trade Unionist salaried employees.

## International Federation of Enginemen's and Firemen's Unions

During the period under review, the membership of the International has suffered a considerable decline, 55,000 members having been lost through the withdrawal of our German Union in May, 1933. Withdrawal was officially notified by the German Labour Front in June, 1933.

In the early part of 1934 we also lost our Austrian Union, with 3,500 members, while the Polish Union is so weak that it has not been able to pay its affiliation fees to the International.

Thus the International actually consists of only three national Unions: that of Czechoslovakia, with 1,200 members, Denmark with 2,300 members and Great Britain (mainly in London) with 16,500 members. There has however been very useful collaboration with the Norwegian Union (Oslo Kjele- og Maskinpasseforening) during 1934, which offers good prospects for the future.

During this period there have been no negotiations for amalgamation with other Trade Secretariats. We take the view, which we have always taken, that the way to international collaboration or international amalgamation must lead through national collaboration and agreement. It is, in our view, tackling the situation from the wrong end to amalgamate different International Trade Secretariats while the national organisations which form the Secretariats are still at odds with each other. Such a procedure means dissolution before amalgamation is attained.

Several meetings were held during the period under review, the Secretariat meeting in Copenhagen in June, 1933, and in Lille in August, 1934. The Secretariat was also represented at various meetings of the IFTU — in Brussels in 1933, Weymouth in 1934 and Copenhagen in 1935.

Our main attention has been devoted to maintaining connections with the former employees and getting boiler legislation introduced in the different countries. In this we have acted not only for ourselves but for all workers in industry who are demanding this protective legislation. It is probable that the Norwegian legislation on this subject, since we have assured the support of the national Union and the Social-Democratic Government, will prove exemplary.

The Secretariat has done a great deal to help German refugees. From May, 1933, to the 1st January, 1936, the three affiliated Unions paid in a total of 60,000 Danish kroner. This sum, which is very considerable when the size of the Secretariat is borne in mind, has nearly all been paid out. It may be mentioned here that five German comrades with their families have been living in Denmark for three years and receiving a fixed weekly sum from the fund.

Mention should also be made of the fact, which is already widely known, that our Secretary, Carl Balleng, was abducted on the 31st January, 1935, by Dr. Wessmann, the Nazi spy. With Balleng and his wife imprisoned in Germany, Wessmann sent someone to Copenhagen to steal the files and correspondence from Balleng's flat in the premises of the Danish Union. The intention was undoubtedly to get some insight into the relief work of the Secretariat, but this end was not attained, since the correspondence concerned was in the home of the Treasurer.

No special publications have been issued during the period under review. The time of resolutions has gone by for us, our aim is now to keep the rest of the International together in the hope that better times will come both for the individual Trade Secretariats and for the whole of the International Trade Union Movement.

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## International Federation of General Factory Workers.

### Organisation.

As a result of the events in Germany in 1933, the International was very hardy hit by the loss of the 231,561 members of the German Union of Factory Workers. In February, 1934, a further loss was sustained by the suppression of the Austrian Union of Chemical Workers.

After the rising in the autumn of 1934, the affiliated organisations in Spain had a considerable loss of membership, but they still remain true to the International.

In 1933 the Executive was compelled to expel from the International the General Factory Workers' Union (Opći radnički savez Jugoslavije) of Zagreb, on account of its continued opposition to the National Centre in Belgrade which is affiliated to the IFTU, and its long-standing arrears in affiliation fees.

The International accepted the affiliation of a group of Yugoslavian Factory Workers, who had withdrawn from the Opći radnički savez Jugoslavije and had formed a new free Trade Union of Factory Workers under the name of « Splošna Delavska Srokovna Svezza Jugoslavije », with an office in Ljubljana.



### Development of the International.

31st December	Affiliated		Total Membership
	Countries	Unions	
1932. . . . .	15	25	596,842
1933. . . . .	14	24	348,125
1934. . . . .	14	24	351,905

It is satisfactory to note that, during 1933 and 1934 — leaving Germany, Austria and Spain on one side for the moment — eleven affiliated organisations showed a total increase of 18,693 in membership. Five affiliated Unions registered a falling-off of 4,755 in members, and the other organisations retained their previous membership.

Although the International Secretariat has good relations with several extra-European organisations, no Union from other parts of the world has as yet affiliated.

#### Finance.

The Fifth International Congress, held in Prague in September, 1933, increased the rate of affiliation fees from 30 to 35 Dutch guilders per thousand members per annum. At the same time the Executive was empowered to lay down, if necessary, a lower rate of affiliation fees for extra-European organisations desirous of affiliating.

#### Ordinary Income, Expenditure and Funds in Dutch Guilders.

Year	Income	Expenditure	Funds at end of year
1932. . . . .	—	—	5,100.31
1933. . . . .	13,559.16	14,660.43	3,999.04
1934. . . . .	11,831.74	10,170.82	5,664.96

The Finnish Paperworkers' Union continued in 1933 to receive three-monthly grants from a Relief Fund constituted in 1932. In September, 1935, the International Executive decided to make a further grant to the Finnish Union.

In 1934, the International gave financial assistance, partly directly and partly through the IFTU, to the Trade Unions in the Saar.

#### Rules.

The Fifth International Congress amended the Rules of the International by the addition of several articles, which aim at facilitating the formation of « trade groups » for important industries or groups of industries coming within the scope of organisation of affiliated Unions. The main aim of this addition was to help forward the amalgamation of the Glass and Pottery Workers' Internationals with the Factory Workers' International, which has been on the boards for years. The prospects of amalgamation of the Internationals of Glass and Factory Workers has much improved recently (Cf. report of the Glassworkers' International in this Year Book).

#### Fifth International Congress (Prague, September, 1933).

In addition to the Secretariat's Report on Activities and Financial Report, this Congress had also to deal with the question of international assistance in large strikes and lock-outs, the position of the workers in the match industry, and a number of resolutions.

In addition to the decisions mentioned above, the Congress also came to the following decisions:

In connection with a motion from the Norwegian Union of Chemical and Paper Workers, urging the constitution of an International Strike Fund, and in view of the reports submitted to the Congress on the question of international assistance in large trade disputes, the Secretary was instructed again to go into the whole question and if possible to submit concrete proposals to the next Congress, based on the results of his investigations.

In a long and unanimously adopted resolution, the Congress defended the rights of Factory Workers' Unions to organise workers in the artificial silk industry; affiliated organisations were urged to use all the means at their command to get this claim recognised in all countries with the least possible delay.

On the question of hours of work, the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the demands of the International Federation of Trade Unions on this point and demanding a forty-hour week for workers employed by the day or a thirty-six hour week for shift workers, with maintenance of full weekly earnings.

The Congress also decided that the Executive should consist of seven members (up to till now it has been six) and the Secretary. The Scandinavian countries will in future have two instead of one seat on the Executive.

#### Publications.

The International Secretariat has published the following Reports:

- 1933 Report on Activities and Finances of the International and Report of Affiliated Organisations for the years 1929-1932 inclusive.
- 1933 Report on International Aid in Strikes and Lock-outs.
- 1933 Wages, Working and Other Conditions in the Match Industry (not published in English).
- 1934 Report on the Fifth International Congress, held in Prague in September, 1933.
- 1935 Wages and other Conditions of Employment in and General Position of the Margarine and Oil Industry in Certain Countries: Miscellaneous Information about the Margarine and Oil Industry in Germany.
- 1935 Digest of Data on the Desirability and Practicability of an International Reduction of Hours of Work in the Chemical Industry.  
(A second and enlarged edition of this report will appear in the early part of 1936.)

A short annual report on membership, finances, unemployment, strikes and lock-outs in the organisations affiliated to the International appears every year in the « Bulletin ». Since the beginning of 1934, this « Bulletin » has appeared, for financial considerations, only six times instead of twelve times a year, and is published in English, Danish, French and German.

#### Other Activities.

In 1934, the Factory Workers' International organised a campaign to get the question of reduction of hours of work in margarine, oil and soap factories put on the agenda of the 1935 International Labour Conference. The Governing Body, however, rejected this by ten votes to eight.

In the few months before the 1935 Labour Conference, a campaign was started to get a resolution adopted at this Conference placing the question of reduction of hours of work in the chemical industry on the agenda for the 1936 Conference. A resolution on this point was adopted, although it was given a less definite form during the Conference.

During the period under review, the International Secretariat has supplied information about the conditions of special groups of workers in other countries on the request of numerous affiliated — or non-affiliated, but friendly — organisations.

In connection with the events in Germany, the International has given financial assistance to German comrades who fled to Latvia, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Holland and Belgium. Affiliated organisations have made special contributions to finance this relief work. Austrian and Spanish comrades have also received smaller amounts of relief from the appropriate fund.

# International Union of Federations of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades.

## Organisation.

The events in Germany and Austria resulted in a heavy decline in the membership of the International Union of Federations of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades. On the 1st January, 1933, the Union had 336,148 members in thirty-five Unions in twenty-one countries; there was no change in 1933 in the number of affiliated Unions and countries, but membership fell to 202,919. There was a further decline in 1934 and at the 1st January, 1935, the International had 159,342 members in thirty-three Unions in twenty countries.

The German Union, with 133,325 members, had been lost in 1933, and the Austrian, with 24,863 members, in 1934. The withdrawal of the Bakers' and Confectioners' organisation in the United States meant a further loss of 22,997 members. The two Yugoslavian Unions amalgamated in 1934. No new affiliations were recorded in the period under review. The Secretariat got into touch with the Unions of food and drink workers in the Spanish-speaking countries, but it is still doubtful whether success will attend the efforts to get these Unions into the International.

The following table shows the distribution of members over different occupations :

Occupation	1933	1934	1935
Workers on flour and sugar products . . . . .	185,028	131,747	94,512
Drink production . . . . .	99,983	35,070	25,974
Meat and preserve industry . . . . .	40,241	26,587	23,772
Miscellaneous food and drink industries . . . . .	10,896	9,515	15,084
Totals . . . . .	336,148	202,919	159,342

## Congresses and Other Meetings.

A meeting of the International Executive was held in Lugano in 1933, when Schevenels, the General Secretary of the IFTU, was present. At this meeting the Executive discussed the Report on Activities of the International Secretariat and Executive; economic report; relations with the German Trade Union Movement; secretariat questions and preparations for the Sixth International Congress.

The Executive meeting held in Amsterdam in 1934 had to deal with the work of the Sixth Congress.

The Sixth Congress was held in Amsterdam in September, 1934. It issued a manifesto to Unions of food and drink workers not yet affiliated to the International. Of the other items dealt with we would mention: questions of structure and amalgamation, prohibition of night work in bakeries, abolition of compulsory living-in and boarding, restrictions on the weight of loads, reduction of hours of work, youth questions the fight against Fascism and war, economic planning and social policy. The resolutions adopted by the Sixth Congress on the questions directly concerning the International are based on the results obtained and at the same time indicate the line to be taken in future. On general international questions, the Sixth Congress of the International supported the decisions taken by the IFTU. The Congress welcomed the formation of a fund for the fight against Fascism, and urged the International Executive to give the IFTU's work all possible support. This contributed considerably to a strengthening of international feeling.

## Activities.

The activities of the International were confined to the compilation of reports on the work of the affiliated Unions and on the International Trade Union Movement, and to statements on changes in wages and agreements and other social occurrences which are of special interest to food and drink workers: the fight against night work in bakeries, restrictions on the weight of loads, abolition of compulsory living-in and boarding, etc.

In addition, the Secretariat conducted enquiries into important industries within its sphere of competence, to obtain information on their structure, world ramifications and connections through international capital. The Secretariat issues Press Reports and a regularly appearing News Letter in Czech, Danish, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Swedish.

#### Publications.

Report on Activities of the Secretariat and Executive ;  
 Economic Report ;  
 Report on International Ramifications in the Flourmilling Industry ;  
 Report on Activities of Affiliated Organisations ;  
 Proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the International, in Amsterdam ;  
 Statement of the most important provisions from the rules of affiliated Unions.

### International Federation of Glassworkers.

Hitler's seizure of power in Germany gave rise to a number of difficulties which prevented the International Federation of Glassworkers from reconstituting itself in a regular way and continuing its activities. The International Federation of Trade Unions was asked to give its assistance and this led to an International Conference of Glassworkers being held in Paris on the 9th of May, 1935, with the General Secretary of the IFTU in the chair. This conference was attended by representatives from the Glassworkers' Unions of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Norway and Sweden, which had all expressed the wish that regular international connections between the Glassworkers' Unions should again be resumed.

This conference decided on the resumption of such regular international contact between all the Unions which had formerly belonged to the Glassworkers' International, and instructed the IFTU Secretary to run the International provisionally. It was also decided that the IFTU Secretariat should take the initiative in the question of amalgamation of the three Trade Secretariats of the Factory Workers, Pottery Workers and Glassworkers, aiming at bringing about this fusion at the earliest possible date. The national sections of the Glassworkers' International at this conference decided to make contributions to the IFTU Secretariat to cover the cost. As thus provisionally constituted, the Glassworkers' International was composed of ten Unions in nine countries with 34,205 members, as follows

	Members
Belgium :	
Centrale du Bâtiment, de l'Amenblement et des Industries diverses, Bruxelles . . . . .	6,108
Czechoslovakia :	
Svaz Sklářského Dělnictva v Československé Republice, Teplice-Sanov . . . . .	9,440
Denmark :	
Dansk Glasarbejder-Forbund, Kastrup . . . . .	382
Finland :	
Suomen Lasiteollisuus-Työväen Liitto R. Y. Helsingfors . . . . .	570
France :	
Fédération Nationale des Verriers, Paris . . . . .	1,000
Great Britain :	
The National Federation of Glassworkers, Castleford . . . . .	1,800
Holland :	
Nederlandse Vereniging van Fabrieksarbeiders, Amsterdam . . . . .	1,680
Norway :	
Norsk Kjemisk Industriarbeiderforbund, Oslo . . . . .	650
Sweden :	
Svenska Grov- och Fabriksarbetareförbundet, Stockholm . . . . .	4,320
	34,205

At its meeting of the 20th of May, 1935, in Copenhagen, the IFTU Executive approved the action taken by the Secretariat in the provisional arrangement for running the Glassworkers International.

On the 19th of December, 1934, a further joint International Conference of Factory, Glass and Pottery Workers was held in Paris, again with Comrade Schevenels in the Chair. This conference was attended by Comrades K. de Jonge, F. J. Jürgens and P. Fassin for the Factory Workers International, Comrades J. Stokes, K. Victoria, H. Caprasse and E. Gryson for the Glassworkers' International, and Comrades E. Roll and F. Rippen for the Pottery Workers' International, and it dealt with the question of amalgamation. First of all the Glassworkers' delegates noted that the Committee was competent to lay down the broad outlines and a definite draft for fusion with the Factory Workers' International, and the Glassworkers again expressed their unanimous willingness to enter into this fusion. It was decided to ask each individual national Union of Glassworkers to make known in writing before the end of February, 1936, whether it was in favour of affiliation of the Glassworkers' Unions to the Factory Workers' International, to date from the 1st of January, 1936. It was agreed that, should any unforeseen difficulty arise on this question, a further international conference be held in Prague in April, 1936.

The bases of fusion agreed to, in addition to the general provisions of the Factory Workers' International's rules, were that a Technical Committee of the Glassworkers should provisionally be composed as follows until the next Congress: President: Stokes (Great Britain) with three other members to be nominated by Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Sweden (the member for Czechoslovakia being also member of the Executive of the Factory Workers' International). The Secretary of the Factory Workers' International is to act as Secretary to the Glassworkers' Technical Committee. The expenses of the President of the Technical Committee are to be borne by the Factory Workers' International, while the travelling expenses, and the fares of the other members of the Committee are to be borne by the delegating organisations. Daily allowances for meetings would be borne by the Factory Workers' International. In the case of the representative of the Glassworkers attending the ordinary Executive meetings of the Factory Workers' International, the full expenses would be borne by the Factory Workers' International. The rate of contribution was fixed at thirty-five French centimes per member per annum.

## International Union of Hairdressers.

On the 23rd March, 1933, the International Union transferred its seat from Germany to Denmark, and the present President of the Union is the President of the Danish Hairdressers' Union, H. M. Christensen.

The funds of the Union amounted in 1933 to 2,163.58 marks, which sum was completely confiscated by the Nazis. Many attempts have been made to recover the Union's funds, but these have been in vain. Three years have now gone by since the confiscation and there can now be no great hope that the money will be recovered, or, at any rate, not for a long time.

On the 23rd May, 1933, the Union received from the German Federated Union, to which the German Union of Hairdressers had belonged, notification that the Union resigned from membership of the International as from that date. This letter was signed by the National Socialists. The International naturally broke off all relations with the German Union, which was completely in the power of the Nazis.

After the fighting in Austria in February, 1934, the Austrian Union was dissolved by the Dollfuss Government and government nominees were appointed to administer the Union and manage its funds. Both the President of the Austrian Union, Fr. Schubert, and the Secretary, Rudolph Priessnitz, were thrown into a concentration camp, but both were later released.

According to press statements, the Latvian Union was also dissolved by the dictatorship, but we have not heard anything from our Latvian comrades, so that we cannot judge of what has occurred.

Since its transfer from Berlin to Copenhagen, therefore, the Union has lost its

connection with the hairdressers in Germany (4,048 members), Austria (1,400) and Latvia (60 members). The Union in Finland, with which we formerly had contacts, is completely dissolved.

The International Union has received various invitations to take part in the meetings of the International Federation of Trade Unions, but has had to decline these for financial reasons.

As the above statement shows, the Union has been forced to complete inactivity owing to lack of funds. The International has affiliated Unions only in France, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. There does not seem to be any prospect of further development. The report shows a decline which is solely attributable to the prohibition of the workers' organisations in the dictatorship countries.

On the 13th and 14th August, 1934, the Union organised a Scandinavian Conference in Stockholm, when decisions were taken affecting the other countries, the following resolution being, *inter alia*, adopted :

« Affiliation fees shall be 25 Danish öre per member per annum, but only 15 Danish öre in countries where hairdressers are organised to less than 25 % . »

The International has convened an International Hairdressers' Congress for Copenhagen on the 6th and 7th June, 1936.

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## International Federation of Hatters.

Our International, like all other Trade Secretariats, has lost a considerable proportion of its membership, nearly a half in fact, owing to the victory of Fascism in Germany and the suppression of the free Trade Unions in Austria. The events in Germany in 1933 moreover caused the Secretariat to be transferred from Altenburg (Thuringia) to Paris.

Our thirteenth International Congress was held in August, 1934, when the transference of the Secretariat to Paris was confirmed. The Congress dealt with the efforts made by the IFTU for concentration and adopted a resolution expressing the view that at the present time the discontinuance of the International was necessary neither in theory nor practice. Another resolution reaffirmed the International's support of the IFTU and pointed out that the attitude taken towards amalgamation was not due to any petty trade jealousy or any kind of hostility against the Trade Secretariats which would be concerned in any such amalgamation, but that the decision was dictated solely by considerations of utility. This decision to maintain the independence of the International made it necessary to cut down the work of the Secretariat in some directions, and it was therefore decided to discontinue the annual meetings of the Executive Council and only to convene meetings in urgent cases.

In connection with the movement initiated by the IFTU, our Congress also adopted a resolution on the forty-hour week, and another on peace. The first accepted without reservations the IFTU's programme and recommended affiliated Unions to do everything in their power to accelerate the application of this reform in the industry of industrialised and rationalised countries.

In the resolution on peace, our International unanimously advocated the maintenance of democracy and opposition to all dictatorship.

An occupational question with which we have been dealing for years is the abolition of the use of mercury in hat-making. Our Congress naturally dealt again with this problem and expressed the view that the efforts made up till now to obtain abolition in all countries must be continued, first of all in the national sphere, this to be followed up immediately by international action.

Mention should also be made here of the great efforts made by our International to help our German comrades who were in distress owing to the Hitler regime. Through the collection of funds from our organisations in Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Sweden and Switzerland, we have been able to pay out a total of more than 10,000 K£.

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## International Landworkers' Federation.

The international events of 1933 to 1935 have also had their effect on the International Landworkers' Federation. When the Nazis came into power in Germany in February, 1933, this not only meant the loss of our German Union of Landworkers, but the suspension of all activity on the part of the International Secretariat, which was at that time in Berlin. The Secretariat was subsequently taken over by Hiemstra (Holland), but it was not possible to save the records out of Germany, so that connections with affiliated national Unions in the other countries had to be completely reconstructed afresh.

At the beginning of 1934 came the breakdown in Austria, through which the International lost the collaboration of our active Austrian organisation.

Later in 1934, trouble broke out in Spain, and although our Union there was not officially prohibited, it suffered very greatly from the persecution of the authorities. The local authorities saw to it that the organisation was completely paralysed and the contact between the central Executive and the branches was also broken down, so that the Executive is not at present able to give accurate information about membership.

The loss of the German and Austrian Unions had a very bad effect on the finances of our Secretariat, and radical economies had therefore to be made.

During the period under review the Land Workers' Unions of Estonia and Denmark, and the Gardeners' Union of Denmark have joined the International.

The Land Workers' and Gardeners' Unions of Denmark have both been able to conclude or prolong collective agreements, some of which have resulted in considerable wages increases.

In Estonia, our organisation is up against great difficulties. Estonia has no freedom of association, and the government, backed up by the great landowners, has very much worsened the position of the land workers, in one way by no longer including the unemployed in the lists.

In Hungary also our Union of Land Workers has very great difficulties. Land workers who take part in a strike are punished by thirty to sixty days imprisonment.

The Union in Holland, which organises land workers, gardeners, dairy workers and peat workers, has been able almost to double its membership in the period under review. It carries on a constant fight against wage cuts, which, in view of the deep depression, is not always successful.

There has been a rapid rise in the membership of our organisation in Palestine, which has been able to conclude a number of collective agreements. This Union is one of the most important organisations dealing with Jewish colonisation, which is carried out on a collective basis, under the supervision of the Union.

The Polish Land Workers' Union is in a difficult position mainly for political reasons. The Union carries on an intensive wages campaign, which often leads to strikes, and strikes even have to be called to get arrears of wages paid.

The Swedish Union has recorded a considerable rise in membership and has successfully carried out several strikes.

The Swiss organisation, which is a Union of Gardeners, has been able to conclude a number of collective agreements.

### International Labour Office.

It is still difficult to obtain improvements for land workers in Geneva, agricultural workers being excluded from the scope of most of the Conventions, such as those on hours of work, unemployment insurance, holidays with pay, etc. The Executive of the International has protested several times against this state of affairs. A letter of protest sent in January, 1933, stated that

« the Executive Committee of the International Landworkers' Federation draws attention to the great number of unemployed in agriculture. In view of this fact, hours of work in agriculture must also be substantially reduced, and it would therefore have been better if agriculture had been included in the discussion of this question. We therefore urge that agricultural questions be also included in the forthcoming discussions, in spite of the decision of the Governing Body. »

Another letter, sent on the 14th May, 1934, said that :

« It is with regret and indignation that the Executive of the International Land Workers' Federation learns of the Governing Body's decision whereby land workers are not to be included in the question of holidays with pay, and of the intention also to exclude land workers from the decisions to be taken by the International Labour Conference on unemployment insurance. In 1921, it was agreed that the position of land workers should also be the subject of consideration by the International Labour Office, but this usually seems to have been forgotten, for the land workers are excluded, from most of the International Conventions or Recommendations proposed by the International Labour Office. This exclusion is usually unjust and illogical. Our Executive would therefore be very glad if any decisions taken with regard to holidays with pay and unemployment insurance are also extended to cover land workers.

We should be very glad if you would bring this letter before the Labour Conference which is to meet in June. »

The International Labour Conference held in June, 1934, adopted a decision instructing the International Labour Office to investigate unemployment in agriculture in order to obtain international regulations or a Convention on unemployment insurance for land workers.

The work of our International in Geneva has always been hindered by the fact that the Workers' Group of the International Labour Conference includes no expert on agriculture. After a meeting had been held between our Executive and the IFTU on this subject, Comrade Schürch in Berne was instructed by the IFTU to maintain special contact with the International Landworkers' Federation.

The Seventh Congress of the International Landworkers' Federation was held in London on the 2nd and 3rd July, 1935, and dealt with the following questions :

1. Secretary's Report.
2. Land workers and the agricultural depression.
3. Collective agreements and minimum wages.

The following resolution was adopted :

« The Congress of the International Landworkers' Federation, having considered the consequences of the crisis in agriculture and the social conditions of agricultural workers, urgently demands a system of unemployment insurance for land workers as protection against unemployment, and also demands that measures be taken in every country to ensure adequate wages and conditions of work for land workers. »

It was also decided to issue the Bulletin monthly, instead of three or four times a year as hitherto, and to carry out a detailed investigation into the question of minimum wages. It was finally decided to collect material on the questions dealt with by the International Labour Office, in order to be in a position to defend the interests of the land workers.

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## International Federation of Lithographers, Lithographic Printers and Kindred Trades.

The IFTU's Report on Activities for 1927/1930 contains, on pages 212/213 a brief account of the history of our International, dealing particularly with the period between our London Congress, held in September, 1926, and the Prague Congress in November, 1929. Continuing, pages 258/259 of the IFTU's Report on Activities for 1930/1932 describe the history of our International from the Prague Congress in November, 1929, to that held in Stockholm in July, 1932. This statement has therefore to follow on the one given in the last-mentioned report and has to give an account of the International's activities since the Stockholm Congress.



The co-operation of the President and the Secretary and that of both with the other members of the Executive Committee left nothing to be desired over the period 1929/1932. The Stockholm Congress had been very well arranged and was a great success. In spite of the acute economic crisis, that Congress took very far-reaching decisions, and all those who attended were convinced that the meeting had done much to consolidate the position of the International. If after the Congress we had only been up against those aspects of the crisis and unemployment which we had previously known, our International would certainly have weathered the storm unharmed, but, like everyone else, we were also faced with the political consequences of the depression, and these were stronger at that time than the free Trade Union Movement.

This became evident from the moment we set foot again on German soil on our return from Stockholm. We heard that the Nazis had made their first successful coup d'état in removing from office some of the Social Democratic ministers. Thenceforward the situation went from bad to worse. The National Socialist movement gained ground visibly and managed to seize the power in a constitutional way in the spring of 1933. One of the results was that our International lost the 33,700 members comprised in the two affiliated German Unions, making 52 % of our total membership. This loss was followed in February 1934 by that of the Austrian Union, meaning another fall in our membership of 3,031, while our Spanish organisation, with a membership of 250, had also been dissolved in the meantime. The International thus lost about 57 % of its total membership.

But unfortunately this is not likely to be the end of the decline, since the trades for which we enter are very sensitive to economic fluctuations. A prolonged depression like the present one automatically reduces the number of orders for our industry to such an extent that heavy unemployment is bound to result, and this in turn brings with it a fall in membership. And as if this were not enough, unemployment in our industry is being still further aggravated by the widespread rationalisation of its principal branch, which has almost entirely substituted photolithography and offset printing for lithographic processes, thus requiring the services of far fewer workers. This means that hundreds of our former members who are now out of work will not even have a change of getting back into the industry again when the situation improves. All these factors taken together have reduced our membership from about 64,500 to 24,000, or by 63 %, and it is no comfort to know that other Unions have not fared better.

In view of this situation, the question arose of whether it was desirable or not to continue the independent existence of the Lithographers' International, or to amalgamate with the Typographers' and Bookbinders' Internationals (which had suffered about the same losses as we had) to form one International for all the graphic trades.

Up till now, this question has been answered in the negative. Only time can show what may happen in the future, but in 1933, when the IFTU was putting forward proposals for amalgamations, we agreed not to take any hasty decisions but to await developments quietly for some years.

There were several reasons for this decision. In the first place, the separate organisation in each country of lithographers, typographers and bookbinders seems to point to a logical basis for this form of organisation and to the fact that it meets the requirements of the trades concerned. The International Secretariats are the extensions of the national Unions, so that fusion must start in the national sphere. National amalgamation would be followed as a matter of course by international amalgamation, but the reverse order would be putting the cart before the horse. And, apart from one exception, there is not the slightest tendency towards amalgamation noticeable among the national Unions in the countries still enjoying democratic government. Moreover, in those countries where all workers in the graphic trades are already in one Union, their experience is not encouraging.

There is a further consideration. In Germany, Hitler has forcibly amalgamated all the graphic unions into one organisation and it is not tempting to follow this example voluntarily. Moreover, only time can show if this form of organisation in Germany and Austria will be a lasting one. Our impression is that as soon as they can, our comrades in these countries will leave this form of organisation which has been forced on them and form separate Unions. Such a Union would naturally look round for international connections and, if in the meantime our International had amalgamated with others, we might afterwards regret our precipitation. We have therefore adopted the attitude of a wait and see towards

all attempts at fusion. We can still carry on our work, although to a restricted extent. In the meantime, the political horizon may become clearer, allowing us to take a final decision in due course.

As regards the work of our Secretariat, it has consisted to a large extent of activities on which it is better not to give a written report. At the time of writing, this work is practically at an end, and we now have to wait and see if it produces results in the future.

There has also been a change on our Executive Committee. The presidency, filled by Comrade Hass, the President of the German Senefelder Union, between the Prague and Stockholm Congresses, is now filled by Comrade A. Greuter, the Secretary of our Swiss Union. The other members of the Executive are R. Kneale (Great Britain), G. Lindblom (Sweden), V. Gooris (Belgium) and J. Roelofs, President of the Dutch Union, who is International Secretary. We also have an International Bureau, made up of some members of the Council of the Dutch Union, which assists the International Secretary when required and audits the International's books.

The Executive Committee decided to postpone sine die the application of the decisions taken at Stockholm, and also to postpone to 1936 the ordinary triennial Congress, which should have been held in 1935 according to the rules. This Congress has now been fixed to take place in Lugano, Switzerland, on the 20th, 21st and 22nd September, 1936. The Secretary keeps the members of the Executive in constant touch with his activities and again gave a comprehensive report to the Executive Meeting held in April 1935. His report was adopted, and he was instructed to continue his work on the same lines until the Lugano Congress, where any new decisions could be taken.

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## International Metal Workers' Federation.

The International Metal Workers' Federation has been severely affected by the ravages of the economic crisis, and by Fascism and reaction. Important national Unions have disappeared under the Fascist terror. After our German comrades, it was the Austrian and then the Spanish comrades who fell victims to Fascist reaction.

Owing to these events, there was a sharp drop in membership at the beginning of the period under review, but the figures have risen somewhat recently owing to the economic recovery in Great Britain and the countries of Northern Europe.

Year	Paying Membership	Increase or Decrease on Previous Year
1933 . . . . .	718,135	— 558,369
1934 . . . . .	774,913	+ 56,778
1935 . . . . .	825,373	+ 50,460

The Federation now covers twenty-three national Unions in seventeen countries. The income of the International has declined in proportion to its membership, but it has nevertheless been able, by economising, to keep its financial position intact without any increase in affiliation fees. The annual affiliation fees remain at 30 Swiss francs per thousand members. In addition there is the voluntary levy of 20 Swiss francs per thousand members per annum, paid into the Relief Fund for weak national Unions set up at the Copenhagen Congress, by practically all organisations.

Various meetings of the Central Committee have been held during the three years under review and the International Congress was held in London in August, 1933.

The first meeting of the Central Committee was held in Prague on the 5th and 6th January, when some of the subjects dealt with were: an enquiry into wages in the heavy industries of Belgium, France, Germany and Great Britain, in connection with the International Labour Office; reduction of working time to forty hours per week; consideration of the dispute in the Belgian metal industry; assistance to threatened national Unions.

As regards the first point, we would add that after preparations had been made, the investigation was not carried out by the ILO, but was postponed, on account of the increasing crisis and by request of the British comrades.

Another meeting of the Central Committee was held in Brussels on the 27th and 28th July, 1933, under the shadow of the events in Germany, when the following subjects were dealt with, among others: events in Germany; further activities of the International; proposals and Congress agenda of the IFTU.

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The following summaries give the content of the resolutions adopted during the year:

#### Reduction of Hours of Work.

Demanded the alleviation of mass unemployment by introduction of the forty-hour week for day workers and five shifts of eight hours each in continuous processes.

#### Economic Position.

This resolution stated that the workers could not take the responsibility for the economic position, which must lead to economic and social chaos, and referred to the necessity of an early solution being found for the political confusion which was again giving rise to the danger of war. Emphasis was laid on the necessity of intensifying mutual confidence and the planned regulation of production. If mass unemployment were really to be abolished, the forty-hour week would have to be introduced in such a way as not further to diminish the purchasing power of the workers. The IFTU's demands in this sphere were supported and the ILO urgently appealed to also to give them its active support. The workers were urged not to fall victims to the dominating spiritual confusion and to reject all extremist tendencies and make their influence felt on public affairs by consolidating their own position.

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#### Resolution on assistance to threatened organisations.

The first meeting of the Central Committee in 1934 was held in Paris on the 3rd and 4th March, when the main attention was given to the economic and political position created by the crisis and Fascism, and the position of affiliated organisations. The agenda of the Congress and its date and place were also laid down, and consideration was given to the IFTU's plan of reorganisation of the Trade Secretariats.

A resolution adopted on the events in Austria expressed heartfelt sympathy with the Austrian workers, and especially the metal workers, in their heroic fight against the Fascist reaction, and the hope that, in spite of the partial success of the latter, the ideal of the social regime would win through in the end.

With regard to the IFTU's reorganisation proposals, it was unanimously decided to reject them, for occupational and financial reasons.

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The Thirteenth International Metal Workers' Congress was held in London in August, 1934. It had before it detailed reports from the Secretary and national Unions in English, French and German. Important items on the agenda were the reports of the Secretary and the situation in the different countries; unemployment question, reduction of hours of work, and wages; statutory and internal matters of the Federation.

The Congress adopted two resolutions, of which we give the full text:

#### Hours of Work.

α The Thirteenth Congress of the International Metal Workers' Federation, meeting in London on the 26th and 27th August, 1934;

In consideration of the hard economic crisis, which is afflicting the entire world and which is a heavy burden especially to the labouring class, recalls the resolution passed at the Copenhagen Congress in 1930, in which

the international organisation of metal workers declared that the unplanned expansion of production, without, at the same time, an increase in the purchasing power of the masses, can bring about only permanent conditions of crisis and large-scale unemployment.

It declares that events have proved these prophecies to be true. The crisis, the first effects of which were noted in 1930, has taken on such a turn for the worse and such an extent that the existence of millions of workers is threatened.

The present economic situation has given proof of the senselessness and the failure of the capitalistic system.

In that capitalism has placed profit and its own privileges higher than the prosperity of humanity, it was obliged to disturb the balance between supply and demand in an ever progressive degree.

Since the present crisis cannot be solved without radical changes in the conditions of production, the Congress demands, above all else, to relieve unemployment, the decrease of working time to forty hours per week, whereby the aim must be for a wage equalisation for forty-eight hours. This measure is to make possible the re-employment of a number of workless and to facilitate to a certain degree the renewal of economic activity.

The Congress urges all of the organisations affiliated to the International to enter upon a gigantic and persevering campaign of propaganda work, in order to organise a movement in the public opinion of all countries, to help the forty-hour week on to victory and mobilise a suitable action of the political powers of the individual countries, so that the most urgent demands of the working class may finally be realised. »

#### Menace of War.

« That this Thirteenth Congress of the International Metal Workers' Federation, held in London on the 26th and 27th August, 1934, views with concern the menace of war, which is again threatening the peace of the world; and, in view of the frightful aftermath of disaster, death and destruction which inevitably follows such international strife, and the fact that another war would be fought with such inhuman weapons as would lead to the end of civilisation, this Congress is strongly of opinion that peace and disarmament can only be secured through a collective peace pact under the League of Nations, whereby each nation will agree to act jointly with the other nations, in accordance with the terms laid down in Article 16 of the Covenant, in taking action against any power which resorts to force in any international dispute that may arise.

With this object in view, this Congress calls upon the League of Nations to take into consideration the International Draft Convention (which is now in the hands of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Commission) aiming at the general supervision of the production and export of war munitions.

This Congress also calls upon all affiliated organisation to concentrate their efforts in the fight against Fascism, which not only destroys the liberties of the working class but also increases the danger of war. »

The Congress was held under the shadow of the great loss of the German and Austrian Unions. The distress of the comrades in these countries was borne in mind and it was decided to raise as much finance as possible to alleviate their position.

The problem of reduction of hours of work again occupied a prominent position in the discussions. An urgent appeal was addressed to affiliated Unions to fight to the utmost in their own countries, both in the Trade Union and political spheres, to get reduction of hours of work introduced in practice.

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The year 1935 brought some hopeful prospects for the metal workers' movement. In some countries, especially Great Britain and Sweden, some measure of economic recovery became evident and this resulted in a fall in unemployment. The British and American Unions of metal workers could record considerable increases in membership. Very important progress for the free Trade Unions was achieved by statute in the United States (Wagner-Connery Act, etc.).

When it had been arranged that the 1935 International Labour Conference would have to decide on the adoption of a draft Convention for the forty-hour week in five industries (including the iron and steel trades), our Central Committee was convened to meet in Paris on the 9th and 10th March, 1935, when the question of reduction of working hours to forty a week was again gone into in detail, in the presence of a representative of the International Labour Office. The same meeting discussed the recent events in Spain, when the workers had been defeated by the reactionaries, and decided to give the Spanish comrades all possible support by special relief work.

In November, 1935, another meeting of our Central Committee was held in Brussels, when the following subjects, *inter alia*, came up for discussion: situation in the metal, machinery and engineering industry in the different countries and the wages in force; international events (sanctions, Communist efforts for Trade Union and political unity); relief for distressed sister organisations.

This meeting discussed in detail the situation of the metal workers in the different countries, giving special attention to the endeavours for reduction of hours of work, and to the wages situation. It was noted with satisfaction that an upward tendency was evident, particularly in Great Britain, and that the Scandinavian countries also were feeling the improvement. In most of the other countries, the crisis seems unfortunately to have become stabilised; it is at present worst in the gold bloc countries, like France, Holland and Switzerland.

The secretary gave a short report on the position as regards the sanctions applied by the League against Italy, emphasising that this question was really within the competence of the IFTU, so that the International could only deal with it in the way of a general discussion. The following resolution was adopted at the close of the discussion:

"The Central Committee of the International Metal Workers' Federation, at its meeting of November 3rd, 1935, in Brussels, has taken position towards the consequences which could arise out of the Italo-Abyssinian war, and towards the danger of violating peace owing to such a conquest by the Italian Empire of Abyssinia. It condemns in the strongest terms every war and appeals to the League of Nations to take all necessary measures in order to put an end to the Italo-Abyssinian conflict and to prevent, in any case, any expansion of it.

With regard to the participation of the labouring class in the economic sanctions, decided by the League of Nations, the Central Committee appeals to the metal workers of the different countries to support fully every action taken by their National Trade Union Centres in accordance with the decisions of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Whilst the Central Committee draws the attention of all metal workers to the serious of the events, it again calls upon them to do their utmost in safeguarding peace."

As regards assistance for weak metal workers' Unions, it was decided to continue as intensively as possible the movement already initiated in this direction.

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During the three years under review, our International has made great progress with its main task of promoting international solidarity, and more assistance than ever before has been given to organisations and individual comrades in distress.

The work of the Secretariat had to be cut down somewhat owing to the loss of important national Unions. Wide-reaching enquiries into wages, hours of work, etc., were not carried out; these investigations would in any case not have been complete, in view of the development of events. But the Secretariat aimed at keeping in close contact with affiliated Unions and dealing as far as possible with the problems of interest to them.

The "Bulletin" of the International appears monthly in English, French and German, and contains four printed pages. It treats of the most urgent problems and events of a Trade Union and economic character, the total edition amounting to 2,000 copies.

## Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International.

The International has suffered several hard blows during the period under review. On the 28th December, 1933, Dr. Ludwig Maier, the Secretary, passed away very suddenly. Dr. Maier was very energetic after the war in getting into touch with the comrades in different countries with a view to the reconstruction of the International and was elected secretary by the first Congress, held in Milan in 1920.

In 1933 and 1934 the Unions of Germany, Dantzig and the Saar were all forced to withdraw, and the Austrian Union was dissolved by the government. This meant a loss of more than half its membership and income for our International, which, at the end of 1935, had thirty affiliated Unions with a total membership of 168,000.

Right at the beginning of the disturbances in February, 1934, the International office in Vienna was searched by the police and sealed; it was unsealed in May, when the Secretariat was immediately transferred to Berne.

The following meetings were held during the period under review :

- General Council in Namur on the 1st and 2nd July, 1933 ;
- General Council (extraordinary meeting) in Vienna on the 4th January, 1934 ;
- General Council in London on the 16th and 17th July, 1934 ;
- Congress in Brussels from the 6th to the 10th August, 1935.

The Namur meeting of the General Council dealt with questions of internal organisation and adopted a resolution on the situation in Germany.

The extraordinary meeting in Vienna on the 4th January, 1934, was called to enable the members of the General Council to attend Dr. Maier's funeral and to discuss the future running of the Secretariat. It was decided to transfer the seat provisionally to Berne.

The Brussels Congress was attended by fifty-one delegates from sixteen affiliated organisations.

The Congress had before it reports on the following subjects :

- Democratic Forms of Government and the Organisation of Postal Workers ;
- Part-time Labour in the PTT Service ;
- Unstable Currency and its Effects on the Pay of Postal Workers.

In addition to the resolutions on these reports, further resolutions were adopted on the Rights of National Minorities, International Solidarity, Peace and the Italo-Abyssinian conflict.

J. W. Bowen (London) was confirmed by the Congress as President of the International and at the same time charged with its representation, and Franz Rohner (Berne) was elected Secretary in the place of Dr. Maier, after having been acting secretary since January, 1934.

In 1933 the International Secretariat published " *Foreign Policy in the United States* " (by Clyde Kelly, a former Congressman) in German translation arranged by Dr. Maier.

The " *Post Bulletin* " continues to appear in English, French and German, and the above-mentioned Reports to the Brussels Congress were also duplicated and issued in the three languages.

## International Federation of Pottery Workers

Up till the middle of 1933, the seat of the International Federation of Pottery Workers was in Germany. After the seizure of power by the Fascists in Germany, the secretariat was transferred provisionally to Czechoslovakia and the Union of Glass and Pottery Workers in Teplitz-Schönau was charged with the temporary management of the International's affairs. The events in Germany naturally had a very retrograde effect on the activities of the International in 1933.

In April, 1933, the International Congress of Glass Workers was held in Karlsbad, when the International of Pottery Workers was also represented. One

of the items on the agenda was the resolution adopted in Paris by the Glass Workers for amalgamation with the Pottery Workers' International, but no unanimous decision as regards amalgamation was taken at that time.

After the loss of the Pottery Workers' Union in Germany, connections had to be reconstituted with the other Unions. The loss of the German Union, and later that of the Austrian Building Workers' Union, meant a considerable decline in the membership of the International, which fell from about 80,000 to about 30,000.

At the present time the Pottery Workers' International has a total membership of 29,831, made up as follows : Czechoslovakia 7,060, Denmark 1,392, France 1,953, Great Britain 18,307, Holland 1,119.

The eighth Congress of the International was held in Paris from the 10th to 12th November, 1934, when items on the agenda were the report on activities and finance, reports from the national Unions on the position of the industry and of their organisations, the amalgamation question, determination of country for the seat of the International.

The Report on Activities and Finance was unanimously adopted by the Congress.

On the reports of national Unions on the situation in the different countries and the question of reduction of hours of work a resolution was adopted noting the immense unemployment in the pottery industry in some countries and urging affiliated organisations to get their governments to use every possible means of easing the labour market in this industry. Supporting the decisions on this subject taken by the Sixth Ordinary International Trade Union Congress, the meeting demanded the reorganisation of industry — both nationally and internationally — through the creation of employment and reduction of hours of work to such an extent as to ensure work and wages to the workers. The Congress again urged national Unions to use all possible means of getting hours of work reduced at least to forty per week and noted that all the conditions necessary for reduction of hours of work were in existence in the pottery industry.

On the question of amalgamation with other Trade Secretariats, a resolution was adopted instructing the International Committee to go further into the desirability and necessary conditions for amalgamation with the Glass and Factory Workers' Internationals — or with only one of these — and to examine with the Executives of these two Internationals the bases for fusion. The Eighth Congress empowered the Executive Committee to start such discussions and, if it seemed useful, to ask for the co-operation of the IFTU, but the final decision as to amalgamation or reorganisation was only to be taken by an International Congress of the Pottery Workers.

Teplitz-Schönau was decided on as the seat of the International and Ernst Röll was elected International Secretary. The next meeting of the International Executive was fixed for 1936 in Denmark and the next International Congress for 1937 in Great Britain.

The International is continuing to do its utmost to promote international organisation by its work in the economic and social sphere, exchange of information, publications and discussion of important economic subjects, and is continuing its efforts to bring in all national organisations which have not yet joined their Trade International.

As far as social work is concerned, particularly as regards compensation for industrial diseases, further progress was recorded over the years 1933 to 1935, attained in conjunction with other Internationals, especially the Stoneworkers' International. Silicosis was statutorily recognised as a compensatable industrial disease of pottery workers in Czechoslovakia in the second half of 1932 and in Denmark on the 1st October, 1933. Efforts have been made to obtain comprehensive protective measures for workers on the furnaces, carrying heavy loads, and for a restriction of the employment of women and children on certain work. The far-reaching effects of the crisis have hindered further progress being made in these directions in the pottery industry recently, but, in spite of all obstacles, the International will go forward for the further extension of social legislation.

## International Federation of Employees in Public and Civil Services.

Since the 1st August, 1935, the International Federation of Employees in Public Services and the International Federation of Civil Servants have formed one unit, the new organisation being called the International Federation of Employees in Public and Civil Services.

The period 1932 to 1935 was for both organisations a time of many tragic occurrences. Both were at the peak point of their activities at the end of 1932, and then came the political changes in 1933 and 1934 in Germany, Austria and Spain, which had a very profound effect on these as on all other international organisations of the Labour Movement. These events strengthened the trend towards concentration, which led to the amalgamation in the summer of 1935. Thus the period under review closed, after serious setbacks had been overcome, with internal consolidation. At the end of 1935 the amalgamated International had 410,000 members.

From 1929 onwards the International Federation of Employees in the Public Services had its seat in Germany and was therefore severely affected by the rise of the Nazis. After the burning of the Reichstag, the terror elections of the 5th March and the increasingly numerous acts of violence against the Unions throughout the country, it became clear that the International would have to be moved. A change in the secretaryship was in any case imminent, since Fritz Müntner, who had suffered for years from heart trouble, which had become more acute in the autumn of 1932, had decided to resign at the next meeting of the Executive, to be held in Prague in the summer of 1933. In view of the events in Germany, the Executive Meeting was convened in Berne in April. It elected Ernest Michaud, the representative of the French Union of Public Services, to be Secretary in place of Müntner, confirmed the German Assistant Secretary in his office, and decided to move the secretariat to Paris. In April the property of the Secretariat was moved without difficulty from Berlin to Paris, and it was also possible to get the funds of the International out of Germany.

