

Editor's Note: The following is a transcription of four resolutions taken from the Report of the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU) published in July, 1928. The resolutions cover the topics of the trade union movement in the USA, fascism in the trade union movement, the trade union press, and women in the trade union movement. The resolutions were written prior to the creation of the Trade Union Unity League, at the tail-end of the CPUSA's 1920s policy of "boring-from-within" and at the beginning of the Third Period. The US-specific resolutions thus provide a key window into what the basis and principles for the push for a pivot to an independent, class-conscious and combative trade unionist center looked like.

The International resolutions provide an incredibly