The income of the International suffered a considerable decline owing to the loss of the large German organisation, but its activities were not cut down in any way. The usual meetings continued to be held and attended as formerly, information from the Unions on events in the different countries of interest to workers in the public services was issued to the same extent as formerly, and the International Bulletin was published in the same form and size. Up till now, the Bulletin has appeared quarterly, from the beginning of 1936 onwards it will appear every two months in the four languages — Danish, English, French and German.

In February, 1934, the International lost its Austrian Union, whose representative on the Executive was arrested and kept in prison for a long time. After the fighting in Spain in October, 1934, the Spanish organisation was annihilated, but it was soon reconstituted and is showing a satisfactory development at present, if the difficult circumstances are taken into account.

While meetings in 1933 could only deal with questions of organisation, the Executive Meeting held in Prague in 1934 dealt with the problem of the Fascist Movement in the different countries and the question of stability of employment, which is of particular importance to the workers in the public services. Enquiries were made by the Secretariat on both these subjects and detailed reports submitted. The first was published in the International Bulletin, and showed very clearly that the Fascist Movement is a movement of the middle classes against high finance and the trusts, who then get possession of the movement and use it against their most dangerous opponents, the organised workers.

It should be noted that everywhere where Fascism seizes the power, it is the workers in the public services who are its first and most severely affected victims. This is not only expressed in the destruction or throttling of their organisations and the drastic reduction of wages and social benefits, but in the immediate and particularly far-reaching restriction of their civil liberties. Public servants are more liable than any other class of worker to supervision and the application of political pressure, which is the reason why political victimisation is so numerous among their ranks. Victorious Fascism regards the public services as its booty, to provide rewards to its followers in the shape of positions. Unfortunately the workers in the public services have not always grasped this fact in time, and have even fallen easy victims in all countries, with the exception of France and



the manual workers everywhere, to the phrases and promises of the Fascists, the more easily the higher the position occupied.

The subject of stability of employment, protection against the arbitrary domination of superiors and the collaboration of the staffs, through their representatives, in the regulation of wages and conditions of work, again came up for discussion at the 9th Congress of the International, held in Copenhagen from the 1st to 3rd August, 1935. The report submitted on this point showed that there are two fundamentally different means of regulating conditions of work, recruitment and remuneration among the Unions affiliated to the International. One method, which is the traditional one, consists of regulation by legislation, and the other by collective agreements. The second method arose with the Labour Movement and is continually making more headway. But the International does not lay the emphasis on one or other of these two methods; it leaves it open to each Union to choose the most suitable method for its own country.

One of the demands of the International Labour Movement is especially emphasised by the Public Services International. This is the demand for the armaments industry to be taken out of private hands. The International is convinced that one of the factors making for war will disappear as soon as no more profit is to be derived from the manufacture of war material. As it organises the staffs of national arsenals and munitions factories, it knows that the works in public hands could produce, at least as well as private enterprise, all the further necessary material of war. This problem has recently been dealt with again by the International, for it was on the agenda of the Copenhagen Congress, which adopted a resolution against the impasse to which the Disarmament Conference had come and demanding widespread international action by the IFTU in collaboration with all international organisations standing for peace and disarmament, to resuscitate the idea of disarmament.

Developments which became evident in the previous period as regards wages and salaries continued in an intensified form in the period under review. With the exception of the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain, the tendency of governments and public authorities to make up the deficits in their budgets by "economising" on the staff has led to drastic cuts in wages and pensions.

The example set by Germany in 1931 and 1932 of introducing wage cuts by special decree has had many followers. The opposition raised against it by municipal self-government has in some countries been overcome by interference in local autonomy. The restriction on municipal self-government arising from the deflationist policy pursued by democratic governments has, however, been put completely in the shade by the complete abolition of self-government in the municipalities of Fascist countries.

While the workers in the public services have in the last few years had to suffer deterioration in their wages and working conditions, their importance has on the other hand increased very greatly in view of the extension of municipal and state activities to counteract the crisis and its consequences. Special mention in this connection should be made of the relief work carried out by municipalities, unemployment relief organised by public institutions and the creation of employment by public authorities. New or increased work is always carried out with the same staff as formerly — if not a staff reduced by economy decrees — so that in many cases workers in the public services are having to give increased service for reduced remuneration.

Another development should not be lost sight of. In view of the bankruptcy of *laissez-faire* which has been demonstrated by the crisis, there is a definite trend noticeable everywhere towards the introduction of economic planning. The Labour Movement has therefore drawn up national economic plans in the different countries. In Switzerland, in fact, our Union has itself drawn up a plan, organised propaganda for it and in the first year itself bore all the expense arising out of it. In all these plans the public services play an important role. With the decline of *laissez-faire*, which is more or less hostile to the interests of the workers in the public services, the status, importance and duties of these workers are steadily increasing. Their economic position is improving at the same rate as the crisis is alleviated by measures of planning.

The Civil Servants' International, founded in 1925, was recognised by the IFTU executive on the 10th June, 1932. The young organisation, which showed much promise of development, received a severe setback from the attacks on democracy arising out of the world economic crisis. Even before the loss of Germany,

connections with the Unions in Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia had been broken or made more difficult. The Congress proposed for 1933 could not take place. The International lost its President, the President of the German organisation which was destroyed by the Nazis, but relations with the remaining affiliated organisations were all the more closely maintained by the exchange of information, attendance at meetings and conferences of their representatives. The International was represented at the ILO's Advisory Meetings of Public Servants where it put forward the views of the free and independent Unions united in the Civil Servants' International.

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Friendly relations had existed between the two Internationals ever since the formation of the Civil Servants' International, this being clearly expressed by the fact that each sent representatives, who took part in the discussion, to the meetings of the other.

Thus arose the idea of forming a still closer connection; this was not only to cover the two organisations but was intended to bring in all workers in the public services irrespective of the kind of work done. In 1931 a meeting was held in Strasbourg of representatives of the four Internationals concerned, but it produced no result.

After the victory of Fascism in Germany, the idea of concentration gained more ground and a further conference of representatives of the four Internationals was held in Paris, in July, 1934, on the initiative of the Public Services International, with the General Secretary of the IFTU in the chair. The Internationals of Postal Workers and Teachers were not very keen on amalgamation, but the Internationals of Public Services and Civil Servants continued their efforts towards fusion. As there was on both sides a sincere desire for amalgamation, the difficulties were overcome and the fusion was sealed at the ninth Congress of Workers in the Public Services held in Copenhagen in August, 1935. The new organisation has a President and two joint General Secretaries, one for the Civil Servants' section and one for the Public Services section, the Secretariat staff remaining unchanged.

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During the period under review, the International of Employees in Public Services has regularly issued its Bulletin in four languages which, in addition to information about the Unions in affiliated countries, has also contained studies and enquiries into special problems concerning the workers in the public services and a detailed report of proceedings at the Copenhagen Congress with the reports presented on the items of the agenda.

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## International Secretariat of Stone Workers.

The last three years have brought a further decline in the stone industry in all countries. This is mainly due to the changes in building methods, and also to the dominance of machine work and changes in styles. The main point in building to-day is to produce quickly and to make buildings as simple as possible. The handwork so much liked formerly has now disappeared entirely from buildings. Even massive stone blocks are being largely replaced by sheets.

In the gravestone industry, small stereoscoped tombstones are now given the preference, and stone as road-making material is also up against competition now. The export of cobbles from Scandinavia, which used to be such a flourishing industry, has also declined considerably.

In some countries our national sections have made representations to their authorities for creation of employment and the prevention of any further decline, and these requests have been given a certain amount of consideration.

In accordance with general trends, there has also been a falling-off in wages movements, but the many disputes in Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Scandinavia show that the stone workers are combatting all attempts of the employers to

introduce wage cuts. The workers in these countries have been successful in maintaining conditions, only in Czechoslovakia has there been a 5 % wage-cut, while in Holland and Hungary there have been cuts of 6 % and 15 % respectively. In France and Switzerland, the workers have been able to maintain wages and conditions of work.

There was a great deal of emigration in 1933, particularly in Czechoslovakia and France. Where emigrants were taken on, Trade Union rates and conditions were not kept, but conditions were arbitrarily laid down. In 1934 there was a cessation in the stream of emigration into European countries.

The suppression of the Stoneworkers' Unions in Germany, and later on in Austria, resulted in the loss of nearly half our membership. In the meantime, the Internationals of the Building and Wood Workers amalgamated, only the Painters and Stoneworkers retaining their independent organisations. At their last Congress, the Painters decided not to amalgamate, and our Congress in Brussels in 1935 decided by twenty-three votes to eleven not to amalgamate.

One vital question for the stoneworkers has been solved in the period under review. This was the to get silicosis recognised internationally as a compensable industrial disease. Since 1903 we have been working to get the industrial diseases to which stoneworkers are liable recognised as such. After a long study of the subject and after obtaining statistics, also from Africa, America and Australia, we put forward our case in 1921, proving that the disease which attacks stonecutters is not tuberculosis, or only to a minor extent, but that in its early stages it is always accompanied by silicosis. We stated therefore that silicosis should be recognised as an industrial disease and we then set to work to get it recognised as such, with the continuous assistance of the International Labour Office, and particularly of Albert Thomas. The fight was a long and difficult one, especially against the medical authorities and the employers, but in 1933 we had advanced so far that the workers' delegates on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office in the 61st Session, at our request, got the question of silicosis as an industrial disease put on the agenda of the 1934 International Labour Conference in Geneva.

Then began the fight of the stone and mining trusts against us. Tremendous sums were spent, and various doctors worked against us, especially in Belgium and France. All this did not prevent our expressing our certain convictions in many meetings of the special committee with the government representatives and the professors and specialists in industrial disease. By 104 votes to 11 it was decided to extend the schedule of compensable industrial diseases and to include silicosis in this list. All the government representatives voted in favour.

When it is remembered that this decision not only applies to the stone workers, but also to the miners in particular, and to metal workers, factory workers, pottery workers, etc., the full success of our years of fighting will be seen in its proper light.

As regards membership, there has been a fall of 56,116, owing to the loss of the German and Austrian Unions and the dissolution of the British Union; the membership in 1933 was 64,139 and in 1934 53,323. In 1935 an increase of a few thousand members has been registered.

The last International Congress was held in Brussels on the 30th September, 1935, when it was noted that the Silicosis Convention had up till then been ratified by only a few States, and affiliated organisations were urged to redouble their efforts in order to get all-round ratification within the shortest possible time. They were urged to work for this in the first place by getting the collaboration of their Parliamentary Labour Party in the investigations carried out by the authorities, and secondly by the collection of documents showing the widespread nature of silicosis.

A further resolution dealt with unemployment and architectural developments, and instructed the National Unions to make appropriate representations to architects and the authorities to see that in future decorative art requires a greater number of productive workers.

Affiliation fees to the International Secretariat were increased by 150 %, thus amounting to 25 % of the contributions received by the Unions per full-paying member per week. The secretariat headquarters were left in Zürich and Kolb, who has been Secretary for thirty-two years, was re-elected International Secretary.

## Teachers' International Trade Secretariat in 1933, 1934 and 1935.

### Membership.

During the three years under review, the membership of the International has fluctuated round about 110,000, grouped in twelve national sections. Our German section was dissolved in 1933 and our three Austrian sections suffered the same fate in February, 1934. On the other hand, Czech and Spanish sections have affiliated since 1933.

### Congresses and Other Conferences.

1933 General Council Meeting in Amsterdam.

1934 General Council Meeting in Aussig (Czechoslovakia).

1935 Congress in Berne.

The principal questions dealt with were the organisation of summer schools by the International, publications, international solidarity, the fight against Fascism in education, the defence of public education.

### Action for the Application of Decisions on Above Questions.

#### International Summer Schools :

Fourth School in Amsterdam, 1933.

Fifth School in Aussig (Czechoslovakia), 1934.

Sixth School in Berne, 1935.

#### Educational and Political Subjects :

Each of these schools was attended by a good hundred students, from about ten countries in Europe and even in Africa, who dealt with subjects connected with education in the service of the workers.

#### International Solidarity :

The relief fund has distributed very large sums to teachers and professors in the Fascist countries, and this work is still being carried on.

#### International Unity :

The International has expressed itself in favour of international unity, on condition that its affiliation to the IFTU would not be affected thereby.

#### Most Important Publications :

The International publishes a weekly press service in French and German, which is distributed to about 150 individuals and educational groups in different places.

In addition the International has published the following works, which reproduce the work of the summer schools :

Can education be neutral? (Hamburg, 1931).

The New Education and Trade Unionism (Aussig, 1934).

The New Impetus to Education (Berne, 1935).

The Berne Congress decided on the publication in 1936 of an International Educational Review.

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The International has also given its active assistance in the compilation of the IFTU's Educational Programme.

# International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations.

## Organisation and Membership.

Our last report dealt with the effects upon textile workers in general, and our affiliated members in particular, of some years of trade depression, unemployment, short-time working, rationalisation, and the artificial restriction of trade through tariff barriers, quotas, etc., etc. In the intervening years, and following upon the intensification of the trade crisis, there came the tremendous political upheavals in Germany and in Austria. Fascism, hitherto a menacing and sinister spectre, grew into a hideous and frightful reality. In a few short months, the second largest organisation in our International, the German Textile Workers' Union (246,000 members in 1932), and the Austrian Textile Workers' Union (over 21,000 members), had been swept completely out of existence as free Trade Unions, their funds confiscated, their leaders persecuted and discredited, the helpless and leaderless workers exposed to the full blast of Fascist brutality. A small organisation of 500 members in Latvia became a later victim of the Fascist mercenaries. The fate of the Textile Workers in these countries has also been the fate of the entire working classes, so that the effect of Fascism becomes a general question and particular only to us as regards its effect upon our membership. Our remaining organisations, with few exceptions, have continued to suffer from adverse trade conditions and consequently our membership has decreased. There have been certain signs in recent months of improvement in some sections of the industry in some countries. As an example, the English woollen industry is said to be in a better condition to-day than it has been for the past four or five years.

On the 31st December, 1934, there were 16 organisations from 15 countries in the ranks of our International, with a total membership of 512,503.

We have maintained the most cordial relations with the United Textile Workers of America, and have real hopes of their affiliating with us when the present difficulties have been surmounted. As regards the Far East, any hopes of affiliating new bodies are of the feeblest substance.

## Meetings and Congresses.

In 1933 our General Council met at Lugano. Among the questions there discussed were :

- (a) the Proposed Textile Enquiry by the I.L.O. (It is to be noted that the enquiry has not yet been carried through at the time of compiling this report — January, 1936.)
- (b) Double Shift Work of Women and Children : The Council declared itself opposed to this system in principle, and called upon the International Federation of Trade Unions to bring the question before the International Labour Office. Affiliated organisations were requested to press for the reduction, and where possible, the abolition, of the system.
- (c) Artificial Silk Workers : The Council considered a request from the Secretary of the General Factory Workers' International for a joint investigation regarding the danger to health involved in the work, legislation in different countries regarding protection of the workers, etc. In view of the fact that our International claims the right — formulated in a previous resolution — to organise all workers in this section of the industry, the Council expressed the opinion that collaboration with the General Workers in this respect would be tantamount to recognising a similar right on their part and was unable to accede to the invitation.

In 1934 our Fourteenth International Congress was held at Lucerne. The principal questions discussed were : Relationship with the IFTU, the Shorter Working Day and the Shift System, Rationalisation and the More Looms System, Wages Movements in the Textile Industry, Unemployment, and the Crisis (Germany and Austria).

The last meeting of our General Council was held at Amsterdam in June, 1935. Under the heading of Wages in the Textile Industry, the Council had before it an important table showing the comparative position of Hours and Wages in the textile industries of the various countries in 1913 and in 1934. Statistics provided by the

different countries showed that whereas in 1913, hours varied from 55 1/2 per week (England), to 66 (Belgium), they had dropped to 48, and in two cases (Poland and Finland), to less than 48 per week in 1934. Wage and cost of living figures, taking 1913 = 100, showed increases in the great majority of cases, though for the English cotton workers, and also for French textile workers, the wage increase was below the cost of living increase, and therefore the relative position of the worker was lower than in 1913. Our International has given much time and thought to the compilation of wage figures within recent years. It is difficult to establish these on a reliable international basis, and our final table — a comparison of 1913 and 1934 — is probably the most satisfactory.

Other questions discussed at Amsterdam were Holidays with Pay, Rationalisation, Austria and Germany, and the 40 Hour Working Week. On the question of the 40 Hour Working Week the Secretary was instructed to make every effort possible with the International Labour Office for the realisation of this object. We are glad to say that our special efforts, backed loyally by the IFTU in Geneva, and especially by the English comrades of the Trades Union Congress, have established the fact that, of all industries, perhaps the fittest to be immediately considered from the point of view of an international 40 Hour Week Convention is the textile industry. Whilst this report is being written, arrangements are being made for a meeting of experts, with our International represented, to consider preliminaries, so that, when the Geneva discussions take place, technicalities will have been removed so far as possible from the field of discussion. Briefly stated, our arguments were, and are, that the textile industry is international in the fullest sense, that it is internationally competitive, that it employs a very large number of women and young persons, and is perhaps, above all other industries, the one in which it is important to have standardised and internationalised hours of labour. There are many trades in which direct commercial competition does not exist, and in which very long hours and even very low wages in another country may not be dangerous. In the textile industry, however, that position is reversed, and long hours and low wages in any country have a direct and immediate effect on the conditions in other countries.

The period under review has been one of struggle and difficulties for all our organisations. Wages disputes have been common, though generally speaking there have been no very big strikes of lock-outs such as reported upon previously. All the efforts of the organisations have been strained to retain the conditions already established, whilst the employers have not hesitated to take advantage of trade depression, unemployment, and short-time, to try and beat down the workers both as regards hours of work and pay. Only too often they have been successful. The history of the English Cotton Workers — by far the largest organisation affiliated to us — has been one of continual difficulty, in its efforts to uphold the status of its members.

#### Membership as at 31st December, 1934.

England	238,517
Belgium	75,000
Czecho-Slovakia (German)	51,570
Sweden	32,380
Poland	31,272
Czecho-Slovakia (Czech)	25,000
France	17,585
Denmark	14,199
Holland	9,711
Switzerland	8,000
Norway	5,000
Finland	1,948
Roumania	1,021
Yugoslavia	800
Palestine	350
Estonia	150
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	512,503

## International Federation of Tobacco Workers.

In 1933, the International Federation of Tobacco Workers suffered a serious loss owing to events in Germany, which brought its membership down from 112,144 to 47,838.

In 1934 came the catastrophe in Austria, which meant the loss of another Union, this time of 5,000 members.

In July, 1934, the ordinary Congress decided to consider the Rumanian and Polish organisations as having left the International, since, although affiliated, they had never paid affiliation fees, in spite of repeated demands.

The meeting of the International Executive, held in June, 1935, had to consider the position of two other organisations, the British and French, which had not paid any affiliation fees for three or four years on account of financial difficulties. Although it was felt that affiliation fees of six Dutch cents per member per annum could not be regarded as exorbitant, it was agreed to propose to the next Congress that these two Unions should be allowed not to pay any affiliation fees until the 1st January, 1935, on condition that they agreed to pay the full rate from that date onwards. The British Union agreed to this proposal but has not yet paid any affiliation fees. A meeting was held between the Executive of the French Union and the Executive of our International, but to final result was attained. The whole question was to be submitted to the national Congress of the French Union, held in November, 1935.

At the present time, the International has 29,034 paying members; the membership of the British and French Unions amounts together to about 8,500.

The same meeting of our Executive decided to recommend the admission of the German Union of Tobacco Workers in Czechoslovakia, and this was adopted unanimously. No information is as yet available as to the membership of this Union and the payment of affiliation fees. In 1934 it had 4,276 members, and we are therefore counting on this increase to the membership of our International.

Naturally the considerable decline in membership has meant a noticeable weakening in the financial situation. It was for this reason that the ordinary Congress, held in 1934, dealt with this problem and raised the question of fusion with other International Trade Secretariats (the Food and Drink Workers' International, for example). The Congress, however, could not agree to such a proposal, and it was decided to try to keep the International alive with the restricted means left at our disposal. It was also decided to reduce the number of members of the Executive to four and to continue the efforts to gain possession of our funds which are blocked in Germany. We have tried, but in vain, to get this money out with the aid of certain co-operative enterprises having commercial relations with Germany.

It will be understood from this survey that we have had to confine ourselves, on account of lack of finance, to work which is strictly indispensable, but affiliated organisations have nevertheless been kept in touch with facts and events likely to interest them and with the life of the different organisations.

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## International Federation of Transportworkers.

At the 1st January, 1932, the International Federation of Transportworkers (ITF) had 2,367,295 members, organised in ninety-nine unions in thirty-seven countries. At the 1st January, 1935, the corresponding figures were 1,570,001 members in seventy-nine unions in thirty-four countries.

The causes of this considerable decrease in membership are well-known. The rise to power of Fascism in Germany, Austria and Latvia alone caused a decrease of 668,086 members. The Yugoslavian Railwaymen's Union was banned by the Government and therefore had to be struck off our membership list. The reaction in Bulgaria and Spain raised great difficulties in 1934 for the unions in these countries. Although they were not destroyed they have not been included in our list of organisations affiliated at the 31st January, 1935 (the Spanish Railwaymen's Union had in 1935 a membership of 36,646 and the Spanish Transportworkers' Union had 16,000 members).

Bearing this situation in mind and the fact that the ITF to-day has members organised in underground unions in Italy, Germany and Austria, while on the other hand organisations which did not send in their reports in good time are reported with a minimum figure in our membership list of the 1st January, 1935, it is not exaggerated to say that in reality the ITF must have considerably more than 1,600,000 members.

Seven unions have been struck off the membership list because they have not shown enough interest in the International. Three other organisations withdrew voluntarily, one of these being the Danish Union of Ship's Firemen, which fell a victim to Communist manoeuvres directed specially at the unemployed members.

Fortunately part of the loss thus sustained was made up for by the affiliation of six new organisations, including the British National Union of Seamen and the British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. During 1935 the International was also joined by the Finnish Union of Transportworkers and the Chinese Seamen's Union.

The ITF has affiliated organisations in the following extra-European countries: Argentine, China, Cuba, Austria, Japan, New Zealand, Palestine, Rhodesia and Trinidad, and — through sections of the French Union — in Algeria, Morocco and Tunis.

The International of Seamen and Dockworkers set up by the Communists has had little success in its attempts to undermine the ITF. It was only able to obtain the Danish Union of Ship's Firemen.

At the 1st January, 1934, the ITF had the following trade groups: Railwaymen (921,933 members), Tramwaymen (56,227), Motor-drivers (134,409), Dockworkers (125,000), and Seamen (225,000 members).

#### Congress and other Meetings.

The last ITF Congress but one, held in Prague in 1932, decided that in future the ordinary Congress should be triennial instead of biennial. The last Congress took place in 1935 from the 18th to 24th August in Copenhagen and was attended by 144 delegates from fifty-one unions in twenty-two countries. The fight against war and Fascism formed the main item on the agenda. The attitude of the ITF towards the very serious threat to peace in the fight for the emancipation of the workers was decided on in absolute unanimity. In view of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict which was threatening at that time, the Congress decided that the ITF would give the greatest measure of co-operation to prevent a new war. It was decided to approach the IFTU and the LSI with the request that a Conference be called from representatives of all affiliated organisations to meet at the same time in Geneva as the League Council which will discuss the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. The Conference must send a special deputation to the meeting of the League Council in order to push with the greatest energy the workers' demand for the maintenance of peace ».

In the last few years the ITF has been carrying on an intensive anti-Fascist campaign. The Congress expressed its complete satisfaction at the support given by the ITF in the fight which is being carried on by the workers in Italy, Germany, Austria and other Fascist or semi-Fascist countries. The Congress also decided to continue this help in future as far as possible.

A resolution on the re-organisation and centralisation of the international Trade Union Movement, moved by the British Transport and General Workers' Union, proposed that the present International Trade Secretariats should be replaced by trade groups. The proposal was referred to the General Council for further examination.

As far as actual trade questions are concerned, the Congress gave special attention to the problem of transport re-organisation, on which point a detailed report had been submitted by the secretariat.

Important decisions were taken in the sectional conferences which are always held in connection with the Congress. It was decided to revise and extend the international programme of demands for motor-drivers, as a large number of these demands have already been incorporated into national legislation. The items on the agenda of special interest to railwaymen (legal status of the workers in view of numerous dismissals and State restrictions, hours of work and hours of rest, the consequences of the introduction of Diesel engines and electric engines) are to be further considered in conjunction with the affiliated organisations. The group



conference of seamen adopted a resolution proposing an international convention laying down high norms of manning, safety provisions and the construction of cargo-boats. The dockers' conference decided on the continuation in all countries concerned of the campaign to obtain the immediate ratification of the international convention adopted in 1932 for protection against accidents.

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During the period under review very few special congresses or conferences were held. Only the seamen's section held a special Conference in London from the 3rd to 5th July, 1934, to discuss the question of regulation of working hours in ships, the manning scale, flag transfers and the employment of coloured seamen. On the question of the manning scale, a special committee was appointed which met shortly afterwards in Amsterdam and compiled a draft for an international scale.

#### Activities.

The ITF has always regarded it as its duty to deal with, in addition to promoting the interests of the different trade groups in affiliated unions, the general questions on the solution of which the weal and woe of the whole international Labour Movement depends. During the period under review it was in particular the fight against Fascism in all its forms which demanded a great deal of the ITF's attention. The breakdown of the Labour Movement in Germany and Austria, the Fascist policy pursued in Latvia and the reaction in Spain, caused the ITF to place on a wider basis the anti-Fascist campaign which it has for years been carrying on in Italy.

It is obviously impossible to enumerate here the methods used for making contacts with the underground groups of transport workers in the countries mentioned. We will confine ourselves to the statement that the ITF has been supporting the underground work to the best of its abilities and by all the means in its power.

Hand in hand with this the ITF has run a propaganda campaign aiming at making clear to the workers and to the general public the social and economic consequences of a Fascist regime. When National Socialism seized the power in Germany in 1933, the ITF immediately started to publish a fortnightly paper called « Germany under the Swastika ». When the reaction obtained the power in Austria in 1934 and Fascist influence increased in other countries, the name of this publication was changed to « Fascism » and it became a new weapon in the fight against Fascism in general.

A special fund was set up to finance the anti-Fascist campaign when the fight started in the Saar against unconditional re-incorporation into Nazi Germany. The ITF gave its moral and material support to the fighters for freedom.

During the period under review the ITF has several times had to take action to defend the freedom of association of the railwaymen. It has intervened with the Governments and authorities concerned and the ILO, and in one case with the League of Nations, on behalf of the railwaymen's organisations of Hungary, India, Latvia, Lithuania, Palestine, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The introduction of automatic coupling on the railways has for a long time received the attention of the ITF, which is incidentally represented on a joint commission set up by the ILO to deal with this question.

In connection with the reduction of staffs by the railway authorities, great attention has also been given to the question of security of tenure, especially in view of the terrible railway accidents which have occurred in different countries; and investigation has been made into rationalisation of the railways and its consequences on safety in transport.

The ITF took an important part in getting through the International Convention for the Protection of Dock Labour in 1932. When this Convention had been obtained the ITF campaigned to get it ratified by the governments. Great Britain, Sweden and Spain are some of the most important countries which have ratified the Convention or incorporated it in their national legislation. In view of the provision that all ships calling at the ports of a country having ratified the Convention are required to comply with the Convention, it is to be expected that the Convention will be applied internationally in the near future.

The ITF organised financial aid for the railwaymen's strike in India which was concluded at the beginning of 1933 with a relatively good result.

Direct or indirect help was offered in various strikes of seamen, the strike of Finnish seamen in 1933 having made special claims on the attention of the ITF.

This opportunity should be taken to make special mention of the solidarity evinced by the Scandinavian transport workers' and seamen's organisations.

The international programme drawn up by the Motor-drivers' Section was submitted to the transport committee of the League of Nations. In the spring of 1935 it came up for public discussion on this Committee, which gave our representatives a chance to put the workers' standpoint. It was noted then that numerous demands contained in the programme, which was drawn up in 1927, have already been applied in national legislation. The Copenhagen Congress decided on the amendment and the extension of this programme.

The Seamen's Section concentrated mainly on promoting the questions concerning seamen, dealt with in the 1929 International Labour Conference. Good results were obtained in the joint Committee on which the groups were represented by the ITF and the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association. In November, 1935, a technical tripartite Conference was held in Geneva which dealt with the problem of holidays for seamen in addition to the questions of hours of work and manning. A draft international manning scale was drawn up by a Committee set up by the Seamen's Section. Further attention was given to the question of flag transfers, as the ship owners in various countries try to use this method of evading the provisions of social legislation and the wages rates laid down in collective agreements.

Finally it should be noted that the ITF has taken an active part in supporting the auxiliary language of Esperanto. This language is also used when necessary in correspondence. The ITF collaborates in this field with the International Esperantist Federation of Transport Workers.

#### Publications.

##### Organs.

A Press Report in Danish, English, French, German and Spanish is issued fortnightly to affiliated organisations and the editors of trade papers. It contains information about wages disputes and other events in the transport workers' movement in the different countries. These press reports also contain monthly supplements for railwaymen, maritime navigation, inland navigation, dock work, tramwaymen, motor-drivers and aviation, which contain reports on technical and other subjects of interest to the different groups. Special reports are issued for outstanding events, such as strikes, etc.

Publication of the ITF's monthly journal was suspended in July 1933. In order to fill the gap thus caused and in the interests of adapting our publications to the daily needs of affiliated unions, special monthly supplements were included in the Press Report. In addition to a section devoted to the life of the organisation, editorial supplements are issued containing articles of a general character or dealing with special problems for the different occupations covered by the ITF. A recent supplement dealt with the co-ordination of transport.

When the National Socialists seized the power in Germany, a beginning was made with the issue of a fortnightly bulletin called « Germany under the Swastika » which aimed especially at spreading information about the social and economic position of the German workers living under the Nazi yoke. After the overthrow of the Austrian Trade Unions, this publication was replaced by the bulletin entitled « Fascism », which deals with the position of the workers in all Fascist countries and demonstrates the differences between the promises made by the Fascists before and their performances after the seizure of power.

Each month a twelve-page press report is published in Esperanto, giving extracts from the Press Reports and the bulletin « Fascism ».

In addition to these periodical publications, a new series of reports in Danish, English, French and German has been issued in cyclostyled form for the sake of economy. The following questions have so far been dealt with in this series :

1. Hours of work and holiday negotiations of motor-drivers in different countries ;
2. Continuous braking on goods trains and the effects on brakemen ;
3. Wages and conditions of station staff in Queensland and exploitation of station mistresses ;
4. The lighting of locomotives ;
5. Working conditions of tramwaymen in various countries ;
6. Wages and conditions of railwaymen in different countries.

A detailed report on the co-ordination of transport was issued in 1935 in connection with the Copenhagen Congress.

Mention should finally be made of the issue of the printed Report on Activities and Financial Report for the years 1932, 1933 and 1934.

## International Typographical Secretariat.

The period 1933 to 1935 was of great importance for the Typographical Secretariat. It started 1933 with about 220,000 members — the German Unions could not give the figures for 1932 in the spring of 1933 — distributed over twenty-five Unions in twenty-four countries, but, at the beginning of May, 1933, the German Union of Typographers, with its 85,000 members, and the Union of Printers' Assistants, with 25,000 members, were dissolved by the Nazis and thus lost for our International. In February, 1934, we lost the Austrian Union of Book and Newspaper Printers, with 11,700 members, and later on in the year the affiliated Unions in Latvia and Bulgaria, with 1,100 and 150 members respectively. All these organisations were the victims of dictatorship in their countries. After the 13th January, 1935, when the Saar was reincorporated into Germany, the Saar Graphic Federation, with 700 members, also had to be struck off the list of affiliated organisations, so that altogether the International, during not quite two years, lost six organisations with a total membership of 123,650.

The fact that our present membership stands at about 130,000 in twenty-four Unions in twenty-three countries (Czechoslovakia has separate Unions of Printers and Printers' Assistants), is due to the affiliation of three new Unions since the beginning of 1933 — the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, with its seat in London, the Scottish Typographical Association, with its seat in Glasgow, and the Czechoslovakian Union of Graphic Trades Assistants, having a total membership altogether of about 25,000. The twenty-four organisations now affiliated will hold on high the international ideal until those comrades who are now oppressed by dictatorship can again join us, when they will find the international edifice intact.

During the period under review, the three graphic Internationals have continued to work together, in particular on the question of the forty-hour week.

On the question of amalgamation of the three Internationals, the view was taken that the logical procedure was for amalgamation to take place nationally before any pressure was brought to bear for the fusion of the Internationals. A new impetus was given to the movement for fusion by a resolution of the ninth International Conference of the Bookbinders' International, held in Strasbourg in September, 1935, which instructed the Bookbinders' International to get into touch with the two other Internationals, of Lithographers and Typographers, with the aim of setting up a tripartite committee to study the question. By the autumn of 1936 the question will certainly have been thoroughly examined.

A meeting of the extended Secretariat Committee (Executive) was held in Prague in May, 1933, treating in particular of the recent assimilation of the German Unions and the preparations for the International Congress, which according to the rules, has to take place every three years.

The twelfth International Typographers' Congress, held in Neuenburg (Switzerland) from the 20th to 23rd August, 1933, aroused great interest. For the first time since the foundation of the International in 1889, the Congress met with no German representatives present, and this gave rise to a unanimous demonstration for the further defence of the workers' rights. The Report on Activities was adopted unanimously, and further important items, on which very interesting reports were given, were the question of the general situation and the forty-hour week and the printing industry (rapporteurs: Comrades Prof. Dr. Marbach, Berne, and Nemeček, Prague); the resolutions adopted on these questions demanded the supervision of mechanisation, care for the aged and unemployed and the introduction of the forty-hour week without loss of wages. There was a long discussion on freedom of the press (rapporteur: Comrade Liochon, Paris) and the demand was raised for relief for those losing their employment through the discontinuance of publications. It was also decided to suspend the international

obligation to grant travellers' benefit, as the development of events made this decision necessary. There was unanimous confirmation of the seat of the Secretariat, the Executive and the International Secretary.

The activities of the International Secretariat followed their usual course, except that new tasks arose from the dissolution of the Unions in Germany and Austria. The 1930 International Congress had instructed the Secretariat to arrange the exchange of young workers between one country and another. Contact was taken up with the International Labour Office, which led to a conference being held also with representatives of the governments and the employers in the graphic trades, but in the end we had to let the matter drop, as the development of events took a turn unfavourable for such exchanges.

The question which has particularly occupied the Secretariat's attention during the period under review is that of the forty-hour week, since unemployment has become a permanent factor in the graphic trades, due not so much to the crisis as to technical improvements. The International Typographers' Secretariat has acted in this matter jointly with the two other graphic Internationals and made various approaches to the International Labour Office, which should produce a result in the international sphere in the near future. This question remains of cardinal interest to the International and its affiliated organisations.

No further important publications were issued by the International apart from the Report of Proceedings at the International Congress, the three annual Reports, the monthly organ and the circulars issued as occasion arose, on relief work for the Austrian comrades, etc. The enquiry which, organised triennially, ought to have taken place in 1935, was temporarily postponed as, in view of the loss of important organisations, the relatively high cost of obtaining reliable data was not thought to be justified.

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**International  
Conference of Women Trade Unionists  
held on the 7th July, 1936,  
in the Holborn Restaurant, London**

## LIST OF DELEGATES

Czechoslovakia . . . . .	Novotná, Václav
Denmark . . . . .	Andersen, Alvida
	Tønder, Thea
France . . . . .	Chevenard, Jeanne
Great Britain . . . . .	Adam, Nancy
	Elliott, Dorothy M.
	Godwin, Anne B.
	Hancock, Florence
	Loughlin, Anne
	Shaw, Arthur
Holland . . . . .	Jong, A. de
Luxemburg . . . . .	Becker, Lily
Norway . . . . .	Hindahl, Gudrun
Spain . . . . .	Garcia, Claudina
Sweden . . . . .	Hedström, Birgit
	Nilsson, Karin
	Visborg, Anna J.

### FRATERNAL DELEGATES

International Labour Office . . . . .	Thibert, Marguerite
Great Britain . . . . .	Varley, Julia
Ireland . . . . .	Bennett, Louie

### VISITORS

Finland . . . . .	Louhikko, Fanni
Great Britain . . . . .	Davies, K. H.
	Griffiths, S.
	Jackson, M.
	Mayne, Stanley
	Sweet, A. M.
Sweden . . . . .	Holmström, M.
United States . . . . .	Fairchild, Mildred
	Smith, Marion Parris
	Kingsbury, Susan M.

### IFTU EXECUTIVE

H. Jacobsen, Denmark.  
 R. Tayerle, Czechoslovakia.  
 W. Schevenels, General Secretary of the IFTU.

## **AGENDA**

- 1. Women and the Forty-Hour Week and Night Work for Women in Industry.**  
(Rapporteur : Anne Loughlin.)
- 2. Women's Right to Work, and Particularly the Restrictive Measures taken against this Right in some Countries.**  
(Rapporteur : Valerie Novotná.)
- 3. Legal Status and Nationality of Women : Proposals of the League of Nations and the IFTU Memorandum.**  
(Rapporteur : Jeanne Chevenard.)

**TUESDAY, 7th JULY, 1936.**

**Morning Session.**

W. Schevenels, General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, opened the Conference at 10.0 a.m. He welcomed the delegates on behalf of the IFTU and proposed that Comrade Chevenard (France) take the chair, this being unanimously agreed to.

Comrade CHEVENARD expressed thanks for her election; she laid particular stress on the necessity of women workers fighting with their male colleagues for the forty-hour work with maintenance of the wages level, and on this demand not remaining on paper, but being translated into practice.

She then called on Comrade LOUGHLIN (Great Britain) to speak on the first item on the agenda, women and the forty-hour week and night work for women in industry.

Comrade LOUGHLIN stated that she would first of all deal with the problem of the forty-hour week for women, and, after the discussion on this point, would go on to the question of night work for women in industry. She then proceeded as follows :

**WOMEN AND THE FORTY-HOUR WEEK**

“ Our purpose is not to attempt to indicate that the forty-hour week is required for women workers as apart from men. The reduction of hours of labour is a general problem affecting all workers. We simply wish to emphasise how much it concerns women as well as men. Action must be based on effective education and preparation, and women must help by all the means in their power to increase the current of opinion that is growing in favour of the reform, and which, in the ultimate, is what will bring it about. Above all, it is essential that they should come into the Unions and take their share of the struggle with their fellow trade unionists.

The constant improvements in machinery, in methods of production and distribution, the extension and application of the forces of steam and electricity, the improvement in the tools of labour, and the intense desire of the employing classes to utilise machinery to the fullest possible extent, that is, to work it the longest number of hours per day, must of necessity, unless met by another counteracting influence, tend to supplant labour and throw numbers of workers out of employment. The counteracting influence is that provided for by the organised efforts of the Trade Unions.

During the twenty years ending 1931, there has been an increase of 841,156 women in employment in Great Britain. In many trades, less employment is being provided for men and more for women, for instance in the following industries : light engineering, electrical apparatus, ready-to-wear garments, hosiery, silk, artificial silk, bread, biscuits and confectionery, cardboard box and chemical industries, musical instruments, explosives, oil, glue, wire, hand-tools, leather goods, wood boxes, railway carriages, and miscellaneous. In this group the number of males employed fell by more than 106,000 — from 808,430 in 1923 to 702,240 in 1934; whereas the number of women employed increased by more than 30,000 — from 286,180 in 1923 to 316,980 in 1934.



This increase in female employment in Great Britain has been encouraged by the modern development of factory organisation, with its subdivision of labour, and the greater use of machines. Women are constantly being brought into engineering trades for machine processes which require no muscular exertion, for work which involves dexterity and care in particular operations. As it was evident in a number of countries during the War, there are some jobs which the women can do better than the men. There are even jobs which men cannot do. Because of their particular qualifications, an ever-increasing number of women is therefore being employed in electrical trades, in motor accessory work, in making wireless, in tin box making. In the clothing trade, the larger unit, the factory, is gaining steadily over the workshop, where mostly men were employed, so that in that trade there is in the future likely to be a very large substitution of female for male labour.

While in some well-organised trades, i.e. in the textile, clothing and certain other industries in Great Britain the hours of women are limited, there are to-day scandalous instances of excessive hours worked in various occupations. In most countries workers (18 years of age and over) in the general distributive trades are unprotected by law and often have to work long hours without any extra payment for their services. Many clerical workers, workers in hotels, restaurants, and in the catering trade generally, have to work hours that are far too long. Often one comes across cases where the total weekly hours worked have amounted to eighty per week, and where Sunday labour is an accepted feature of the employment.

In the non-regulated trades, that is, those which, in Great Britain, have no Trade Boards or Joint Industrial Councils, there are thousands of girls working fifty and sixty hours a week, although they are nearly all under 18 years of age. This is evidence that a reduction of hours is necessary for women as well as for men.

With regard to women workers, the question of fatigue must be taken into account. Even in pure machine tending, there is some loss in output when long hours are worked. In the textiles it is found that loom stoppages are more frequent later in the day than in the morning. Even among men it has been found that during overtime, if it is at all prolonged, the output is much less than during the normal time. To-day, with the greater speed at which work is carried on, even forty-eight hours is found too long, and that length of time is having grave effects on the physical and mental make-up of the worker. The International Trade Union Movement is of opinion that modern methods of production have so speeded up labour operations that the nerve strain imposed on the workers is inimical to health and efficiency. There is likewise, with long hours, the increase of risk of accident and of spoiled work in the workshop.

It is claimed that all workers have a right to the advantages which machinery offers, in the way of leisure and free time. The machine could set men and women at liberty for keeping body and mind fit for their environment, for maintaining their health, for attaining higher cultural standards. Physical exhaustion is not conducive to healthy ideas, and it is difficult to inspire the victims of long hours of labour with proper zeal for their own interests. Rest and recreation are absolutely essential to the moral and social advancement of the human race. Reduction of hours of labour will make for a better humanity and for a better citizenship. No employers should have the monopoly of these advantages.

The double shift system has been mentioned as being a means for introducing the forty-hour week. It would certainly please the employers. In Great Britain the Trades Union Congress is against this system, but the British Government has introduced a Bill in order to permit its being worked in factories. There are places where it has been tried, and young persons have been found to be under it more prone to accidents and much less efficient as regards the quantity and quality of their work. With younger persons, it interferes with their post-school education.

To sum up, because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter working day on the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, one cannot too strongly impress on all wage earners, including the women workers, to concentrate their chief efforts with a view to securing a shorter working day.

Of course, wage rates must be maintained and in the case of women workers, with their much lower pay in nearly all branches as compared with men, the employers have a weak argument when they insist that prices would have to be increased owing to the higher wages that would have to be paid; but in any case it would be no use distributing work and shortening hours of labour, and so absorbing more people, if at the same time their rates of wages were curtailed. ■

In the debate which followed there was discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the two-shift system, Comrades ANDERSEN, TØNDER (Denmark) and NILSSON (Sweden) being in favour and arguing in particular that, should the two-shift system for women be repealed, the women workers would be replaced by men in many cases. Rationalisation, it was pointed out, with its increased use of machinery, had already led to men replacing women in many occupations, as men were better able to look after machines. It was absolutely necessary for a greater measure of solidarity to exist between men and women workers. As regards maintenance of the wages level with reduction of hours it was pointed out that shorter working hours were of more importance to women than the wages.

Comrades LOUGHLIN, ELLIOTT (Great Britain) and CHEVENARD (France) were, on the contrary, strongly opposed to the two-shift system, holding that technical progress should in the first place benefit the workers, and that it was therefore the task of all organised workers, men and women, to fight this system. Comrade CHEVENARD said that the forty-hour week should in no case lead to a reduction of earnings, and to this end propaganda should be made everywhere for the forty-hour week with payment of wages for forty-eight hours. Under present conditions, an eight-hour day at the machine was too much. She also held it to be necessary to organise a campaign against women taking low wages, as such women, in her view, could only be those who were not dependent on their own earnings. The organised women workers should decide whether they wanted to be treated exactly the same as their male colleagues. She was strongly opposed to different minimum wages for men and women, holding that there should be only one minimum rate for both sexes.

Comrade LOUGHLIN, continuing her report, spoke as follows on :

#### NIGHT WORK FOR WOMEN

« This question has come prominently before the workers, owing to the British, Belgian and German Governments' recent insistence on altering the International Labour Convention which prohibited night work for women. After having failed in their first attempt to modify the Convention, they were successful, two years ago, in getting through an amendment to the law which permitted night work for women holding responsible positions of management, who were not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

It was argued that women who had become technically and professionally skilled in industry should be allowed the same right as men to occupy higher positions.

The workers expressed the fear that a wrong interpretation of the amendment would make possible the exclusion from the Convention of many other women workers besides the few for whom the amendment was intended. Indeed during the Conference discussions, an attempt was made to extend the law so as to include also women occupying positions of supervision. One can see how widely that term could be interpreted.

We contend that to allow night work for women is to aim a blow at the protective legislation which has been obtained through the struggles of the past. There is no force in the argument that because men have not got this protection therefore women do not need it. What should be aimed at is to bring legislation for male labour up to the level of the protective legislation adopted for women workers. It is not a matter of giving liberty to women to work when they choose. By abolishing protective legislation, unscrupulous employers would have unlimited opportunity for exploitation. »

Before the general discussion was opened, Comrade CHEVENARD gave from the chair some account of what had been decided the previous day in the meeting of the International Committee of Trade Union Women. It had been agreed that night work was harmful to both sexes and should therefore not be tolerated by the workers, and that the complete abolition of night work should therefore be advocated. As long, however, as complete abolition was not possible, an attempt should be made to see that legislation in the different countries did not still further extend night work, as was intended in some places. The Committee had adopted two resolutions and a recommendation, which would be submitted and voted on at the end of the Conference.

In the discussion on night work for women, Comrades GODWIN (Great Britain) and ANDERSEN (Denmark) took the view that protective legislation and the prohibition of night work should only be urged when the women's position was not thereby prejudiced. Comrade GODWIN gave as an example the case of women technicians in England, whose chances of work had been lessened by the protective measures for women workers. She was of course opposed to all night work but wanted its abolition for both sexes. Comrade ANDERSEN (Denmark) expressed the wish that no resolution be adopted on night work, as the women workers of Denmark did not demand special conditions for women, which would make it more difficult for them to play a part in economic life.

Comrade LOUGHLIN (Great Britain), supported by Comrade GODWIN (Great Britain), pointed out that the British delegates in no case wanted abolition of protective legislation, but aimed at getting it extended to the men workers, and the discussion on this point was then closed.

The meeting adjourned until 3.0. p.m.

## Afternoon Session.

Comrade CHEVENARD, having opened the meeting, called on Comrade NOVOTNÁ (Czechoslovakia), who, having first of all greeted the Conference on behalf of the women workers of Czechoslovakia, then addressed it as follows on :

### WOMEN'S RIGHT TO WORK AND PARTICULARLY THE RESTRICTIVE MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST THIS RIGHT IN SOME COUNTRIES

« This is not the first time that the International Trade Union Movement and our International Committee of Trade Union Women have dealt with the question of women's right to work, for they have had to give it consideration right from the beginning. It will moreover continue to demand attention until women's work is accepted just as much as a matter of course as is that of men. It is however up to us, up to the women themselves, to cut short this period, although it must unfortunately be admitted that a large proportion of women workers have themselves done little towards getting the question settled. Women's lack of interest in public life and in the political and economic backgrounds of the conception of labour is not only a result of their upbringing but is also due to the heavy claims made on their time, for the working woman has to run her home in addition to performing her work in factory or office. And the first and still young wave of emancipation cannot alter in a day the traditions of centuries ; this can only be done gradually.

The pioneers of women's rights, who are steadily increasing in numbers and energy, must therefore strive all the more for the education of their fellows and do all they can to safeguard women's rights.

First and foremost comes the question of women's right to work, and this demands attention especially on account of the increasing restriction and suppression of the wage-earning employment of women which has taken place in the last few years — not only in the Fascist countries, but also unfortunately in the democratic countries. The greatest victims are married women (fight against alleged « double earnings »), but this wave of restrictions on the right to work does not stop short at the married woman, but in some countries tends to cover all women, irrespective of whether they are married or single. It should be noted at once here that the measures taken against « double earnings » not only hit married women but also young women whose fathers are in employment.

In Germany an Act was promulgated on the 30th June, 1933, ordering the dismissal of all married women civil servants whose families were earning enough to keep them. The same Act contained provisions preventing women from becoming permanent civil servants before they are thirty-five. More stringent legislation was promulgated on the 1st July, 1933, and the 29th March, 1934 (marriage loans, etc.). In addition 600,000 young girls were prevented in 1935 from freely choosing a profession, as they were forced on leaving school to enter private houses as domestic servants without pay.

In Austria a similar decree as regards married women to that in Germany was issued on the 15th December, 1933.

In Italy the Government promulgated legislation on the 28th November, 1933, and the 11th October, 1934, which provided for women workers to be replaced by men not only in state undertakings but also in private enterprise. The Order of the 11th October, 1934, goes indeed so far as to replace women by men workers on work which is normally performed by women.

The same tendency is evident in Yugoslavia, where an Order issued on the 31st March, 1934, restricts the employment of women in the postal services.

The maximum percentages of women allowed to be employed are 30 % on work for which a university diploma is required, 25 % on work for which matriculation is required and 10 % on other work, for which elementary schooling is necessary.

In Australia, the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Federation protested at its Conference of the 18th December, 1934, against an Act aiming at the suppression of the married woman's right to work and demanding its repeal by the Government.

In Belgium, an Act was promulgated on the 8th December, 1934, which empowered the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare to lay down a percentage as the maximum in each industry for the employment of women workers, in order to provide work for unemployed men, but on the 22nd November, 1935, this Act had to be repealed since experience showed that it was very difficult to keep to a quota for women workers. The Government has set up an official Commission on Women's Work to examine the whole question of the employment of women in trade and commerce.

In 1935 it was proposed in France to differentiate between men's and women's work in future, in order to combat unemployment. It was in the same spirit that the French Government issued an Order cutting down the salary of women teachers married to men teachers, the cut amounting in some cases to 48 %.

In Luxemburg a special measure against unemployment was taken in the 14th April, 1934, in the form of an Order which makes the engagement of women for any non-manual position, either in public or private employment, subject to the special approval of the General Director of Labour and Social Insurance.

Local authorities in Holland were recommended in a circular issued by the Home Secretary on the 19th March, 1934, not only to apply strictly the measures providing for the case of married women, but as far as possible to replace by men women employees who are not employed in specifically women's trades.

In the United States, too, the right of married women to work has been attacked. Thus in the winter of 1930, the Governor of Massachusetts set up a Commission for Unemployment Relief, whose most important recommendation was that all employers and public bodies should replace by unemployed men or single women all married women whose husbands were able or willing to keep them. The recommendation however was hardly carried out at all as the employers regarded the measures as inadequate to justify the disadvantages and expense of reorganising the work accordingly.

All these measures clearly show one and the same tendency, and the International Committee of Trade Union Women therefore regards it as necessary for the question of women's right to work to be again dealt with in detail at this Conference, and for the arguments raised against women's right to work to be clearly countered. It is moreover up to us to work out demands which must of necessity be fulfilled if the right to work is to be assured to all workers, men or women.

It is unnecessary to go into detail here about the development of the employment of women. We all know how women's work arose out of the home industries, and how this was more and more favoured by rationalisation, so that to-day, although it is not possible to give an exact figure for all working women, we know that, in spite of unemployment, a quarter of all wage-earners are women. The following table allows of an approximate survey of the employment of women in different countries, although the calculations are only of very relative value, since the figures on which these percentages have been calculated are drawn up on completely different bases. Some cover all wage-earners (including domestic workers, who are partly paid in kind, and all wage-earners in agriculture), while other countries take into consideration only some or none at all of these categories. Some statistics, moreover, cover the unemployed, while others omit them.

## WOMEN WORKERS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WORKERS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

(including unemployed).

Belgium . . . . .	1920 : 19.3 %	1930 : 18.7 %	
Canada . . . . .	1921 : 15.4 %	1931 : 17.0 %	1933 : 17.1 % *)
France . . . . .	1921 : 32.1 %	1926 : 30.4 %	
Germany . . . . .	1925 : 29.5 %	1933 : 28.9 %	
Great Britain . . . . .	1923 : 27.4 %	1934 : 29.4 %	

(only those covered by Unemployment Insurance)

Holland . . . . .	1920 : 23.2 %	1930 : 24.1 %	1934 : 24.7 % *)
India . . . . .	1921 : 31.2 %	1931 : 31.7 %	1932 : 32.2 % *)
Italy . . . . .	1921 : 23.7 %	1930 : 22.6 %	1931 : 22.0 % *)
Japan . . . . .	1920 : 37.7 %	1930 : 34.7 %	1933 : 35.4 % *)
Norway . . . . .	1920 : 27.8 %	1930 : 27.1 %	1934 : 27.2 % *)
Palestine . . . . .	—	1931 : 11.6 %	
Poland . . . . .	1931 : 23.8 %	1933 : 25.0 %	
Russia . . . . .	1928 : 24.6 %	1933 : 37.7 %	
United States . . . . .	1920 : 20.5 %	1930 : 22.0 %	

In spite of the great number of women in employment, their right to work is even yet not clearly recognised by everyone, but, as has been mentioned above, is still hotly contested. Attempts are continually being made to make women responsible for an economic situation which has absolutely nothing to do with the employment of women. Again and again attempts are made to prove that woman's place is in the home and that her highest duties are housekeeping and maternity.

We women Trade Unionists know that the causes of the economic crisis and the immense unemployment lie much deeper, namely, in the capitalist system. Apart from the fact that women have never yet taken the places left vacant by men but have in fact themselves become unemployed, it must not be forgotten that nearly 80 % of all working women are employed in industries which have always been the monopoly of women (weaving, spinning, manufacture of clothes and underclothing, laundry work).

In the appeal regarding unemployment among the young sent to the 1935 International Labour Conference by the International Committee of Trade Union Women, we demanded that consideration be given to the trade interests of girls and young women who are suffering from the crisis like young men workers. Unfortunately we have not been able to show the development of women's work over the last few years in our table, but we can say quite definitely that there has as yet been no increase in the employment of women, as would have been the case had women really been taking work from men.

We know also that many women, if not most of them, would be only too glad to give their whole time to their home and maternal duties, but that the present social order compels them to seek wage-earning employment, because the husband's wage is often not adequate to allow of children being brought into the world or of a family being supported.

But consideration must be given also to unmarried women and girls who are compelled to earn their own living, since their parents cannot support them until a possible marriage.

In all the arguments against women's work, no account at all is taken of the development of the woman herself. Modern society has not only introduced industrialisation and rationalisation but has also given rise to the emancipation of woman and her desire for a fuller life. Every individual, whether man or woman, must be allowed freely to order his or her own life. Woman has the right to an equal footing with men and demands it. This right of woman, to seek and perform such work as meets her capabilities, must be continually emphasised and defended.

Mention must be made here of the regrettable fact that the view that women rob men of work is widely held even among Trade Unionists. This is clearly shown,

\*) These figures are taken from private sources, and are therefore not official but only given as an indication.

for example, by the enquiry organised in 1935 by the Belgian National Trade Union Centre asking affiliated Unions for their observations on the advisability and feasibility of the employment of women in different trades. The Metal Workers' Union was the only one unreservedly in favour of women's right to work, and then on the condition of equal pay for equal work. All the other Unions regarded it as more or less inadvisable for women to be employed in their trades.

Unfortunately, the main argument used by Trade Unionist opponents of women's right to work — undercutting of wages rates — is not ungrounded, for women still work for lower wages than men. The lower wages level appears in the determination of minimum rates, and wages in those industries which employ women show a downward tendency. We cannot go here into the economic and social factors in the depression of wages, but brief mention should be made of the fact that one of them is the imperfect Trade Union organisation of women workers, and another that married women workers are often content with a lower wage, as they only regard it as a subsidiary source of income, which means that such women are actually bringing down the wages of all other wage-earning women whose work is their only source of livelihood. We would therefore particularly emphasise here the necessity for legislation on minimum wages for women, such as exists in North America, for example (seven out of the nine provinces of Canada and seventeen of the United States), for it is just the women workers who derive benefit from minimum wage legislation. In France and Peru there is protective legislation for women engaged on home work, which at the same time provides for the protection of men workers. In some countries, such as Australia, Great Britain, New Zealand and South Africa, the minimum wage legislation applies to workers of both sexes, and in some countries to all trades.

The International Committee for Trade Union Women has always fought the undercutting of wages, and it demanded equal pay for equal work in the resolution on women's work adopted by the Brussels International Conference of Women Trade Unionists in 1933. We can only put forward this demand again, making it the foremost claim which must be fulfilled in order to reach our aim of the right of work for women.

Examining the progress made so far in the different countries for the demand of equal pay for equal work, we see that in many countries legislation contains this principle but that unfortunately it is not always, or sometimes not at all, applied by employers and women workers. It would assist our propaganda and our work for getting this principle applied if the International Committee of Trade Union Women could find out through an enquiry what progress has been made in this direction since the last International Conference of Women Trade Unionists.

Our Conference should therefore seriously consider embodying this question in the resolution to be adopted, and laying down principles which might be of assistance to national sections of women Trade Unionists in getting such an enquiry arranged.

We would again emphasise here that it is up to the women to make it clear to their male colleagues why they should also give their full support to the demand for equal wages. It is absolutely false that the exclusion of women would produce a change in wages or even a decrease in unemployment. Only in the common fight for equal pay for equal work will it be possible to raise the general level of life and wages of all the workers.

A further demand is that for the forty-hour week, on which a separate report is before this Conference. We therefore confine ourselves here to stressing how closely it is connected with the problem of women's right to work and that we must do our utmost to get it introduced by statute.

In discussing the obstacles in the way of women's work it must be remembered that a certain amount of restriction is a matter of course. Whether one will or not, the fact cannot be denied that women are not so well-suited as men for certain work which demands great physical effort. Any kind of legal provisions as to work from which women are excluded must naturally only take into account the physical fitness of women, and must in any case be drawn up in agreement with the women themselves. Protective legislation can lay down a certain amount of just and unbiased limitation to women's fields of work, which would serve especially to reduce the feeling of competition between men and women.

In this connection mention should be made of vocational guidance, which can play an important part in the present period of rationalisation and the utilisation of

labour power. The point here is not only that the woman shall choose for herself the work she wants but that this is the work she will perform better than any other. In any case such vocational guidance should serve the women workers themselves and not the state.

An important factor in our fight for women's right to work consists in raising the economic level of women's work, i.e., making working women aware of the value of their work and thus providing an impetus for their continual education and improvement. In this way, women will be able to perform highly skilled work and to exercise the highest professions without it being possible for a differentiation to be made between men's and women's work.

In conclusion we would again repeat that our Conference cannot discuss whether we are or are not in favour of the right to work, but how we can defend and consolidate this right, for the right as such can no longer be called in question. Every person, whether man or woman, must be free to seek work and to earn his or her livelihood. It is, however, our task to defend this right against all the attacks of the reactionaries and to put forward demands which will cut the ground from under the feet of the opponents of women's right to work. It must be our task to raise a strong protest, in conjunction with the National Trade Union Centre, in all those countries where legislation restricting women's right to work has been or is being adopted, and to mobilise all working women for this fight against oppression.

Under present-day circumstances, our right to work is linked up with the demands of equal pay for equal work, the forty-hour week, extension of protective labour legislation in general and vocational guidance for men and women workers. The fulfilment of these demands will bring with it the general and unrestricted recognition of women's right to work.

And all work for this end is linked up with the recruitment of women into the Unions, for it is only through the Trade Unions that such work can find the prospects which will allow of its reaching all sections of the people. »

Comrade NOVOTNÁ's report was received with great applause. The British delegation expressed their complete agreement with the statements made and the chairwoman thanked the rapporteur for having so well expressed the views of the delegates.

Before giving her address on the third item of the agenda, Comrade CHEVENARD paid a tribute to the German and Austrian comrades, who were prevented from giving the Conference their valuable collaboration.

She then addressed the meeting on :

#### LEGAL STATUS AND NATIONALITY OF WOMEN : PROPOSALS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE IFTU MEMORANDUM

« When the League of Nations Assembly was dealing in September, 1935, with the status and nationality of women, it was natural that the International Committee of Trade Union Women, on behalf of all the women workers covered by the IFTU, should make known its standpoint to the Assembly, not only because it was entitled to do this as representing the majority of working women but also in view of the fact that the Secretary-General of the League had been instructed to ask international women's organisations for their views. The standpoint of the International Committee of Trade Union Women was incorporated in a memorandum \*) which was transmitted to the League after a written consultation of the members of the Committee — since a meeting was not possible.

Our Conference of Women Trade Unionists now has the chance of going into this memorandum in detail, as far as this appears necessary, and of discussing the results of the League Assembly debate.

#### General Legal Status of Women.

Women's political and civil rights are not incorporated into legislation to nearly the extent desired, although women form on an average half of the population and there is a steady increase in the number of women and of organisations working for

\*) See Appendix to the IFTU's Report on Activities.



women's political and civil emancipation. We are all aware that women are of great importance for the life of the state, not only for the maintenance of the population but on account of their viewpoint, which often differs from that of men, and could have a favourable effect in many fields — education, war, justice — if limits were not set to women's activities in most countries. We would therefore again point out here that it is necessary for women to be recognised as having the right, as workers and mothers, freely to develop their abilities and responsibilities.

Bearing this view in mind, we stated in our memorandum that we are fundamentally in favour of the principle of equal rights embodied in the Montevideo Convention of 1933, although in its present form it cannot be accepted by the Labour Movement, as it could allow of an interpretation which might exclude labour protection for women.

The resolution adopted by the League Assembly on the status of women urged the governments to state what League measures would, in their view, meet the situation, and to give information about the political and civil status of women in their countries. It also urged international women's organisations to continue their study of the whole question and to transmit their views to the Secretary-General of the League, so that they can be submitted to a future meeting of the League. The resolution also requested the International Labour Office to examine by its usual procedure those aspects of the problem within its competence, these being equality of status under labour law and especially the legislation which regulates and restricts women's work.

The Governing Body of the ILO thereupon dealt with the matter at its meeting of the 22nd February, 1936, and a comprehensive enquiry is to be made. Governments will be asked to reply to a questionnaire drawn up by the ILO, and the members of the Advisory Women's Committee of the ILO and the international organisations concerned will be covered by this world-wide consultation.

Action for the legal status of women has been given a start by the League and ILO discussions and resolutions, although nothing tangible has as yet been attained. We must therefore see to it that interest is kept alive, so that we can perhaps attain a positive result next year. It is up to our Conference to see how best we can support the resolution which will gain recognition for the legal status of women in all countries. We would therefore propose that the Conference consider (1) whether it is possible and desirable to put our demands direct to the governments through national women's sections with the help of the National Trade Union Centre concerned and to get them to accelerate their replies to the League and the ILO; (2) whether the International Committee of Trade Union Women, on the basis of steps taken by the national women's sections, should submit to this year's September meeting of the League and to the International Labour Office a statement of its views.

I should like to have the views of delegates.

#### The Nationality of Women.

The question of the nationality of women is one of the most important sections of the whole question of legal status. We devote more space to it in our report because, in view of the detailed treatment of the question by the League, it seems better to go more thoroughly into the question here.

We defined our attitude towards this question in points (a) to (c) of our memorandum. In drawing up these demands we had in mind not only the Hague Convention (1930) but also the Montevideo Convention (1933). Broadly speaking, the Montevideo Convention represents the fulfilment of the wish expressed in paragraph VI of the 1930 Hague Convention. Unfortunately this desire has only been positively fulfilled by four governments (of South American states), as the Hague Convention has not as yet been ratified by most countries. The League Assembly in September, 1935, therefore repeated this wish and instructed the League Council to follow the development of this important problem nationally and internationally.

The discussion in the League Council does not represent any progress, and if the work is continued in this way, there is no chance of attaining a definite result at an early date. It is therefore up to the women themselves to take steps to accelerate the matter, for the legislation on nationality of women, which varies from country to country, has already given rise to the greatest difficulties.

In order to give a general survey, we reproduce below, as far as they are known

to us, the views of the different governments expressed in the League meeting. The Governments of Chile, China, Cuba, the Little Entente countries, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Turkey and Uruguay were in favour of complete equality for women, i.e., for the Montevideo Convention. Certain delegations were against equality because they feared it would give rise to difficulties in regard to the family unit and in times of war, while others held that, in view of the very great present differences of opinion, no measures as regards equality of status for women other than those given in the Hague Convention could be adopted.

Coincident with the submission of the memorandum from the International Committee of Trade Union Women, other international women's organisations made known their views on this problem, which it seems useful to reproduce here, on account of the universality of this question for all women.

The International Co-operative Women's Guild took the view that the method of dealing with the question in Geneva is not likely to give a satisfactory result, as a number of governments are not prepared to take any definite action. The Guild therefore thinks it would be better for all efforts to be concentrated on the formation of a Committee, which would make it much easier to get greater attention from the governments.

The International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship took on the whole the same views as those expressed in our memorandum. It demanded from the League the adoption of a Convention.

The Women's Advisory Committee of the League submitted a memorandum demanding the confirmation of the Montevideo Convention and its submission to all Members of the League which have not yet signed it. At the same time the Committee demanded the deletion or amendment of those articles of the Hague Convention which are in contradiction to the principles of the Montevideo Convention.

The memorandum submitted by the ILO Women's Committee is practically on the same lines as ours; it supports the proposal made by the International Co-operative Women's Guild for the formation of a Committee on Women's Questions.

On careful examination of the League resolution, and bearing in mind the various proposals submitted by the women's organisations, it seems imperative that ways and means shall be found of arriving earlier at a positive result. We have no illusions about our own powers of attaining alone such a result in the legislative field, but we should consider with whom we might co-operate in order to bring stronger pressure to bear on the governments and the League. In this connection, we are thinking in particular of a movement for getting a Committee for Women's Questions set up in the League, or, should this not be possible for the moment, for the formation of a League Correspondence Bureau to deal constantly with all questions concerning the nationality of women and their legal status as a whole, and on which all international women's organisations would be represented.

As we stated in our memorandum, the existing committee of private international organisations is not adequate, as it has no proper standing in the League and is not representative of all women's organisations.

We would moreover ask the Conference to consider whether it is not advisable to get into touch with other organisations on these questions which concern all women, in order to submit a memorandum to the League Assembly of September, 1936, which would be signed by the largest possible number of organisations concerned. »

Having given her report, Comrade CHEVENARD said that Madame THIBERT, representing the International Labour Office, which was particularly concerned in the questions raised, was in attendance, and she would therefore propose that Madame THIBERT address the meeting before the general discussion was opened, to which the meeting agreed.

Madame THIBERT (ILO) gave a detailed report on the work of the ILO in connection with the working and economic conditions of women in general. She stated that, in addition to the two previously mentioned studies, it was proposed to undertake further examination into the question of hours of work and working conditions of women and the admission of women into certain occupations, and to issue a collection covering the different national legislation. On account of the amount of material available, this work would have to be restricted to certain industries or trades, and she asked the Trade Unions and in particular the International Committee of Trade Union Women for their co-operation.

Another problem dealt with by the ILO was that of wages, and to what extent women were paid the same wages as men. The ILO was very anxious to obtain information showing in which trades in the different countries there was equal pay for equal work. The ILO would prefer to have the collective agreements, as it had the intention of drawing up a comparison between the collective agreement rates for men and women workers. It was also dealing with the question of the family obligations borne by women. On all these problems the International Labour Office had drawn up questionnaires which were sent to the different institutions and Trade Unions. The Office would be very glad to have the support of the International Trade Union Women's Committee for its work.

Madame THIBERT's address was received with great applause by all the delegates. Comrades ELLIOTT and LOUGHLIN stated that the International Committee of Trade Union Women had long awaited an opportunity of taking part in the work of the ILO, and they welcomed the Office's application for help. Comrade LOUGHLIN mentioned the recommendation concerning the ILO which had been drawn up in the previous day's meeting of the Committee and adoption of which would mean greater support for the ILO.

Comrade CHEVENARD then read the resolutions and recommendation which had been drafted, and which were unanimously adopted after slight amendments, proposed by Comrade LOUGHLIN and Madame THIBERT, had been made.

Comrade VARLEY (Great Britain) expressed her satisfaction at the good work done by the Conference, in which she regretted she could no longer take an active part since her retirement.

Comrade CHEVENARD thanked all the delegates for their active collaboration, and was herself thanked for presiding so ably over the Conference. The meeting then closed.

#### RESOLUTIONS

As the International Trade Union Congress, which was to have dealt with the resolutions of the Conference, was no longer able to discuss them, they were referred to the IFTU Executive, which adopted them in the following form :

##### I.

The International Conference of Women Trade Unionists notes with indignation and regret that in almost all countries the governments as a consequence of the economic crisis, are still trying to meddle with women's freedom to work, and even to suppress it, with the idea of helping thereby to reduce unemployment and to alleviate the economic depression. It protests vigorously against all steps tending to eliminate women's work, since this would not check unemployment, but would rather lead to an aggravation of the position. The International Conference of Women Trade Unionists reiterates with the strongest emphasis its view that it is impossible to deprive women of their right to work, since women claim and defend the unfettered enjoyment of this right, just as men do. It reminds all the working women of the world that the Movement to suppress women's freedom to work is advocated most of all by the Fascist Governments. It calls upon all working women publicly to enter a protest against this attitude of the Fascist Governments, with a view to giving support thereby to the women in the countries concerned who are condemned to silence.

The International Conference of Women Trade Unionists urges working women in all countries to defend themselves with the utmost firmness and to initiate, in common with their male colleagues, campaigns with a view to resisting the application of measures which are intended to negate the fundamental principles of the right to work of every human being without distinction of sex.

The International Conference of Women Trade Unionists sees no way out of the economic situation and no solution of the problem of unemployment in the suppression of women's right to work, and endorses without reserve the demands of the International Federation of Trade Unions for the alleviation and cure of the economic depression, demands which alone can bring about an improvement in the existing conditions.

In view of the ever-growing opposition in certain circles to women working in industry, the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists considers it absolutely essential that the campaign in favour of equal pay for equal work should have the widest possible extension and publicity in order that an equal living wage may be obtained for all. It therefore requests the International Federation of Trade Unions, to undertake an enquiry among all affiliated National Centres, with a view to investigating the results of the campaign for equal pay initiated by the 1933 International Conference of Women Trade Unionists at Brussels; so as to establish how far the demand formulated by our Brussels Conference has already been fulfilled. It recommends that special attention in making this enquiry be directed to the following questions :

1. General working conditions of women;
2. The mode of propaganda to support the demand for equal pay (meetings of working women by themselves or in common with their men colleagues, works meetings and meetings for specific industries for women, and general public meetings of women, etc.);
3. Extent of support given by men fellow-workers;
4. Results obtained both as to the campaign itself and as to the organisation of women;
5. What further opportunities have presented themselves from the experience gained in the agitation.

The International Conference of Women Trade Unionists is fully aware that the fulfilment of the demand for equal pay will not in itself ensure women's right to work. It demands therefore not only the introduction of the forty-hour week, with maintenance of the standard of living, for all industries and all workers, but makes an urgent appeal to all working women to strive with all energy through Trade Union organisation to secure the same rates of wages for men and women, and also a system of vocational guidance planned for the benefit of the workers.

A preliminary step towards the realisation of all these demands is to strengthen Trade Union organisations. The greater the solidarity existing between all working women and between the working class as a whole, the more easily will it be possible to secure for the workers that place in the community which they deserve.

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The Conference thanks the International Federation of Trade Unions for the work done in all these questions and urges it further to redouble its efforts towards peace, in which endeavour it offers the full collaboration of all working women.

## II.

After noting the report of Madame CHEVENARD on the legal status of women, dealt with at the League Assembly last year, and the decision arrived at thereon, which resulted in a Questionnaire being sent from the International Labour Office to the members of its corresponding committee on women's work, to the International Committee of Trade Union Women and to certain other international industrial women's organisations, the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists requests the IFTU Executive to circularise affiliated National Trade Union Centres, asking for their observations on the Questionnaire, and to prepare a memorandum based upon the replies received, for submission to the International Labour Office.

**REPORT**  
**of the Seventh Ordinary International**  
**Trade Union Congress at London**  
**held from 8th to 11th July, 1936,**  
**in the Holborn Restaurant**

## List of Attendances

### Executive Committee (1).

- Walter M. Citrine, President.
  - H. Jacobsen
  - L. Jothaux
  - C. Mertens
  - J. Schorsch
  - R. Tayerie
- } Vice Presidents.
- W. Schevenels, General Secretary.
  - G. Stolz, Assistant Secretary.

### National Centres.

Austria	3 delegates.
Belgium	Coole, J. Denies, J. Dethier, Nic. Devlaemynck, Ed. Fassin, P. Keuwet, G. Lapaille, H. Mertens, C. Watillon, L.
Czechoslovakia	Bensu, Dezidér. Brodecký, Václav. Grünzner, E. Novotná, Valerie. Pacoveký, K. Pixa, Jaroslav. Roscher, Fr. Slach, Václav. Tayerie, Rudolf.
Danzig	Töpfer, Karl.
Denmark	Andersen, Alvida. Andersen, P. Andersson, Josef. Carlsson, Oluf. Hedtoft-Hansen, H. C. Hansen, Leonhard. Hellberg, S. Höesch, R. Jacobsen, H. Jensen, Chr. Jensen, Einer. Jensen, Fr. Jensen, Knud V. Jensen, Vald. Larsen, Chr. Madsen, Carl. Nielsen, Chr. Nielsen, Julius. Olsen, Axel. Petersen, Gustav. Vejre, Chr.

(1) Those marked with an \* are also delegates of their National Centre.

Finland . . . . .	Louhikko, E. K.
France . . . . .	Belin, R. Buisson, G. Capocci, O. Chevenard, J. Cordier, H. Dolker, F. Frachon, B. Jouhaux, L. Lefranc, G. Parsal, A. Raynaud, H. Semat, R. Vielle, R.
Germany . . . . .	1 delegate.
Great Britain . . . . .	Bromley, J. Citrine, W. M. Conley, Andrew. Edwards, E. Findlay, A. A. H. Hallsforth, J. Hancock, F. Hayday, A. Hicks, G. Hill, John. Loughlin, A. Shaw, Arthur.
Holland . . . . .	Van den Born, H. J. Dooyes, A. J. Hillebregt, A. Kupers, E. Van der Lende, C. Lindeman, H. Moltmaker, P.
Italy . . . . .	Buozzi, Bruno.
Luxemburg . . . . .	Krier, P.
Mexico . . . . .	Piña-Soria, R. Villaseñor, V. M.
Norway . . . . .	Gulbrandsen, Anders. Hegg, Hans. Henriksen, Torbjörn. Hindahl, Olav. Nordahl, Konrad. Strandli, Martin. Tangen, Jens.
Palestine . . . . .	Chorin, Y. Feinstein, Z.
Poland . . . . .	Alter, W. Bocian, Z. Grylowski, S. Kurylowicz, A. Stanczyk, J. Szczerkowski, A. Zdanowski, A.
Roumania . . . . .	Radaceanu, L.

Spain . . . . .	Largo Caballero, Fr. Cabeza, José. Carrillo, Wenceslao. Carton, P. M. Delage Garcia, Luis. Diaz Aior, José. Galvan Rueda, Miguel. Garcia, Claudina. Hernandez, Carlos. Lombardia, C. G. Munoz, Mariano. Peña, Ramón Gonzalez. Pretel, Felipe. Del Rosal, Amaro. Septiem, Antonio. Tomas, Belarmino. Tomas, Pascual. Alvarez del Vayo, Julio.
Sweden . . . . .	Bergman, Per. Falk, Ernst. Forslund, Albert. Karlén, Oscar. Larsson, Johan. Lindberg, August. Linde, Nils. Mattson, Edvard. Noord, Ludvig. Olsson, Nicklas. Strand, G. O.
Switzerland . . . . .	Bratschi, Robert. Meister, Martin. Neumann, Hans. Schürch, Charles.

### Fraternal Delegates.

#### International Trade Secretariats.

Building and Woodworkers . . . . .	Van Achtenbergh, J. W. Coppock, Richard.
Civil Servants and Public Services . . . . .	Dukes, Charles. Laurent, Charles. Michaud, Ernest. Michaut, René.
Clothing Workers . . . . .	Conley, A. Dubinsky, A. Van der Heeg, T.
Diamond Workers . . . . .	Van Berckelaer, L.
Employees . . . . .	Capocci, O. Hallsworth, J. Jacobsen, C. W. Spiekman, W. G. Thomson, Geo W.
Factory Workers . . . . .	De Jonge, K. Nielsen, Robert.
Food and Drink Trades . . . . .	Banfield, W. Lauwers, J. Schifferstein, J.
Hatters . . . . .	Milan, Pierre.
Land Workers . . . . .	Duncan, Joseph.



Leather Workers . . . . .	Chester, Geo.
Metal Workers . . . . .	Little, J. C.
Miners . . . . .	Edwards, E.
Painters . . . . .	Lansink, H.
Postal Employees . . . . .	Bowen, J. W.
Pottery Workers . . . . .	Apologised for Absence.
Stone Workers . . . . .	Kolb, Robert.
Teachers . . . . .	Bracops, J.
	Zoretti, Ludovic.
Textile Workers . . . . .	Shaw, Tom.
Tobacco Workers . . . . .	Olsen, Edm.
Transport Workers . . . . .	Clutterbuck, Gordon R.
	Fimmen, Edo.
	Lindley, Ch.
	Spence, W. R.
Typographers . . . . .	Grundbacher, H.
	Isacs, G. A.

#### Invited Fraternal Delegates.

#### Non-affiliated National Centres.

Australia : Australasian Council of Trade Unions . . . . .	Trainer, Percival John.
Ireland : Irish Trade Union Congress . . . . .	Lynch, Eamonn.
Japan : Japanese Trade Union Congress . . . . .	Mitsu Kohno.
New Zealand : New Zealand Alliance of Labour . . . . .	Thurston, G. T.
South Africa : South African Trades and Labour Council . . . . .	Andrews, W. H.

#### International Organisations.

International Labour Office . . . . .	Staal, Ad.
Labour and Socialist International . . . . .	Adler, F.
	De Brouckère, L.
	Compton, J.
	Gillies, W.
International of Socialist Youth . . . . .	Hansen, H. C.
Labour and Socialist Sports International . . . . .	Elvin, George H.

#### Fraternal Delegates notified by the National Centres and the International Trade Secretariats.

Denmark . . . . .	Tonder, Thea.
Finland . . . . .	Louhikko, Fanni.
Sweden . . . . .	Backlund, Sven.
U. S. A. . . . .	Rieve, Emil.
	Edelman, John W.
	Spilot.
Civil Servants and Public Services . . . . .	Bakker, L. J.
	Hartig, Valtin.
	Luberti, W.

## AGENDA

1. Opening address of the President, WALTER M. CITRINE, and speeches of welcome.
2. Election of the Credentials Committee and other Committees of the Congress.
3. Report on Activities.  
Rapporteur : WALTER SCHEVENELS.
4. The fight against the crisis; forty-hour week; currency stabilisation; Labour Plans.  
Rapporteur : CORNEILLE MERTENS.
5. Action against war, for disarmament and against Fascism. The workers and the application of sanctions.  
Rapporteur : LEON JOUHAUX.
6. Freedom of Trade Union association; the role and rights of the Trade Unions under economic planning.  
Rapporteur : RUDOLF TAYERLE.
7. Resolutions moved in accordance with Statutes.
8. Elections (Art. 34, g).
9. Determination of affiliation fees (Art. 37).
10. Place of the next Congress.

## Standing Orders

1. Management of Congress. — The management of the Congress shall be in the hands of the Executive Committee.
2. Checking of Credentials. — A Committee of 5 persons shall be appointed at the beginning of the Congress to check credentials.
3. Committees :
  - (a) Special Committees shall be appointed at the beginning of the Congress to deal with each item of the agenda, except the report on activities and the financial report. These shall be as follows :
    - Committee I. Fight Against the Crisis (possibly Sub-Committee: Labour Plans).
    - Committee II. Action Against War.
    - Committee III. Freedom of Trade Union Association.
    - Committee IV. Resolutions, Elections, Rate of Affiliation Fees, Place of Next Congress.
  - (b) Each National Centre may send one representative to each of these four Committees. The names of these representatives shall be communicated by the opening of the Congress at latest.
  - (c) At the close of the opening session all the Committees shall meet and elect their chairmen and rapporteurs. The official rapporteur on a given item of the agenda shall attend the meeting of the Committee and introduce the subject.
  - (d) The Committees shall only begin their work after the Congress has heard the verbal reports.
  - (e) Delegates not having seats on Committees, invited guests and representatives of the International Trade Secretariats may, if desired and if notice be sent in beforehand, attend the meetings of Committees I, II and III as audience. The Committee itself may decide whether any person thus present as audience shall be allowed to speak : such persons shall in no case have voting rights.
4. Order of Debates. — Time allowed for Speeches. — Motions on Points of Order :
  - (a) In the discussion of the Report on Activities and Financial Report, no delegate shall speak longer than 15 minutes.

- (b) On the chief items of the agenda, the official rapporteurs shall hand in their addresses in writing and they shall also be allowed 30 minutes for their verbal exposition of these (See No. 3, paragraph d). Members of the Congress may speak for 5 minutes to make brief remarks on the subject under discussion, after which the subject shall be referred to the competent Committee.
  - (c) When the subject is again brought up for discussion by the Congress, the rapporteur of the Committee shall be the first to speak, and if he so desires, shall close the discussion. The official rapporteur and the rapporteur of the Committee shall each be allowed 30 minutes; other members of the Congress shall only be allowed 10 minutes.
  - (d) Applications to speak shall be sent in in writing, unless on a point of order. Speakers shall only be granted the floor after the address of the Committee rapporteur, and in the order of their application.
  - (e) Applications to speak on points of order shall be granted without regard to the order of application. Only one speaker for, and one against shall speak to any proposal connected with a point of order.
5. Lodging of proposals. No proposal shall be discussed unless it has the support of at least ten delegates.
6. Length of Sessions. — The sessions shall be from 10 to 1 and from 3 to 6, unless the Congress itself shall decide otherwise.

## Resolutions

### Item 3. Report on Activities.

RESOLUTION 1. (Section II H of the Report on Activities ; All-Union Council of Russian Trade Unions; Red International of Labour Unions; Communist International.)

Norway :

Bearing in mind the efforts made to bring about Trade Union unity and in view of the grave international situation, the Arbeidernes faglige Landsorganisasjon i Norge (Norwegian National Trade Union Centre) proposes that the International Federation of Trade Unions take up negotiations with the Trade Union Centre of the Soviet Union and the Red International of Labour Unions for Trade Union concentration or collaboration.

### Item 4. Fight Against the Crisis.

RESOLUTION 2. (Section IV B of the Report on Activities : The Forty-Hour Week.)

Holland :

#### I.

As a result of technical progress and rationalisation, the number of unemployed in various countries is at present higher by hundreds of thousands than it was in 1929, and by a figure considerably above that which could be attributed to any increase in population.

This situation is all the more disquieting since the economic position in these countries has again reached the level of 1929 or has even passed it.

Nothing must be left undone in order to demonstrate this fact in the most exact and complete way possible.

For these reasons, the Congress invites the IFTU Executive to arrange, in conjunction with affiliated National Centres, for investigations to be made in the individual countries, as soon as possible and if possible simultaneously, with the assistance of the national official authorities, into the question of whether unemployment must be expected to be a permanent feature in some countries and, if so, what means must be adopted to combat this extremely grave social evil.

## II.

The IFTU notes with satisfaction the steps taken by the International Labour Office for the preparation or introduction of the forty-hour week in certain industries.

It should be noted that serious resistance from the capitalists is to be expected even to the gradual introduction of the forty-hour week. The Congress deems it advisable for a special movement to be organised to promote the forty-hour week and get it applied as soon as possible.

In the first place, data and figures must be obtained to facilitate the earliest possible introduction of the forty-hour week, and furthermore national or international movements for the application of the forty-hour week must be given full support.

The IFTU Executive is instructed to look for ways and means, if necessary, of financing such movements.

### Item 7. Resolutions moved in accordance with the Statutes.

#### RESOLUTION 3.

The Factory Workers' International moved the following amendment to the Statutes :

To paragraph (g) of Article 36 of the Statutes :

« Unions forming part of the International Trade Secretariats and belonging to National Centres unaffiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions shall use their influence with these national bodies with a view to their joining the International Federation of Trade Unions. »

Add :

« In the same way, National Centres affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions shall undertake to use their influence on those of their affiliated Unions which are not affiliated to their respective International Trade Secretariats in order to effect this affiliation. »

## The Fight against the Crisis

### Forty-hour Week – Currency Stabilisation – Labour Plans

#### REPORT OF CORN. MERTENS

##### I.

In the course of the struggle which the International Federation of Trade Unions has carried on right from the outset against the unprecedented world economic depression, some of the demands put forward have gradually taken on the character of symbols. One of these is the demand for the forty-hour week, which is everywhere inspiring the workers in their fight for progress. At the present time, the struggle carried on by the Trade Unions against the crisis and unemployment, and against the Fascism which is their corollary, is indissolubly linked up with the demand for the forty-hour week, which is itself one of the driving powers in the campaign for economic planning.

It may not be out of place briefly to recall here the leading part played by the IFTU in the promotion of the demand for the forty-hour week.

When the programme of social policy was under discussion at the Stockholm International Trade Union Congress, the debate, as was to have been expected, also dealt with the urgent necessity for reduction of hours of work. The Stockholm Congress adopted a resolution urging Trade Unions to strive for the forty-four hour week as a stage towards a further reduction of hours of work. It may be mentioned incidentally that a formal proposal regarding the forty-hour week, which had been submitted, was not adopted.

After the Congress, the crisis continued to extend rapidly and unemployment assumed more and more terrifying proportions. Concerned about the gravity of the situation, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International met together to consider the action to be taken against this phenomenon, thanks to which Fascism was enjoying such a disquieting success. These joint deliberations resulted in the adoption of the Zürich resolutions, which constituted a programme of immediate action against the crisis and which explicitly described the demand for the forty-hour week as one of the principal means at least of preventing the advance of unemployment.

In January, 1931, a little more than six months after the Stockholm Congress, the Workers' Group on the Governing Body of the International

Labour Office brought the question of the forty-hour week before this body, and since then the question has continued to remain in the foreground both at Geneva and in the different countries, and has also been the constant concern of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It seems useful to emphasise this first phase of the campaign for the forty-hour week in order to establish the indisputable priority of the IFTU in the movement which is guiding public opinion towards this solution.

The 1932 International Labour Conference, on the initiative of the Workers' Group, adopted a resolution on the execution of the proposals made for combatting unemployment and demanding examination of the question of the statutory introduction of the forty-hour week in all industrial countries. It was at this moment that what was called the « Italian proposal » was made, to which, for an easily comprehensible reason, attempts have been made to attribute all the merit for the concrete action now under way for the application of the forty-hour week.

Continuing our survey of developments since then, we find that the Italian proposal resulted in a tripartite conference being held in January, 1933, which, at this distance of time, is seen to have been of only slight importance, or even to have been a failure. Contrary to what had been expected, in fact, the 1933 International Labour Conference did not want to consider this preparatory tripartite conference as a first discussion, and the period of covert and overt obstruction then set in, holding up the achievement of a reform of which the urgency and necessity no longer needed proof. The 1933 Conference thus submitted the problem of the forty-hour week to a first discussion and the tenacious opposition of the employers — supported by certain governments — unfortunately had more weight than the misery of millions of unemployed who awaited, if not the end, then at least the alleviation of their distress. It was finally decided to bring up the question again in 1934 for a second discussion.

At the 1934 Conference, in spite of their energetic intervention, the workers' delegates were not able to get the draft Convention adopted, even for a first reading. The draft Convention was lost, since not even the first article received the required number of votes to get it through. This defeat, made possible by the action of some of the governments, roused so much indignation among the workers' delegates that some of the government representatives, fearing with good cause the repercussions which might arise, made a proposal, which at once, however, aroused the mistrust of the Workers' Group, which felt the menace of fresh manoeuvres behind the formulation of the text.

This resolution provided for the item being placed on the agenda for the 1935 Conference but rejected the principle of a general convention. It proposed, in fact, the adoption of one or more draft Conventions, and some of the authors of the proposition even wanted to get the adoption of a Convention of « principle » of which the application would be discussed for each industry separately. The obvious intention here was to destroy in advance the possibility of any serious progress being made and to disintegrate the reform in order to render its practical application as difficult as possible. In September, 1934, the Workers' Group of the Governing Body proposed that the question be placed on the agenda for 1935, in order to obtain a general Convention, but this motion was defeated. It was



decided that the Conference should be asked to pronounce on a general Convention and to determine the industries to which this Convention should apply.

Then the 1935 Conference adopted a general convention on « principle », which may be regarded as a first practical result, as the principle of the forty-hour week was thus recognised, but there was no longer any chance of a general Convention. The manœuvres then recommenced, as the Workers' Group had foreseen from the outset, when it came to getting special Conventions adopted. Of the five drafts submitted to the Conference, only one, dealing with glass-bottle works, was adopted; the other four, dealing with public works, building, coal mining and the iron and steel trades, were rejected and were referred to the 1936 Conference, in company with a fifth draft regarding the textile industry. Such is the situation on the international plane at the present time.

The tendency towards further disintegration is expressed by the intention of allowing the Conference to divide up the textile industry still further, and to adopt special Conventions for each separate branch of the industry! Instead of rapid action for the introduction of a reform anxiously awaited by millions of people to whom it would give a chance of finding work again, we have a tortuous path especially chosen in order to drag out the reform as long as possible.

It is obvious that in such a situation, the workers owe it to themselves to take energetic action and to look for other ways of getting their legitimate demands accepted.

In the international sphere, the workers must demand the conclusion without fresh delay of a general Convention introducing the forty-hour week into all trades and industries; and on the other hand more emphasis than ever before must be laid on national Trade Union action. It is up to the Trade Unions to aim, with redoubled energy, at getting the forty-hour week recognised as a trade practice, even before the reform is incorporated in law.

When a report on the present situation was submitted to the General Council of the IFTU in Copenhagen, the General Council unanimously supported our conclusions. There too we put the emphasis very strongly on the necessity of bringing all our efforts to bear on Trade Union action proper and national propaganda. The General Council decided on a number of measures which have been adopted. The campaigns which have been launched have had a resounding echo, and in numerous countries positive results have followed on the action of the workers. The Congress will no doubt confirm this policy and decide on further measures, with the aim of achieving by our own power this reform which contributes so largely to the promotion of the workers' demands.

## II.

After the campaign for the introduction of the forty-hour week, the greatest attention has been concentrated on the idea of economic planning and the fight for the propagation and application of the Trade Union Labour Plans. These movements have jointly formed the basis for all the efforts of the IFTU to overcome the crisis, and both movements have

brought to the forefront practical proposals which, had they been applied, could have provided a way out of the crisis.

The starting point for this economic work was the adoption of the IFTU's Demands for Economic Planning by the 1933 Brussels Congress which — as was stated in the resolution on economic planning — urged the National Centres and all Socialist governments to throw their whole energies into the struggle for these aims and the application of the principles which the IFTU had laid down on the international plane.

At the same time the Brussels Congress expressed its conviction that Trade Union action and initiative is one of the conditions essential to progressive economic activity, and it is very satisfactory to note that over the last three years it is just in the economic sphere that the international and national Trade Union Movement has led all along the line.

The wishes of the Brussels Congress have been fulfilled to a highly gratifying degree. In every country the idea of economic planning occupies the foreground, and the governments of Denmark, Belgium, Norway and Sweden, with considerable co-operation from the Trade Unions, have in many sections of industry already started to introduce, and in some cases have realised, those reforms which in less fortunate countries still remain the demands incorporated in their Labour Plans.

This does not mean in any way to belittle the success of the Trade Unions' economic activities in the countries without a Labour Government. Apart from the innumerable practical successes obtained in the field of reduction of hours of work, results have been achieved in particular in nearly every country in the way of the creation of employment. This measure — a demand for which was raised internationally as nationally very early on — is another means of combatting the crisis which originated with the Trade Unions. It must be regarded as a great success for our Trade Union work that the utility and necessity of large-scale public works are to-day generally recognised, and that there is hardly a single country in which plans for the creation of employment do not figure prominently in measures against the crisis.

The Trade Union Movement cannot of course rest content with this satisfactory progress, for in the first place it has not yet been possible to get creation of employment organised on an international scale — in spite of all the efforts made by the IFTU and the Workers' Group of the International Labour Office on every occasion — and secondly it must be noted that, although the idea of creation of employment has made good headway nationally, its practical organisation does not as yet in any way satisfy the Unions. This applies both to the inadequacy of the measures of creation of employment decided on and of their practical application where a start has been made.

The lack of any real system and the predominance of the social instead of the economic point of view have up till now nearly everywhere prevented this important anti-crisis weapon from being used as a constructive instrument to overcome the crisis on the basis of economic planning. It is here that the Trade Union Movement still has work to do, which requires to be followed up with care, more success being aimed at in particular in the way of getting creation of employment accompanied by an effective reduction of hours of work. Only the linking up of these two important

means of defence against the crisis can ensure that lasting success at which the Trade Union Movement is aiming.

These successes, which have for long attended the demands of the Trade Unions and make the three years under review a satisfactory period to look back upon, stand out against the complete failure of the capitalist governments — not to mention the Fascist dictatorships! — where Trade Union influence is not yet strong enough to make itself felt. Under the capitalists, one fiasco has been succeeded by another. It is enough to refer to the failure of the World Economic Conference in London in 1933, and the turn taken by capitalist economy since then, has been characterised by the aggravation, instead of the betterment, of the world trade position through the short-sighted policy of quotas and autarchy, by the lack of solution for the world currency question, by deflationary and nationalist policy which has accentuated the crisis and considerably decreased the chances of a new world economic order being set up on the basis of its defeat.

The IFTU's appeal to the London World Economic Conference and that of the Brussels Congress, when it was stated that, without a currency peace and currency stabilisation, a new world economic order and the fundamental reconstruction of a defunct capitalism, no way could be found out of the depression, has not prevented the responsible governments from pursuing their disastrous policy. It has, however, clearly shown where the responsibility lies. The consequences are obvious to every one, the tasks of the International Trade Union Movement remain the same.

It is therefore not difficult to comply with one of the requests of the Brussels Congress — « to ascertain which of the decisions of the international economic conferences have been so far applied in the various countries » — since the answer, being a flat negative, renders discussion superfluous.

On the other hand, the task of reporting « to the next Congress on the experience obtained in the application of Trade Union economic policy » has been fulfilled as completely as possible. The Report on Activities and this supplement to it, and the reports from affiliated National Centres, all show how our Trade Union demands, and the idea of economic planning in particular, have been carried out into the world on an irresistible wave of agitation and activity and are continually gaining fresh ground.

A further request of the Brussels Congress was for the guiding principles and demands for economic planning to be further supplemented, but up till now such a supplement has neither appeared to be advisable nor has the practical experience gained up till now seemed to justify it.

What stands fast, however, is the fact that the idea of economic planning has made and is continuing to make extraordinarily rapid headway among a continually widening public. The fight for economic planning has become, in the real sense of the word, a mass movement, which is seen at its most typical in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Holland and Switzerland. We feel that Congress cannot do better than confirm Trade Union action for the Labour Plans. For the International Trade Union Movement, the fight for economic planning is not only an economic task but at the same time a fight against the lying ideology of the corporate state and Fascism. The successful propagation of our planning ideas among all

sections of the population is explained by the aim and form which have thus been given to them.

From the fight for the application of economic planning we can draw the conclusion that our agitation and propaganda must continue to aim — as was laid down by the Copenhagen meeting of the General Council — at economic planning for the benefit of the whole people and not for the workers alone. And the second lesson to be learnt from developments up till now is that we must unreservedly hold fast to the view that the movement for economic planning, like our efforts at transforming industry and society, must not only be fought for but also carried out on an uncompromisingly democratic basis and with democratic means.

We do not need to compile new demands or statements of policy; the success obtained up till now has proved the rightness of the substance of our Labour Plans and the tactics of the Trade Unions, both from the ideal and economic points of view. What we need now is intensified action and further systematic work in order to ensure all the necessary conditions for immediate, practical and concentrated work in that moment when the realisation of our demands will become possible. And this task must in the main be carried out in the individual countries.

## **Action against War, for Disarmament and against Fascism**

### **The Workers and the Application of Sanctions**

#### **REPORT OF LÉON JOUHAUX**

On the 8th July, 1933, and thus shortly before the opening of the Sixth International Trade Union Congress in Brussels on the 30th July, 1933, the International Disarmament Conference, many parts of whose work had come to a standstill, received fresh impetus from the decision of the General Committee to take as the basis for future Conventions the concrete British proposal, which was accompanied by statistics on the most varied points (effectives, gun calibres, etc.). Although this proposal cannot be described as the ideal solution — the joint IFTU/LSI Disarmament Committee described it as « inadequate » on the 20th May, 1933 — it did provide, as the joint Disarmament Committee itself noted, a serviceable basis for discussion.

At the beginning of October, and thus shortly after the Brussels Congress, Germany withdrew from the Disarmament Conference, thus dealing it a blow from which it never recovered.

Although the evil effects on the Conference of Germany's attitude should not be underestimated, the delegations which remained in Geneva after the departure of the German representatives cannot be acquitted of blame. The other States must bear a large share of responsibility for the armaments race, which was prophesied by the IFTU should the Disarmament Conference fail. The armaments race could have been prevented if the other States had declared themselves prepared to go forward to the goal without Germany, i. e., to draw up a general Disarmament Convention, which would have left Germany only two possibilities — either to join in or else to have the whole world against her and thus to become isolated to such an extent as could not have been made up for by any amount of rearmament.

This course was not pursued, however, and all the States which failed to act thus are therefore responsible for the present position and for a future which may be catastrophic to an extent which cannot be conceived of to-day. Hence the International Federation of Trade Unions is justified in viewing with the greatest mistrust all agreements and treaties concluded since then outside the League of Nations, and which are sometimes much

too glibly described as contributing to that « collective security » which can only really be collective and war-preventive if it is based on the will to disarm and not to rearm !

For this reason, the Trade Unions must insist more than ever on the continuation of the work of disarmament and on the demands which they put forward long ago, which have been shown to be justified since they became the pivot of the debates in the Disarmament Conference and thus a touchstone of the real will for disarmament and peace. The fight must go on for that final stable system of disarmament which can only be built up on equality of rights and duties and permanent international supervision. The demand must continue for an appreciable, immediate and all-round reduction in armaments in all fields, the abolition of air forces, and the prohibition of bombardment from the air, offensive weapons, large cannon and tanks, aircraft-carriers and submarines, and chemical and bacteriological warfare.

It is truer to-day than ever before that all action for the promotion of collective security and world peace will in the last resort produce no success if it is not inspired by the spirit of disarmament, for a « collective peace system » can only be allowed to entail military preparedness and the maintenance of a military machine if it is quite clear that, in any infringement of the League Covenant and any action against the aggressor, disarmament remains the cardinal aim.

The readiness to resort to sanctions of any kind, which — it must be said frankly — must be there at all times, must simultaneously be an expression of the belief in peace and disarmament, as was the case — as far as the workers were concerned — as regards the Italo-Abyssinian war. Such an attitude will provide a guarantee against collective security, treaties for reciprocal assistance and possible sanctions becoming or leading to such agreements as are in the minds of war-mongering dictators when they cynically remark that « an alliance of which the aim does not include the intention to make war is devoid of point and of value ».

Bearing this point in mind, the IFTU Brussels Congress drew up its resolution on the fight against the aggressor, and this attitude also guided the British workers who, in view of the situation created by the Fascist dictatorships, had early on taken up a standpoint which, on account of its decisive support of the League of Nations and of the fight against the aggressor, has become the model for many countries, and which distinguishes « between a war of an aggressive character and a war undertaken in defence of the collective peace system ». Taking this view, it is possible to agree with the British workers that there may be circumstances under which a government « might have to use its military and naval forces in support of the League in restraining an aggressor nation which declines to submit to the authority of the League ». If there is unanimity on this point, this military defence will never be necessary, for no state desirous of waging war will dare to risk calling down on itself even economic sanctions, if they are carried out solidly by the League majority. In such a case, sanctions would inevitably mean peace and consequent disarmament.

Thus the framework is laid down in which the IFTU's work for disarmament and the collective peace system has to go on. Within this general framework, the greatest importance attaches now as hitherto to systematic work on its different sections.

This applies to-day in particular to the central problem of any real fight against war, which is the supervision of armaments or the nationalisation of the armaments industry. It is now no longer possible to keep separate the problem of sanctions and that of supervision or nationalisation of the armaments industry, one can even say without exaggeration that the problem of sanctions is identical with the problem of supervision of armaments. The lack of promptitude in the application of some sanctions in the Italo-Abyssinian war (particularly as regards the embargo on material of war) and the lengthy investigations which were necessary, were mainly due to the fact that these sanctions could not start from a basis of the thorough supervision of armaments and an appropriate permanent machine.

The important place occupied by the problem of the armaments industry in all real work for disarmament and against war is not only due to the existence of agreements on this point, even if loose ones, long before the war and immediately afterwards, and to the fact that the problem of supervision is the only one which has survived the disarmament conference, but also to the circumstance that the armaments industry forms an international basis for the fight against war, since in all countries it is the manufacturers of war material who are more than anyone else responsible for incitement to war and the production of war psychoses.

This has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt by the revelations in the commissions of enquiry into the private armaments industry which have been set up in the United States, Great Britain and other countries.

The tenacity just in the armaments industry of the doctrine that « business is business » — as it is bound to be so long as the industry is in private hands — was demonstrated with an almost grotesque clarity in the evidence given before one of these enquiries. Thus the representative of a great armaments firm contested the benefits of nationalisation with the argument that the State, being traditionally unenterprising, would not be continually on the alert to keep its output up-to-date, i.e., to produce better and more effective instruments of murder. Private enterprise was described as more efficient in this field as, on account of the competition and in the interests of as high a production as possible, it had to strain every nerve to produce first-class goods, and only private enterprise was able to provide the necessary condition of permanent employment in its factories so that on the outbreak of war the country would have the most modern plant at its disposal.

If the manufacture of arms were a function of the State, this witness explained, the State would have to keep large plant in being without having the advantage of supplying the export trade or of engaging in commercial activities. In order to be able to pass rapidly from peace-time to war-time production, it would have to manufacture on a scale far higher than that normally required. After a prolonged peace most of its production would be obsolete. In private enterprise, there was that restless activity arising from competition and the fear of being left behind in the race for employment. The maintenance of armaments plant as it exists to-day in private hands would be impossible for the State in times of lack of work, when it would have to close down the works. Such drastic action would be inevitable, it was urged, if a large part of the work were removed from private hands, and the abolition of private manufacture would entail the

loss to the country of an export of considerable importance, with a correspondingly injurious effect on employment.

Replying to criticism that had been made concerning the employment of ex-Government officials in the private manufacture of arms, the representative of an armaments firm pointed out that it was obvious that the company whose business was the manufacture of armaments must obtain the benefit of having men on its staff with expert knowledge as users of its products, and such knowledge could obviously only be obtained by the engagement of retired specialist officers.

Can it be regarded as a wonder that business men who look on their activities exclusively from the commercial point of view — as they are bound to do so as long as the armaments industry is just a business like any other business — can finally say in a tone of conviction that the « honourable but perhaps mistaken ideal of respecting the sanctity of life and the iniquity of war... has sometimes been exaggerated to the disadvantage of certain other facts of public life » ?

These and similar arguments are used to warn the world against the decommercialisation of the armaments industry in the interests of the highest possible development of the technique of murder! On the basis of such considerations, the armaments industry — as has been officially confirmed by the League of Nations — distributes its bribes and buys members of Parliament, journalists and men in public life to be its servants.

The problem of the supervision of arms and munitions is more acute to-day than ever before. Not only in the United States and Great Britain, but also in numerous other countries, such as Belgium, France, Holland, Sweden, etc., commissions of enquiry have been set up and nationalisation brought under discussion. To-day it is quite obvious that as long as nationalisation has not been put into practice and the world is forced to fall back on the supervision of the private industry, this supervision, apart from the direct check on the industry itself, must be enforced mainly at national frontiers and must go beyond them. This entails the existence of accurate knowledge and, in most cases, thorough revision of customs regulations (declaration of goods, etc.), thus touching on the same problems which arose in the application of the embargo on imports and exports as part of the sanctions against Italy.

For the IFTU's Anti-War Committee, which was charged years ago with the examination of this very problem, there is now enough information and material actually available to justify the most thorough investigation. The measures applied in the most varied spheres by more than fifty governments in connection with the sanctions, and the numerous Orders, Decrees and Acts which have been promulgated for the application of the sanctions have provided completely new spheres of activity, supervision and systematic treatment for the Trade Unions in the different countries. The field of action opened out in the financial and economic sphere by the steps taken in connection with sanctions is in fact so amazingly vast that the National Centres, occupied as they are with all kinds of current and special problems, have been unable to meet, to an extent satisfactory to both sides, the request made right at the outset by the IFTU Secretariat for systematic and detailed information in this subject. It is just for this reason that increased importance, which should be emphasised here,



attaches to the appeals also made from the outset by the IFTU Secretariat for precautions to be taken nationally, such as the appointment of specific persons or bodies to prepare and examine material, etc.

It is just on this point that the experience of sanctions in the Italo-Abyssinian war can be of the greatest use. Consideration must be given also to the practical examination and treatment of the problem of mutual financial aid, which has been dealt with theoretically for a long time, and which is necessary so that that section of the workers may be assisted which may be called on to take active steps against the aggressor.

All these problems have an importance which goes beyond that of the political conclusion of a conflict, and the workers have never indulged in any illusions about this, even while expressing their full readiness to support the League in the practical application of sanctions. When the IFTU, in the case of the Japanese attack on China, advocated League action with the same energy, although unfortunately with less success, it stated quite clearly that the League was powerless because the Great Powers which dominated it wished it to be so. We know that, although the League has intervened in this case, the same great Powers are concerned as in the case of Japan and that they are only taking action this time because, apart from their imperialistic motives, they know they cannot afford to maintain a completely negative attitude in view of the state of world opinion.

In judging the Italo-Abyssinian war, great importance attaches to the facts that this is the first time that the League machinery has been set in motion and tried out on the question of the aggressor and that the proposals worked out inside the League have proved that the Covenant is a thoroughly practical instrument if the other necessary conditions exist. The important thing to note here is that proposals 1 to 5 of the Co-ordinating Committee were not only accepted in most cases by more than fifty of the fifty-six States Members of the League, but have been applied, and that this has provided the opportunity of drawing useful conclusions for the future from the present action.

In direct connection with this are the three questions which were put to National Centres arising out of the new policy for the fight against war decided on by the Brussels Congress, and which unfortunately still remain unanswered to a great degree.

For questions 2 and 3 (2 : Do you consider that the IFTU Executive is competent to determine the best moment for launching the action prescribed by the Brussels Resolution ? 3 : Do you consider that, when the Executive has decided this question of the propitious moment, it would be necessary to convene the General Council or some other form of International Conference before proceeding to take action ?) precedents have now been given by the steps taken in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian war. And the experience obtained sheds new light on question 1 : « What do you consider to be the best practical way of carrying out the Anti-War Resolution, especially in connection with the general strike ? Above all, what measures would you yourselves take ? »

A case has arisen such as was envisaged by the British comrades when they drew up their statement of policy on this subject : « The lack of an independent Trade Union Movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria, etc., makes the calling of a General Strike against their Govern-

ments an impossibility. In other countries, such as Japan, the Trade Union organisation is too weak to be able to restrain its Government... A general strike under such circumstances could not possibly be made effective by the Trade Unions in those countries. The responsibility for stopping war ought not to be placed upon the Trade Union Movement alone. Every citizen who wants peace and every other section of the Labour Movement, must share the responsibility of any organised action that might be taken to prevent war. » From this point of view, there is therefore now much food for thought.

The Congress has to decide — first of all in a general discussion — on its attitude towards all these problems. If it is shown that there is adequate material for further examination, decisions must be taken accordingly, so that the competent bodies for such further treatment may get to work. Possibly those committees and sub-committees should be set up as were formerly proposed by the Dutch comrades.

The fight for peace, which is mainly the struggle for an ideal, and the fight against war, which is mainly a matter of its practical expression, must be linked together in a commonsense manner. The world will then understand the issue and will join our side against those who, like Hitler, regard « the ideal of peace and humanity as the expression of a mixture of stupidity, cowardice and conceit ».

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This report does not contain a special section on the fight against Fascism, because this question is treated in detail in the Secretariat's Report on Activities and the oral report and the debate on this subject must take place at the Congress in private session.

## **Freedom of Trade Union Association**

### **The Rights and Role of the Trade Unions under Economic Planning**

#### **REPORT OF RUDOLF TAYERLE**

##### **PRELIMINARY NOTE.**

The present document is not intended to be the final report for the approval of the International Congress. Our sole object is to supply a basis for a preliminary exchange of views to facilitate the issue of opinions and conclusions.

For us, the problem presents two main aspects, which are indicated in the title of the item on the agenda. On the one hand, we shall have to consider the problem of freedom of Trade Union association in the present capitalist society; on the other, the functions and rights of Trade Union organisations in a system based on economic planning.

##### **I. — FREEDOM OF TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION AND THE PRESENT CAPITALIST STATE**

We may consider this aspect of the problem under two headings : freedom of association and freedom of Trade Union action.

Before considering what principles should govern freedom of Trade Union association, strictly so-called, and freedom of Trade Union action, we must define the general attitude of the Trade Union Movement to the political form of the State.

Our Trade Union Movement — a free and independent one — has as its fundamental and essential mission the defence of the economic interests of its members. It is not a party political movement and it guarantees its members the fullest liberty of political opinion and individual philosophy. But the Trade Union organisations neither can nor should consider themselves unaffected by the political form of the State; they have pronounced and, if they are to be logical, they must continue to pronounce in favour of political democracy, that form of the State which will enable them to pursue and achieve their economic objectives under the best conditions.

Seeing that the conception of Trade Unionism and its motive power

originate with the worker as a producer forming part of a trade or industry, that is to say, sharing in the multitudinous human activities which, taken as a whole, constitute the economic entity of the State, it will be evident that Trade Union organisations cannot but be supporters of the democratic State, since such democratic State is or at least should be the political expression of the sum total of individual desires, such as are formed at the various stages of the economic life of a nation from the humblest group of villagers throughout the economic aggregations of the various districts right up to the most centralised national organisations.

The State has a life of its own. It forms a hierarchy and a bureaucracy. It is very ready to sacrifice individual interests to its own existence. Even in a democratic State, there is danger that the executive, finding the popular will a hindrance, may exaggerate the principle of centralisation and may even claim complete and absolute power. The very fact that the work of Trade Union organisations is closely associated with immediate individual needs renders them the natural and appropriate organs to combat these dictatorial tendencies of the central power.

As to the origin of political democracy, we must not lose sight of the fact that at the time when it was fighting feudalism, its essential aim was the achievement of individual political liberty; it is this liberation of the individual which set its seal on the new political form of the State, and this seal has still left its imprint on the State, although circumstances are now fundamentally different.

The present State is an essentially political State, a State which is in some sort a preserve devoted to the political contests of the political parties supporting it.

It has been and still is one of the gravest mistakes of contemporary democracies not to have given their attention early enough to those economic tasks which have now become the chief preoccupation of the modern State. Even now they are seeking political solutions to problems which are fundamentally economic.

It is these unfortunate errors which have facilitated the development of all the new political departures of to-day. Yet even these newer movements are devoting themselves to objectives which are essentially more political than economic.

The Trade Unions have no illusions as to the imperfections of modern democracies, but if they support democracy more zealously than ever, urging the « organising » and perfecting of it, it is because they are unshakably faithful to their economic task, which can only be achieved permanently and with equity when it leads to harmony between all who take an active and genuine share in economic life, a harmony based on the free co-operation of all the individuals making up a free State.

#### A. — Freedom of Association.

Reverting to freedom of association strictly so-called, we shall do well to consider certain aspects of it.

The first point to which we may give our attention is that of the recognition of Trade Unions in law, in whatsoever form this may be effected : whether by registration, the necessity for the authorisation of Trade Union rules, regulations as to the use to be made of funds, etc.;

in some cases these imply the acceptance of the principle of control, by some public authority, of Trade Union-administration or finance. It is a much-disputed and a very debateable question, whether Trade Union organisations should accept such control, seeing that it can so easily be converted into very undesirable interference with the internal affairs of free Trade Unions.

Under the same heading we may call attention to the endeavours of our enemies, of employers and of reactionary politicians, to provide too many guarantees of the right to work and the right not to organise. In every country in which the enemies of free Trade Unionism have succeeded in securing special legislation for the protection of those who do not want to organise or who claim the right to work when their comrades are on strike for the defence of their conditions of work or wages, experience has shown that the real point at issue has not been so much the protection of individual liberty, as our enemies declare, as the paralysis of the propaganda and action of the Trade Unions and the frustration of their freedom of association.

These considerations lead us straight to the idea of compulsory organisation: i.e., that moral compulsion which is urged by many ardent free Trade Unionists on the ground that the worker who benefits by all the advantages of organisation and Trade Union action has no right to hold aloof from the obligations thereby incurred, nor the right to endanger by his aloofness the efficiency of the workers' weapon of defence, the Trade Union.

For some time past demands have been raised for this moral obligation to be converted into a legal one. There is however a great difference between the compulsion exerted by the State and the moral stimulus resulting from strong Trade Union organisation. But the supporters of legal compulsion do not always consider it as necessarily incompatible with democracy and liberty; it might, they say, be laid down that all must join a Trade Union, but that all must have absolute and inalienable freedom to choose their organisation.

Lastly, there is the problem of the association of Trade Unions among themselves and by trade, both nationally and internationally. Free Trade Unionism will never allow prohibitions or obstacles in respect of the grouping together of Trade Unions by locality or by trade. The right of the worker to combine must be incontrovertible, whether he belongs to industry, agriculture, commerce, transport, education, or scientific work; and whether he is working for a public service or for private enterprise.

#### B. — Freedom of Trade Union Action.

Trade Union action, the essential weapons of which are the right of coalition and the right to strike, must not be subject to any restriction so long as the means employed are not contrary to the general legislation providing for public order and for the prevention of crimes against the common law.

Trade Union action comprises the action and the direct fight of Trade Union organisations, whether local, district, occupational, national or international, for the securing of better working and living conditions for all categories of workers. Such action takes place both in the factory

and in the industry, where it is consolidated into collective agreements; it also occurs in the most varied forms of public life, where it is reflected in such organs as Joint Committees, Technical Committees, National and International Economic Councils, and bodies for the administration and control of social insurance and vocational education; also in special Labour Courts, etc. The general principle on which this representation should be based is as follows : when representatives or administrators are being elected, only the Trade Union organisations should be regarded as qualified to propose candidates to the elective bodies for the occupation, the industry or the whole country; when representatives or administrators are appointed by the public authorities, the authorities must appoint directly and without other procedure the candidates put forward by the competent Trade Union organisations, whether the appointments be made by proportional representation or on the principle of the most representative organisation.

In conclusion, it seems useful to add a few words on the question of compulsory arbitration.

Social and economic disputes are steadily extending their scope and tend more and more to envelop entire industries, thus profoundly affecting the economic life of the country. In some quarters there is a demand for compulsory arbitration of these disputes in cases where the national economic life might be imperilled by them.

Then the collective agreements which tend more and more to regulate relations between employers and workers can only be fully effective if they are applied to the whole of industry.

This compulsory application could be arranged for by enforcement by the authorities of the agreement which has been freely concluded between the most representative organisation of workers and employers throughout the industry concerned, thus also covering unorganised workers and employers.

Moreover, the idea of compulsory arbitration is envisaged for cases where it has not been possible freely to conclude a collective agreement. There is however some danger in accepting the principle of compulsory arbitration of labour disputes. The policy has been legally enforced in certain countries, but rejected by the Trade Unions in others.

## II. — THE ROLE AND THE RIGHTS OF FREE TRADE UNIONS UNDER ECONOMIC PLANNING

Discussion of the role and rights of the Unions under economic planning calls first of all for some preliminary observations on certain conceptions or the methods employed or envisaged for solving social questions and in particular the problem of social relations between the different economic factors in the State.

There is first of all the solution of anarcho-syndicalism but it seems impossible to substitute for the present political structure a regime based on the spontaneous, harmonious and free collaboration of individuals who make up the economic life of a nation.

Then there are the solutions presented in the form of the « corporate State » by the Fascists, National Socialists, Roman Catholic doctrine and even some sections of liberalism.

In the first period of propaganda for these new doctrines, many people were carried away by the promises of peace in industry and social justice, although far-seeing leaders and workers have never allowed themselves to be taken in by the presentation of Fascism as a social renaissance. Some ten years of Fascist government have gone by in Italy, nearly three years in Germany and nearly two in Austria, and the experiences of these countries do not leave any illusion as to the value of the dictatorial corporate regime, either for the workers or for any other section of society. The idea of the corporate State has been put forward by the Fascists of all countries and all tendencies to console the workers for the complete loss of their rights and of their organisations for safeguarding their social and economic attainments. Experience has shown that there is no possible compromise between the principle of political dictatorship and any kind of real corporate State subjected to this political dictatorship. This is why there is to-day no more serious talk of the corporate State in any of the Fascist countries. As a matter of fact, it has never entered the heads of the Fascist dictators to put the corporate State into effect. For them the question has never been anything else than to conquer political power in order to establish a personal dictatorship or the dictatorship of a political party. All the protagonists of the corporate State, whether they be Fascists like Mussolini, National Socialists like Hitler, Roman Catholics like Dollfuss and Schuschnigg or even liberals, consider this corporative order as a subsidiary part of their personal dictatorship or of the governing power of the ruling capitalist class. Mussolini laid down the value of the corporate State in one sentence when he said that « the corporate State does not mean the State being in the hands of the corporations, but the corporations being in the hands of the State ». Hitler was even more explicit when he recognised that the efforts made towards the corporate State in Germany had demonstrated the incompatibility of this corporative conception with his conception of the political State: « The corporate State supposes the autonomy of the corporations under the supreme direction of the State... The different occupational groups within the corporation should collaborate among themselves and with the other corporations... There is public responsibility in the exercise of an occupation which still, as a matter of fact, remains private... Discipline in the occupation and social order must be maintained by the Labour Courts and the Courts of Honour... Social formation and social education are indispensable. »

Finally there is the Communist solution. There is certainly no need to point out here that the part entrusted to the Communist Trade Unions in Soviet Russia does not in any way correspond to the conceptions of free Trade Unionism. These organisations are under the absolute supervision of the State, which is a political dictatorship. The Trade Unions have no means at their disposal for freely defending the interests of their members against the State, and their work consists in the main of increasing the individual output of the workers, the productivity of the factory and the whole of industry. The Bolshevik solution does not therefore show any of the characteristics of free Trade Unionism. The Russian Trade Unions are neither autonomous nor independent nor free, and freedom of association is unknown.

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We have set out above why the Trade Union Movement is in favour of the democratic form of the State. It would be superfluous here to go further into this point in its relation to the role and rights of the free Trade Unions under economic planning.

The application of economic planning, whether it covers the whole of industry or only a part of it, implies immediately that there shall be direct and responsible control by the Unions and it also raises the problem of socialisation.

Most of the Plans have abandoned the idea of centralised State capitalism, which has in the past been given the preference by the political and industrial Labour Movement. Planning has been substituted for this solution and has in some countries already been applied in the first stages. The present-day conception of socialisation and the public management of planned industries never implies direct administration by the political State or its government. On the contrary, the predominating idea in all the Plans is autonomous industrial management based on the three sections of interest — employers, workers and consumers — and it is the free Trade Unions which will have to take part in this management of industry as the workers' representatives. It must be clearly understood here that in no case and under no circumstances can the Trade Union Movement think of giving up the right of association and the right to strike.

The struggle on a free basis, which has always been a factor in progress, must keep its place in the future among human activities.

Discipline and the feeling of responsibility will increase in the Trade Unions in the same proportion as planning roots out the chaos of the present economic regime and leads us to a juster distribution of the world's wealth. The choice between restriction and freedom will become less conflicting in direct proportion to the progress made by economic planning, which will remove the causes of economic injustice.

Even when the demands for promoting which the Unions want their freedom have been largely realised, thus becoming guaranteed rights, freedom of Trade Union association will still be indispensable. For the acquired rights, even with very solid guarantees, could at any minute be threatened, and, even in a more or less planned State, in view of the egotistic, centralistic and bureaucratic tendencies inherent in all States however composed, the Unions must always keep a sharp look-out and be ready at any time to defend their own existence as a guarantee of a permanent check.

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## FIRST DAY

Wednesday, 8th July, 1936.

### Morning Session.

#### Opening of the Congress.

The Seventh International Trade Union Congress was opened by the President, Walter M. CITRINE, at 10.0 a.m. precisely, who gave the floor to the British comrades who wished to welcome the Congress.

Lord SNELL (Chairman of the London County Council) said that he represented the London County Council, the greatest municipal authority in the world. Whatever party they belonged to, they all in England recognised that Trade Unionism was an essential part of social organisation, and that it was important to every nation that it should be strong and efficient. It had a great part to play in the moulding of society to new forms. In the country they were visiting, England, Trade Unionism had a long and very honourable record, although it had suffered persecution and abuse.

It was his privilege to say that they were meeting in a land in which there was complete freedom of speech, and no penalties on opinion.

They came to England at a time of great crisis in the world, at a time when civilisation was in the grip of strange new forces, the full meaning of which we did not really understand, and it might be possible that if all else failed, upon the organised workers of the world, the great Trade Union and other workers' movements, would fall the responsibility of giving the people a lead which would ensure peace. They came at a time when men were being coerced in many parts of the world to adopt strange new devices of government, when they were asked to assent to what were called quick and easy ways of reaching the goal desired.

We had nothing of that kind to offer in this country. For us the old tried ways of freedom and democracy were quite good enough. We desired nothing better than that the citizens of each country should meet together to discuss and arrive at conclusions honourable to all.

To the visitors he would say that they would find London a friendly, homely place. The British were an island people, and bore the marks of their isolation in their character. They did not carry about with them the graces of a polished idleness, and did not possess the arts of smiling insincerity, but the citizens of London, he was sure, would wish delegates a hearty welcome to their city, and express their best wishes for the visitors' comfort.

Major ATTLEE (Leader of the British Labour Party) said that he was privileged to bring fraternal greetings from the British Labour Party. The Trade Union Movements in all countries were sister movements to the British Trade Union Movement, and the British Labour Party was the child of a happy marriage between the Trade Unions and the Socialist Movement. They worked together in the closest and most friendly co-operation. He would say that in the last few years co-operation had been greater than ever in the work of the National Council of Labour, in which the two Movements are united. They also worked on the basis of the friendliest interchange of views with the great Co-operative Movement.

The Labour Movements all over the world had taken their shape in accordance with the conditions of their various countries, but everywhere there was the same spirit.

He conveyed a greeting to all, but he would specially like to give a cordial welcome to the comrades who had gained such splendid victories for our Movement during the past few months — our comrades of France and Spain. He would also greet our comrades who were not able to be here — comrades all over the world who were in prison, some in a prison of the body, others in a prison of the soul.

They were meeting in difficult and dangerous times. They were meeting as a great international body at a time when it was never more necessary to emphasise internationalism, against the false claims of a heated and feverish nationalism. They realised that in building up a new international movement, each one of the nations had its contribution to make, that in joining in a great international movement we did not sacrifice the individuality of our countries any more than we did in joining our Socialist and Trade Union Movements. We united in order that we might have more freedom and more progress.

He emphasised the terrible threat that hung over the world, the threat of another war. The workers everywhere stood for peace, and the importance of this gathering was that they held the key to peace. Permanent peace could never be built up in the world except on a foundation of social justice, and it was for social justice that the Trade Union and Socialist Movements stood throughout the world. Our lesson to-day was that we were moving in a new era; we were seeing the struggles of an old order, we were seeing governments failing because they would not stand for social justice, because even those who wished to build a new world would not recognise the need for a solid foundation, which was the right of every worker to enjoy to the full the bounties of nature and the conquests of science.

Those in the International Trade Union Movement had a great task to-day, and he hoped that their deliberations would strengthen and consolidate the forces of Labour throughout the world. This was the rallying point for the forces of peace and the continued progress of civilisation.

A. M. WALL (London Trades Council) expressed his pleasure at being able to speak on behalf of London Trade Unionism. In London they had given shelter to many of those who had been driven from their own countries by political persecution. The London Trades Council had been associated with every phase of the international working-class movement, dating back to 1884.

It was glad to have the delegates in its midst, because London was governed by a Socialist majority, and they were glad to have the delegates here at a season when London was at its best. He hoped the delegates would enjoy the opportunities provided by the organisers of this Congress when the day's work was done. As Londoners they had a certain secret pride in the greatness of their city, in the freedom of its institutions and in the ideals of freedom and fair play which they struggled to preserve. He spoke for the London working man, who in his own way was the champion of liberty for others beside himself, and had filled these London streets with the tumult of great demonstrations in defence of free speech and the rights of political asylum.

The speaker offered a welcome to delegates as the representatives of our great and growing movement, a world-wide movement, whose community of purpose gatherings of this kind clearly proclaimed, and he expressed the wish that their deliberations would lead to the security of peace and the extension of democracy in every land.

Walter M. CITRINE (President of the IFTU) expressed thanks, on behalf of the assembly, to Lord Snell, Major Attlee and A. M. Wall for their welcoming speeches, and said he was convinced that by the end of the week the delegates would have learnt a great deal about British traditions and habits and institutions. He asked the three fraternal delegates to transmit to their organisations the hearty thanks of the Congress.

The President then delivered his opening address :

## President's Address.

« For the first time since I had the honour of election as President of the International Federation of Trade Unions it is my privilege to address our Triennial Congress in my own country's capital city. British Labour gives you a hearty welcome. It is a matter of pride and satisfaction to the trade unionists of London that we can receive our continental comrades and overseas visitors in a city that is under Labour rule. We are still more proud of the fact that in this city the delegates of our international movement are assured of freedom of assembly, the right of free speech, and personal security.

When our sixth Congress met in Brussels three years ago, Nazi terrorism and tyranny were destroying the foundations of working class liberty in Germany. Trade Unionism was being stamped out, along with the organisation of Social Democracy, by the methods of murder, robbery, and proscription. Within a few months, by similar methods, Trade Unionism and Social Democracy were overwhelmed in Austria. Simultaneously in Spain the Fascist reaction gained the upper hand, but happily only for a short time. In Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and other countries, the regime of dictatorship and repression seemed to be growing stronger and more ruthless.

Nevertheless, since our last Congress, much has happened to fortify our courage and to inspire and strengthen us for the struggle in which our international movement is continuously engaged. There are unmistakable signs of recovery inside the International itself, reflected in the increased membership of the affiliated Unions which several countries are able to report. This expansion of membership coincides, moreover, with a significant development of the economic and political power of the organised millions of wage-earners represented here to-day.

In particular, we cordially congratulate our French comrades upon the magnificent achievements attendant upon the recent advent of the Socialist Party to power in the Government formed by Léon Blum. Trade Unionism, Socialism and Democracy have been vindicated in France most impressively in the re-establishment of working class unity, in the electoral triumphs of the Popular Front, in the disciplined demonstrations of the workers during the spontaneous strike movement, and in the economic and social measures so promptly introduced by the new Government. Many who joined in the strike movement were not then in the Unions; but we are glad to note that a large influx of new members has carried the total of the Unions represented by our French comrades here until it has now touched the three-and-a-half million mark. In many respects it resembles the movement which swept over the British working class in 1911 and which left an indelible impression on the

Time will not permit me to dwell upon developments in France. It must suffice for me to say that we rejoice in the victory of French Trade Unionism and Socialism over the enemies of both. It has undoubtedly checked the progress of reaction, and it has already produced material benefits for the French workers. It is important to emphasise the fact that these results were won by the power and influence of Trade Unionism. One trembles in thinking of what might have happened in France had there not been the strong framework of Trade Unionism in existence when the outburst of popular feeling occurred. So orderly, disciplined and irresistible were the forces represented by the Unions that the resistance of capitalism was overcome, and the employers' federation agreed to negotiate with the representatives of the CGT in the presence of Ministers in the new Government. The Maignon Agreement gave 7,000,000 French workers the 40-hour week; increases in pay ranging from 7 to 15 per cent; Trade Union recognition and collective agreements; holidays with pay, and other advantages. These have all been reaffirmed and embodied in legislation by the Government led by Léon Blum. We take special note of the fact that the law introducing the 40-hour week in all industrial and commercial establishments applies the principle that wages must not be reduced; this is in accordance with the Recommendation of last year's International Labour Conference, and is a condition upon which our Trade Union Movement has insisted, nationally and internationally, in its campaign for the shorter working week.

Our warmest fraternal tribute I tender also in your name to the delegates from Spain. They bring with them to this Congress the assurance that another victory has been won by Trade Unionism and Socialism in a country which, three years ago, was in the grip of Fascist reaction. We congratulate our Spanish comrades on the

brave and stubborn struggle they have carried to a successful issue, and acclaim the heroes of the revolution who dared death, imprisonment, and exile to win back the right of free elections, a free Parliament, freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of association, and a free press. We regret the recent revengeful outburst of the opponents of the workers which has cost the lives of good and steadfast comrades.

Tribute must be paid, too, to our Belgian comrades who guided the recent spontaneous strike movement to a conclusion not less enheartening than was attained in France. The Belgian workers have gained the 40-hour week, holidays with pay, and the important reform of a minimum wage of 32 francs for an 8-hour day. These gains, as in France, are being translated into legislation but they were brought to fruition by Trade Union solidarity, initiative and loyalty.

I have enumerated only a few events of capital importance which have taken place since our last assembly. They illustrate the resurgence of the Trade Union spirit and the rebirth of our movement's vital energies throughout the world. In economic matters indeed the dominant note of the last three years has been the note of recovery. The outlook from the economic standpoint is brighter than it was three years ago. Industrial and commercial recovery was only beginning in 1933 and gathered strength slowly in 1934; but last year and in the first half of the present year improvement has been fairly general and continuous, notwithstanding the effects of currency warfare and the persistent pursuit of chimerical ideals of economic nationalism which have done nothing but impede the flow of international trade. The tendency towards increased production and more employment is world-wide.

Admittedly, those countries which have devalued their currencies have gained most from this expansion of the world's economic activity. Examination of the national indices of industrial production shows during the three-year period varying rates of recovery as between different groups of countries; but the tendency is unquestionably towards expansion of output in the industries producing raw materials and in the manufacturing trades. Figures of world production of pig-iron, steel, coal, oil and electrical power, motor vehicles and textiles — all of them reliable indices of industrial activity when taken together — confirm this conclusion.

Unemployment, too, has fallen. It reached its peak, in the world as a whole, in 1932; according to the world-index of the International Labour Office it stood in that year at 280 as against 100 in 1929; it fell in 1934 to 219; last year it dropped further and the trend during the current year is still in a downward direction.

None the less I have an uneasy feeling that the improvement may be temporary only and not well-grounded. In my address to the Brussels Congress in 1933 I expounded the major causes which were universally recognised as lying at the root of the depression. These were monetary and credit restrictions; tariff barriers; the burden of war debts and reparations; unstable political conditions in many countries; and the crushing cost of armaments. Most of these are still with us, and some in an aggravated form. The only factors which have been removed are those of war debts and reparations, and these have disappeared by the time-honoured method of nations refusing to pay their debts.

How can we feel in these circumstances that the recovery is real and likely to continue? None the less the recovery, inexplicable as it appears to be, is a fact, but how far it is connected with the feverish rearmament programme, in which most of the principal countries are engaged, is difficult to determine.

A further relevant fact which time will not permit me to elaborate is the improvement which has taken place in wages, working hours, and social insurance arrangements in many countries during the last three years. Pressure in this direction was maintained by the trade unions even in the period of acute depression. Certainly it has not been relaxed during the period of economic recovery, and gains have been recorded which are in several countries, quite substantial.

It is a matter of profound concern to our Trade Union Movement, therefore, that we can claim little real progress towards fulfilment of the 40-hour week movement in the International Labour Conferences. One would have thought that recent events in France and Belgium, if not the brightening economic outlook, would have hastened the accomplishment of this aim at Geneva. On the contrary, employers' representatives in this year's conference, assisted, I am ashamed to say, by the representatives of several Governments, continued to resist the workers' claim.

Except for one industry, that of public works financed or subsidised by central Governments, the necessary two-thirds majority could not be obtained for draft

conventions applying the 40-hour standard to specific industries, including iron and steel, engineering, mining, textile, building. Methods of obstruction and evasion adopted by the employers' representatives with the connivance of some Governments can delay but not stop this drive towards the shorter working week. The claim is founded not only upon the principles of social justice, but upon considerations of economic necessity. Only in this way can the general body of workers obtain their rightful share of the benefits of scientific discovery and mechanical invention. Technological progress is a mockery if it does not emancipate the toiling millions from drudgery and give mankind not only the material abundance it has brought within reach, but the leisure to cultivate the higher spiritual, ethical and cultural values which lie beyond material things, and constitute the essence of civilised life.

I turn finally to a brief survey of the general international situation which confronts us at this Congress. It is infinitely more difficult and dangerous than the situation which faced us at Brussels three years ago. At that Congress, as delegates then present will recall, serious consideration was given to the problem of war, and to the question of working class action for peace and disarmament. A policy was then laid down which urged upon the united Labour Movement of the world the obligation of joining in the struggle against war, and of assisting to provide such financial aid as might be necessary in support of those sections of the working class, which might be called upon to take active measures against aggressor nations. The Brussels Congress also regarded the General Strike as the ultimate weapon of the working class against war, but pointed out that working class action, if it is to be effective, must be taken at the psychological moment. How the international movement would know when that moment arrived was clearly indicated in the Brussels declaration, which also laid down the guiding principles of the Movement's international policy.

Those guiding principles remain in force. Their validity has, indeed, been reinforced during the last three years. But I shall not be misunderstood when I say that the Brussels declaration was framed to meet a very different state of affairs from the one we have to deal with to-day. Three years ago it was still possible to believe, or at least to hope, that the Governments represented in the League of Nations were united in support of the collective system, and resolute in their determination to take common action against an aggressive treaty-breaking Power.

In the last three years, however, much has happened. Italian Fascism and Nazi Socialism have both thrown off the mask. They have revealed themselves as a lawless and aggressive imperialism which recognises no right but the armed force it commands. Hardly had our Sixth Congress dispersed before the Hitler Government of Germany struck its first blow at the League system. Germany withdrew from the League, and thereby sounded the death knell of the world Disarmament Conference.

Step by step the calculated acts of aggression and defiance of public law on the part of both Germany and Italy have led to the present crisis. The climax was reached by Germany's re-occupation of the Rhineland and Italy's invasion and annexation of Abyssinia. These events constitute a challenge which the League Powers have yet to answer. I will not pause to characterise these events, or waste words in denouncing the violation of treaties they involve, save to express the horror and detestation with which we saw the extermination of the Abyssinian people by merciless methods of warfare which Fascist Italy, along with other Powers, had agreed to proscribe and renounce.

Grave issues are raised by these events not only for the Governments belonging to the League, but for the peoples they represent. For the International Labour Movement, too, the existing crisis constitutes a serious test of policy. The present humiliating position of the League is not the result merely of its failure to restrain Italy's aggression, or of its desertion of Abyssinia in its extremities of need, but of divisions among the League Powers regarding their attitude towards the two dictatorships which are bent upon the destruction of the collective system. Responsibility for the paralysis and frustration of the League cannot be concentrated upon a single Government; that frustration and paralysis are the outcome of the weakness, vacillation and disunity which marked the foreign policy of the leading Powers in the League.

At our Brussels Congress it was possible to contemplate the League's future with hope and confidence, having in view the accession of strength and influence resulting from the entry of Soviet Russia, and the more sympathetic attitude which

was then being adopted by the Government of the United States. A new alignment of the nations which are seeking to pursue a constructive policy of peace and disarmament, was more than a possibility following Russia's entry into the League, which became an accomplished fact in the autumn of the following year. Such an alignment has not yet been firmly and clearly established. Divergent tendencies of policy have developed. They are illustrated on the one hand by the relationships between France and Italy which disabled the League in its application of sanctions, and on the other hand, by Britain's new relations with Germany which confused the action of the Locarno Powers over the re-occupation of the Rhineland. As the international crisis deepens with the threat of further lawless defiance over the question of Danzig an imperative obligation is revealed for the International Labour Movement to state bluntly and firmly its policy in relation to war and peace.

The guiding principles of that policy, as I have already said, were laid down at our Brussels Congress. They require in my judgment to be restated in their application to the new situation which has arisen from the temporary paralysis of the League and the emergence of new causes of international conflict and possible war. They will be deliberated by you on the Report of Comrade Jouhaux during this week.

I state a personal conviction only in saying that a serious responsibility lies upon our international movement to give guidance and direction to public opinion in all countries where the fear and hatred of war prevails to-day. The will of the people is for peace. Governmental policies, on the other hand, through shortsightedness, confusion and contradiction have enormously increased in the last few months the possibilities of war. It is our responsibility, as an international movement, to state a positive and realistic policy which will evoke the whole-hearted support, not only of the organised workers, but of the great body of citizens in every country who dread the approach of war. I hope this Congress, therefore, will consider afresh the application of those fundamental principles set forth in the declaration of our Brussels Congress three years ago. To say that our Movement is opposed to war in all circumstances is, in my opinion, dangerously delusive and misleading. It is dangerous because it creates in the minds of the peace-seeking peoples an illusory confidence, and it is delusive because on the principles we have ourselves laid down for our guidance in international policy, circumstances may arise in which we may find ourselves called upon to make war for the enforcement of peace and the maintenance of public law.

It seems to me, therefore, necessary for our international movement to restate once more in the plainest terms, that we are pledged to maintain the collective system, and remain loyal to the League of Nations. Labour stands for the rule of law. We have taken as our guiding principle support of the League as an organ of international conciliation and security. This means that the nationally organised movements represented in this assembly stand pledged severally and collectively to insist that national governments will receive our support only insofar as those governments undertake to settle all disputes with foreign powers by peaceful means. It means that we severally and collectively declare that we will not serve or support any government which becomes involved in war by its own aggressive act, or refuses to submit a dispute to arbitration, or is condemned as an aggressor by the League of Nations. Let us make that issue clear. It is a positive and realistic policy, but it also imposes upon us the responsibility of enabling our Governments, insofar as they are loyal to the League, to fulfil their obligations and develop their armed resources accordingly. We recognise clearly all that this implies. Let there be no misunderstanding about our readiness to assist in organising the defence of peace and the enforcement of international law.

Let there be no misunderstanding either of our attitude towards the agreements among groups of nations united by geographical interests, or by their community of purpose, in defence of peace. In accordance with our principles we will foster and promote such regional pacts of mutual assistance which supplement and reinforce the system of collective security of which the League of Nations is the instrument. Responsibility lies upon each national movement represented in this assembly to hasten the action of its Government in this direction. It is our task now to strengthen and reinforce the League. The League cannot be destroyed. It is the embodiment of the world's hope of peace. Though Governments may falter in their support of the League we remain loyal to it. Our faith in the principles of collective security has been deepened. We realise that the fundamental inter-dependence of nations necessitates some such world institution as the League. Had the nations

represented therein been determined to prevent aggression, provisions of the Covenant and of such supplementary treaties as the Pact of Locarno would have sufficed to stop the aggressor.

We do not admit that the aggressor has won. We will do all that lies in our power to prevent the aggressor attaining his aims and gathering the spoils of war. One lesson at least we have learned. The League must have behind it the organised force which will enable it to carry out its decisions. This does not mean an uncontrolled expansion of national armaments, but rather an international agreement for the pooling of the armed resources of those nations which are intent upon peace, and are resolved to enforce international law.

By such unity in support of a common programme the menace of Fascism now nakedly manifest as the fomenter of international strife, and the principal inciter to war, can be met. It is necessary for us, not only to be on guard against Fascism, but to be resolute and persistent in our efforts to destroy it. Fascism is growing in various forms in many of the countries represented in this assembly to-day. We must be vigilant to check suspicious tendencies in this direction wherever they appear. It is a crime against civilisation to allow this monstrous system to continue which defies the State, destroys personal freedom, and the institutions of democracy, and rules by contempt of the most sacred rights of mankind.

Plainly now a struggle to the death has arisen between this system and the ideals of freedom and human right which our Movement represents. We have done much, we can proudly claim, to arrest the progress of Fascism and to relieve the hardships of its victims. We can do more to help those who in Germany, Austria and Italy carry on the struggle and brave prison, the torture chamber, and death itself, rather than suffer the degradation of life under this brutish dictatorship. The boycott must be strengthened. It is more effective than many of us realise. Organisation of the boycott through the World Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi Council has been effective; but it can be made and must be made more effective still. I summon this Congress afresh, and through it the internationally organised movement we represent, to continue the struggle against tyranny and terrorism for the establishment of peace and security throughout the world. »

Having concluded his presidential address, Comrade Citrine called on Comrade Schevenels, the General Secretary, to speak.

W. SCHEVENELS (General Secretary) read the provisional list of delegates (a final list was to be distributed later on), showing that twenty-two National Centres were represented at the Congress by 132 delegates, and eighteen International Trade Secretariats by thirty-six delegates. These figures included the delegates from Germany, Austria and Dantzig, whose names could not be made public for obvious reasons. Among the fraternal delegates, the General Secretary mentioned those of the Labour and Socialist International, the International Labour Office, the International of Socialist Youth, the Workers' Sports International and the unaffiliated National Centres of Australia, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand and South Africa. Mexico presented a special case; it was now represented not by a fraternal delegate but by a delegate proper, since its National Centre had affiliated the day previously. The United States were represented unofficially by delegates from Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, who were passing through London on the way from Geneva.

The General Secretary read a message of greetings from the American Federation of Labor, signed by its President, William Green, and which ran as follows:

« June 2nd, 1936.

It is with appreciation of the serious implications in the tension in international relations and in the menace to democratic institutions that lies in our prolonged economic and political abnormalities, that on behalf of the American labor movement I send fraternal greetings to organized free labor movements convened in London. This is a time when the organized labor movement needs to make its influence felt for freedom in the political, social and economic fields in the most effective manner and to be alert to conserve the rights it has established through years of struggle.

Although the American Federation of Labor has of late years not been identified with the International Federation of Trade Unions, we feel that your

Interests are our interests and that we must cooperate in making Labor's interests an effective factor in public opinion insistent upon peace between nations. The way to peace between all countries is the maintaining of agencies that can deal effectively with those problems that might develop into causes of wars and for establishing those minimum labor standards that shall prevent commerce between nations from undermining higher living standards which the more progressive countries may establish.

We wish every success in your deliberations and assure you of the good will of the American Labor movement.

(signed) W. GREEN,  
President, American Federation of Labor. »

This message was received with warm applause by the Congress.

The President then made some announcements regarding the arrangements made by the British Trade Unions for the delegates to be taken on a conducted tour of London, to visit Hampton Court, to attend a banquet and to receive the Souvenir Agenda.

He then reminded the meeting that, in virtue of the second article of the Standing Orders, the Congress should appoint a Credentials Committee of five members, and he asked for nominations.

The Credentials Committee was appointed as follows :

Brodečky (Czechoslovakia) ;  
Edwards (Great Britain) ;  
Jensen (Denmark) ;  
Krier (Luxemburg) ;  
Schürch (Switzerland).

The President asked this Committee to start on its work immediately, the Executive would be represented at its meetings by Stolz, the Assistant Secretary.

He then pointed out the procedure for the Congress laid down in Standing Orders, whereby a Committee is appointed to deal with each item on the agenda (except the Report on Activities), the matter being referred to the appropriate Committee after a general discussion. Under Article 3 of the Standing Orders, each Committee should meet after the opening session and appoint its Chairman and rapporteur. The official rapporteur on the question concerned would sit on the Committee and introduce the subject. The work of the Committees could only start after the report had been considered in the plenary Congress. Four Committees would be appointed, on :

1. The Fight against the Crisis ;
2. Action Against War ;
3. Freedom of Association ;
4. Resolutions, Elections, Affiliation Fees, Place of the next Congress.

The President asked each delegation to send in its nominations for the members of each Committee in writing to the General Secretary. Each National Centre was entitled to one representative in each Committee.

Continuing the business, the President pointed out that the printed Report on Activities had been distributed to all National Centres. The Report, which formed Item 3 of the Agenda, was in seven sections : internal organisation, relations with affiliated and non-affiliated organisations, education, youth and women's questions, social policy, the fight against war, reaction and Fascism, economic policy and the financial situation.

A general discussion on these sections would only produce confusion and it would therefore be better to adopt the procedure followed at the Brussels International Congress, and to take the report section by section. Any delegate could discuss any item of the report, each speaker being restricted to five minutes. The General Secretary would make an introductory statement on the report as a whole, after which the first Section, on internal organisation would be open for discussion.



## Item 2 of the Agenda : Report on Activities.

Walter SCHEVENELS (General Secretary, rapporteur) said he did not intend to make a long speech introducing the Report on Activities, since all National Centres had received it in printed form two months ago. It contained 140 pages of close text and they had had good time to study it and make up their minds. There was no object in repeating this information, especially as time was so short. Comrade Citrine whose breadth and depth of view he could not hope to equal, had moreover dealt with many of the political and economic problems facing the workers. He would therefore confine himself to supplementary and explanatory information.

Comrade Citrine had already pointed out how the situation had deteriorated since the International Congress in Brussels. But, although in the last three years Fascism had gained some ground against democracy, with the means which were well-known to all, and assisted by the circumstances, there was at present a magnificent resuscitation of anti-Fascist forces and working class fighting spirit everywhere in the world, and particularly in Europe, which certain people thought inexorably doomed to Fascism. With a satisfaction of which we were entitled to be proud, we could observe a large-scale regrouping of Trade Union and working class forces, both numerical and, what is perhaps more important, moral and psychological as well. Democracy and the workers were once again on the offensive.

It was true that we had lost for the moment Germany, Austria, the Saar, Lithuania and Latvia, but, on the other hand, resounding and very hopeful victories had been won elsewhere, especially in Spain and in France; in both these countries there were to-day unhopd-for prospects of an era of progress of which the whole world would feel the beneficial effect.

Substantial and steady progress had also been recorded in the field of Trade Unionism proper and the growth of membership. In Great Britain a steady increase over the last two years had brought membership up to the 3 1/2 million mark. Sweden had for the first time reached a total of 700,000. The last IPTU Year Book would show progress of ten to twenty per cent., everywhere, notably in Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Argentine, Greece. Special mention should be made of France and Spain, since the materiel and moral progress made in these two countries was so remarkable.

After the first revolution, Spain had had nearly one million members in its Trade Unions — a figure never before reached. The political crisis of 1933 and 1934 reduced this figure to about 500,000, but, since the electoral victory of democracy over Fascism, and the heroic fighting in which the Spanish workers maintained their glorious traditions, the membership of the Unions had sprung up to more than a million and a half. (Applause.)

In France, Schevenels said, the CGT had had about 600,000 members after the Brussels Congress and the CGTU had had 250,000, if his memory served him. Negotiations for unity had proceeded and unity had been realised at Toulouse at a Congress which would form a milestone in working class history. Membership had risen overnight from 850,000 to more than 1,300,000. These were events which one might call revolutionary. First of all the triumphant elections and the wave of stay-in strikes. Membership had risen to three millions, then to three-and-a-half and the latest information received yesterday, gave the figure as more than four millions. (Great applause.)

But there was also an unhappier chapter, which was called Dantzig. The organisation set up to replace the old one had now in its turn also been dissolved. Everyone knew of the vicissitudes undergone by this organisation, subject to constant persecution, and of the efforts made in the League of Nations to preserve from violation the right of association, guaranteed by the Constitution of Dantzig. Our efforts had not yet been able to assure the functioning of our Dantzig organisation, but the speaker hoped that, thanks to new developments in the international situation, and unless there were fresh setbacks, which were unfortunately always possible, there would be a revival of freedom and of Trade Unionism in Dantzig.

It was very satisfactory to note the reaffiliation of Norway and the new affiliation of Mexico. India had affiliated a few months before the Brussels Congress but only provisionally, and this affiliation had now been made definite, and membership was increasing there.

Mention should also be made of the satisfactory state of relations with certain countries which were not yet affiliated but were likely to be soon — Australia,

Japan, New Zealand and the United States, all of which countries had such friendly relations with our International Federation of Trade Unions that they had sent fraternal delegates to the Congress. He shared the hope that the comrades from these distant countries would soon be within the ranks of the International.

The speaker then gave some figures to show the success of our efforts over the past three years. At the Brussels International Trade Union Congress, the total membership had been 8,600,000; later on 650,000 members had been lost in Austria, and still later Latvia and Lithuania had also been lost. At the present time, the new affiliations and the progress made both in Spain and in France, had brought the figure up to 13,500,000, to which attention should be drawn, because it was at the same level as before the temporary loss of Germany and Austria. (Great applause.)

In conclusion Schevenels said that we had certainly not as yet obtained all our demands, we were still menaced by the Fascist danger, but we had moved forward from the defensive to the offensive, and this offensive was the best guarantee of the victory which we should attain and which he was convinced was on the way.

### Norwegian Motion regarding International Unity.

CITRINE (Chairman) stated that the Executive had carefully examined the Norwegian proposal and considered that it should be dealt with by the Congress in connection with that section of the Report dealing with international unity. When this part of the Report came up for discussion, the Norwegian comrades could move their resolution, after which a general discussion would take place. The General Secretary, as rapporteur, had only dealt with the historical aspect of the IFTU's activities, but problems of future action would emerge in the discussion.

Citrine again emphasised the necessity of proceeding chapter by chapter.

KUPERS (Holland), on a point of order, suggested that the Congress discuss the report as a whole, as discussing it in sections would only cause repetition and waste time. He held moreover that the Norwegian motion, which touched on delicate and controversial questions, did not really lend itself to a discussion in the plenary public session. He proposed, therefore, that it be referred to a special committee, whose conclusions would then be dealt with in the plenary session.

CITRINE expressed appreciation of Kupers' intense interest, but said that, before the Brussels Congress, we had had a general discussion on the report as a whole, and the disadvantages of this method had been so manifest that the procedure of discussing it section by section had been proposed. At Brussels, Kupers had also been against this method. The Executive had discussed this question of procedure in detail, and, in view of the good results of the Brussels Congress, it had been unanimously decided to adopt the same method. If Kupers made a formal proposal, the question could be submitted to the Congress.

As regards the Norwegian proposal, Standing Orders laid it down that there must first of all be a discussion in the plenary session, which did not necessarily mean in public. It was not quite clear if Kupers had meant that the discussion should be postponed until the Committee itself met or whether he meant that it should be in private session. Personally, the President thought it should be public. He did not think, that there was anything whatever to deter people from expressing their point of view on such a question of high policy, but if there were delegates who felt they could not make their remarks in the open course of discussion, they had the alternative of putting their case before the Committee itself. The alternative was that someone should move that the discussion be taken in private, when visitors and press would be asked to leave. He himself would deprecate such a course, as it might lead to misunderstandings.

The President then interrupted the discussion on Kupers' point of order, and, having made some announcements on matters of organisation, adjourned the meeting at 1.0 p.m.

## FIRST DAY.

Wednesday, 8th July, 1936.

### Afternoon Session.

#### Continuation of the Discussion on the Report on Activities.

The Congress reassembled at 3.0 p.m. when the debate was continued on the procedure to be adopted regarding the Norwegian motion on international unity.

KUPERS (Holland) reiterated his demand that the Norwegian proposal should not be discussed in plenary session. He was not in favour of a private session, but thought it should go to a Committee, whose report would then come back to the Congress.

CITRINE (Chairman) said that the Standing Orders had to be observed. The question could not be remitted in this way to a Committee. When the point was reached, the Norwegian delegate could move the proposal and then, if the Congress so desired, the matter could be referred to the Committee without further discussion.

PARSAL (France) spoke against the proposals both of Kupers and Citrine. The question raised by the Norwegian delegation seemed to him such an important one that it should be given the same treatment as other questions, i.e., general discussion in the plenary session and then reference to a Committee. The relations between the RILU and the IFTU constituted a very important question, representing the whole problem of unity. In France and in Spain, unity had produced remarkable results. The whole world had its eyes turned towards this Congress and it would fail to understand the immediate reference to the Committee. On the contrary, there should be a discussion on the widest possible basis, in realisation of the fact that what was at stake was the possible acquisition of twenty million more members.

CITRINE said that discussion on this point was not necessary. The alternatives were that either the proposal, after being moved, was sent direct to Committee, or that the matter be discussed first in open session. It seemed necessary to take a vote on it. He added that this was not his proposal; he had expressed his view in the morning session, when he had said that he thought the question ought to be discussed in public session in connection with the relevant Section of the Report on Activities. The Norwegian delegate, on behalf of his own and the other Scandinavian delegations, had agreed with the suggestion that, after the resolution had been moved, the matter should be remitted without further discussion to the Committee.

BROMLEY (Great Britain) asked that the position be made clear, as he thought Comrade Kupers had withdrawn his suggestion in favour of the Chairman's and he would like to know exactly what the vote was on.

There was also a certain amount of confusion in the Scandinavian delegations, whose opinion did not seem to be as homogeneous as appeared from the statement of the Chairman, who had appeared to understand that all the Scandinavian delegates supported the Norwegians in their agreement with the procedure.

CITRINE said that in the ordinary course of business, the Norwegian delegate would go to the rostrum and then the matter would be open for discussion, but Comrade Kupers had proposed that as soon as the Norwegian delegate had concluded his speech the matter would at once be relegated to the Committee.

This proposal was put to the Congress, and, on a show of hands, there were 39 in favour of Kupers' proposal and 38 against.

The Norwegian delegation asked for a fresh vote to be taken, by roll-call, so that there should be no doubt of the validity of the votes, and the Chairman, assisted by the General Secretary, then proceeded to take the vote by roll-call, which resulted in 31 for and 31 against.

Belgium (5), France (5), Great Britain (12), Norway (3), Palestine (1) and Spain (5) voted against; while Czechoslovakia (6), Dantzig (1), Denmark (4), Finland (1), Holland (4), Poland (4), Roumania (1), Sweden (6) and Switzerland (4) voted in favour.

The Chairman ruled that the motion was not carried and that the matter would therefore be discussed in open session.

## Report on Activities (Section I).

CITRINE opened Section I for discussion -- Internal Organisation.  
As no one wished to speak, the section was adopted.

## Report on Activities (Section II).

Section II was then open for discussion -- Relations with Affiliated and Non-Affiliated Organisations, including the Norwegian proposal.

HINDAHL (Norway) thought that the long discussion on purely a question of procedure was not important enough to have taken up so much time. He thought there was a certain confusion as regards the position of Norway. The Norwegian National Trade Union Centre had never belonged to the Red International of Labour Unions. In 1923 it had withdrawn from the International Federation of Trade Unions, but it had now returned. In Norway also they were very anxious for unity. He would not go into all the details of the reasons for their withdrawal from the IFTU, except to say that strong discontent had been felt with the attitude of the Trade Unions during the war. The controversies of the past were known to everyone, and naturally they had left some bitterness. The Norwegian Unions had decided, by a majority of 90 %, to return to the IFTU because they felt the imperative necessity of international unity.

The speaker then referred to previous conferences and he emphasised Citrine's opening speech. They realised what kept the IFTU and RILU apart; the RILU had used very irritating language. But, while not completely forgetting the past, they thought there had recently been signs of a change of attitude in Russia, who was beginning to understand the identity of aim. Russia had remained aloof for a long time, but she had now abandoned this position, as was shown by her participation at Geneva and especially in the International Labour Office. He had noted with great interest the report on freedom of association, especially as regards the difference of function. Certainly in Russia the central power exercised a stringent supervision, but this should not make us shut our eyes to the tendency towards democracy; the real significance of this effort should be appreciated. And then it had to be remembered that we also might, under certain circumstances, be forced to drop the normal line. The position of Trade Unionism was modified with evolution and circumstances. The greatest mistake was not to see in time the direction of this evolution; at the beginning of Fascism, for example, there had

been hardly any discussion of the situation nor of its possible developments. Now there was a People's Front movement in France and elsewhere. The time had come for deeds. All our attention should not still be concentrated on what still divided us. Norway wanted to promote the formation of a front of all those in favour of freedom and democracy. It was often said that peace was indivisible; in this case, we ought also to be indivisible and therefore ought to unite. No time should be lost. The present Congress was extremely important; it could and should meet the wish of all workers. The proposition was known to all, and it was up to the Congress to take action.

CITRINE (Chairman) read out the resolution moved by Comrade Hindahl.

FRACHON (France) said that the time allowed to him did not permit of his going into the subject at the length he could have wished, but he would place his complete manuscript at the services of the Secretariat.

He did not intend to go back to the past. Some of them had only come into the IFTU four months ago, after unity had been achieved, and they had therefore had no share in the responsibility for past activities. His remarks would therefore entirely concern the future. Schevenels had pointed out the results obtained, but these were unequal; the best results had been obtained in the countries where the split no longer existed; our principal preoccupation should therefore be for unity. The success achieved for our demands depended directly on our power. The obstacles to unity did not originate in working-class opinion, but in the co-existence of different parties claiming to organise the workers. The lack of unity did not depend on different ideologies, which resulted from capitalism. It was this which engendered a differentiation, an unequal evolution of class-consciousness, and thus the existence of different parties. But the presence of several parties should not be an obstacle to unity. The Trade Union was the organisation of all the workers, irrespective of their political or religious convictions. What had happened in France was not the result of some kind of miracle, it was the result of Trade Union unity, without which they would even perhaps have had Fascism in France. French Trade Union unity was a real, profound and sincere unity. In France also there were several parties all claiming to organise the workers, and if the CGT had given the preference to one of them, there would have been no real unity. They had been told that there would be many difficulties, but this prediction had not been fulfilled.

One might ask if it were possible to bring together in one and the same Trade Union formation persons of different political and philosophical conceptions. The French experiment was a brilliant reply to this question. The dark days which had been predicted had not arrived. For the last four months, there had been constant and friendly collaboration, and he was glad to say this publicly in the presence of his comrade Jouhaux. In the French CGT there was a difference of ideology, but they had risen above themselves. What had been possible in the national field ought to be possible internationally also. His friends and he had for fourteen years belonged to the Red International of Labour Unions, but they had never given up hope of bringing about international unity. They thought that the reunited CGT could play an important role in the rapprochement of the two Internationals by forming a link between them. Nevertheless, they had accepted the decision of the majority of the Toulouse Congress. They wanted to work in the IFTU as they had worked in the RILU and as they were now working in the CGT. When they had joined the IFTU, they knew they would come up against difficulties, but that they would also meet many comrades, who, like themselves, were aiming at unity.

The workers had only effected Trade Union unity in several capitalist countries. In spite of the unity of organisation, there was a continuance, in some cases, of the internal combats due to the desire for hegemony of one fraction over another. There were numerous Centres of a definitely political character, which were branches and the Trade Union parallel of the parties. In other countries, Fascism, taking advantage of the division of the workers, had destroyed everything, all freedom and Trade Union organisation. Even in these countries, which ought to be dominated by the aim of reconstruction, there was a division of forces. There were two Internationals which had adherents or sympathisers in every capitalist country of Europe. The number of members represented only a fraction of the working class. The co-existence of different parties claiming to lead the workers could be admitted until the workers had become united ideologically, but

the mission of the Trade Union International was to bring about the greatest measure of unity at present possible.

The role of a Trade Union organisation was not to accentuate political or philosophical differences, or to combat one party for the benefit of another. Our International could play a historical role in bringing in all the scattered forces of the workers. We should be equal to our mission. In the consciousness of this task, partisan preoccupations would be seen in their true light. The Trade Unionists of France had been disappointed that, in the London Conference on the Italo-Abyssinian war, the IFTU had limited its collaboration to the LSI. The great force of Communism could not be ignored. The Red International of Labour Unions could not be made to disappear with a stroke of the pen. It was not permissible, in the attempt to realise unity in a common cause, to forget that Communism represented the life of a people of 170 millions. In France, no Trade Unionist would ever think that unity of action could be realised with the Socialist Party to the exclusion of the Communist Party, and this applied also to many Trade Unionists in other countries. In some countries the single National Trade Union Centre was intimately connected with a specific political movement. Some comrades thought that here the problem did not arise, but this was a mistake, for there were other parties in these countries also. Moreover, by limiting our agreements to one single political International, we were weakening the front of the workers and giving rise to discontent and bitterness in our ranks. Some people thought that the forces of the IFTU and the LSI were enough to affirm the power of the workers of the world, but, in acting thus, we were risking the creation of splits in our own ranks. We should be more modest in estimating the power of our International. Our International covered thirteen million members, and this was a figure to be reckoned with, but it was nevertheless very small when compared with the total number of wage-earners. The IFTU was at the moment mainly an organisation of workers in Western Europe; we were still mourning the loss of National Centres in several great countries. The interests of the workers demanded a more consistent policy of unity on the part of our International.

Concluding rapidly, as the Chairman had pointed out that his time was up, the speaker said it was necessary: (1) to extend the alliances concluded by the IFTU, as international unity necessitated the RILU and the Communist International being brought in as well as the LSI; (2) to follow a bold line, shorn of all petty prejudices, for the realisation of international unity, in which connection Norway had taken a very wise part in asking the Congress to enter into negotiations with the Russian Unions and the RILU; and (3) to guarantee the independent action of the workers, for which the IFTU should have a completely independent policy, especially towards the governments.

At Geneva, there was a clash of different capitalist interest, which had rendered international laws void. We, who represented the common interests of the pacific peoples, should act outside the League of Nations, when the League had shown itself to be impotent, and this action would not be hostile towards the League. If it were to be efficacious, our anti-war action should be developed in all countries, independently of their governments. If, in the Abyssinian question, we had ourselves made up for the failure of the League, the international horizon would to-day have been less threatening. It was necessary to have unity of action at once. It was necessary to take immediate measures for the organisation of an international unity congress. If this action were not taken, we would be liable to a great responsibility and we should be disappointing millions of people who, at that moment, had their eyes turned towards us. (Applause from part of the Congress.)

CABALLERO (Spain), who was given a lengthy ovation before he could start to speak, stated that he was speaking before the Congress on the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Spanish National Trade Union Centre, so that the International Congress should arrive at a clear and unanimous decision as regards Trade Union unity. Their decision had been on the same lines as the Norwegian motion, but it had been reached at an earlier date and they were anxious to affirm this priority. He would also emphasise that from all points of the compass, and also from heroic and sometimes misunderstood Spain all eyes were turned anxiously towards the Congress.

In reality, the Norwegian proposal, which they supported, laid down in terms which could have been clearer, in view of the present situation and possible

developments, that contact should be made with the Red International of Labour Unions, to examine jointly the possibilities of arriving at international Trade Union unity. He was convinced that no worker would understand at the present moment what could justify any refusal or vacillation on our part. There had been some talk of the obstacles, but he doubted their existence. There certainly were the unhappy memories of fratricidal strife, but, as head of the delegation from Spain — that Spain which had achieved unity in face of the common enemy — he would say that the Spanish National Centre had also been calumniated and vilified, but that they had risen above such things and agreed to stand shoulder to shoulder and to mingle their blood before the common enemy.

For his part, he had practically forgotten the insults and attacks. They had faithfully organised unity and did not regret it. They could not be regarded as suspect, and they felt that what they had done gave them a moral authority within the IFTU which could only reinforce its own.

It was necessary to rise above oneself, and above the petty personal quarrels and many other things besides. Several speakers had praised what had been done in France and Spain, where Fascism had been conquered by the realisation of working-class unity. He regretted having to point out, in the midst of the acclamations, for which he expressed thanks, an unfortunate contradiction. As delegate of the Spain which had been acclaimed, he had to state that without working-class unity, they would still be groaning under the yoke of Fascism. Unity was not simply the addition of the members of two groups, but a bond which was forged, sometimes with blood, as in Spain, for life or death, for good or ill, for weal or woe. He would say frankly that if the Norwegian proposal were rejected — and in this he was sure he spoke also for his French comrades — the Spanish delegation would regard the vote as a vote of censure on their action. Certainly, the Norwegian motion was not as precise as it might have been, as it only spoke of contacts. He would urge the Congress to consider the moral disaster which would be produced if it did not adopt a concrete proposal, and to think of its historic responsibility. Fascism and war were threatening us; the workers would be bewildered if we did not give them something positive, and tomorrow, and rightly, the London Congress would always be accused of having been guilty of allowing Fascism and war to approach.

The triumphs of the People's Front in France and Spain had been praised, and the Front, concluded under the pressure of circumstances with all kinds of Parties, even bourgeois Parties, had been applauded. It would be a cruel and terrible contradiction to deny this very applause by refusing all contact with the RILU. He would say, from experience, that without unity there was no possibility of taking action against Fascism. He asked for the support of the whole Spanish delegation for the Norwegian proposal, so that the triumph of workers' unity might be assured throughout the world. (Acclamations.)

JENSEN (Denmark) said that his delegation regretted they were unable to agree with the Norwegian proposal. In Denmark they knew from experience what the Red International of Labour Unions and its action was like. Moreover, in Denmark, the question of unity was only of relative importance, the Danish Unions were open to everyone, irrespective of political or philosophical convictions. They did not see any use in the action proposed by the Norwegian comrades, although he did not see any objection in the IFTU Executive giving serious consideration to the question, since everyone could only hope for close collaboration with the Russian Unions, but not with the RILU, which was a war machine directed against the IFTU and indubitably guilty of all the splits which had brought the European workers to their present pass, threatened by war and by Fascist expansion.

Like everyone else, they in Denmark were in favour of the universal unity of all Trade Union forces within the International Federation of Trade Unions, but to arrive at this unity — the only sort which could be thought of — a different way would have to be chosen from that way, much too narrow, laid down by the Norwegian motion. The IFTU Executive would have to approach not only Russia, but all National Centres which were not yet affiliated, those of the United States, Australia, Japan, etc. If the International Congress took a decision in order to realise this universal unity, its appeal should not be limited to a single country, even if this were only in order to avoid the reproach of collusion with the RILU, which was what we wanted to avoid at any price, but should be general, as

already indicated. They agreed that an approach should be made to the Russian Unions, but were completely opposed to any contact being made between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the RILU.

Victor Manuel VILLASENOR (Mexico), who was given an ovation when he mounted the rostrum, said that it was the first time in the history of the Mexican Trade Union Movement that their representative had had the honour to speak as a delegate at a Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Mexico had just affiliated. (Applause.) The Mexican workers had carried on a hard fight against Fascism and against splitters, but they had succeeded in forming a large and sound organisation, which had brought its 530,000 members into the IFTU.

On this question of international unity he wanted to give the view of his country which, although a long way from Europe, was not indifferent to anything which was going on there. If peace were indivisible, so was the fate of the proletariat.

The workers of Mexico were conscious of their international and historic responsibilities, especially as far as the fight against War and Fascism was concerned, which was the universal menace threatening the workers and civilisation itself. The Confederation of Mexican Workers wanted unity to be brought about in the whole world, so that the united workers could, with the maximum of efficiency, lead the fight against Fascism and war. This unity should not be limited to Europe and Russia, but should cover all countries without distinction. He would on these lines bring the greetings and support of the workers of Mexico.

The debate was interrupted at this point by the Chairman, so that the rapporteur from the Credentials Committee could address the Congress.

#### REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

SCHÜRCH (rapporteur for the Credentials Committee) stated that the Committee had met, with Comrade Stolz, Assistant Secretary of the IFTU, and had ascertained that, out of thirty-one affiliated countries, twenty-two national delegations had announced their intention of being present, and nineteen were actually represented by 132 delegates, whose credentials had all been found to be in good order. Eighteen International Trade Secretariats were represented by thirty-five representatives. Among the organisations sending fraternal delegates there were five non-affiliated National Trade Union Centres, the International Labour Office, the Labour and Socialist International, the International of Socialist Youth, the Workers' Sport International. Altogether there was a total of 176 delegates properly accredited. Nevertheless the right to vote had only been confirmed for seventeen of the nineteen National Centres represented, these seventeen National Centres whose voting credentials were in good order having between them a total of fifty-seven votes.

The meeting was then adjourned.

#### END OF THE FIRST DAY.

In the evening, the Congress delegates were taken on a conducted tour of London, arranged by the British Trade Unions.



## SECOND DAY.

Thursday, 9th July, 1936.

### Single Session.

The meeting opened at 10.0 a.m. with Comrade Walter M. Citrine in the chair.

### Continuation of the Discussion on the Report on Activities.

RADECEANU (Roumania) said that everyone naturally understood the altruistic reasons which had inspired Norway in introducing its proposal for negotiations with the Red International of Labour Unions. Throughout the whole world, there would certainly not be one Union which was not in favour of unity, and moreover there was widespread admiration for the events which had occurred in France and Spain.

They felt that in reality the problem of Trade Union unity no longer existed internationally, for the unity achieved in France and Spain, where there had been before large Communist Trade Union sections, had left no important Communist Trade Unions anywhere in the world, except for the small groups of dissidents found here and there, and except of course for Russia, which constituted a special case. Who could the IFTU therefore negotiate with? What was left of the RILU? A pseudonym and that was all. If there still existed, in one country or another, Communist Trade Unions, it was in the national sphere that they should be absorbed into our organisations. No other conception of unity was possible.

In Roumania, there were several mysterious groups of Communists, which attacked the National Centre ferociously in face of the common enemy and with which it had never negotiated. The speaker affirmed, and thought his view would be shared by many others, that negotiating with the phantom RILU would only help Communist propaganda, and they would not join in such an adventure. Unity might still be a problem for the political parties, but it no longer existed for the Trade Unions. Naturally, he was not opposed to the affiliation of the Russian Unions, but if this should occur they would have first of all to modify their attitude, both as regards tactics and other things, and acquire their independence. This was the only way, and, on these conditions, the Russian Trade Unions would certainly derive more benefit from their affiliation to the IFTU than the IFTU would derive under present circumstances, as long as the Russian Unions were not also free and independent.

The Roumanian comrades were in agreement with the present policy of the IFTU, as shown in the Report on Activities, and they thought it should be maintained.

GEORGE HICKS (Great Britain) thought that the Norwegian motion gave the present Congress a character which distinguished it from other meetings. The British delegation were supporting the resolution with one reservation, that at the end of the resolution the words "and the Red International of Labour Unions for Trade Union concentration or collaboration" be deleted, and on this point they were resolute.

The question of Trade Union unity, national and international, had always been a matter of very deep concern to the IFTU. There had been no occasion on which

the IFTU had not felt it to be its paramount duty to cultivate Trade Union unity and organically associate all the Trade Union Centres of the world with its organisation. The Executive of the IFTU was fully conscious of the fast-changing conditions of to-day, particularly in Western Europe, and special attention had been given to the mobilisation of the forces of labour for defence. They appreciated the suggestion in the resolution that the forces which had misrepresented the IFTU and sometimes criticised it were to-day recognising the character of its struggle in dealing with capitalism in Western Europe. The IFTU was in favour of unity, but unity that would give the workers strength, not unity that would weaken their power and influence.

Trade Union and working class unity was at one and the same time a weapon of attack and of defence. The cause of this unity had been served sincerely by the IFTU, as he, who had been intimately connected with its activities for more than fifteen years, could affirm. Speaking also on behalf of the British delegation, he could say that they were very glad about the new affiliations which had just enlarged the scope of the IFTU, but that this should not mean, under cover of a fictitious unity, that the forces of the IFTU should be weakened and enslaved to exterior purposes. Unity was only conceivable as a reinforcement of the power and prestige of our International. If the Russian Trade Unions sincerely wanted Trade Union unity, and were willing to co-operate and associate themselves organically with the IFTU, he was certain the Trade Unions in Russia could be assured of a very welcome conference with the International Executive. But we were resolutely opposed to negotiations with the Red International of Labour Unions, which was a phantom organisation, contrary to which the IFTU was a real and active body.

Like their Continental comrades, the British Trade Unionists were aware of the conditions under which the workers had to live in capitalist countries, of the unemployment and widespread poverty, the threat of war. They knew that Fascism had established itself in many countries, destroying the working class organisations, and that it was necessary to strengthen our forces. New affiliations would be welcome, especially those of the American Federation of Labour, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, etc. The IFTU would be strengthened by organic unity with the Trade Unions of Russia, especially since their members were now kept in ignorance of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

If all National Trade Union Centres were within the IFTU, it would have much more power within the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, which would allow of more being attained. The forty-hour week, holidays with pay and other questions would no longer be mere items on the agenda of our meetings.

We were heartily anxious for unity, but not merely as a rhetorical formula, not just as a slogan in a public meeting, but a living reality. We were faced with problems of extreme gravity, which affected the future of humanity and of civilisation, and if they could be solved with the force engendered by real international unity, outside of all adventitious considerations and all individual interests, we should have done good work for the working class and for future generations, for we should then have raised up against Fascism and war, in the defence of civilisation and the future of humanity, an unscalable wall of resistance to adventurers and reactionaries. If there were really a sincere desire for unity, such unity was attainable.

CITRINE (in the chair) said that there had been a wide discussion, with all points of view being expressed. He still had some people down as wishing to speak, and he pointed out that this was only a preliminary discussion, which would be continued within the Committee, in a smaller circle and one better suited for discussion, since all National Centres could take part through the representative they had a right to appoint. At the conclusion of the Committee's work, it would report back to the full Congress the conclusions it had reached. If the debate were not concluded in the morning, there was little chance of reaching the end of the agenda, which contained other items of equal interest.

LÉON JOUHAUX (France) first of all expressed his satisfaction, like Frachon, at the unity so happily achieved in France and pointed out the favourable consequences entailed, which would doubtless be followed by others of a no less satisfactory nature and of an importance still greater from the social point of view. A new world was being born in France. They were not forgetting in France that the

results obtained presented fresh obligations to individuals and organisations, which in their turn demanded a still clearer awareness of the situation.

Their vigilance however, was not all exhausted on the internal events in their country; they were aware that the external situation was extremely grave. He felt certain he was speaking for the French delegation when he said that all his comrades were well aware of this.

The question of unity was by no means new. Before Trade Union unity had been achieved in France, he had, at Weymouth and Copenhagen, in the IFTU General Council meetings, raised this problem on a plane which was perhaps somewhat different, but which, taking into account the circumstances in France, was very near to that of the IFTU and its immediate possibilities.

Reading the proposals he had made at Copenhagen, which had not all been adopted by the meeting, the speaker said, he found in them an indication which might be useful in the present conditions to the International Congress. But he would limit himself to the resolution actually adopted by the Copenhagen General Council meeting. (The speaker here read the Copenhagen resolution on unity.)

This resolution, he continued, met at all points the arguments put forward by the Norwegian delegation and by Frachon. The International Trade Union Congress should on this occasion make a declaration, which he would like to see unanimous, because on the following day, in the resolution which would be adopted on the fight against war and Fascism, we should be bound to state that peace was indivisible and, it was therefore indispensable that working class unity, on as wide a base as possible, should be realised immediately.

If we wanted to support the League — which had at present placed us in rather a humiliating position — and replace it should it fail, and if we wanted our action to be strong and irresistible, obliging the League to take action, the International Trade Union Movement, the vanguard of the peoples, should impose its will and force the diplomats to act according to this will, and the speaker felt that this reason was enough to determine us.

There was a further argument. How could we justify our regrettable divisions in face of the unity of all our Governments? We should oppose this unity with our own — unity against war. How otherwise could we reply to our Governments and where should we find the force to compel our Governments to maintain peace? Unity was indispensable to the accomplishment of our historic mission but if we really wanted unity, it would not do to destroy the unity which existed. We should forget what divided us, for the time was really not propitious for retrospective reproaches.

There were two conceptions of the realisation of unity, on the one hand what was called unity of action or the united front, and on the other hand, organic unity within the International Federation of Trade Unions, and this latter was what we all wanted.

There had been a lot of talk about the French example, but this was not a universal formula and could not claim to be followed universally. Special conceptions and national peculiarities would have to be respected, and this applied in particular to the freedom of each National Centre, in virtue of our principle of national autonomy. The French example was only an example which might inspire us, especially as it had brought success which was not to be despised.

Jouhaux said that the realisation of real unity required first of all a formula supported by the majority and that, in his view, the Congress, in spite of the difficulties of its task, should not reject, without ripe reflection, the additional power which would support us in our fight against Fascism and war. By a straightforward appeal, free of all *arrière-pensée* or ambiguity, we should attract to us all the forces still outside our International. This would mean, *inter alia*, the American Federation of Labour, to which we had already addressed many appeals, of which we were still patiently awaiting the outcome, hoping, without letting ourselves become discouraged, that the AFL would understand the identity of American and European interests. Jouhaux made a special appeal to the American comrades not to see in Europe — which seemed to them so far away but was in reality so near — a sort of dangerous volcano from the eruptions of which it was necessary to guard themselves. The United States should understand that, if war came, they would inevitably be dragged in once more.

Then there were the countries of South America, another section of an indivisible humanity, where there were numerous National Trade Union Centres either in existence or in process of formation, which should all be inspired by the example

given by Mexico. Across the Pacific, there were the countries of the Far East, represented at the Congress by a fraternal delegate from Japan, to whom he would say that his country should join the IFTU if it wished to be saved from being devoured by Fascism and if it wished to prevent a war in the Far East, a war which would set alight the whole world. He would address the same appeal to Australia and New Zealand, whose representatives there he welcomed with great pleasure. Everyone should realise, including those who were not present, that if all these National Centres joined our International Federation of Trade Unions, working class unity would be achieved throughout the whole world, and we should stand united, shoulder to shoulder, and strong enough to bar the way to Fascism and war. Our united force would carry the day, and nothing would be able to break through!

Any appeal to unity issued by the Congress should be a universal appeal, addressed to all, including the workers who were suffering under the yoke of Fascism, who, less than any others, had the right to remain divided in face of the common enemy. (Applause.)

A clear decision should be taken. Unity was indispensable, it was a question of life and death, and this should not be disregarded. Unity should be brought about under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions and with the constant and complete assistance of the International Trade Secretariats, not only in the matter of unity, but also for the campaign against war and Fascism, for it was only they who, in the countries we had lost to Fascism, could reconstruct what had been destroyed, under the aegis, of course, of the IFTU.

Jouhaux concluded by saying that the Congress should take a clear and formal decision, affirming that it was prepared to accomplish worthily its task, in the complete awareness of its obligations however far they might lead, of achieving international unity, so that, with the same unanimous drive, with a common enthusiasm, without reservations or restrictions, we could go forward to fulfil our mission of freeing the world from Fascism and freeing mankind from the threat of war.

(The meeting rose to its feet to acclaim the speaker.)

KUPERS (Holland) said that, although only the second section of the Report on Activities was actually under discussion, he wanted to give the impressions of the Dutch delegation on all the activities of the IFTU during the past three years.

Numerous activities had been carried on with success, while others could not be, on account of lack of funds. The General Secretary had made the satisfactory statement that membership was rising and had even reached the level which existed before the temporary disappearance of certain large organisations. We could therefore feel that the activities neglected up to now owing to lack of resources, would now be able to be put into effect.

The Report stated that Trade Unionism was in a weak or threatened position in some countries. If the IFTU's funds allowed of it, it was its imperative duty to give its aid here, nothing should be left undone to reinforce our Movement and the fight against the expansion of Fascism.

Speaking of the affiliation of Argentine, the speaker recalled that this return was certainly partly due to the efforts he had made, in conjunction with Comrade Hayday, when they were in South America for the Santiago International Labour Congress. He was very glad to note the terms of the message from the American Federation of Labour, in which the phrase regarding the identity of American with European interests seemed to indicate that we could count on soon having the Americans among us, since they would see that these common interests could not be better served than by their affiliation to the IFTU.

Shortly before the Congress, some Chinese comrades had visited Holland and had been approached on the question of affiliation to our International. The conversations they had had offered the best prospects of this being realised.

Kupers said the Norwegian proposal appeared to him to be too narrow; the affiliation of the AFL and other Centres was just as important as that of the Russian Centre.

The Dutch delegation was opposed to negotiations being taken up with the Red International of Labour Unions, which had no real significance, since it had lost its strongest section outside Russia through the achievement of unity in France. Kupers read out certain passages from the Report on Activities, dealing with the RILU, and he also referred to the rules of the RILU (1921), stating that *its raison d'être*

was the destruction of the IFTU. He felt it was a moral impossibility for the IFTU to commit itself with the RILU. And in any case, Holland would never take part in any such pourparlers. (Applause.)

Some comrades had spoken at length of the unity brought about in France and Spain. The Dutch comrades were also in favour of unity, but on condition that it was achieved within the IFTU. An agreement should be possible. They were in agreement with Jouhaux' proposal for a general appeal to be made, but the terms should be modified slightly. The Dutch delegation would propose to amend the Norwegian proposal by deleting all after « take up negotiations » and inserting instead : « with all National Centres standing outside the IFTU, for Trade Union concentration and collaboration ».

Such a resolution could certainly be adopted unanimously by the Congress and would allow of the Russian Unions, if they wanted to, applying for admission to the IFTU.

CITRINE (in the chair) then announced that the discussion would be continued the next day, Friday, starting at 9.30 a.m., and the delegates would spend the afternoon on an excursion to Hampton Court.

#### END OF THE SECOND DAY.

At 8 o'clock in the evening, the delegates attended a dinner in the Holborn Restaurant given by the British Trades Union Congress.

**SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S  
BRANCH LIBRARY  
BOMBAY  
THIRD DAY**

**Friday, 10th July, 1936.**

**Morning Session.**

The meeting was opened at 10.0 a.m. with Citrine in the chair.

**Continuation of the Discussion on the Report on Activities.**

FORSLUND (Sweden) said that the Swedish Trade Unions would welcome any measure tending towards international Trade Union unity and the increased power of the Unions in their own countries.

The Norwegian proposal did not bring forward anything new. The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions had always done everything possible to achieve world unity. The Swedish delegation was in favour of this unity, understood in this way. Moreover, the world situation made such unity necessary, unless our Movement were to be greatly imperilled. This situation should show to organisations which were not yet affiliated the duty of achieving working-class solidarity and should inspire them to affiliate as soon as possible to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The tasks and obligations of the working-class were continually extending at present, and the Movement had to collaborate in the organisation of the world, in order to establish and guarantee peace.

International unity should be brought about, however, in a way which would not damage the different national movements. It would be a great mistake to think of altering the tactics of the International. It was extremely satisfactory to note the enormous progress made in France, Spain, Belgium, and it was to be hoped that these resounding victories would give lasting results and would consolidate the forces working for peace between the peoples and social justice. The French and Spanish delegations had declared in the Congress that their victories had been due to the unity realised in their countries. This unity had existed in Sweden for the last half-century. There was the most perfect union between the Party and the Trade Unions, and they did not want to break but to perfect this unity. In Sweden also there was closer collaboration with the farming population, and successful results had been obtained in this field, so that efforts would be continued. In conditions different from those in other countries, there was in Sweden a profound unity of the people for peace and democracy, and they sincerely hoped that decisions of the Congress would not trouble this development in Scandinavia, but help to further it.

Forslund hoped that the other delegates would realise that it was absolutely impossible for the Swedes to let themselves be drawn into negotiations with international organisations which had influenced in a negative sense their efforts towards unity. They wanted the International to cover all National Centres, and they therefore hoped that the Committee would produce a formula which would allow of unanimous adoption, since unanimity was a fundamental condition in these decisions.

FEINSTEIN (Palestine) declared that it was impossible for the Palestinian delegation to support the Norwegian motion. In Palestine reactionary attacks were being aimed at the peaceful work of reconstructing their ancestral home. The workers had been submitted to murderous attacks, and settlements had been burned. The national home of the Jews in Palestine was at the moment their supreme hope. It had provided shelter for more than 30,000 persons. No work of colonisation had ever been performed so well or so conscientiously. No only had they refrained from injuring the Arab population in the slightest, but they had raised its standard of living. They had a Jewish-Arab Trade Union organisation, which was still carrying on its work through the worst of the present disturbances.

The Communists were doing all they could to stir up bitterness, and were spreading lies and foul insinuations against the organised Jewish Labour Movement. Moreover, in Russia the Jews were also being persecuted and many of them sent to prisons and concentration camps.

Under these circumstances, it was impossible to believe at all in the sincerity of the Communist proposals for working-class unity. As long as they had not changed their attitude and their tactics, in a definite manner, the Palestinian Unions would oppose for all they were worth such proposals as had been submitted to the Congress by the Norwegian Delegation.

MERTENS (Belgium) said that the important place taken by the Norwegian proposal in the deliberations of the Congress showed the great interest of the question. For those who had been with the Trade Union International since its reconstitution in 1919 and had contributed all their efforts for its development, it was tempting to look over the past and recall the lessons which past events had for future occurrences. But our opponents would exploit such statements and falsify them in order to spread once again throughout the world the lie that the leaders of the IFTU did not want unity. They had, however, never been opposed to unity, either national or international. On the contrary, they had always appealed and worked for unity. When the International had been reconstituted in 1919, a unanimous invitation had been sent to the Soviet Trade Unions to join. And it should not be forgotten that the International Federation of Trade Unions had not been the cause nor the driving agent in the split. Mertens recalled the 1920 Congress, where the IFTU had been forced to fight, with all the courage of despair, not against its class opponents, but against the splitters within its midst, who were breaking up working-class unity of their own free will.

As regards the resolution, it was impossible to agree that the Congress should compel the IFTU to open negotiations with the RILU, which would be what it would amount to if the resolution were adopted. And, in any case, since the achievement of unity in France and Spain, the RILU could no longer be said to exist, since it was reduced to a few vacillating groups in Czechoslovakia, tiny organisations in countries where there could not be said to be a Trade Union movement, and some sections in Belgium which claimed to be affiliated. The IFTU could not negotiate with a ghost. The RILU was in fact limited to Russia and really consisted of nothing more than the affiliated Russian organisations.

The question of affiliation of the Russian Unions might be discussed, but the Belgian delegation thought that the Norwegian proposal envisaged negotiations between the IFTU and the RILU. With a real wish for international unity, they felt that the appeal to be issued by the Congress should not be limited to Russia but should also be addressed to all other non-affiliated countries. Mertens asked that the Committee should bear in mind this extension of the Norwegian motion.

Incidentally, Mertens said, he would recall that in October, 1935, the IFTU and the LSI took a number of common decisions in order to oblige Italy to give up the Abyssinian adventure, and an appeal was then made, not only to all National Centres, but to all non-affiliated Centres with a view to unity of action. This appeal was sent to the Russian Unions like others. The Russian reply was known to all, and had been a cause of profound regret.

Mertens concluded by asking for the Norwegian resolution to be sent, not to the Resolutions Committee, but to a special Committee, which would draft a text acceptable to the whole Congress. He would support Kupers' amendment. If the resolution which resulted from the Committee's deliberations should go beyond the Norwegian proposal, everyone would understand that it was with the aim of getting a practical result, which he personally held to be possible, that this appeal should be sent to all Centres not yet affiliated, including that of Russia, and that it would

then be up to Russia to reply. The Executive would then conscientiously carry out the wish of the Congress when it came to deciding on the formal applications for affiliation.

CITRINE (in the chair), in closing the discussion, said that there had been twelve speakers and everyone had had a chance of expressing his point of view. Two texts had been moved, one being the Norwegian motion, asking that the IFTU should take up contact with the Russian National Trade Union Centre and the Red International of Labour Unions, and the other being the amendment, or counter-proposal, moved by Comrade Kupers, that negotiations be opened with all National Centres not yet affiliated to the IFTU. In accordance with Standing Orders, both of these proposals should now be sent to Committee IV, since it was a question of a motion introduced according to the rules.

BROMLEY (Great Britain) pointed out to the chairman that he had not yet given the views of the British delegation, which was definitely in support of the Norwegian resolution, with deletion of the mention of the Red International, and that this was quite different from Kupers' motion.

CITRINE (in the chair) could not see any difference between the British and Dutch proposals, except that Kupers had not mentioned by name the National Centres with which negotiations should be opened.

After a short colloquy between the British delegation and the chairman, the former agreed with the chairman's statement.

FIMMEN (ITF) protested against the fact that no representative from the International Trade Secretariats had been appointed to the Committees, although Jouhaux had very rightly emphasised the considerable part that the ITS could play in all the questions under discussion.

CITRINE (in the chair) pointed out that only representatives of the National Centres were entitled to sit on Committees as delegates, but that any representative at the Congress who desired to do so could attend the meetings of Committees as a visitor, and could speak with the Committee's permission.

## Resumed Discussion on the Report on Activities.

### (Sections III and IV.)

The discussion on Section II having been concluded and no one wishing to speak on Sections III and IV, these three Sections were adopted.

The Chairman announced that the International Trade Union Committee on Youth and Educational Questions would now meet, with Stolz in the chair, and members of the Committee who were in the Congress were asked to go to the Committee Room.

Before the discussion was opened on Section V (War and Fascism), the Chairman called on the General Secretary to make an important announcement.

SCHEVENELS (General Secretary) apologised for having to intervene, in order to warn the Congress that an important addition should be made to the Report, regarding the fight against Nazi espionage. A German organisation, going by the name of the Deutsche Gewerkschaftszentrale, was trying to get into touch with our organisations, and the Secretary wanted to warn the Congress publicly that this body was actually a section of the German Secret Police, the Gestapo.



## Report on Activities.

### (Section V.)

The Chairman called on Comrade F. Largo Caballero to speak.

CABALLERO (Spain) informed the Congress that he wanted to describe the character and aim of the movement of October, 1934, and that he was compelled to speak very directly, apologising if he should hurt anyone by his outspokenness.

The Spanish comrades were grateful to the International Federation of Trade Unions for the moral support which it had given at that time, but at the same time they had to confess to their regret that, although the IFTU Executive had understood their objects and had helped to the extent it could as far as its means, which were limited, would allow, the backing received for the Spanish effort from the IFTU as a whole had left much to be desired.

The Spanish comrades, the speaker said, had been very hurt to see the lack of understanding and solidarity evinced by certain sections of the International. Perhaps this had been due to a lack of adequate information on the gigantic effort the Spaniards had been making, but they felt it was the duty of the Executive to see that the different national sections were completely and impartially informed. It was with stupor amounting almost to anger that the Spaniards had read, in part of the Labour press, articles and commentaries which made them feel that sometimes the bourgeois press was more just and honest.

On the eve of the events of October, 1934, the Spanish workers had lost all their rights and all their achievements. During the eight months preceding the rising of October, "El Socialista", the central Labour paper of Madrid, had been attacked and confiscated exactly one hundred times. The municipal councils elected under the republican regime had been purely and simply removed from office. In the Cortes, the obstruction of the reactionaries had reduced the workers to impotence, they were even unable to move an amendment. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech and the right of assembly had been virtually abolished.

The working-class realised then that it was faced with a terrible alternative, either to succumb to Fascism (pre-Fascism was already there, since the Ceda — the Fascist league — was already claiming power), or else to attempt to save itself by its own means. The workers then made it understood that if the Ceda really came into power, it being then in a supporting position, it would be the end of republican and democratic Spain, and there would straightaway be an openly Fascist government, working in line with the Vatican's instructions. This would have meant the formula of totalitarian government, based on the Roman Catholic Church.

In deciding to resist this development, the Spanish workers had thought less of themselves than of the international proletariat and the consequences it might have for Europe. They were haunted by tragic memories of their comrades in Germany and Austria, and it was in the full consciousness of their duties, both towards their own national class and towards the International, that the Spanish workers had decided on the rising, accepting all the risks and perils which this entailed, in the conviction, which was not realised, that they would be understood.

In taking this course, the Spaniards had thought they were interpreting accurately the doctrine propagated by the International Federation of Trade Unions in its resolutions against Fascism, and the recommendations it had made to its national sections to fight with all the means at their command against this terrible plague. In the feeling that they were doing their duty, the Spanish workers had carried on the fight and generously given their blood. (Applause.) They had never asked if the IFTU's instructions were limited to mere declarations or whether they really meant the order to fight, and they had fought in the conviction that they had not been wrong, and were certain that they had not made a mistake. The fight had been devastating, and the workers had lost thousands of dead and many wounded, and suffered much more other damage, while tens and tens of thousands had been made prisoner. However, they had not regretted anything, since they felt certain of having done their duty. They had been beaten, but in their defeat they had been still so powerful and caused such fear to their conquerors, that, owing to the force of their first anti-Fascist attempt, the governments between October, 1934, and February, 1936, inclined fearfully before those who had not lost their faith behind

Schevenels, the General Secretary, had vainly made great efforts, in this direction, to which he would pay homage. The deliberate failure of the governments was the the prison bars! (Acclamations.) The rising of October, 1934, was repressed with a ferocity unknown, even in Spain, for centuries. But the spirit of the workers, which survived all this persecution, did not cease for an instant to cause anxiety to the momentary masters of Spain. It had seemed to them, the speaker repeated, as if many sections of the IFTU had not understood this heroism and the whole situation, or had even scorned them.

The Spanish workers had the right to affirm in the Congress, that, in rising in October, 1934, they had obeyed to the letter the general instructions of the IFTU for the fight against Fascism. They had not uttered any words but had gone straight to action. Later on, after fifteen months of persecution often unknown or misrepresented, they had achieved the victory — and been congratulated! The workers were no longer the conquered. They expressed thanks for the acclamations and praise received now and which at last did them justice, but these only made the remembrance of these fifteen months of indifference all the more cruel.

However, it was in full loyalty and without rancour that the Spanish delegation, which had wanted to be as large as possible, was attending the Congress. They had made a sacrifice, but he would solemnly affirm at this international tribune that, if Fascism ever tried again, by a peaceful manoeuvre or by violent methods, to lift its head or take possession of the country — for the beast was not dead and the fight was not yet finished — it would find the workers readier than ever gladly to spill their blood for the liberty of Spain and the freedom of the world. (Loud applause.) If it should be necessary, the workers were determined to repeat October, 1934, but they wanted to know what would be the attitude of the IFTU in this case. Should they take home with them the sad conviction that for the rest of the IFTU the fight against Fascism was only an oratorical exercise, or could they return with the comforting certainty that it would understand their recourse to force and would support the Spanish workers in their struggle?

Caballero said that, without false modesty, and calling up the memory of their thousands of dead and wounded and the sufferings of those taken prisoner, they felt that Spain was entitled to the active gratitude of the IFTU and its national sections. He knew that many countries felt that Spain was a long way away, beyond the Pyrenees, that it was there that Europe ended and Africa began, and that the Spaniards were rather a barbarous people, prompt to spill blood and to give way to all kinds of exuberance and excess. As he had already stated to Schevenels, the General Secretary, the Spanish comrades had the mortifying impression that there was a kind of imperialism within the IFTU, that countries were divided into first-rate and second-rate nations. They would never accept this dishonour for the Spanish workers, who had willingly sacrificed themselves for the others. As they had vainly awaited from the IFTU really efficacious moral and material aid, they had accepted the help of the International Red Aid, and it would be ungrateful on their part if, in this Congress of the IFTU, they did not address to the International Red Aid an expression of their sincere gratitude.

If a tangible example were needed to show the force of the Spanish workers' victory — the victory they had won even in the defeat of October, 1934 — it was enough to point to the fact that the Government, unlike other Fascist regimes, had not dared to set up pseudo-organisations of the workers nor to send a false workers' representative to Geneva. (Applause.)

In concluding, Caballero recalled that in October, 1934, the Spanish workers were well aware of what they were doing; they had defended the interests of the Spanish workers and at the same time those of the international proletariat. They knew it was their national and international duty to act like this. They had fought for democracy, but if they had won, they would not have halted in the road but would have consummated their victory in the direction of real socialism. If Fascism again raised its head, the workers would start the fight again with still more determination, and they would then count in advance on the complete understanding of the International and of its national sections.

The Congress loudly acclaimed the speaker.

KUPERS (Holland) wished to speak on three points. The first was the question of the refugees, especially those from Germany and Austria. In 1933, the Workers' Group in the ILO had raised this question and demanded action on the part of the League. The High Commission had been set up, but it had produced scanty results.

cause of everything. This year, the question had again come up before the International Labour Conference, and a new resolution forwarded to the League. In many countries, the Trade Unions had consented to great sacrifices on behalf of the refugees, but the economic situation made this work, which had to be continued, more and more precarious. Moreover, the refugees, rather than receive assistance, would prefer to have passports (like Nansen passports), residence permits, and especially labour permits, which would allow of their finding a livelihood again. It would be good for the Congress to adopt a resolution on these lines, urging the League to carry on this work more efficaciously.

The second point referred to the recent condemnation in Austria of the three Comrades Holowatyj, Steindl and Schmidlechner.

The most exaggerated sentences had been passed on these comrades, whose sole crime had consisted in doing Trade Union work. Kupers asked the Congress to lodge a very strong protest against this and to send it to the Austrian government.

The third point on which he wanted to speak was that of Dantzig. Although this territory was under the nominal protection of the League, recent events looked as though the Nazis were trying to impose their exclusive domination at an early date. Everyone knew the fate which awaited our comrades if this should happen, and we should at once forward to the League a resolution urging it to see that the constitution and status of Dantzig were respected.

In conclusion, Kupers said that the Polish delegation had just informed him that it supported his statement.

The chairman then called on the General Secretary to reply to the various statements made.

SCHEVENELS (General Secretary) thought that, in view of the shortage of time and the fact that the discussion would be continued in committee, it was not necessary to reply at length to the statements of Comrades Caballero and Kupers.

Referring to the complaints made by Comrade Caballero as to the inadequate assistance given to the Spanish comrades, Schevenels said that the IFTU had regretted as much as he had that the conditions under which the Spanish relief work had had to be carried on had not allowed of its giving greater results. The fact was that the IFTU had just concluded a great campaign for Austria, and the relief funds had been exhausted by the help given to the Italians, Germans and Latvians. The IFTU had been the first to recognise that the heroism of our Spanish comrades deserved more practical help than it had been able to give. He could not however, allow the statement to pass unchallenged that the International Federation of Trade Unions had been indifferent to the movement in Spain; Comrade Caballero knew as well as he himself that, on the 3rd October, on the very eve of the rising in the Asturias, the IFTU Executive had publicly proclaimed its sympathy in a manifesto, and this sympathy had been reaffirmed in Madrid, where he had gone right at the beginning. Later on, he had gone again to Madrid, had visited the Spanish comrades in prison and discussed with them the situation and how they could be helped. Delegations had been in Spain before and immediately after the elections.

Schevenels said he also wanted to state explicitly that there existed no kind of "imperialism" within the IFTU, that no distinction or discrimination was made between countries, but that all, large and small, were treated on an absolutely equal footing. The only reproach which might be addressed to the IFTU was that it had not always been able to make understood the direction of events in Spain. In their fight against Fascism, the different National Centres had different conceptions and used different methods, in view of the differences in national characteristics. In reply to Caballero's question as to whether the Spaniards had correctly interpreted the instructions of the International, he would reply in the affirmative, without the slightest hesitation or reservation. But what had actually happened was that, in spite of all efforts, the IFTU had not been able to make these developments properly understood everywhere. In addition to a difference in method, there was also a difference in the interpretation of facts and in ideologies, and moreover, as the Spanish comrades themselves were aware, it was sometimes very difficult to obtain exact information as to what was really going on. In any case, the Committee could go into further detail on this question.

As regards relief, it should at least be said before the Congress that, if the International Red Aid had given generous assistance — and, with Caballero's

permission, he would beg to disagree as to the significance of this generosity — the greatest effort, even if its results had been modest, had been made by the National Centres of the IFTU and by the Trade Unions of Spain themselves, and it was thanks to this effort, made through the sacrifices of the workers themselves, that the workers, in prison in Spain had been helped and the Spanish refugees found shelter and given assistance in France. It was this solidarity of the IFTU's National Centres, both material and more especially moral, which had helped the Spanish comrades in prison or those threatened by the death sentences promulgated against them.

## **Report on Activities.**

### **(Sections VI and VII.)**

Sections VI and VII of the Report did not give rise to any discussion.

### **Final adoption of the Report on Activities.**

The Chairman therefore considered the Report on Activities adopted in its entirety, and the session was closed.

## THIRD DAY

Friday, 10th July, 1936.

### Afternoon Session.

CITRINE (in the chair) opened the session at 2.30 p.m., and immediately called on Louis de Brouckère, President of the Labour and Socialist International, to address the Congress.

LOUIS DE BROUCKÈRE expressed to the Congress the greetings of the Labour and Socialist International and its best wishes for a fruitful discussion.

The situation of a fraternal delegate was a delicate one. He himself had listened here to serious discussions, which had at times been passionate, and which he had followed with the liveliest interest. Courtesy forbade his going into the detail of the discussions, however tempting this might be, but, in addition to the question which had been debated at such length, there were happily other subjects, of common interest to the two Internationals, on which he could speak without infringing the laws of hospitality and courtesy.

Two important points were down on the agenda, freedom of association and the fight against war, and his International was, like the International Federation of Trade Unions, concerned with both of these.

Of all present kinds of liberty, freedom of association appeared to him to be the most fundamental, since everywhere where democracy had fallen, freedom of association had been the first victim. The point to notice here was that nowhere had it been thought enough to extirpate merely the Trade Unions — although the attempt had been made to destroy them root and branch. Trade Unionism had such deep roots and met a social need which was so obvious, that everywhere the tyrants had been forced to set up substitute organisations.

Largo Caballero, the speaker continued, had said something which had very much struck him — that one of the reasons of the Spanish workers' success was that Spanish Fascism had not dared to create pseudo-Unions. This meant that as long as there existed a Trade Union movement, freedom could retain some hope of early resurrection, even through the most difficult reverses.

The cause of peace was a grave preoccupation for all of us. He felt he could recall, in that company, that he had devoted much of his lifetime of a leader to preaching the cause of peace between the peoples. Even at Geneva he had never let himself be rebuffed by lack of success, and he would call up here the remembrance of Arthur Henderson, who had been his friend for so many years and whom he recalled when he was ill, at the end of his tether, but using his last ounce of energy in an attempt to save the ideal which he had served. He had fortunately been prevented by death from learning the sad fate of this ideal. The speaker would also greet Noel-Baker, whose triumphal election was a great comfort.

De Brouckère declared that he was not among those who easily gave way to despair, but he had to recognise that to-day the governments had revealed themselves incapable of organising peace. Geneva gave the impression of being a sinister farce. Realising this and knowing that there were so many eminent persons and such an amount of good will at Geneva, one was led to ask what were the reasons for such a setback to the cause of peace.

For years he had been trying to form a clear and considered opinion, and he had

come to the conclusion that the most sincere governments would always be powerless if they were not supported by a vast movement of public opinion resolutely in favour of peace. Naturally, everyone wanted peace, but rather in the fashion of the tourist who each morning wished for fine weather and then put up with the rain, or the farmer watching over his fields and hoping for a good crop!

The only force capable of creating an active will was the power of the workers' organisation, and especially of the Trade Union organisations.

It was absurd to claim to want peace while pursuing an economic war. The vain solutions proposed by the most distinguished economists showed that there was only one real way out — the international economic force of labour, created by wages in their capacity of purchasing power. The fight for wages was the foundation of our action. We should give back to people the idea of the part they had to play within the community. We should create the feeling of a common fight against tyranny, against the oppressive and anti-social dominating class.

There was, however, a bright side to this gloomy picture. Although the governments had failed, the workers were marching forward in the fight for a higher standard of material and cultural life.

De Brouckère said that he had noticed in the debate on unity — which he had followed with extreme interest — that there was one idea in common: everyone believed in the necessity for this unity, the divergence of view was only as to forms. And he would say that the feeling of international solidarity was greater than the diversity of formulas and tactics. We should think of the danger of Fascism, against which no one was completely immunised. It was a danger of moral death, just as war was a danger of physical death. He spoke as one with fifty years' service to the labour movement behind him — the movement was now faced with a terrible dilemma — to fight or to die. He was an optimist, for he knew that the workers wanted to live and would not allow freedom to die, he knew that the workers would do what was necessary to rise to this higher life at which they were aiming and to which they were entitled. And in conclusion he would recall to the Congress an old truth, which had lost nothing in topicality, the truth proclaimed by Karl Marx when he said « workers of the world, unite! ». And he would add to this what Anatole France had said, that « the union of the workers will mean the peace of the world! ».

## Item 5 : Action Against War and Fascism.

The chairman announced that Léon Jouxoux was compelled to leave the same evening, being called away by important meetings in Paris concerning the decrees for applying the forty-hour week legislation.

JOUHAUX apologised first of all for his inability to remain at the Congress to the end of its deliberations and for the compilation of the resolution which should close the discussion. The reasons for his having to leave had been given by Citrine. In view of his departure, he would be very concise and make his statement on the report which had been circulated as precise and concrete as possible.

Like de Brouckère, Jouxoux said, he also had for many years taken part in the discussions on the organisation of peace and disarmament within the League of Nations, where he had noticed what a widespread use was made of dilatory measures in order to prevent the formulation of precise texts and decisions which implied responsibilities. He had noticed how many times those in favour of peace let themselves be led astray by useless discussion, of which the aim was only to arrive at endless postponements. It would perhaps be possible for him one day to describe how good intentions had been misrepresented.

To-day was not the time to talk about the expansion of warlike sentiments, to examine relations between the peoples, or to develop programmes, in which field many people had already given of their best. To-day it was no good to remain on a plane which had no relation to the real situation; it was necessary to speak frankly, say what we meant, and what we could do and how we could arrange to do it. The danger of war at the present time was no longer a vague one, but terribly close and clearly defined. Without the help of a miracle, it would again break over the world. And all the palavers, declarations and resolutions in the world were of no value against this.

For years, continued Jouhaux, we had, side by side with a very incomplete campaign, lodged our vehement and unanimous protests, and he asked whether these had prevented the propagation of brutal sentiments by some governments, which had subjugated their peoples to conditions we had thought long since outmoded and certainly unworthy of human ideals, and were preparing for war in sight of and with the knowledge of the whole world.

De Bronckère had spoken of the League's impotence, but this impotence was not only its own, but was also that of all the peoples, it was our impotence too. When examining the present situation, therefore, we should remember that we had not perhaps done everything necessary in good time to prevent the resurrection of these brutal sentiments, dangerous for peace and for the future of humanity.

In realising this, we came automatically to consider revising the positions which had been adopted, to make our activities more precise and give them a greater influence. Of course, on the basis of theory, the IFTU could say it had done everything it could do and had no responsibility for the present situation. This was true, as the IFTU had made all the necessary decisions and issued all the necessary condemnations. But had we given the impression we were prepared to go the whole way in the application of our decisions to prevent the war? He would not reply to this question, to which each could himself give the answer. There was still in the IFTU, as in the LSI, and in the international of the governments, rather too much divergence of view and rather too much egoism to allow of our efforts achieving the results we were entitled to expect.

It was not enough to say that peace was indivisible; we should at the same time bear in mind that we had to fight war everywhere where it arose, in whatever part of the world it might be! But this feeling, it should be frankly admitted, was not felt by all. It was too often the case that what was happening some way away was of no interest to us; too often we felt that it was necessary to look after our own frontiers, and we were led to forget that this care is vain if other countries are defenceless. But - if this narrowness of outlook were abandoned, the idea of indivisible peace arose, and with it the necessity of a general and world-wide agreement against war, bringing together all peace-loving forces against any possible aggressor.

Within this general agreement, there could be regional pacts, on condition that sight was not lost of the idea of the general and all-round fight against war. If we had this feeling, then we should feel that a war, even in the Far East, was something which affected us, and that we could not let our governments and the League take up an attitude of indifference to such a war.

If we had had this feeling when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, we should not have been so inclined to consider that Ethiopia was a very distant country, we should have understood the identity of interests, we should have taken action sooner, and demanded that our governments take action with greater sincerity and should have ourselves taken steps against the aggressor.

Hitler had had to occupy the Rhineland zone before the presence of the danger was felt. Or even more, for the joint conference in London had been very disappointing for our action. There should have been unanimity among us, not to prevent Hitler from reoccupying territory which is in fact German, but to manifest our will to bar the road to war.

If all this had been done, the situation to-day would have been quite different, and we should not now be so near to war. We should revise our attitude, but not our decisions, which should be reaffirmed. We should not merely confirm them, we should complete them, taking into account the present situation.

What did it matter to the Fascists, whether they were called Mussolini or Hitler or anything else, that we condemned their activities, fought them with words, and bowed before their *faits accomplis*? If they knew by past examples that the attitude of the governments and of the League would end in retirement, that the peoples would support their governments, and that the working-class would not show any effective reaction, they could continue and they would continue.

At the London Conference, the speaker continued, our resolutions had been on a very elevated plane. We had proudly proclaimed that we would never allow of the recognition of a victory achieved by force of arms and the partition of a country by its attacker. But we had got used to the war, and we were now accepting the victory and its consequences, including the cutting up of Ethiopia. And it was this, of course, which was giving rise to the most deplorable assertions and a very comprehensible fear among the nations, especially the small nations. These small

countries no longer felt themselves to be secure, and with reason. They were seeking their own security and asking the large nations for help to assure it. If we could not manage to oppose this dangerous evolution towards the revival of the system of alliances, peace would not be saved. On the contrary, if all countries felt themselves to be safe, except that one which had bad intentions, the latter would be forced to realise that it would not win if it tried to seek an adventure, and in view of this realisation it would refrain from making war.

This was what we should explain to the world, if we wanted to preserve peace from being shaken or even from being destroyed. Jouhaux said he frankly admitted that he was not one of those who wanted a war in order to overturn a Fascist regime, but nor was he of those who shrank from taking definite action which would help to safeguard the liberties of the people and peace itself.

He was not naive enough to believe in the good faith of a Hitler or to think that a Mussolini would lay down his arms in the cause of European peace. It had often been said that capitalist war was as inherent in capitalism as the storm in a cloud, but this phrase could be transposed, and one could say that war was inherent in Fascism, which could not help but lead to war. Combating Fascism therefore meant combating war. We did not want to make use of arms, and it would be an illusion to believe that arms could serve the cause of peace. The actual facts had to be borne in mind.

Europe was to-day on the eve of war because Italy and Germany were covered with fortifications, armaments, aerodromes, etc. These countries had become immense barracks, in which the young were being educated exclusively with a view to and desire for war. These facts having been realised, it was necessary to fight against them. He did not want to be a pessimist, but we should have to know where we stood, to know how to act for the cause of peace, and to get rid of all utopian ideas and look the facts in the face.

Citrine had pointed out the direction it was necessary for the IFTU to take, and Jouhaux would support his ideas. The fight against war should not only be a fight of words, but a fight in which we should all know our responsibilities and our place. He would say especially to the British comrades that as long as the war profiteers and the arms racketeers remained the masters of their peoples, there would be cause for war. It was therefore essential to go forward to the nationalisation of the industries of war, for supervision was not enough. The supervision set up according to the American plan had failed. International supervision under the auspices of the League had not yet been achieved and would be powerless against the manoeuvres of the armaments manufacturers. It was necessary to go the whole road and bring under public ownership the production necessary for national defence. Jouhaux said he was not saying this because the People's Front in France had taken this decision; it was absolutely essential, if the peoples wished to avoid the danger of war.

He hoped there was agreement on this point, but this was only a first step and further action was necessary. In all our declarations we had affirmed our belief in the League's activity for peace, and had promised our assistance for sanctions. We had not failed in our decisions; it was the League which had failed in its own.

But we might ask if we had done all our duty, and this had to be answered in the negative. We ourselves should have replaced the League when it failed and shown the governments their responsibility. If we had this courage, the governments would have been alarmed and would have taken immediate action even before we had come to the end of our activities. There should be reflection on this point. But it was also necessary to realise that if decisions of this nature were not taken, war could break out the next day, in the Balkans, the Far East, or Dantzig. The war could break out anywhere where covetousness was allowed free play, and the IFTU had a historic mission to fulfil in the face of this danger.

It had been said that the union of the workers would mean the peace of the world, and this was true, but on condition that the workers were fully aware and knew how to make use of their power to prevent war and how to free themselves from their national egoisms in order better to serve the interests of their countries. It was not enough for us to seek security for ourselves; security should be sought everywhere where it existed. Security was indivisible, and the war which was being prevented could only be held off for some time, for a few years at the most, to break out then with a force which would be more widespread because preparations would have been completed by then. It was therefore necessary, as far as the International Federation of Trade Unions was concerned, for us to work vigorously,



animated by a common ideal in common activities, and for our fight against Fascism and war to be a fight supporting and stimulating the action of the governments and taking their place if they remained indifferent or inactive. Our activities should be organised in such a way that, at the opportune moment, they could be put into practice and thus form an unscalable obstacle to war. Those who were preparing for war should know that we were unanimously and actively determined against them. We should know how to rise above our own interests to defend the interests of humanity!

RADACEANU (Roumania) expressed his satisfaction that Jouhaux had so clearly shown in his account the links between Fascism and war. Referring to the fight against Fascism in view of the situation in his own country, he said that, although Roumania was not among those countries listed in the Report on Activities as subject to Fascism, he had some reason to fear that Roumania might soon achieve this tragic notoriety. There had been serious occurrences in Roumania and still more serious developments were threatening. Since the war, there had been no democracy in Roumania. Special measures had succeeded each other and the Trade Union Movement had had very great difficulty not only in developing but even in maintaining its existence. Whereas the pro-Fascist parties enjoyed impunity, the police took extremely brutal action against the slightest dispute of the workers. Quite recently, Bucharest, which had a population of a million, had gone through four days of terror, without the police or the authorities taking any serious steps. Roumania was a danger for democratic Europe. They knew that, in the fight against their enemies at home, they had to be dependent mainly on their own efforts, but they wanted to take this opportunity of issuing a cry of alarm, expressing the fear that they might soon have to have recourse to international solidarity. The speaker would however assure the Congress that the Roumanian workers, the vigilant vanguard on the edge of Europe, would do their duty in the fight against Fascism.

FIMMEN (ITF) expressed regret that there was such a short time limit. He thought that, while Jouhaux had given a brilliant exposé of the situation, he had not added anything concrete. Since its reconstitution, the IFTU had had a policy into the merits of which he would not go for the moment, but it had produced clear and dynamic formulas — general strike, sabotage of mobilisation, etc. This policy was part of the idea that the working-class was everywhere ready and capable to act. Since then, there had been an enormous change in the situation. There were still some democratic countries where the workers could speak and act, but elsewhere, in Germany, Italy and Austria, no one could act any longer.

For this reason, he thought, we should reconsider our policy. We used to affirm categorically that war was exclusively the manifestation of material competition between capitalist countries, but could we still abide so categorically by this affirmation? In the democratic countries, even those of bourgeois democracy, the workers had something to lose and therefore something to defend. And the question therefore arose of what attitude they should adopt if these democracies were attacked by the Fascist countries. Should they act on the letter of the old formulas and rise against their own government, with the idea that they were thus fighting against war? The Spanish comrades had just said that if Fascism again raised its head, the workers would rise to defend their freedom, if necessary, by force of arms. We naturally willingly accepted this idea of the armed defence of democracy against Fascism at home, and this might be regarded as an indication of the attitude to adopt, in the hour of danger, against the Fascist menace coming from outside. It might be said that this would mean war, and he would be the first to say that war was a terrible thing, but he would ask if the fate which weighed on Germany and Italy were any less terrible. The Congress Committee should consider all these aspects of the question, bearing in mind that it was nothing less than our right to do our duty of defending freedom. In some countries there were Labour Governments, either homogenous or coalitions supported by Labour, and it was the duties of these governments to defend freedom and make arrangements for its defence. The next time we would be called on to defend our countries it would not be as in 1914, in the interests of the bourgeoisie. After this war, we would have it out with the bourgeoisie. Fimmen concluded by hoping that the Congress would take up a very definite position expressed in a clear resolution.

DEL VAYO (Spain) stated that the Spanish delegation held that the organization of the fight against war constituted one of the most elementary tasks of the present Congress. In his country, the speaker said, the war-mongers were carrying on cynical propaganda. Spain, in his view, would not be able to escape the war, as in 1914; if the war came, it would be general. The Spanish Constitution proclaimed that the League Covenant should form the basis of foreign national policy, but we were faced with an inefficient and moribund League, and new tasks therefore fell on our shoulders. We should deal with them with all speed, for if, just to take an example, there should to-morrow be a restoration of the monarchy in Austria, it was probable that war would ensue. When the League had dealt with the Italian aggression and sanctions had been decided on, the internationally organised workers had been prepared to support this active policy, but the failure of the governments had spoilt everything. As regards international policy, the tactic of the People's Front could be followed, and it was for this reason that they had supported the Norwegian proposal, with a view to its giving rise to a serious reinforcement of the power of the workers. He was in full agreement with Jouhaux on the indivisibility of peace, but he also agreed with Fimmen when he demanded a clear and practical policy. In the special Committee, the Spanish delegation would intervene in the direction he had indicated.

A GERMAN DELEGATE, recalling that various speakers had pointed out that at the present time Germany represented one of the most immediate dangers for peace, asked that distinction should be made between the German people and the German government. The German people lived behind prison walls, which separated them completely from the outside world and prevented any echo of affairs reaching them. They were unaware of the widespread nature of the movement against war and were fed on the belief that their neighbours were meditating attack. As a result, and as was natural in these circumstances, there was a real war psychosis. Foreigners who went to Germany found that the German people really believed that France wanted to attack Germany at once, and that war was imminent and certain. We had in our power no way of countering this carefully inculcated mentality. Instead of explaining the situation to the public, the German government organised military propaganda, which was extremely easy to do in a totalitarian state. At the present time everything possible was being done to feed hatred of France and of Czechoslovakia — where touching appeals were made to the poor Germans in enslavement there!

When Hitler said he wanted peace, it was nothing more than a lie. In a country where pacifists were persecuted for their convictions, there could be no belief in any real love of peace. The truth was that the pseudo-pacifist speeches made in Germany only aimed at dissimulating the preparations for war, which could be seen in various aspects — institution of military service up to forty-five (exclusive of the fact that actual preparation was even further extended, to the age of fifty to fifty-five), the militarisation of skilled workers, with the population living under the sign of war and each being informed of the part he must play.

Hitler had said that he had changed his policy, but this was only another lie, to show which the speaker read some passages from a document in his possession, which showed the way public opinion in Germany was being misled. The document stated, for example, that peace and war were not contradictions, but different forms of national defence, succeeding to one another and one preparing for the other; if a people wanted to be free, it should at the same time prepare for war and for peace; all the military training was not enough; war was "learned" at the front.

It was good that world opinion should know that such things were written in an official government document. This document went on to say that the preparation for war should be the essential preoccupation of the German people, whose imperative duty it was, not only to accept but to seek all kinds of privations in order to allow of the unhindered preparation for war. And it was not only the army and armaments which it was necessary to prepare, but the entire population. War also should be totalitarian!

After hearing such statements it was impossible to believe that the pacific speeches made in Germany were anything more than a disgusting bluff, only destined for export. It was necessary to use all possible means to make the German people understand that no one in the world wanted war, and that the sole danger of war came from Germany herself.

CITRINE (in the chair) stated that no more speakers were down on his list and that the general discussion was therefore concluded. He asked Committee II to meet in order to discuss the question and formulate its conclusions, which would be submitted to the Congress by the Committee's rapporteur. Owing to lack of time, two Committees would have to meet in the evening, in order to get through the work.

The members of Committee II then withdrew from the Congress to start their deliberations, and the Congress continued its work.

CITRINE (in the chair), before calling on the rapporteur to speak on item 4 of the Agenda, asked Comrade A. Staal, representing the International Labour Office, to address the Congress.

Ad. STAAL (International Labour Office), having apologised for the absence of Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the ILO, who was detained by engagements made prior to the reception of the IFTU's invitation, but who had sent his warmest greetings to the Congress, expressed his pleasure at being able to speak in this atmosphere which he knew of old. He said he would not speak on the general situation, but would confine himself to the outcome of the present year's International Labour Conference.

Three draft Conventions had been adopted — on the recruitment of native labour, holidays with pay and hours of work. Having emphasised the conditions in which the problem of hours of work came up before the Conference, the speaker said it would be quite illogical to speak of a failure because all the drafts had not been adopted. A draft Convention required a two-third vote to be adopted, and, while the Workers' Group had unanimously voted in favour, the Employer's Group had not been less unanimous in its negative vote, and as these two Groups had the same number of votes at their disposal, they cancelled each other out, and the final result depended on the attitude of the Governments. The Governments' vote was known. The defeat of the three special draft Conventions did not in any way mean the end of this matter; as a matter of fact, after this vote, the Conference had adopted resolutions calling for technical tripartite conferences to be held with a view to the difficulties being overcome and a speedy solution being found. It could, therefore be expected that in the very near future, the problem of hours of work would again come up for discussion at Geneva.

It might seem that the pace was slow, but it should at the same time be remembered how long it had been before the pioneers of factory legislation saw even the beginnings of primitive social measures. It should also be remembered that we had had to wait thirty years to see the eight-hour day made general, since the Paris Congress of 1889 had proclaimed that May Day should be celebrated internationally on behalf of this reform. And when it was recalled that the IFTU had only formulated its demand for the forty-hour week in 1930, no one could deny that, during this short period of five years, considerable progress had been made in the matter of the forty-hour week.

Moreover, the bold and courageous examples given by France and Belgium in introducing the forty-hour week augured well for the future. Staal said he hoped he could say that the progress achieved, even if it did not meet in their entirety the legitimate demands of the workers, was largely due also to the tenacious and untiring efforts of the ILO, which had converted public opinion to the need for this reform.

In the course of his work, the speaker continued, he was always meeting people with whom he had to argue the merits and demerits of the ILO. There was a lot of talk about the « impotence » of Geneva, and mention was always being made of what was called the « spirit of Geneva », which meant a sort of class collaboration alleged to exist at the Conferences. Before an assembly such as the present Congress, in the presence of all the most eminent leaders of International Trade Unionism, it was of course superfluous to say that it was an absolute fallacy to speak of the impotence of the ILO. Everyone knew quite well that the International Labour Organisation was no Super-State which could at its own will promulgate social legislation. But, seventeen years after the foundation of the Organisation, this mistaken idea still seemed to stick in the minds of a great many of the rank and file, and it was very important that this false conception should be removed, because it did all the parties concerned a great deal of harm and injury.

As to the « spirit of Geneva », the speaker said he had regularly attended the International Labour Conference since 1921, and, in his view, the Geneva spirit had more the character of a cocktail, as it comprised the various spirits which the delegates imported from their respective countries. The Workers' Group stood no less firm for its demands and the Employers' Group was no more inclined to yield to these demands under the influence of the breezes from the Lake of Geneva. Neither did Government delegates seem to be much inclined towards changing their preconceived outlook on questions of social progress.

Schevenels had stated in a recent article that « nothing concrete and positive can be attained at Geneva without the enthusiastic and active collaboration of the workers themselves », and it was quite clear that if the workers themselves had influence upon their Governments, the Government delegates in Geneva might be expected to take a position favourable to their demands, but it was hardly to be expected that the Governments would be favourably inclined to such demands in Geneva when they were hostile to them at home.

The results of Geneva should not and could not be measured exclusively by the number of conventions adopted, nor even by the number of conventions ratified; there remained all the other activities of the ILO, of which the influence should not be underestimated.

What would have remained of social legislation in many countries during the years of crisis, without the protective and propelling force of the ILO during the past seventeen years? In the light of these considerations they had read with satisfaction Section Four of the Report on Activities of the IFTU, in which expression was given to the workers' determination to keep faith with the ILO and its present director and to collaborate loyally in the work of the Organisation, which also appreciated the recognition of the good work it had done.

The ILO was in fact the ally of Labour in its effort towards the development of social progress: every set-back which the trade union movement had to suffer meant a set-back for the ILO — every victory of Labour meant a victory for Geneva; their fates were closely linked up.

Saal said he would terminate with a quotation from Emerson, who had written that « we see events forced on us which seem to retard the civility of ages. But the world spirit is a strong swimmer and storms and waves cannot drown him. Through the years and the centuries a great and beneficent tendency irresistibly streams ».

The ILO and the international trade union movement both stood for social justice, and they should not be dismayed by events which seemed temporarily to retard their efforts. The speaker expressed the hope that the Congress might contribute to the strengthening of the world spirit for social justice for the sake of the workers and for the sake of humanity.

The Congress then turned to

#### Item 4 :

### The Fight against the Crisis : Forty-hour Week; Currency Stabilisation; Labour Plans.

MERTENS (rapporteur) said that, in view of the limited time allowed to rapporteurs, it would be vain to try to indicate all the aspects of the vast problem with which he had to deal, namely the fight against the economic crisis, and he would therefore give a brief introduction to the subject which the plenary session of the Congress first of all and later on the special Committee would have to discuss.

First of all, Mertens said, he thought it was our duty to say or rather to recall that the question of the fight against the crisis had received the continuous attention of the International since 1930, and he felt that when, after the Stockholm Congress in 1930, the IFTU had got into touch with the LSI to find together immediate solutions for the crisis and especially for the causes of this crisis, the programme which had then been drawn up retained all its value at the present time. Everyone should realise that if the remedies proposed in 1931, in the joint Zurich resolutions, had been applied, the crisis would never have ensued in the widespread way it had done and with the consequences which it had brought.

Since the Stockholm Congress, the IFTU had fought unceasingly, but unfortunately the situation since then had got worse. This was not because of lack of interest on our part, but because the governments had not had the courage to take the necessary measures and because the policy pursued by some governments had actually tended to accentuate the deep-lying causes of the crisis.

Without taking too much time, he would like to outline the measures adopted by the governments to restrict international exchange instead of intensifying and extending it. The Governments had applied a policy of economic nationalism, which had unfortunately contributed to the gravity of the present situation. He had before him a table showing world trade and national trade measures, from which he noted, for example, that seventeen countries had established monopolies, twenty-seven had taken various other similar restrictive measures, twenty-eight had instituted quota systems, sixteen measures concerning exports, fourteen export bounties and thirty-three supervision of currency movements. There had also been an increase in customs duties. The table showed that the increase between 1920 and 1935 had been 58.5 % in the United States, 21.3 % in Argentina, 270.3 % in Germany, 101.15 % in Austria, 128.94 % in Belgium, 286.84 % in France, 159.29 % in Great Britain and 107.14 % in Italy. This showed how seriously these measures had weighed on the present grave situation. It was no less interesting to examine the difference between prices at home and abroad. Confining himself to some German figures, the speaker mentioned that butter cost 113.6 % more at home than abroad; lard 170 %; pork 238 %, and sugar 379 %. These figures demonstrated the complete anarchy which dominated the world economic situation.

The demonstration could be completed by a comparison of the indices of employment and of production, both being in retrogression, in spite of the recovery which had been noticed and in spite of the proclamation of the end of the crisis made by so many economists who were said to be distinguished. There had been a relative decline in production, mainly owing to the lack of money resulting from unemployment. Certain branches of production, however, were showing considerable revival. Potential production was increasing more rapidly than potential employment, and this gave rise to the enormous difficulty in overcoming unemployment.

One more aspect of the problem remained to be indicated — the question of raw materials. This problem concerned both the fight against the economic crisis and the fight against war, since it provided a dangerous source of rivalry. The IFTU had defined its position towards this question, and we felt that there would be no improvement in the situation as long as an international solution had not been found.

Dealing then with the question of solutions which the Trade Union Movement had sought for the crisis, the speaker pointed out that these came under three heads — reduction of hours of work, currency stabilisation and labour plans. It was a temptation to retrace what it was not an exaggeration to call the calvary of the forty-hour week, but time was short, and in any case everyone had followed the efforts made by the IFTU in the national and international spheres, as well as within the International Labour Office, and what success or lack of success had been obtained was already well-known.

In spite of the optimistic affirmations of Mr. Butler, the distinguished director of the ILO, and of our Comrade Staal, who was representing it here, he felt bound to confess that he was not quite satisfied with Geneva. All that had been obtained, after very hard efforts, was a convention of principle and two special Conventions, which was a small recompense for the amount of energy expended to attain a reform which was obviously necessary.

But this sad reflection was fortunately compensated for in part by the direct conquest of the forty-hour week in Belgium and France, although it had to be remembered that there would still be a hard fight in these countries for the practical application of reduction of hours of work. Comparison of these two aspects led him to the conclusion, which he felt sure would be shared, that it was mainly on national Trade Union action that we had to depend.

At Geneva, where we should not give up the fight, we should, with the help of those governments which were in favour and of all the force we could muster, have to try to get the question brought up again as a whole; instead of accepting the interminable and disappointing discussions on special Conventions, we should try to get a general Convention drawn up.

The problem of reduction of hours of work, considered as one method of remedying unemployment, was naturally linked up with that of public works.

Everyone knew of the efforts made in this direction over past years at Geneva. It had at last been possible to get the question placed on the agenda for the International Labour Conference, with a view to the compilation of a Convention to co-ordinate national efforts internationally.

Turning then to the currency question, Mertens said it would be enough here to indicate the imperative necessity for international currency stabilisation, which had been demanded so often by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Since 1920 twenty-two European countries had devaluated their currency. In each case the devaluation had been put into effect by a government reduced to a corner, in circumstances which were often identical, created by the campaigns of the industrialists, in the alleged aim of breathing new life into national industry and giving it a better chance against international competition. In most cases, devaluation had been clearly disadvantageous to the workers' interests, and this point should be borne in mind. In each case, the Trade Unions had to fight hard for the readjustment of wages, and this circumstance should be enough to confirm us in our desire to demand world currency stability, a fundamental factor in normal and peaceful relations between the peoples in the economic sphere.

Mertens then came to the third head, Labour Plans, on which he said that the programme adopted by the Brussels Congress had been followed by Labour Plans in Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain (for certain industries), Luxemburg, and Holland, while mention should be made of the good work which had been done on this subject by the unfortunate unions of Germany and Austria.

The birth of these Plans was certainly a cause for satisfaction, but it was necessary to be prudent, for, examination of the plans showed first of all that their realisation presupposed the existence of a labour majority, and this was the first point to be considered. Then, supposing these plans were put into an effect on the strictly national lines laid down, might there not be a danger of their being exploited against other countries? This gave a further cause for thought. Finally Mertens expressed the fear that all the plans were too exclusively national. He had not come to a final decision, but he was merely giving voice to the apprehensions which had very naturally sprung to his mind. It seemed to him that the plans took too much account of national situations and that we were thus risking to co-operate, in spite of ourselves, in the policy of economic nationalism which we so justly reproached our own governments with pursuing. This was a risk which should be avoided.

It would be good to examine within the IFTU the means of guarding against this tendency towards economic nationalism. We should aim at finding terms and methods for a general and international policy, meeting the needs of the international proletariat. It would be good for the Committee to deal with this grave aspect of the question.

With reference to the proposal made by the Dutch comrades, Mertens said that a sub-committee might examine the possibility of an international conference being called on economic planning, which would be attended by delegates from the National Centres and which would study all the national plans and see how they could be brought into harmony, and how international action could be taken. He knew that many problems could only be solved in the national sphere, but the solution should be based on international norms, and we should not obtain tangible and lasting results unless we found a way of solving national difficulties and reinforcing the action of the Trade Unions.

In conclusion, Mertens said he did not think it was either necessary or possible for the Congress to issue new formulas or new slogans. What was expected was more an indication of practical ways and means of developing the campaign for economic planning, co-ordinating it internationally and conducting it so as to arrive at concrete results. And in this direction, he repeated, the first thing to do was to establish the necessary harmony between national initiative and the international campaign.

CHORIN (Palestine) who spoke in Hebrew, pointed out that the economic crisis had aggravated the Jewish problem, as the special circumstances of their existence made the Jews particularly vulnerable. Jewish youth was in a grave situation, in view of the impossibility of finding work, owing to the revival of anti-Semitism. The Jews should give special attention to the problem of emigration, as the only country really capable of absorbing them was Palestine.

The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine was giving especial attention to the vocational training of the young. When the progress made over the past

fifteen years by the General Federation was being considered, it had to be remembered also that it had, as far as possible, fulfilled its obligations. In 1936 its membership was about 100,000, or approximately 90 % of the workers, while, at its foundation in 1921, it had had about 4,500 members. Its activities often went beyond the traditional lines of Trade Union work, as the Unions were also pioneers. About eighty co-operative or communal colonies were affiliated to the General Federation, which had also set up a number of production and transport co-operatives. It had built settlements, schools and set up systems of social relief. The Jewish colonists had never had recourse to methods which might have damaged the Arab population. The cultural level was higher than before the colonisation, and showed that the Arabs had not suffered. The Federation demanded the right to work. It had often been alleged that the Jews were parasites and would not take part in productive work, but the facts had proved the contrary. The Palestinian workers never dreamt of exploiting other wage-earners nor of taking their place. They asked the Congress to aid them in their fight for freedom of immigration and the right to work. The increasing activity and vitality of the country, with the help of the Labour Movement, would of itself bring with it collaboration, if it was not held up by artificially incited opposition between Jewish and Arab workers.

CITRINE (in the chair) then announced that, as no one else wanted to speak, the debate on Item 4 was closed, and the Committees would meet at 9.0 p.m.

#### END OF THE THIRD DAY.

In the evening, those delegates not attending any of the Committees, were conducted on a visit to the office and works of the "Daily Herald".

## FOURTH DAY

SATURDAY, 11th JULY, 1936

### Morning Session

The meeting was opened at 10.00 a.m.

#### Item 6 :

### Freedom of Trade Union Association; the Role and Rights of the Trade Unions under Economic Planning

CITRINE (in the chair) immediately called on Rudolf Tayerle, rapporteur on item 6 of the agenda, freedom of association, to address the Congress.

TAYERLE (rapporteur) said that the printed report already circulated dealt in broad outline with the importance and scope of the problem of freedom of association at the present time. Time would not allow of his developing as he would like to do the history of the idea of Trade Unionism, and he would confine himself to some personal observations on the report submitted.

Freedom of association was not only closely linked up with economic and social conditions, but also with civil rights and the political freedom of the workers. All the political struggles of the workers had invariably been carried on also for Trade Union liberties. When it had been a question of the primary liberation of the worker and of his civic and human rights, it had been necessary to back up the action by the conquest of freedom of association. Development of Trade Union freedom automatically followed on the civil emancipation of the workers and the improvement of political institutions.

He was glad, the speaker said, finding himself in British territory, to recall the commemoration two years ago of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Their example, which had been that of the pioneers of many countries, provided the heroic proof that the worst of persecutions was powerless to hold up the evolution and the development of Trade Unionism.

Trade Unionism was in a way the natural product of economic evolution. Political democracy cleared the way for the free development of Trade Unionism, which represented a stage towards economic democracy. One could even say more — that industrial democracy could only be attained through a real political democracy. Thus the political system could not afford to be indifferent to Trade Union organisations. The economic and social needs of the wage-earners should be harmonised with the economic situation and the institutions of the democratic state.

It was obvious that Trade Union freedom must have limits, as all liberty had to have limits if it was not to extend to licence and chaos. But although Trade Union liberties had to be limited, they should only be restricted by laws restricting at the same time civil liberties. The essential point was that the Trade Unions



should not be deprived of constitutional rights, and should be able, within the limits of these fundamental rights, to choose for themselves their own institutions. Tayerle said that he personally did not object to Unions having to be registered or even having to register their rules, but what we could not admit was that the State should arrogate to itself the right of supervising the financial administration of a Trade Union organisation, or of restricting the activities of the Unions within the limits of their rules.

The adversaries of Trade Unionism claimed that individual liberty was infringed by freedom of association, especially as regards the duty of collective solidarity. The Unions asked that the workers, enjoying all the advantages obtained by the Unions, should meet their obligations towards the Unions. Solidarity was the base of the exercise of common rights, of which, for example, the system of collective agreements was the tangible expression.

This solidarity met a social necessity, so that the States which had destroyed the free Trade Unions had been compelled to set up organisations of which membership was compulsory and which were entrusted with some of the tasks formerly performed by the free Trade Unions.

This touched on a crucial point of the problem — whether membership of a Trade Union should be prescribed by law. In the speaker's opinion, such a prescription was not an advantage for the workers; it was incompatible with the ideal of democracy that the Trade Unions should be bodies set up by and dependent on the State. The same objection applied even if membership was compulsory but the worker was allowed to choose his own organisation. Such constraint would be very prejudicial to Trade Unionism.

On the other hand it was no good if Trade Unions were allowed to be formed but were prohibited from uniting nationally or internationally. It was necessary to have close co-operation between the unions of manual and non-manual workers, and between men and women workers for the solution of common problems. It was moreover inconceivable that a State which allowed of the creation of Trade Unions should refuse to recognise them, especially as regards the organisations of workers in the public services.

Trade Unions were a fact and a necessity. They had survived the period of *laissez-faire* which, in the name of a certain conception of "the right to work", had tried to abolish freedom of association. The war had interrupted the evolution of Trade Unionism but had not been able to destroy it. After the war, the Movement had had to be reconstructed from the base, and since then the Unions had not only been tolerated, but recognised by the State and by the employers as the competent representatives of the economic and social interests of the workers. This new juristic situation had been formally recognised by the Peace Treaties, and had even given rise to the institution of the International Labour Organisation, which took on tangible form in the International Labour Conferences held each year and in the work of the International Labour Office. In addition, the statutory institution of Works Councils was a further step on the way towards economic democracy. Better forms for economic life were being sought in order to assure equilibrium between production and consumption, and to harmonise the efforts of the individual with the needs of the community.

None of the foregoing was changed by the fact that, in some countries, this evolution had suffered a passing interruption and that the blows which had brought down political democracy had at the same time eclipsed industrial democracy also.

The speaker regretted not being able to analyse at greater length the reasons for this situation, but pointed out that, where it had been easily replaced by dictatorship, democracy could certainly not have been very deeply-rooted. In Italy, Trade Unionism had developed rapidly after the war, but this development had been accompanied by the growth of the nucleus which was afterwards to develop into fascism. The corporations in Italy were purely state bodies, they were not Unions in the proper sense and they could play no active part.

The Trade Unions in Germany had been destroyed with much greater brutality, the use of violence being the favoured method throughout. Then the Austrian Unions had disappeared in their turn. In other countries, in varying degrees, the Trade Union Movement was suffering from oppression.

Tayerle referred to the decision of the recent International Labour Conference on the protection of wage-earners in the exercise of their right of association,

against any sort of pressure which might be brought to bear on them, and declared that the civilised world should defend those who, in fighting for freedom of association, had lost their own freedom, not to speak of their nationality.

Continuing, he pointed out that the evolution of economic life aimed at more progress in labour legislation, and he thought in particular that collective agreements should be made compulsory. When the demand was raised for the statutory protection of prices, we should at the same time demand the statutory protection of the price of labour, namely by the determination of minimum wages. The part we had to play was laid down by the national economic programmes drawn up nationally and especially by the economic programme of the IFTU. The universal suffrage allowed of all citizens exerting a certain influence on public affairs, but this would not be enough, in view of the increasing part played by the state in industrial life, and it was from this realisation that our demand for the creation of National Economic Councils arose. Under a system of managed economy, the rights and duties of the Unions would arise naturally and logically from their influence on industrial life and labour legislation. This new economic order would doubtless not be established at one stroke, but we should try to accelerate its evolution. We should distrust Fascist propaganda, which claimed to lead to an analogous end; the corporate state was a myth. In Russia also, the part imposed on the Unions did not correspond to the notion of free Trade Unionism; they were subject to State control, on a basis of political dictatorship. It was to be hoped that Russia's evolution towards democracy would become a fact.

In order to aim with success at economic democracy, it was in the interests of the Trade Unions to collaborate with the representatives of political democracy. At the same time, however, and in spite of the fighting alliances concluded with the democratic working-class parties, the Trade Unions should take care to safeguard their independence, all the more in view of the tasks which awaited them under economic planning. The realisation of such a regime necessitated the direct and responsible collaboration of the Unions. In no case could the Trade Union Movement give up its freedom of association. The discipline and the responsibility of the Unions would increase with the development of economic planning. Planning should suppress the causes of economic injustice, and should create a new situation within which men would perform with joy and spontaneity the efforts which the community expected of them. The State and its bureaucracy should not restrain the free development of economic forces, but should encourage it. Political democracy led to economic democracy, which would establish social justice. It was the task of the Unions to see that technical progress became an inexhaustible source of well-being equitably distributed among all individuals. Capitalism had failed and it was necessary to create a new economic system, in which all the workers would be able to find employment and a just return for their efforts. In this work, the State should be aided by freely constituted and freely functioning Trade Unions.

History was marked by numerous hard struggles for freedom of opinion, in the fight for bread and the search for truth. Invariably, truth had won the victory over violence, and the struggles of our Unions would therefore sooner or later result in victory. Freedom for the Trade Unions did not merely mean freedom for the workers, but the whole of human liberty and therefore the reign of peace between the peoples and between men, in economic justice and social equity.

STANCZYK (Poland) said that Tayerle had mentioned economic democracy many times in his address, but that the immediate question was to know whether this action was possible when political democracy was absent or diminished. He felt that it was wrong for the Unions not to give enough attention to political struggles. They should not forget that in the absence of political liberty, economic and Trade Union action was hardly possible. This exclusiveness had perhaps had something to do with the progress of Fascism. As an example, he referred to the situation in Poland where, owing to the lack of political democracy, it was almost impossible to fight in the economic and social sphere. Owing to this lack of liberty, they had been forced, in Poland, to have recourse to new formulas for Trade Union action. As the Unions' freedom of action was diminished, they had initiated the stay-in-strike, which had afterwards been adopted in France. They had been forced to do this, since they had no legal means of acting normally.

The speaker concluded by urging the International and its national sections to

bring their action more into the political field, since it was only a living and tangible democracy which would allow of the bold development of our action for the emancipation of the workers.

CITRINE (in the chair), noting that no more speakers wished to take part in the general discussion, said that the question would then be dealt with in the Committee.

Continuing, he said that we had now reached the next item on the agenda, motions submitted in conformity with the rules. One of these motions, that moved by Norway on international unity, was already under discussion in the Committee, but before he called on Comrade Kupers, the rapporteur of this Committee to speak, he would ask the Congress to deal with another proposal. On page 3 of the Congress Agenda was to be found the text of the motion introduced by the International Federation of General Factory Workers, proposing an addition to Article 36 (g) of the Statutes, regarding the efforts which should be made by National Centres and International Trade Secretariats in order to get their affiliated sections to affiliate, as the case might be, to their International Trade Secretariats or their National Centre. He proposed that this motion be adopted by the Congress without discussion, and this was done.

The Chairman then called on Kupers to speak. Committee IV was made up as follows :

Rapporteur and chairman — Kupers; representing the Executive — W. Schevenels; Austria — a delegate; Belgium — Devlaemynck; Czechoslovakia — Brodečky; Denmark — P. Andersen; France — G. Buisson; Great Britain — A. Loughlin; Holland — E. Kupers; Norway — Olav Hindahl; Palestine — Z. Feinstein; Poland — J. Stanczyk; Roumania — Radacanu; Spain — Martinez Carton; Sweden E. Mattson; Switzerland — R. Bratschi.

Observers : Czechoslovakia — V. Novotna; Spain — Cl. Garcia and Pretel.

KUPERS (rapporteur to Committee IV) said that, after the long discussion in the plenary session and five hours of debate, during which numerous amendments had been moved, some tending to weaken and some to intensify the scope of the Norwegian proposal, the Committee had finally arrived at the realisation that it was indispensable to produce a draft resolution which would be acceptable to the whole Congress. The different points of view had been taken into consideration and a text drafted which should give satisfaction, and which had now been circulated to the delegates. One small modification had still to be made to it. The delegate from New Zealand had asked that, in the enumeration of National Centres, the word « Australasia » be replaced by « Australia and New Zealand », seeing that this latter country had its own Trade Union Movement. This slight amendment could probably, he thought, be agreed to without discussion.

The Committee would ask the Congress not to reopen the debate on the question but to accept unanimously the draft resolution, which he then proceeded to read (see Appendix).

CITRINE (in the chair), before taking the vote, said that it was unnecessary to point out that the text they had heard represented, as was found to be the case, a compromise between different points of view. The text represented the unanimous view of the Committee and therefore, assuming that the different delegations were in agreement with their representatives on the Committee and that these representatives had received full authority from their respective delegations, it would not be necessary to reopen the debate, so that the vote could be taken on a show of hands.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously, with no opposition, and this decision was received with enthusiastic applause.

CITRINE (in the chair) said that the Congress had just passed a resolution which was of vital importance to the future of the International Trade Union Movement, and he hoped that no section of the Movement would do anything to usurp

the authority of the IFTU Executive in carrying on these discussions. All International Trade Secretariats were by the rules required to enter into relations only with those bodies which were not hostile to the policy of the IFTU, and he hoped therefore — not looking back on the past but dealing only with the future — that everyone would try to remember that the IFTU Executive had been given the task of conducting these discussions with the bodies mentioned, and that in the meantime everyone in the Congress would avoid any act which might in any sense tend to compromise any decision.

Owing to the late sitting of the Congress on the previous night, the Committees had had to work until after midnight. This had caused delay in the translation and duplication of the resolutions, and the meeting was therefore adjourned for a short time.

On the Congress reassembling, CITRINE called on the rapporteur of Committee II, which was made up as follows :

Rapporteur, chairman and representing the Executive — L. Jouhaux; Austria — a delegate; Belgium — Keuwet; Czechoslovakia — Grünzner; Dantzig — Töpfer; Denmark — H. Hansen; France — R. Michaut; Great Britain — G. Hicks; Holland — Moltmaker; Mexico — Villasenor; Norway — K. Nordahl; Palestine — Z. Feinstein; Poland — V. Alter; Spain — A. del Vayo; Sweden — A. Forstlund; Switzerland — Schürch.

Observers: Norway — Hegg; Spain — Diaz Alor and Lombardia; International of Socialist Youth — H. C. Hansen.

BUISSON (rapporteur for Committee II, deputising for L. Jouhaux, who had had to leave London) reported that, after prolonged discussion, the Committee had unanimously agreed on the text of the resolution, which he read out to the plenary session of the Congress.

CITRINE (in the chair) called on René Belin to make an announcement on behalf of the French delegation.

BELIN (France) stated that the French delegation would vote for the text presented by the Committee on disarmament, war and Fascism, but it would like to mention one point. The French delegation had moved in the Committee an amendment stating that « the Congress regarded the collaboration of all organised social forces as a necessity, and instructed the IFTU Bureau to do everything to realise this collaboration at the earliest possible date ».

This text aimed mainly at opening up the widest prospects for international unity of action against war and Fascism, and it was precise and unambiguous. But, as they realised that the last paragraph of the resolution which had been submitted, stating that everything should be done to repulse the forces of Fascism and war, did not close the door to the widest possible international collaboration which the world situation might make indispensable, they had decided to join their votes to those of all sections of the IFTU in order to attain unanimity on such an important question.

The French delegation would like this declaration to be included verbatim in the report of proceedings.

CITRINE (in the chair) said he had been asked by the Spanish delegation to say that it supported the declaration made by Belin and would vote in the same spirit for the resolution although it had hoped this would have been more rigorous and explicit.

The Palestinian delegates wanted the word « nations » inserted in the last sentence of the original text in place of « countries » in order to emphasise thus the protection of minorities, and the rapporteur to the Committee had expressed his agreement with this amendment.

The text amended thus was adopted nem. con.  
(see text in the Appendix).

The rapporteur then read the resolution on the Fascist terror.

The chairman stated that the Swedish delegation wanted the text to include a protest against the barbarous sentence promulgated at Hamburg on André, and the rapporteur agreed with this amendment.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously  
(see Appendix for text).

The meeting then adjourned.

**FOURTH DAY**  
**SATURDAY, 11th July, 1936**

**Afternoon Session**

CITRINE (in the chair) opened the session at 3.0. p.m. by reading the following telegram addressed to the League of Nations on the situation in Dantzig :

" IFTU Congress appeals to the League of Nations to stand by its solemn pledge given to the people of Dantzig and to take immediately every step necessary to protect the democratic population of the Free City of Dantzig against the imminent danger of being crushed under the heel of the Nazi terror. »

Copies of this telegram had been sent to the members of the special League Committee on Dantzig (consisting of representatives of France, Great Britain and Portugal) and to the Polish Government and the High Commission of the League in Dantzig.

The Congress approved of this action.

While the Committees were still continuing their work, the President called on the fraternal delegates to speak.

G. T. THURSTON (New Zealand), having expressed the fraternal greetings of the workers of New Zealand and even, he might add, the government of New Zealand, said that this was the first IFTU Congress he had attended, and he wanted to say how much he had been impressed by the debates, and that he felt it to be his duty to induce New Zealand to affiliate to the IFTU. The deliberations of the Congress had fitted in very nicely with the opinions of the New Zealand workers, who were opposed to Fascism and war and would do everything possible to prevent them happening.

Up till 1935 they had had a Government similar to the present British Government, which had attacked the standard of living by cutting down pensions and so forth, but since 1935 they had had a Labour Government and conditions had been simply transformed. Now relief work was classed as ordinary work, the forty-hour-week operated and workers could earn as much as 25/- per day, as against 7/6 previously. This political revolution was bound to have repercussions in the industrial movement, and they would probably have a different form of industrial organisation in the future. It might take the form of a Trades Union Congress, and he would do his best to bring that organisation into the IFTU within the next couple of years. They were in agreement with the resolution regarding collaboration of the different bodies. The question of finance would probably immediately arise, and, if they could be met on this question, he was almost satisfied that the New Zealand Movement would join up with the IFTU.

In conclusion, he thanked the Congress for the opportunity given him of speaking and he expressed the hope that, within the next two years, a New Zealand delegate would be in attendance at the Congress.

MITSU-KOHNO (Japan) brought the cordial greetings of the Japanese workers. It was with the greatest pleasure that he had accepted the invitation to attend the Congress, since it offered an opportunity of getting acquainted with his European comrades. It was at Geneva that Schevenels had cordially invited the Japanese Unions to be represented at the Congress, and he had then received an official letter from Yonekubo asking him to attend.

It was the first Congress he had attended and the first time he had been in Europe. He had made a valuable discovery, that the European Labour Movement had recovered its former strength. He had been informed in Japan that the European workers' movements were suffering from difficult times, but had made the very happy discovery that that was wrong. He saw typical evidence of the strengthening of our movement against Fascism, notably in France.

There were many misunderstandings regarding the Japanese Movement. The Japanese Trade Union Congress was strongly opposed to Fascism and reaction of any kind. The number of organised workers only amounted to 370,000, and the social and political influence of the movement was therefore not very powerful.

They were not affiliated to the IFTU, although their Seamen's Union had been affiliated to the ITF for several years. The difficulties were of a financial nature and not on matters of principle. But whether the Japanese were united with the IFTU or not, they were willing to work with it and wanted that to be borne in mind by everyone. The Japanese Movement was very young and still had need of much help and support.

He concluded by saying that his attendance at the Congress had given him an opportunity of learning a great deal and of getting to know the European Movement and European comrades better; he would take back with him a very happy impression, which he would communicate to his comrades in Japan in order to show them that their place was in fact in the ranks of the IFTU.

CITRINE (in the chair) asked the representatives of the IFTU to meet together with Schevenels in order to discuss certain matters regarding the affiliation of the IFTU and ITS.

He then called on the South African representative to speak.

W. H. ANDREWS (South Africa) thanked the Congress on behalf of the South African Trades and Labour Council for the invitation to attend the Congress. This was the second time the South African body had been represented at the Congress meetings, the first time being at Brussels, three years previously, since when much had occurred.

The resolutions against war and Fascism would be welcomed by the workers of South Africa, both European and native. In South Africa also, Fascism, masquerading in grey and black shirts, had reared its ugly head. Its organisations were flooding the country with antisemitic literature, and the unpleasant fact had been noted that the police and other government authorities were very often turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to Fascist propaganda and outrages, whilst, on the other hand, meting out punishment to persons engaged in opposing Fascism.

The workers of South Africa would be particularly interested in the debate on the Norwegian proposal. In South Africa, the question of affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions had been under discussion about seven or eight years previously, and there had been protagonists on the one hand of the IFTU and on the other of the Red International of Labour Unions. The forces had been so equally divided, that it was decided not to apply for affiliation to any international body until some unanimity had been reached, and the same position held good to-day. But he believed that the resolution adopted to-day, although perhaps many of the South African Trade Unionists would have been very glad if the resolution still stood as the Norwegians first proposed it, if sincerely and honestly acted on, would make it possible for the South African Trades and Labour Council, which was the most representative body of organised labour in the Union of South Africa, to join with the workers in the other four Continents.

P. J. TRAINER (Australia) greeted the International Congress on behalf of the workers of Australia and said that the question of affiliation had already been dealt with by some of the fraternal delegates. His experience at the Congress had converted him into an ambassador as far as the affiliation of the Australian Unions was concerned. He had lived in Australia for twenty-three and he recalled his early

associations with both the Trade Union Movement and the former Independent Labour Party, where he had learned the principles of Socialism and Labour. He had met at this meeting many old friends and associates, and he thanked the IFTU for having given him this opportunity. He would also express his personal thanks to the officers of the TUC for the hospitality they had given to the Congress.

Referring to the political situation in Australia as it affected the Movement, the speaker said that his recent experience in Geneva had led him to believe that we could not make much progress unless the masses of working-class people could be made to realise the necessity of Labour representatives in Parliament. It was necessary to have Labour Government representatives in order to obtain international Conventions, and he would prophesy that, as far as Australia was concerned, the next International Labour Conference would be attended by a Government delegate representing a Labour Government. He thought that one of the pupils of Tom Mann would be Prime Minister.

His experience of the Congress, the speaker concluded, would give him inspiration to carry on the work in Australia for a few years at least, and he wished the organisation all the success which it richly deserved.

CITRINE (in the chair) stated that the American comrades, after having consulted with him, had attended the Educational Conference at Transport House, as they were very desirous of familiarising themselves with the work of the IFTU in the educational sphere. They would therefore not be able to address the Congress, but, as the delegates had already had circulated to them the message of greeting from the American Federation of Labor itself, he felt they would understand that the close connections between the IFTU and the Movement in the United States were being still further strengthened, and he hoped that in the near future it would develop into organic unity.

No one more than a Britisher, he thought, could better understand the bewilderment of a first international conference, where speeches had to be translated into several languages. The day might arrive when we had a universal language, and when that occurred, the time of the IFTU would be more profitably utilised than at present. But many of the characteristics existing in languages would be preserved, as he felt certain it was not possible to express with the same precision in any universal language what one wanted to say.

The fraternal delegates were going a long way overseas, and they would carry with them to their Trade Union members in their various countries the warmest fraternal greetings that the Congress could give.

The resolutions from Committee I, on the fight against the crisis, were now ready and being circulated. The chairman then called on the rapporteur of the Committee to speak.

Committee I was composed as follows:

Rapporteur, chairman and representing the Executive — C. Mertens; Austria — a delegate; Belgium — Fassin; Czechoslovakia — Pacovský; Denmark — Chr. Jensen; France — R. Belin; Great Britain — Arthur Hayday; Holland — Lindeman; Luxemburg — P. Krier; Norway — T. Henriksen; Palestine — Chorin; Poland — A. Zdanowski; Spain — Pascual Tomas; Sweden — Per Bergman; Switzerland — Meister.

Observers: Belgium — Coote; Norway — Tangen; Poland — W. Aher; Spain — G. Peña and A. de Rosal.

MERTENS (rapporteur to Committee I) said there was no need to go into details about the texts which had been submitted after their unanimous adoption by the Committee, after an animated and fraternal exchange of views. Agreement had been reached without any great obstacles arising, and the drafts had been adopted with only slight amendments.

There were however several explanations to be made to the Congress. The Dutch delegation had moved a resolution which came before the Committee, but



as the text of the resolutions had incorporated their proposals, the Dutch comrades had withdrawn their motion, considering that it had been met.

He then read the text of the two resolutions drafted by the Committee.

CITRINE (in the chair) said that the general project had been discussed in the plenary session, before being sent to Committee. The draft resolutions now submitted had been adopted unanimously by the Committee, and he proposed that the Congress also accept them.

The two resolutions were adopted unanimously (see Appendix for text).

CITRINE (in the chair) then called on Comrade Kupers, rapporteur to Committee IV (of which the composition is given above) to address the meeting.

KUPERS (rapporteur) said he had been instructed by his Committee to communicate its conclusions on the three points of elections, rate of affiliation fees and place of the next Congress.

The Committee proposed the re-election of Walter Citrine as President, Walter Schevenels as General Secretary and George Stolz as Assistant Secretary. There were four retiring Vice-Presidents, who were all standing for re-election — Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Mertens and Tayerle, and the Committee recommended their re-election. One Vice-Presidency had become vacant owing to the resignation of Comrade Schorsch, and the Congress would have to fill this vacancy. Three candidates had been proposed in the Committee — Caballero, Kupers and Meister. Comrade Meister had informed them, after consultation with his delegation, that he would not stand, so that the Congress would have to choose between Caballero and Kupers.

TAYERLE (temporarily taking the chair) asked the Congress to proceed to the elections.

Walter M. Citrine was unanimously re-elected President by acclamations.

CITRINE expressed his very sincere thanks for this mark of confidence. He said he had been President now for eight years, and he thought this was the longest period that anyone had held the office. He hoped that during the present week his rulings had not been too sharp. He thought that the Conference had gone excellently and business had been performed with despatch. He had been told that it would be literally impossible to start an international conference anywhere near the time called, but this had been proved not true. Everyone had started on time and there had been a large attendance.

He again expressed thanks for the support given him during his years of office, and hoped to merit continued confidence in the future. The delegates could rely on him trying to live up to the ideals which International Trade Unionism had set before him.

Walter Schevenels was then unanimously re-elected General Secretary.

SCHEVENELS expressed his deep thanks for this mark of confidence.

George Stolz was re-elected Assistant Secretary.

CITRINE, speaking on behalf of Comrade Stolz, who was attending the International Conference on Workers' Education, expressed thanks for his re-election and said that Stolz had always been a diligent officer of the IFTU and would continue to give satisfaction.

He then called on Kupers to speak.

KUPERS announced that the Committee proposed Prague as the place of the 1939 Congress.

This proposal was adopted unanimously.

While the voting lists were being reviewed, in preparation for the election of a fifth Vice-President, the Congress dealt with

## Item 9 :

### Rate of Affiliation Fees.

KUPERS (rapporteur to the Committee) said that, as no reason had presented itself to make a change in the rate of affiliation fees, the Committee proposed maintenance of the rate now in force.

As no counter-proposition was made, this was agreed to. The Congress then returned to the question of elections, and unanimously re-elected the four retiring Vice-presidents, Jacobsen, Jouhaux, Mertens and Tayerle.

Two candidates were standing for the fifth seat — Caballero (Spain) and Kupers (Holland) — but before the vote was taken the chairman announced that two delegates wished to speak.

CARTON (Spain) said that the Spanish delegation had been instructed by the Executive Committee of the UGT to ask that Spain be represented on the IFTU Executive. He regretted having to address the Congress to emphasize Spain's right to the vacancy. They had thought that the arguments put forward in the Committee would have sufficed to convince all the comrades of the justice of their demand and that the Committee would have made a unanimous proposal, but this had unfortunately not occurred. Spain was one of the oldest members of the International and had never had a seat on the Executive. At the present time, the UGT was one of the strongest National Centres — both from the point of view of membership and moral influence. Membership was almost one million and a half. It was difficult to think of a reason for contesting Spain's right to the representation she asked for.

The UGT had sent a very numerous delegation to the Congress, which had taken an active part in the debate. The representation of Spain, moreover, meant closer contacts with the whole of Latin America, in which the IFTU was so interested that it had several times asked for the help of the Spanish National Centre to extend its influence there. If the Spanish Centre were to succeed in this, it should be given the prestige which would accrue from a seat on the Executive. At the present time, Spain had increased in importance throughout the world owing to recent events there. The Spaniards asked for a seat on the Executive for Caballero, a comrade whose prestige was very great, not only in Spain but throughout the whole world. His presence in the Executive would at the same time increase the prestige of the UGT and the IFTU, and his election could only have a good effect. As Spain was represented in the Anarchist International, the Spanish comrades could not understand why it was not the same within the IFTU. They felt that Largo Caballero was a person of international stature, and had all the necessary qualities to fill such a position, and the speaker therefore expressed the hope that, bearing in mind the prestige and future of the International, the Congress would not hesitate to appoint Caballero unanimously to the position to which he was entitled in so many respects.

MEISTER withdrew his request to speak.

BROMLEY (Great Britain), on a point of order, asked the Chairman if he intended to allow voting rights to those National Centres which had not paid affiliation fees.

CITRINE said that the rules would proscribe him from allowing this.

BROMLEY thereupon asked that steps be taken to ascertain which Centres had not paid.

CITRINE stated that the General Secretary would deal with this and that they were doing their best to safeguard against any slip in this direction. It would probably be more satisfactory if Congress itself appointed two scrutineers, who should not be members of a delegation to which either of the candidates was attached.

Comrades DEVLAEYMNCK (Belgium) and BRODECKY (Czechoslovakia) were nominated and elected.

CITRINE then explained that ballot papers would be handed to the delegations in accordance with the number of votes to which each delegation was entitled. The delegations would then strike out the name of the candidate they did not want, leaving unmarked the name of the candidate they did want.

The GENERAL SECRETARY then read out the list of countries entitled to vote and the number of votes each was allowed.

The POLISH DELEGATION was not on the list and thought it was entitled to a vote. The Credentials Committee was not satisfied with the position, but allowed the Polish delegate to speak.

STANCZYK (Poland) said that in the previous month they had sent a portion of their affiliation fees to the Secretariat and were intending within the next month or so to send in the rest. Their contribution had arrived too late to be entered in the accounts, but they asked Congress to waive its point and allow them the right to vote.

SCHEVENEIS said he did not wish to dispute what Comrade Stanczyk had said, but that up to the 3rd July they had not received the portion of the affiliation fees referred to. He furthermore regretted to have to state that Poland had not paid its 1935 affiliation fees for the good reason that she was in arrears for 1931, 1932 and 1933.

CITRINE said he was afraid that, much as they appreciated the difficulties with which the Polish comrades had been faced, they could not take part in the vote. The rule was perfectly clear, and he felt he had no option in the matter.

The ballot papers were then distributed.

CITRINE announced that, while delegations were filling in their voting papers, Comrade Tayerle would address the Congress as rapporteur to Committee III and would submit a resolution on freedom of association.

Committee III was composed as follows:  
Rapporteur, chairman and representing the Executive — R. Tayerle; Austria — a delegate; Belgium — Dethier; Czechoslovakia — Slach; Dantzig — Töpfer; Denmark — Knud V. Jensen; Finland — Louhikko; France — Frachon; Great Britain — Arthur Shaw; Holland — van der Lende; Mexico — R. Pifia-Soria; Norway — Strandli; Poland — Kurilowycz; Spain — Carillo; Sweden — O. Karlen; Switzerland — Neumann.

Observers: Belgium — Denies and Watillon; Holland — Hillebregt; Norway — Gulbrandeen; Spain — Munoz, Belarmino Tomas, Delage and Septiem.

TAYERLE (rapporteur to Committee III) said that the resolution drawn up by the Committee, which had been distributed to delegates, exactly covered all the points on which the Congress had agreed. It emphasised in particular the

necessity for freedom and independence for the Trade Unions and the importance of political liberty as an essential factor in the functioning and activity of the Unions. This thus met the arguments put forward by the Polish delegation. The Committee hoped that the Congress would be able to adopt the resolution unanimously.

The resolution on freedom of association (see Appendix for text) was then adopted unanimously.

CITRINE (in the chair) announced that the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists, held before the Congress, had adopted two resolutions and a recommendation, but that the Executive had not been able to consider these texts. The President therefore asked the Congress for these to be referred to the Executive, and called on Comrade Novotná to address the meeting as rapporteur.

NOVOTNA pointed out that the resolutions which had been distributed had been adopted unanimously by the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists. They represented a synthesis of the questions connected with the very grave problem of women's work. There could be no question here of rivalry or hostility between men and women workers; it was only a question of reaffirming the right to work of all. Women workers were and would remain solid with the men in the fight for social progress. The speaker said she had been instructed to ask delegates to take action in their own countries on the lines indicated in the resolution, since it was impossible to discuss the matter before the Congress.

CITRINE (in the chair) assured the women workers that their resolutions would be given the full attention of the Executive, which would examine them at its first meeting.

He then announced the conclusion of the secret ballot taken to elect one of the two candidates for the fifth Vice-Presidency.

The SCRUTINEERS announced that fifty-eight voting papers had been distributed and fifty-eight duly handed in. The votes had been distributed as follows: Belgium — 5; Czechoslovakia — 6; Denmark — 4; Finland — 1; France — 5; Great Britain — 12; Holland — 4; Luxemburg — 1; Norway — 3; Palestine — 1; Roumania — 1; Spain — 5; Sweden — 6; Switzerland — 4.

Fourteen votes had been cast for Caballero and forty-four for Kupers, and Kupers was therefore elected.

KUPERS expressed his hearty thanks for the mark of confidence which had been shown in him, and assured the Congress that he would in future continue to work for the International as he had done in the past.

This concluded the agenda.

## Closing of the Congress

MEISTER said he was certain he interpreted the feelings of all the delegates when he expressed hearty thanks to the British comrades for the friendly reception they had given the Congress and for all that they had so generously arranged to make the stay in London pleasant for all. Although the weather had not been favourable, its inclemency had had no effect either on good tempers or on the gratitude of delegates.

He then paid a warm tribute to the mastery with which Comrade Citrine had conducted the deliberations of the Congress. He felt sure that when the new Executive came to start on its work, it would see to it that the resolutions passed did not remain a dead letter but were translated into effect. The unanimity with which they had been adopted was a guarantee of their future vitality and efficacy. He was convinced that in future it would be possible to look back with satisfaction to the 1936 Congress.

MERTENS, speaking on behalf of the new Vice-Presidents, thanked the Congress for its vote and assured delegates that his colleagues and he himself would in the future continue, as in the past, to give their entire attention to the work of the International. On behalf of the Executive, he also expressed gratitude to the British comrades for their help in preparing for the Congress, a task which had taken weeks, if not months, of work. He was sure that all the delegates were profoundly grateful for this assistance.

SCHEVENELS recalled that it was the custom in England to pass a vote of thanks at the end of a Congress, and this had been expressed by what Meister and Mertens had said.

The Congress passed this vote of thanks by acclamations.

CITRINE, replying on behalf of the British Unions and for himself, said that they had been only too glad to have been able to contribute in some measure to the success of the gathering. He thought that the great international movement had no more loyal adherent than the British Trades Union Congress and the millions it represented. He thanked delegates most sincerely on behalf of himself and of all the British comrades, and thought he could not more fittingly conclude than by telling them that, as Shakespeare had said, "our true intent is all for your delight".

The Congress rose to sing the "Internationale" before finally dispersing.

## LIST OF SPEAKERS

	Page
Álvarez del Vayo, Julio . . . . .	434
Andrews, W. H. . . . .	447
Major Article . . . . .	401
Belin, R. . . . .	444
Bromley, J. . . . .	411, 424, 450
Buisson, G. . . . .	444
Carton, P. M. . . . .	450
Chorin, Y. . . . .	438
Citrine, W. M. . . . .	401, 402, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 418, 421, 424, 425, 427, 428, 429, 430, 435, 439, 440, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453
De Brouckère, L. . . . .	429
Feinstein, Z. . . . .	423
Fimmen, E. . . . .	424, 433
Forslund, A. . . . .	422
Frachon, B. . . . .	413
German Delegate . . . . .	434
Hicks, G. . . . .	417
Hindahl, O. . . . .	412
Jensen . . . . .	415
Joubaux, L. . . . .	418, 430
Kupers, E. . . . .	410, 411, 420, 426, 443, 449, 450, 452
Largo Caballero, Fr. . . . .	414, 425
Meister, M. . . . .	452
Mertens, C. . . . .	423, 436, 448, 453
Mitsu-Kohno . . . . .	447
Novotná, V. . . . .	452
Parsai, A. . . . .	411
Radaeanu, L. . . . .	417, 433
Schevenels, W. . . . .	407, 409, 424, 427, 429, 451, 453
Schürch, Ch. . . . .	416
Lord Sneli . . . . .	401
Staal, Ad. . . . .	435
Stanczyk, J. . . . .	442, 451
Tayerle, R. . . . .	440, 449, 451
Thurnston, G. T. . . . .	446
Trainer, P. J. . . . .	447
Vilaseñor, V. M. . . . .	416
Wall, A. M. . . . .	402

**Resolutions and Decisions**  
**adopted**  
**by the Seventh Ordinary Congress of the I. F. T. U.**  
**London 1936**

## Resolution on Trade Union Unity.

The Congress, approving the efforts made by the IFTU with the aim of international trade union unity, considers that in view of the serious nature of the present international situation, these efforts should be continued.

With this purpose it urges the IFTU to open negotiations with the national centres of America, Australia, New Zealand, the Far East, USSR, and all other non-affiliated Trade Union Centres, with a view to establishing a united Trade Union Movement throughout the world.

## Resolution on War, Disarmament and Fascism.

At the moment when war is more threatening than ever, the Seventh International Trade Union Congress confirms the unrelenting opposition of the International Trade Union Movement to war as an instrument of policy.

Approving the manifesto adopted by the Joint Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, held in London in March, 1936, the IFTU declares that it will use all the means at its disposal to initiate and employ active resistance to the country or countries which refuse to submit their disputes to international arbitration.

It reaffirms that peace must be treated as indivisible, and that Fascism, and particularly the Fascist countries such as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, etc., constitute a constant menace to peace and an ever-present danger of war.

The International Trade Union Movement regards agreement for substantial and general disarmament and the suppression of the private manufacture of and trade in arms and war materials, under international supervision, as indispensable factors in the safeguarding of peace.

The International Trade Union Movement declares its full adherence to the principle of real collective security by and through the League of Nations, and is fully prepared to instruct its affiliated membership to shoulder the risks and responsibilities thereby entailed.

Considering moreover that Fascism is eager to destroy human liberties and all the rights of the workers all over the world, to crush the workers' organisations and democracy, the International Trade Union Movement reiterates that Fascism must be combated in every country with all possible means.

It instructs its members in all countries to urge upon their governments to offer the maximum resistance to Fascist attacks and assures them of its co-operation and support in so doing.

Everything must be done to hurl back the forces of Fascism and to stem the tide of war, thereby to ensure free and unfettered opportunity for the peoples of all countries to achieve their full economic, social and political liberty.

## Resolution against the Fascist Terror.

The Seventh International Trade Union Congress, meeting in London from the 8th-11th July, 1936, protests against the system of brute force in all countries where Fascism triumphs, regards it as its first duty again to draw world attention in particular to the reign of undiminished violence and terror in Italy and Austria, and in its most brutal form in Germany, as is shown by the scandalous sentence recently passed on Andre, an anti-Fascist worker, in Hamburg.

In these countries, innumerable upright men and women are deprived of liberty.



or life for no other crime than that of having opposed the Fascist dictatorship and of having tried to defend and maintain democracy, liberty and the most elementary rights of mankind.

In Italy, these fighters for freedom are imprisoned or sent to the islands, in Germany they are sentenced by the hundred in mass trials, tortured in the most horrible ways, murdered by underhand methods, and held prisoner in concentration camps, without justice and without trial, but out of pure revenge. In Austria a further expression of this inhuman suppression of liberty of thought has recently been given in the sentences passed on Holowatyj, Steindl, Schmidlechner and others.

Moreover, if the democratic powers do not take energetic measures, the brutal Hitler regime will soon have taken possession of the Free City of Danzig, and have entirely trampled under foot the Constitution guaranteed by the League of Nations.

Congress again expresses its warmest sympathy and solidarity with all the victims of Fascism, especially the comrades who are fighting in the underground Trade Unions, and re-affirms its promise to support this fight to the uttermost.

The International Trade Union Movement will carry on unabated the fight against Fascism, and will not cease to keep world opinion on the alert.

## Resolution on the Fight against the Crisis.

The Seventh International Trade Union Congress, meeting in London from 8th-11th July, 1936,

considering the struggle undertaken since the 1930 Congress at Stockholm against the disastrous consequences of the world economic crisis and with a view to removing its causes,

confirms the previous decisions, and in particular those reached at Zurich in January, 1931, jointly between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International, which decisions still retain their full validity.

The Congress once again denounces the pernicious results of economic nationalism, as practised by all governments with the alleged object of protecting their industries and peoples, but leading inevitably to a complete paralysis of the indispensable commercial relations between nations.

The Congress condemns these methods of economic anarchy, as well as the system of dumping, and imperatively demands the entire and immediate abolition of all restrictive measures, in whatever form they may be established;

reiterates with increased emphasis the need and urgency of an international arrangement to ensure an equitable distribution of raw materials among all nations;

considers it no less indispensable to reaffirm the opinion so often expressed by our international Trade Union Movement that monetary stabilisation is one of the fundamental conditions for the solution of the economic crisis; and therefore insists that the efforts made hitherto, which unhappily have not produced the results hoped for, on account of the incomprehensible attitude of many governments, shall be re-introduced and extended with a view to a prompt and satisfactory solution.

On the particular question of the reduction of working hours to a maximum of forty hours per week,

profoundly regretting that the efforts of the organised workers to secure a general Convention have only resulted in the adoption of a Convention as to principle together with two applicable Conventions, one for the glass industry and one for public works,

the Congress holds that the procedure introduced by the International Labour Organisation, which arrives at results only in a very slow and piecemeal fashion has proved a complete disappointment to the working class; that this method must be abandoned and efforts resumed for the adoption of a general draft Convention establishing the forty-hour week for all workers without distinction.

The Congress warmly welcomes the results reached in the past few weeks in several countries, due to the vigorous and resolute action of the organised workers.

Considering that the National Centres which have won successes in reducing working hours will have to strive energetically for the consolidation of the results gained, and that the primary condition of this consolidation is an increasing extension of the application of the forty-hour week, and in view of the necessity for a

National Centres an intensification of their actions for the forty-hour week in the strong national action which alone is capable of exerting the requisite influence both on governments and on employers,

the Congress invites the IFTU Executive to consider in concert with the more favourable atmosphere now created and to undertake all enquiries calculated to lend support to the Trade Union claims.

The Congress acclaims all efforts hitherto undertaken nationally or locally in the fight against the economic crisis and its disastrous consequences, from which the workers are the chief sufferers.

## Resolution on Economic Planning.

The Seventh International Trade Union Congress, meeting in London from 8th-11th July, 1936,

considering that since the Brussels Congress, at which the « Demands of the IFTU for Economic Planning » were endorsed, other « Plans » have been worked out in various countries with the object of extricating those countries from the untenable situations into which the world crisis has brought them ;

considering further that, as the economic crisis has an international character, there is no possibility of applying to it any complete remedy on the national plane, and that consequently the solution to be recommended must be adapted to the international situation and its necessities ;

considering that the elaboration of these national « Plans », primarily prompted by the wish to relieve national situations, might lead to solutions contrary to the international conceptions of our Trade Union Movement ;

and considering that it is important for the IFTU to avoid such a situation, insofar as it can intervene with effect and authority ;

instructs the Executive of the IFTU to summon at an early date a conference of representatives of the affiliated National Centres.

The object of this Conference would be not so much to establish a theory of planning as to study the international aspects of the practical action to be taken against the crisis by means of planning.

It will have in particular to study the preparation of a permanent system of comparison between these national plans and the individual initiatives derived from them, and the creation of some organ capable of formulating at the proper time any recommendations which it thinks justifiable.

In order to prepare for this Conference in the most promising conditions for success, the Secretariat of the IFTU will draw up a preliminary report showing what elements are common to the various plans in existence, and what elements vary, and will communicate any results which may have been gained from past experience of such plans.

The Congress addresses an urgent appeal to the National Centres to give in this matter all the needful support or collaboration which the IFTU is entitled to expect from them.

## Resolution on Trade Union Liberty.

The Seventh International Trade Union Congress has considered the question of Trade Union liberty and the tasks of the Trade Unions. It declares that the liberty and independence of the Trade Unions constitute an indispensable condition for an effective representation of the interests of the working class. Their independent development is indissolubly bound up with democratic rights and liberties.

Economic development tends towards collective decisions, and this necessarily demands collective representation, of which the free Trade Unions are an expression.

This is also confirmed by Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, in which freedom of organisation and Trade Union liberty are declared to be the conditions for healthy economic development and social justice.

The Congress reaffirms that the free decision of the Trade Unions cannot be replaced by an organisation which people are compelled to join, and by means of which the Trade Unions are made helpless tools of the State or even of the employers, as is the case in Germany, Italy and Austria.

The efforts to secure a corporate structure of the State and a corporate organisation of the workers are simply a means of reducing or destroying the influence of the workers upon their economic, social and cultural conditions in the interests of a commonwealth which does not exist under capitalism. They do not represent a step towards reconstruction of the economic system and the social order.

The Congress instructs the Executive of the IFTU to follow the development of Trade Union liberty, to miss no opportunity of protecting it, and in particular to support all efforts to restore freedom of organisation wherever it has been abolished, curtailed or for the time being withdrawn.

The Congress expresses its admiration and support for all those who carry on a self-sacrificing struggle for Trade Union liberty and are exposed to the attacks of their opponents.

The Congress follows the tasks of the Trade Unions, their efforts to establish a just and social economic system, which is necessarily bound up with Trade Union liberty and freedom of coalition, and notes with satisfaction what the IFTU has so far achieved in this sphere.

The extension of the IFTU and the affiliation of further National Centres is a guarantee for successful struggle not only for Trade Union liberty but also for the economic tasks of the Trade Unions.

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**International Conference on Workers' Education**

**11th and 12th July, 1936**

**Transport House, Smith Square, London S.W. 1**

## List of Attendances

H. Jacobsen.	IFTU Executive.	
R. Tayerle.	" "	
G. Stolz.	" "	
H. H. Elvin.	IFTU Committee on Youth & Educational Questions.	
Hedtoft Hansen.	" " " " "	
C. v. d. Lende.	" " " " "	
H. C. Hansen.	International of Socialist Youth.	
L. Delsinne.	Centrale d'Education Ouvrière.	Belgium.
Mme. Delsinne.	" " " "	"
V. Brodečky.	Deiničká Akademie.	Czechoslovakia.
V. Slach.	" " " "	"
K. Pacovsky.	Internationale Kulturliga.	"
C. Christiansen.	Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund.	Denmark.
Olof Bertolt.	" " " "	"
Knud V. Jensen.	Arbejdernes Radioforbund.	"
P. Nørgaard.	" " " "	"
G. Lefranc.	Institut supérieur ouvrier.	France.
Mme. Lefranc.	" " " "	"
H. C. Shearman.	Workers' Educational Association.	Great Britain.
E. Green.	" " " "	"
J. R. Armstrong.	" " " "	"
W. Lowth.	Workers' Educational T.U.Ctee.	"
L. Evans.	" " " "	"
F. Smith.	Ruskin College, Oxford.	"
A. Woodburn.	National Council of Labour Colleges.	"
J. P. Millar.	" " " "	"
Mrs. C. Millar.	" " " "	"
F. Hall.	Co-operative Union.	"
G. D. Wood.	" " " "	"
T. Cederinne.	Seamen's Education Committee.	"
Dr. H. Brugmans.	Instituut voor Arbeidersontwikkeling.	Holland.
P. J. Polderman.	" " " "	"
A. de Vries.	VARA.	"
K. de Jonge.	" "	"
A. Pleyzier.	ARI.	"
F. Funke.	" "	"
Gunnar Hirdman.	Arbetarnesbildningsforbund.	Sweden.
Hans Neumann.	Schweizerische Bildungszentrale.	Switzerland.

### DELEGATES FROM NATIONAL CENTRES

Czechoslovakia . . . . .	Ernst Grünzner.
	A. Schäfer.
	D. Benad.
Finland . . . . .	E. K. Louhikko.
(Translator).	Mrs. F. Louhikko.
Great Britain . . . . .	Arthur Pugh.
Palestine . . . . .	L. Podolsky.
	M. M. Hoffett.
Roumania . . . . .	J. Flueraș.
	L. Radaceaunu.
South Africa . . . . .	W. H. Andrews.

## - DELEGATES FROM INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS

V. Hartig.	Civil Servants & Public Servants.
L. Zoretti.	Teachers.
J. Bracops.	"

### FRATERNAL DELEGATES

F. Adler.	Labour and Socialist International.
Australia :	
P. Stewart.	Workers' Educational Association, New South Wales.
Canada :	
Miss G. Anderson.	Workers' Educational Association.
Great Britain :	
T. W. Price.	Holybrook House.
M. A. Smith.	" "
E. Kershaw.	" "
W. Ashwort.	" "
J. A. J. Parker.	" "
D. Grontage.	" "
S. Peel.	" "
D. Foyd.	" "
Mrs. B. Woodburn.	National Council of Labour Colleges.
E. Conze.	" " " "
P. Hamble.	" " " "
R. Williams.	Coleg Harlech.
R. Winner.	Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee.
Mrs. Saran.	" " " "
R. Saunders	Southport Labour Party.
C. T. Saunders.	Post Office Engineering Union.
United States :	
John Edelmann.	Affiliated Schools for Workers.
Dr. F. Tyson.	Workers' Education Committee.
W. Uphoff.	American Federation of Teachers.
Ruth Patterson.	International Federation of Teachers.
D. Dubinsky.	International Ladies' Garment Workers.
	International Labour Office, Geneva:
Ad. Staal.	
W. Ellison Chalmers	(U. S. Department of Labor, Geneva).

## Agenda :

- I. Opening speech of the chairman.
- II. Report on Activities :  
Periodical International Conferences. Study Weeks.  
Rapporteur : G. STOLZ.
- III. Films, lantern slides and wireless in workers' education :
  1. (a) Result of the enquiry into the use of films, made by the IFTU Secretariat.
  - (b) Organisation of a film service, international supply and exchange of films.
  - (c) Apparatus in use (projectors, etc.).
  - (d) Prospects of film production.  
Rapporteurs : H. NEUMANN, Berne, and P. J. POLDERMAN, Amsterdam.
2. Wireless, Workers' Wireless International and collaboration of workers' educational organisations.  
Rapporteurs : A. PLEYSIER, Amsterdam, and F. FUNKE, Amsterdam.
- IV. Workers' schools and correspondence courses.  
Rapporteur : EMILIE LEFRANC, Paris.
- V. Workers' education in Great Britain.  
Rapporteur : ARTHUR PUGH, London.

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In connection with the International Conference on Workers' Education, an exhibition of educational material was organised in Transport House by the National Council of Labour Colleges, the Workers' Educational Association, the Educational Department of the British Trades Union Congress and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

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## FIRST DAY.

Saturday, 11th July, 1936.

### Single Session.

The Conference opened at 3.0 p.m.

WALTER M. CITRINE, who had been appointed to act as chairman of the Conference, was detained by the International Trade Union Congress, and had asked G. STOLZ to take his place, as the latter explained in opening the meeting, apologising at the same time for the absence of other comrades who were also detained by the Congress, in spite of their desire to take part in the Educational Conference.

GEORGE STOLZ, on behalf of the International Federation of Trade Unions, expressed gratitude for the large attendance, and welcomed all the delegates, in particular those who had come as delegates or fraternal delegates from overseas countries, and whose presence was of great symbolical value. There were unfortunately some empty places, which should have been filled by excellent comrades from countries which had played an important part in the field of workers' education but which had fallen into the hands of Fascism, for a time which would certainly not be long.

The speaker said it was unnecessary in such a meeting of experts to go into details on two points — the importance of workers' education and of the institutions which carried on this work, since this was recognised by our most determined adversaries even while they were making their attacks. One only envied what one could not do oneself or what one feared.

Workers' education was an immense force, as it was the very substance of the future world, in planning which we gave of our best. Stolz said he would not eulogise the institutions of workers' education; although still imperfect and inadequate in our eyes, they were already too active for our enemies. Contrary to Fascism's dark creed, workers' education aimed at emancipating the minds and spirits of the workers. It was a creative work, and could be described as the new humanism. It was a remarkable coincidence that the meeting should fall just at the quatercentenary of Erasmus, the great humanist, the value of whose work is seen to be the greater the further the world progresses. The same could be said of our work.

The present Conference had an essentially practical aim, the speaker continued. It should not be the place for academic disputes, or arguments between different schools of thought. It had been convened less to deal with general problems than to aid organisations and organisers by a confrontation of results and ideas.

The task of the meeting was therefore to harmonise the different efforts made, to decide on precise methods of collaboration, to see from respective experience what elements were of most general value, and thus to lay down certain constants within which national activities should vary according to their own particularities. In general, the aim was to attain more collaboration between all those who were engaged on the same task.

Stolz said that the documents distributed to delegates had been approved both by the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions, and the IFTU Executive, and stated that there would be a time limit for speakers, as



the time available was very short and the agenda very long. He also announced that arrangements had been made with the British Broadcasting Corporation for delegates to visit Broadcasting House.

ARTHUR PUGH, Chairman of the Education Committee of the TUC, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the British comrades, and hoped they would have an instructive visit. He said that Great Britain had started rather late to deal with workers' education, and only scanty means had been available at the beginning. The course taken by the British Movement was partly due to the application of methods different from those in use elsewhere. Nevertheless, something had been accomplished, which was held by some to be of considerable value and which he hoped represented a contribution which was not negligible. This work had been carried on in particular by the Trade Union Movement; this only increased its interest, and the exhibition which had been organised in conjunction with the Conference would allow of delegates getting an idea of the work, which he hoped would be accurate and at the same time flattering.

STOLZ read a telegram from Comrade Hicks, expressing his regret at not being able to attend the Conference.

#### ITEM II. — Report on Activities.

STOLZ (rapporteur) recalled that even before the war, various proposals had been made for bringing together internationally the organisations dealing with workers' education. In 1913, for example, there had been a Workers' Education Conference, attended by delegates from half-a-dozen countries.

The war had destroyed the efforts which had been started, and they had only been resumed at the Workers' Education Conference held in Uccle (Brussels) on the 16th and 17th August, 1922, which dealt with the questions of exchange of students, comparison of the methods of organisation and workers' schools (summer schools, workers' high schools), exchange of information and the consolidation of international relations.

Bearing these aims in mind, the Brussels Conference had decided to set up an international bureau of information and action with a view to the development of workers' education, and had also recommended that a Committee be appointed to establish this Centre. The aims were to create a social sense, common to the students of different countries, to organise direct relations between workers' schools and convene a biennial International Conference on Workers' Education. Brussels was appointed as the seat of this Centre.

But those charged with drafting and publishing the report of this Conference had been called on to undertake other functions, and this had resulted in a loss of continuity in the work. The whole question of convening a future Conference and constituting the Centre had remained in suspense. At the beginning of 1923, the IFTU had organised an Educational Department, and, from this time onwards, had collected and published information on the educational work accomplished by all its affiliated countries.

The report of proceedings of this Conference published by the International Federation of Trade Unions contained, in addition to the minutes, reports on the situation of workers' education in fifteen countries.

A Conference held in Hamburg, in May, 1923, had dealt with the proposal which had been made, the idea being to constitute immediately a Provisional Committee and to ask the IFTU to organise an exchange of information on workers' education. A monthly bulletin on workers' education had also been issued.

The next International Conference on Workers' Education had taken place in Oxford in 1924, on the initiative of the Education Department of the British Trades Union Congress. This Conference had dealt with the constitution of a Workers' Educational International. It was proposed to hold an International Day of Workers' Education, and consideration had also been given to the possibility of setting up an International Institute of Workers' Psychology, and to the problem of the use of films in workers' education. Two addresses had been given on technical questions, one on "Should Workers' Schools be Residential?" and the other on International Workers' High Schools.

The most important resolution passed by this conference had been on the subject of the establishment of a Workers' Educational International, to which the existing workers' educational bodies of the various countries would be able to affiliate and

which would be in close contact with the International Federation of Trade Unions. It had further been decided to set up a Workers' Education Committee, and this had met several times to draw up rules for the future Workers' Educational International.

Activities had been continued in the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions and the International Federation of Trade Unions, through its annual summer schools for young Trade Unionists, its annual reports on workers' education, and interventions in the Workers' Group in the International Labour Office, which had given rise to several enquiries being made and to which had to be attributed the initiative taken by the ILO on the question of workers' recreation.

These activities had gradually taken on more of a Trade Union nature internationally, the work of the independent educational bodies had not received the attention it merited. On the 3rd October, 1931, on the occasion of the jubilee Congress of the German Central Committee for Socialist Education, held in Berlin, delegates representing Workers' Educational Centres of Austria, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland had met to examine international questions of workers' education. Discussion at this meeting had centred round a proposal made by the German organisation for closer contact between national bodies dealing with workers' education, and after a long debate this proposal had been adopted, the German National Educational Council being unanimously charged with carrying on this international office.

International problems of workers' education had then been considered, the unanimous view being that all fields of education (instruction properly so-called, art, films, wireless, etc.) should be dealt with. Wireless and cinema had been regarded as the most urgent subjects to be dealt with.

On the instructions of the Executive, the IFTU Secretariat had enquired of National Centres in October, 1932, as to the existence of workers' educational organisations, general or purely Trade Union, either run solely by the National Centre or in which the National Centre collaborated. National Centres had also been asked if they thought it desirable to set up an international organisation for workers' education. Under the auspices of the IFTU, a conference on films had been held in February, 1933, but subsequent events in Germany had led to the forced abandonment of the plans envisaged.

In compiling its annual report on workers' education, the IFTU Secretariat had approached non-affiliated National Centres and had thus got into touch with educational organisations in South Africa and the United States, for example. These contacts and the realisation that closer connection was desirable, had given rise to the idea of resuscitating the International Centre for Workers' Education.

Having considered a report on this question which had also been submitted on the 4th June to the members of the International Trade Union Committee on Youth and Educational Questions, the General Council had decided to entrust the IFTU Secretariat with the task of running an International Centre for Workers' Education.

In execution of this decision, advantage had been taken of the International Congress on Leisure Time held in Brussels on the 16th June, 1935, to convene a meeting of the delegates from workers' educational organisations who were in attendance there.

Later on, a comprehensive enquiry had been conducted into the use of films by educational organisations, on the basis of a questionnaire compiled by the Swiss Workers' Educational Centre.

In December, 1935, the IFTU had declared a boycott on the second World Congress on Leisure Time Occupation, to be held in Hamburg in connection with the Olympiad. The President of the first International Congress on Leisure Time Occupation, who had been elected at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1932, had charged German associations with the organisation of this Congress before Hitler had come into power. The German body known as « Strength through Joy » had taken over this work and Dr. Ley, who had violated the German Trade Unions and despoiled them of their property, had undertaken the organisation of the Congress under the slogan of « Joy and Peace ».

Now that the IFTU Secretariat was running an International Centre for Workers' Education, the question arose of how relations between the organisations could be maintained and extended. The IFTU Executive had approved the proposal to make the Conference on Workers' Education a permanent institution and to hold it each time in connection with the International Trade Union Congress.

Consideration was also being given to the idea of organising a study week in each

year between the Conferences, which, held in a different country every time, would give delegates a chance of learning something of the institutions and educational methods used in the country concerned, and would allow of a small group of the leaders of workers' educational organisations dealing in detail with one or two selected questions.

Various suggestions for other methods of collaboration had been made in reply to the questionnaire.

Apart from the technical questions, with which the agenda of the London Conference was mainly concerned, there were also a number of questions concerning organisation (collaboration with international organisations of popular education, and with the ILO regarding workers' recreation, contact with certain scientific movements, etc.), which might help to deepen our work and give it fresh force. The whole aim of workers' education should be to give the workers a clear and complete understanding of human efforts to understand the world and mankind.

ELVIN and LEFRANC made some rectifications as regards the proposals made at Brussels.

BRUGMANS (Holland) wanted to know if the Workers' Wireless International and the International of Socialist Youth would be associated with the work of the IFTU's Committee on Youth and Education. The same question arose with regard to the International of the Friends of Nature.

It would be desirable to define the relationship between the IFTU Committee and these three Internationals. The needs and aspirations of young workers demanded our attention, and the collaboration of the Friends of Nature would be valuable, although the International seemed to be taking a direction which we regarded as dangerous.

MILLAR (Great Britain) proposed that this question should not be discussed at once. As a matter of fact, the question came as something quite new to him and probably to other delegates also. He asked that the Secretariat draw up a report on the three Internationals and examine what possibilities of collaboration existed.

STOLZ said that, as regards Lefranc's observations, the idea for the study weeks had been to examine one or more problems in detail and to provide the opportunity for a study of national institutions. To this end, the idea had been for exhibitions to be organised on the lines of the one then on view in the Hall below, arranged by the British organisations.

The International of Socialist Youth had been invited to the Conference, but its delegate, Comrade Hansen, was still detained at the Congress. As to the other Internationals, we were prepared to accept all useful collaboration, without however falling into the error of creating an association of Internationals. The IFTU would be glad to give its assistance to workers' educational institutions. The IFTU's Youth and Education Committee was a consultative body, and there was no necessity at this point to say that certain organisations should be excluded. The report asked for by Millar could be supplied.

GREEN (Great Britain) expressed his agreement with the proposal to organise study weeks. He could not support Mme Lefranc's proposal to limit the discussion to a single question, as he regarded these study weeks as especially useful for the contacts they would create, the information which delegates would be able to collect and the arguments among educators which they would make possible. He would not like a syllabus to be laid down, preferring that those concerned should themselves suggest the subjects for discussion.

STOLZ thought that there was really no disagreement between Green and Mme Lefranc, provided that the institutions of the country where the study week were held should be one of the subjects of study.

VAN DER LENDE, summarising the points on which agreement had been expressed, said that :

1. the Secretariat would draw up the report asked for by Millar and would express its views on the utility of the collaboration of certain international organisations ;

2. an International Conference on Workers' Education would be held in conjunction with the triennial Congress of the IFTU; and

3. a study week would be organised each year;

4. the IFTU Executive would take the initiative in organising the first study week, choosing the country and the place of meeting, and coming to agreement with the organisation in this country as to the subjects to be studied, it being understood that the study of the institutions of the country in question should be included in the programme.

STOLZ accepted the conclusions of van der Lende, subject of course to their ratification by the IFTU Executive.

MILLAR (Great Britain) recalled that at Brussels the delegates had asked who directed the International Centre and what was the International Committee responsible for everything concerning workers' education. It had appeared that the Committee was made up of leaders of youth organisations, and the Committee would thus be dealing with things on which the members were not sufficiently informed, since youth leaders were mainly organisers and not experts on workers' education. It seemed to him that the International Committee should be reinforced by the addition of specialist members, and he wanted to know whether this question had been considered and if so, what the result had been.

STOLZ in reply said that the question had been submitted to the IFTU Executive by way of the report of proceedings of the Brussels meeting. The Executive had not felt it necessary to change the composition of the Committee, whose members were appointed by National Centres especially for their work in the organisation of young people. The only thing he could promise was that the question should again be submitted.

WOODBURN (Great Britain) noted that the LSI was not mentioned in the report and asked if there were no contact with it as far as workers' education was concerned.

BRUGMANS (Holland) said that this question was also supported by the Dutch delegation, which was desirous of knowing the views of the Conference.

STOLZ said that the Brussels Conference had been organised in agreement with the LSI. It was understood that the IFTU should deal with the question of workers' education. Moreover, the LSI had been invited to this Conference and had accepted the invitation. Comrade Adler would attend as soon as he was free.

THE DUTCH DELEGATION then submitted a resolution.

MILLAR (Great Britain) supplied some explanations on the working of the British organisations for workers' education and their contact with the co-operative movement.

WOODBURN (Great Britain) said he did not know the International of the Friends of Nature.

STOLZ proposed that he should await the report asked for by Millar, and stated that the discussion was now closed, and that the wishes and proposals formulated by the Conference would be submitted to the IFTU Executive.

The Conference would now go on to consider :

**ITEM III. — Films, lantern slides and wireless in workers' education,**

and the rapporteur on the question of films would open the discussion.

NEUMANN (Switzerland), rapporteur on Collaboration of Workers' Educational Centres on Films, said he would endeavour to indicate the immediate possibilities which did not demand great financial efforts. The film was undeniably an aid of great value. Early hesitations had now been overcome nearly everywhere, and the use of cinema was so widespread that it was possible to consider collaboration between institutions using films.

The first thing possible was to organise the reciprocal loan of films. The Norwegian Centre had produced a film on the life of lumber workers, and this had been shown in Switzerland to great advantage. From Switzerland, it had gone to Luxembourg. Each workers' educational centre possessed some films and some prints, and the organisation of an international exchange, even if not free of charge, would enlarge the choice and make the production of films more economic. Although it was true that not all films could be shown abroad, a large number of films were suitable for this, and the international organisation of hire and exchange would be of great service to small national organisations. It might even be possible to have a service of selling and buying, it being understood that all the persons concerned were dealing with comrades whom they should not exploit. There might also be the sale of prints, which would help considerably to reduce the costs of production.

Such collaboration might lead to things which were impossible to-day, such as the purchase of expensive films.

The Viennese comrades had made wide use of Russian sub-standard films, and had lent them to other organisations on advantageous terms. Neumann said he felt convinced that many good films were still not utilised. There were still many good silent films of a very high artistic and educational level.

The speaker proposed that a start should be made by drawing up a list of films in the possession of the different organisations. A list of negatives should also be drawn up. The IFTU could organise the supply of information, while the exchanges and transactions should take place directly between the parties concerned.

He thought there were enough films in existence to make this possible. There were films of social and cultural value. Documentaries could also play a useful part, as they aroused interest, which could immediately be taken advantage of for oral instruction.

A second stage to envisage was the production of films. Even very short films, such as films on different aspects of the workers' life, could prove useful. They were not expensive, costing one Swiss franc per metre, and there was no lack of subjects — May Day demonstrations, strikes, workers' sports meetings, electoral campaigns, propaganda. Such films were actually being made at the present time. The producers should not be allowed to monopolise them. A start had even been made in the production of purely entertainment films. Of course it was necessary to be prudent and not to go in for films which were contrary to the ideals of Trade Unionism. But our opponents made a great use of films, and it was no use waiting for the film industry to do something to help us. Unless we wanted to leave this weapon entirely in the hands of our adversaries, we should ourselves deal with the production of entertainment films. But this could not be thought of without joint organisation, which would allow of all helping to bear the financial burden.

We had everything necessary for this — unemployed writers, and cinema technicians, and for our purposes there was no necessity for expensive sets.

For the moment, the initiative should remain with national Trade Union Centres, but this would receive great encouragement if we had an international hire and sale service, of which every one could make use.

Finally, it was necessary to organise the criticism of ordinary films, for the use of our organisations and of the labour press. The Catholics already had a service of this nature, and all Catholic cinema managers were warned long in advance of films they should ask for and of those they should refuse. On the commercial side, we too could arrive at results; we should see to it that working-class audiences no longer tolerated films of a Fascist tendency.

For all these ends, it was necessary to develop our apparatus and to get every one to make use of it. With good will and enterprise, it would be possible to get something done in the field of cinema.

Discussion on the report was adjourned to the session of the 12th July.

ADLER, General Secretary of the Labour and Socialist International, welcomed the meeting, and apologised for his late arrival, due to his having been detained at the IFTU Congress.

He said that what the delegates were concerned with was also the concern of the whole Labour Movement. While dividing up the work in a rational way, what they

all wanted was to work in common agreement for a common ideal and against common enemies.

The activity of workers' educational organisations had suffered from Fascism. The victory of Fascism in important countries had rendered more complicated and difficult the task of those concerned with workers' education, while even before the advent of Fascism it had been difficult enough.

Those who had attended the IFTU Congress could not help but have been struck by the fact that the atmosphere there had been more political than ever before. This simple fact showed that the task of those active in workers' education had a greater political importance than ever.

For these reasons, the speaker said in conclusion, he hoped that the work of the Conference would meet with the greatest success, so that the education and political instruction of the workers could make still further progress.

The meeting closed at 6.15 p.m.

## SECOND DAY.

Sunday, 12th July, 1936.

### Morning Session.

The Conference reopened at 10.0 a.m.

POLDERMAN (Holland), rapporteur on the item of « Film Production by the Labour Movement », recalled first of all the initiative taken in this field, namely in Holland, and referred to the International Film Conference held in Berlin in 1933, under the auspices of the IFTU and LSI. Subsequent events had not allowed of action being taken, but this did not alter the fact that the question was just as burning in 1936 as in 1933, if not more so.

The cinema and the wireless had gained a tremendous hold over millions of people throughout the world, and it was therefore necessary for the Labour Movement to utilise these means also in its cultural work and propaganda.

Attempts with the use of films had already been made in some countries, and good educational films had been made commercially, but as yet there was a complete lack of films with a social tendency; the films which had been made did not satisfy in any way the requirements of the Movement.

Up till now, the film industry had been a purely capitalistic undertaking, with all the influence on the workers which that implied. Counter-activities should therefore be organised to the nationalist and jingo films produced by the capitalist film companies.

Films with a social tendency would not be produced under the present conditions of the industry, and the Labour Movement was therefore forced to resort to producing its own, just as it had set up its own press to counter the capitalist press.

As far as international collaboration was concerned, the speaker stated that the conditions were of the most favourable.

Film production was still very expensive, but in the organisation of the Labour press and Labour broadcasting, the Movement had shown that it could raise the necessary funds. Why should this not be possible for films also?

In the case of films, it was even easier, because, while each country had to have its own separate press and broadcasting system, films could be produced on a basis of international co-operation. The film was essentially something international, as capitalist production had shown. While it was obvious that one country alone could not at the present time raise the large sum of money which was necessary for production, it was no less obvious that, since any good film could be used internationally, it was necessary to organise production on the international plane. What was necessary was to find the form of international co-operation.

In the absence of a Workers' Educational International — which, if it existed, should naturally deal with films under the auspices of the IFTU and the LSI — the speaker thought that the International Labour Movement should set up a Central Film Co-operative, to centralise the work of producing and distributing films. There were already two good examples of films made on this basis.

A separate co-operative would be set up for the production of each individual film, this being made up of all those concerned in the production of the film. Each film would be made by its production co-operative, under the control of the Central Co-operative, which would be represented on the producing body and which would arrange for the distribution of the film after it had been made.

The main aim of the co-operative production of films by the International Labour Movement should be to combat the tremendous and deleterious cultural, social and political influence exerted by the films made by capitalist companies. Three kinds of films could be utilised to this end : (a) entertainment films, which should have a definite tendency and should really be related to the life of the people ; (b) documentaries, which could deal, for instance, with the life of the people in a specific country and all their social problems ; (c) educational films, which should be on quite different lines from the usual sort and should deal in particular with problems of modern production and labour.

Collective film production could start off with these three kinds of films.

Should it be agreed that films should be produced and that this was possible from the technical and organisational point of view, nothing could be done without capital. The financial question was very important but the speaker thought it could be solved.

First of all it should be noted that no large-scale production could be planned at first, as the necessary capital for this could not be obtained from the International Movement, and a start would therefore have to be made with one single film, which would provide a test of production and distribution.

Production could not be carried on as it was in a capitalist company — there must be no stars, no ill-advised expenditure of material, no superfluous and expensive sets, no engagement of people who came out of the industry, who were used to throwing money away, and would therefore not be able to take care of time and money.

The immediate aim should be the preparation of a good sound documentary, to last from sixty to seventy-five minutes, and to be of a good quality from the point of view of cinema, and sound and sight technique. According to accurate calculations, a sum of 25,000 Dutch guilders or 250,000 French francs would be necessary for this, allowing of the film being made in four languages, such as Dutch, English, French, and German, for example.

The speaker concluded by asking the Conference to urge the IPTU and LSI to set up a Central Film Co-operative, with the task of making all preparations for the production of the first Socialist film.

The general discussion was then opened.

An exchange of views took place between Comrades GREEN and MILLAR, from which it appeared that in Great Britain production came up against various administrative difficulties.

VAN DER LENDE, referring to the ideas put forward the day before by Neumann, expressed doubts as to the practical possibility of organising the sale and hire of films internationally. Unless the IPTU could provide some one to deal with this service, which was rather going beyond its functions, it would be necessary for the national educational organisations to set up a special committee, on which observers of the IPTU and of the LSI would also sit.

STOLZ pointed out that an International Centre of Workers' Education was already in existence in the IPTU Secretariat, and that this Centre, with the assistance of national organisations, could play the part of information centre.

HARTIG felt there was a tendency to overestimate the value of films as a means of workers' education, and he uttered a warning against the obstacles, such as the difficulty of pleasing the public, and the danger of falling into preciosity. In addition, it was necessary in order to produce a good film to have a producer who was at one and the same time an artist and a technician.

WOODBURN thought it should be feasible to enquire about bourgeois films which could be of use to us, and also make use of Russian films, but the latter laid too much emphasis on specific propaganda, and a large part of the British Labour Movement refused to make propaganda for Soviet Russia. In Great Britain, the Co-operative Movement, which had large resources, could no doubt put up the capital for production.

If the films turned out were attractive, the ordinary cinemas would show them, and we could perhaps in that way cover our costs. If they were insipid, however, this would not occur.



As no one else wished to speak, TAYERLE, in the chair, called on the two rapporteurs, Neumann and Poldermann, to wind up the debate.

NEUMANN (Switzerland), replying to Hartig, said that the intention of the Conference was only to consider the organic aspect of the problem, and not the question of methods, nor of the obstacles which might be met with in practice. As far as education was concerned, what was most important was the lecture and not the film, which was only used to illustrate it and make it more attractive. What we wanted was to reach wider sections of opinion. It was not enough merely to show a film, it was necessary to accompany it with a talk. The rapporteur mentioned certain examples within his knowledge, and referred to some films which had made a great impression. It had been said that we should not exhaust our energy in the criticism of films, but the speaker would refer again to the work already done in this field, and with success, by the Catholics. For us, it was not so much a matter of criticising films as of directing opinion, and denouncing films of a Fascist tendency which were often very cleverly disguised. We should certainly try to produce our own films, but it still seemed a little premature to concentrate on this side.

The speaker put forward a resolution, stating that the Conference regarded international collaboration as necessary and possible, that this collaboration should take place at first within the field of the loan and sale of films, that workers' educational centres should be encouraged to produce documentary films, and that the IFTU should organise a service of information on interesting new films.

POLDERMAN (Holland) said that the numerous observations made on artistic, technical or financial questions could not be gone into here in detail, and it would be best to leave them to the Committee. The statement made by Hartig had shown them what they should not do. From the remarks made by Woodburn it seemed that we should deal both with films serving the Labour Movement and with others intended for public showing. The Committee could also go into this question.

Neumann's resolution was adopted unanimously.

After observations had been made by ELVIN and VAN DER LENDE, Polderman's proposal was referred to the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions.

The meeting then adjourned.

## SECOND DAY.

Sunday, 12th July, 1936.

### Afternoon Session.

#### ITEM III. — Wireless, the Workers' Wireless International and the Collaboration of Workers' Educational Organisations.

A. PLEYSIER (Secretary of the Workers' Wireless International), rapporteur on Workers' Education and Broadcasting, pointed out that any attempt to modify the structure of society became a question of the education of the mass of the people. It was not possible to hope for better conditions unless the individual could be rescued from the mentality proper to a capitalist milieu.

To this end, it was necessary to extend the sum of individual knowledge, to develop a sense of beauty, cultivate the virtues which should characterise the members of a Socialist community and develop the sense of a social life, a democratic conscience and solidarity. It was this task which the Labour Movement and the workers' educational organisations had shouldered. But, in spite of the great endeavours that had been made, educational organisations did not yet reach the great mass of the people; there were certain natural limits to their activities, but it had to be confessed that the Trade Unions and Labour organisations had not yet fully realised how to take advantage of the methods offered by modern technique.

In the early decades of the Labour Movement, the pressing nature of day-to-day demands had been enough to attract the masses, but to-day we were up against all the counter-propaganda of films, wireless, the daily and illustrated press, etc. These institutions, mainly inspired by capitalism, did a great deal to meet the workers' demands for comfort.

Capitalist « neutral » dailies, « neutral » entertainment films and broadcast programmes, etc., had a tremendous effect on public opinion. Educational work in a small group was not enough to neutralise this deleterious influence. The group concerned was certainly rendered immune, but the great mass of the people was subject to this influence, which was described by the capitalists as « neutral » but which was in fact always anti-Labour.

Up till now, the workers had only been able to counter the anti-social effects of allegedly neutral films, press and wireless, in the sphere of the press. The lack of a counterweight in the sphere of wireless was disastrous for the Labour Movement, since the wireless had become an instrument of equal or even greater importance than the press. Well-organised wireless news services were more rapid than the best press, had a practically unlimited field of action, were received at the same time in every house, however out-of-the-way it might be, and, what was very important, made most concessions to the demand for comfort of the mass of the people by bringing the day's events to the armchair.

Broadcasts could be of an excellent quality. It was technically possible to broadcast wireless plays which were just as good as the best theatre plays. Music could be played by the best musicians, and the most famous symphony orchestras were on the air daily.

Broadcasting was universal. The wireless was available to everyone and at all times. It appealed to all ages and all conditions of the people, and was a tremendous power for influencing public opinion, and an untiring servant, working unceasingly from morning to night, day in and day out.

It was therefore regrettable that the Labour Movement had no adequate influence on the composition of programmes, as was unfortunately the case in most democratic

countries. Even where the wireless was controlled by the State, the programmes were « neutrally » bourgeois and colourless. It was only the force of conviction which could give life to the content. Colourless broadcasts were valueless as a means of education, because the conviction was lacking. The quality of systematic and definite education could never be attained by « neutral » lectures, readings and entertainment features. Colourless programmes only helped Fascism by making propaganda for it, even in a concealed form, through the microphone, and all entertainment and educational programmes run on commercial lines offered the least resistance to Fascism.

In the most favourable cases the best that could be said was that broadcasting was not anti-democratic and anti-Labour. But it was in the interests of democracy and the Labour Movement to provide the people with programmes which would arouse support for democratic rights and liberties, instead of the present colourless items. The Labour Movement should therefore try to gain and extend its influence over the wireless. The way broadcasting was utilised as an effective means of propaganda in the Fascist countries demanded to be countered in the democratic States.

The speaker then gave some account of the efforts made, with a good deal of success, in Belgium, Denmark and Holland, and expressed surprise, en passant, at the apathy existing in France. His survey showed the necessity of the Labour Movement obtaining really effective influence in this field. If the Trade Unions, the Parties, and the workers' educational organisations were to mobilise their audiences, and if they wanted to bring a useful and valuable influence to bear on public opinion, it was indispensable that listeners' groups be set up everywhere within the framework of the general Labour Movement.

As secretary of the Workers' Wireless International, he emphasised how indispensable it was for the International to receive more active assistance. The existence of Fascist tendencies in the wireless world made the problem a very live issue, and we should therefore perfect the instrument represented by the Wireless International. It was the duty of the Labour Movement in the democratic countries to ensure the existence and vitality of the International. Wireless was not only a powerful means of Anti-Fascist action, it was also a means of influencing the mass of the people, a powerful instrument of popular education. Capitalism took advantage of the wireless, and the Labour Movement should wait no longer before utilising the same means in order to educate the working masses in social solidarity and international collaboration.

FUNKE (Holland), rapporteur on International Organisation of Broadcasting, supplemented the statement of Pleyzier, dealing in particular with the necessity for international collaboration in wireless and for the exchange of programmes at Labour festivals. He said that our aim should be to extend our influence over broadcasting, and to utilise judiciously the influence we already possessed, in order to take an active part in wireless activities. In this work, the Dutch Workers' Wireless Association (VARA) could render great service. It had in fact already considered the problem of drawing up national and international broadcasting programmes, of a high quality, which could hold their own against so-called « neutral » programmes. A May Day programme, for example, should be relayed not only to European countries but to other continents. At the present time, technical difficulties no longer existed; the only obstacles were those of a financial nature, but these were surmountable, as were also the difficulties due to language.

Workers' education by broadcasting offered an immense field and splendid possibilities. Broadcasting had an educational value for the great mass of the people, and could also be used for specialised education, destined for more restricted sections of the workers. Workers' educational organisations should give more attention to broadcasting, since the microphone could reach a much wider audience than that reached by a lecture, let alone by articles in the press. But all this needed international collaboration, and the best way of assuring this seemed to him to be the appointment of national correspondents, who would assure permanent contact between the organisations.

The draft resolution submitted provided for the constitution of a Study or Co-ordinating Committee, and the speaker asked that serious attention be given to this.

The Conference should certainly not fail to consider the resolutions submitted. If the Catholic world had been able to organise an International Wireless Congress at Prague, which lasted five days and was attended by delegates from twenty

countries, including the United States, it was surely possible for the International Labour Movement to lay in this Conference the first foundations of international socialist broadcasting.

The Workers' Wireless International, fully aware of the significance of broadcasting and of our responsibility to the workers, had drawn up the resolutions submitted to the conference, and it was confident that we could together lay the foundations of our future activity.

LEFRANC (France) recalled the request that detailed discussions be carried on in Committee, but said that the Conference had been asked to vote on texts which it had had no chance of discussing.

HANSEN, on behalf of the Danish delegation, expressed his agreement with the statements made by Pleysier and Funke, but said he did not think they were adequate as a basis for international action. Moreover, it appeared to him logically impossible to lay down rigid general standards; it would be much better to allow of the different countries each determining for themselves their own wireless policy. The influence which could be brought to bear on programmes depended on the strength of the Labour Movement. It was important, he thought, that associations of listeners-in should be represented on the boards of management.

HIRDMAN (Sweden) recommended that the whole question be referred to the International Committee. The Swedish system was analogous to the Danish. The generalisation of the British system would not represent progress but a setback. The question of influence on broadcasting was on somewhat the same lines as that of influence in Parliament.

LEFRANC corrected an inaccuracy as regards the situation in France which had occurred in Pleysier's statement.

There was an exchange of views between the British delegations regarding the BBC and its internal organisation.

THE CHAIRMAN then called on the two rapporteurs to wind up the debate.

PLEYSIER (Holland) said that the Scandinavian delegations should not think that he recommended the extension to all countries of the British system, which he had not done. He had only mentioned it to illustrate his remarks. He wanted to maintain what he had said regarding the apathy observable in France as regards associations of listeners-in. He thought that if it could agree as to the need for collaboration between the democratic countries, the Conference would have performed a useful service.

FUNKE (Holland), replying to the observations made regarding the publications of the International, pointed out that the only cause was the lack of financial resources of his organisation.

It was agreed to refer the whole problem of workers' broadcasting to the International Trade Union Committee for Youth and Educational Questions.

#### ITEM IV. — Workers' Schools and Correspondence Courses.

Mme LEFRANC (rapporteur) said that she did not intend to read the report which had already been submitted in writing, but would merely underline those points on which she thought a discussion would be useful.

She was speaking, she said, on behalf of the French Workers' Educational Institute, which was a young organisation of only a few years' standing and which had been brought into being by the French National Trade Union Centre. Perhaps France had been somewhat behind the other countries, but she was rapidly making up for lost time. She would make no comparisons since everyone no doubt agreed that achievements naturally varied from country to country. What we had to do in this Conference was to agree as to the direction to be given to the educational movement.

She intended to deal with three points, which seemed to her to be essential — the organisation of workers' schools, the subjects taught and the methods used.

It was on the first of these that most difference of opinion probably existed, since the great difference in circumstances rendered it difficult, to say the least, to lay down a uniform type of organisation.

The speaker said that, in the first part of her written report, she had said that the educational movement should be in contact with the Trade Union Movement, and everyone would be in agreement on this point. A more delicate question was that of relations between workers' schools and the Government. In her report she had said that, since these schools formed part of the activities of the workers, it seemed necessary to refuse government aid everywhere where it was accompanied by some measure of control. In France, for example, the State was very much centralised, and did not encourage private efforts as did Great Britain, for example. The State tried to gather to itself all activities, and it was therefore understandable why they had refused government aid.

Elsewhere conditions might be different. Her report had been drawn up before the Front Populaire Government had come into power, and France was at present going through a period where it might perhaps be possible to collaborate more closely with the leaders of the country. But, whatever the circumstances might be, the French workers' educational movement was determined to maintain the workers' freedom. Elsewhere also, the State might give its assistance, not for workers' higher education but for elementary courses, and this might be accepted.

It was obvious that this attitude of independence from the Government made it necessary to find financial resources within the Trade Union Movement, and the workers' educational system had therefore to place itself at the disposal of the Trade Unions. In doing this, they were aware, the speaker said, that they were losing the possibility of exerting a great influence on the unorganised workers.

As regards the subjects taught, the aim of workers' schools was obviously to cultivate the art of thinking. This fundamental principle had important practical consequences.

Real education implied continuous and methodical instruction under the direction of an individual. It was not enough to devote four or five lectures to a central problem; it was essential to go much farther and much deeper. For example, after the lecture there should be a discussion, led by a discussion leader, so that instruction was not merely academic but really living. The French Movement organised series of weekly conferences, the minimum being thirty, which formed a whole. There were also three-year courses. If they could get students to attend for three years, said the speaker, they really felt they were doing educational work, and that something was being done to help students to think.

She thought it was a mistake to confuse education with propaganda. There was certainly a need for propaganda, and its value was recognised, but, while propaganda was an effort at simplification, seeking after effect and trying to have an immediate effect on the mass of the people, education was something quite different, on a different plane and with a different aim. It consisted in an endeavour going much further than the immediate future and which aimed at completing the results of propaganda. It was therefore wrong to conceive of education as the imparting of a kind of catechism. We did not want to turn out gramophones.

The French Workers' High School ran three kinds of classes. First of all there were elementary courses, to provide or to polish up general notions, for those who had not had a long school education or who had forgotten what they had learned there. These courses were based on real life and inspired by Trade Unionism. It was not a paradox to say that grammar could be taught from a revolutionary point of view. The bourgeoisie had in fact taken possession of the language, it was contaminated by capitalism and reflected capitalist civilisation, and this had to be taken in to account in our efforts at emancipation.

Then there were more advanced courses, dealing with the conditions of life of the workers and current problems, and finally there were courses on general cultural subjects, literature, art, etc. These three kinds of instruction could not be separated, they formed a logical whole. The French National Trade Union Centre was at the moment in a special situation, owing to the influx of new members and the events which had occurred. The School was publishing a series of pamphlets on questions of the day, as it was desirable that the workers should understand the sense and direction of their recent victories.

The courses on general cultural subjects should be run with a revolutionary faith.

About 1900, attempts had been made in France to institute « popular universities », where higher education by intellectuals was provided at bargain prices, so to speak. But our ideas, said the speaker, were diametrically opposed to this. Our workers' schools should be the birthplace of a new culture, a new humanism. Although restricted in size, they could nevertheless provide a nucleus for the future. It was often found that, although the worker did not know anything, what the teacher knew was wrong, owing to the instruction which he had received.

Working-class culture did not by any means imply what was called « proletarian » culture — a term which had been misused. In a discussion on ancient times, for example, it was not enough only to talk of the fate of the slaves, attention should also be given to the artists and thinkers of the time. What we wanted was an « anti-bourgeois » culture.

It was moreover necessary to introduce new teaching methods in the workers' schools. Instruction was organised in various ways, oral classes in the day or evening for some workers, permanent schools where the workers were not working for a certain period, and correspondence courses. In France this latter was the only method applicable for comrades living in distant places, as it had not yet been possible to organise permanent courses, for financial reasons. The work had to be carried on under unfavourable financial conditions. Workers who took part in educational activities, outside of their work, evinced a certain heroism, and this should not be forgotten.

Above all, education should be living and attractive, so as to provide a relief for the worker after his mechanical labour and stimulate his own independent initiative. Classes were best kept small, and free discussion created a favourable atmosphere between the tutor and the students.

As regards teaching methods, it had to be remembered that students were adults; students in the French schools were generally between twenty-five and thirty-five. Thus their personalities were already formed. The child had to learn how to think, the adult to perfect his method of thought, and educational methods should vary accordingly. The adult was independent, and his mind was made up; what he wanted was concrete instruction. A great difficulty in France at the present time was the lack of adequate tutors of the right kind. The idea of study weeks had been brought up in the Conference and the speaker proposed that they might deal there with this problem, for it had to be remembered that teachers trained in the ordinary way were sometimes very dangerous, in view of the very training they had received and of their ignorance, in many cases, of the world of labour.

SHEARMAN (Great Britain) thought that the very wide problem which had been dealt with should be studied with a view to further discussion at the next Conference, seeing the impossibility of improvising a discussion which would be serious and profitable.

PUGH drew the attention of the Conference to his report, which had been distributed to delegates and which gave an account of workers' education in Great Britain.

GREEN (Great Britain) thanked Comrade Lefranc for her excellent address, and said that, in general, he supported the views expressed therein. However, he would make some reservations as regards governmental aid; conditions varied from country to country, and the essential thing was for each country to safeguard its own position.

The resolution moved by Mme Lefranc was then read.

HIRDMAN (Sweden) expressed the fear that if finances were to be drawn only from the Trade Unions, the scope of the work done would be limited. He mentioned the International Summer School held in his country, and he also referred to the grant of 100,000 kronor allocated for historical work and to help young unemployed intellectuals.

BRUGMANS (Holland) gave an account of the work done by the Dutch Workers' Educational Centre. He said that the intellectual level of the masses had been overestimated, and not enough account had been taken of their inferiority complex. Elementary courses had been set up, but entry had not been restricted to Trade Unionists. The schools were open to all workers without distinction, and an enquiry

made showed that 16 % of the students belonged to no section of the Labour Movement. Whether State aid should be accepted or not depended on the circumstances. It was a question of strength and of self-confidence. If the movement concerned had enough self-confidence, it would welcome assistance wherever it could get it, and it could open the doors of its schools to everyone.

WOODBURN (Great Britain) thought also that, in view of the great interest of the subject, which required deep study, the discussion should be postponed to the next Conference and should come early on the agenda.

HARTIG said that the address was a model of French clarity and precision, which had covered all the problems of our movement. However, he thought that the discussion had shown a lacuna; no mention had been made of the necessity for character building, and it was also necessary to exercise care in the choice of subjects for lectures. Workers' schools should be organised quite differently from ordinary schools, and there should be special emphasis on the training of active workers in the Trade Union Movement. Mention had been made of correspondence courses, but nothing had been said of the system of study circles, which was so widespread, for example, in Scandinavia.

DELSINNE (Belgium) said that the ideas enunciated in the report were the same as those which had inspired workers' education in Belgium for the past twenty-five years. He thought an exaggerated importance should not be attached to the question of governmental aid. Since the war, the Belgian movement had been able to accept official subsidies without the least apprehension, as the only condition attached was that the work done should be of real value. On the other hand, he thought great importance did attach to collaboration between the different sections of the Labour Movement, and we should not be too exclusive.

He also thought that forms of education which were not exclusively Trade Union should not be excluded. In many countries, especially the small ones, all the sections of the movement should collaborate closely so as to form a powerful joint movement. In the large countries, the situation might be different. There was a grave disadvantage about exclusivity. All the sections of our movement were concerned in workers' education. Education implied mental, moral and social formation. Nor should the formation of character be forgotten, so that the workers might conserve and develop the virtues necessary for their fight.

The speaker suggested that in future the Conference should be divided into sections, as the present meeting had been discussing general and special questions at one and the same time. This tended to waste time and energy, without being of benefit to anyone.

SHEARMAN (Great Britain) asked for some amendment of the texts proposed by Mme Lefranc, namely as regards State aid.

MILLAR (Great Britain) expressed regret that this item had only come at the end of the agenda. He agreed with Mme Lefranc that workers' education should be anti-bourgeois in tendency, and he also agreed on the importance of elementary instruction.

THE CHAIRMAN then called on Mme Lefranc to reply.

Mme LEFRANC expressed regret at not being able to reply in detail to all the interesting observations which had been made.

As regards the subjects of instruction, the representatives of Belgium and Holland had made important contributions to the discussion. As far as the question of organisation proper was concerned, Sweden wanted the movement to be less exclusive and not confined purely to the Trade Union side. This point did not appear in the resolution but only in the report which had been submitted.

Holland had emphasised the necessity of opening our schools even to non-Trade Unionists, and the speaker proposed that this question and the preceding one should be the subject of further study. As far as the question of State aid was concerned, Mme Lefranc, wanting to meet the other side half-way, proposed certain modifications to her resolution, so that it should not imply collaboration with the Government.

The resolution and recommendation were then adopted unanimously.

MILLAR (Great Britain) thanked the chairman and the various speakers on behalf of the whole Conference and of the British Movement.

TAYERLE (in the chair) said that the agenda was thus concluded. The Conference had done good work. Much certainly remained to be done but the foundations of future activity had been laid. There was a vast field of activities before us, and the Conference had enabled delegates to obtain interesting information and to plan new approaches to the work.

In his view, education was the best means of inculcating in the workers the spirit of solidarity. The fluctuations in our membership represented a danger and were caused mainly by ignorance or too slight a knowledge of the work which the workers' organisations should perform.

It had always been moral forces, ideas and convictions which had determined the history of mankind. The fight of the workers for emancipation, economic justice, and cultural improvement had also originated in the force of ideas and the depth of convictions. We knew that in any fight mere numerical force could do little against the power of knowledge. The Conference had indicated the possibilities which still existed in the field of education. International and national organisations should study these possibilities and make use of them.

The present Conference had shown that time had been too short in proportion to the length of the agenda. He therefore asked the Conference to excuse those speakers who had exceeded the time limit. For the next Conference it would be necessary either to reserve more time or to have a shorter agenda.

The essential thing was not to deal with a wide field but to do really good work.

The Chairman then thanked the rapporteurs for their excellent addresses, which would prove of great use for our future work. He also expressed thanks to the IFTU Secretariat, particularly to Comrade Stolz, for the excellent preparation of this Conference, and to the British comrades for their assistance in organising it.

The decisions taken by the Conference would of course have to be submitted to the responsible bodies of the International Federation of Trade Unions, where, he could assure them, they would be considered with great attention.

He thanked the delegates for their attention — and also for their endurance, on which great demands had been made — and he expressed the sincere hope that the ideas enunciated and the discussions which had taken place in the Conference would provide encouragement and inspiration in the work to which delegates were returning at home.

The speaker concluded, before finally closing the Conference, by urging all present to pursue, with tenacity and faith, their indispensable efforts to aid in the emancipation of the workers.

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#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

The Conference on Workers' Education, having heard the report on workers' schools and correspondence courses, regards it as of the highest importance for workers' education to be pursued in the form of

- (a) continuous instruction,
- (b) an educational scheme including elementary courses, courses on economic and social questions and courses on general cultural subjects, either oral or by correspondence,
- (c) instruction based on living and concrete teaching methods.

This will accelerate the progress of the workers towards cultural emancipation.

#### RECOMMENDATION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

The Conference proposes that the following four questions be placed on the programme of forthcoming study weeks :

1. Substance of workers' education.
2. Training of tutors.
3. Organisation of workers' schools.
4. Relations with the Labour Movement and position with regard to the government.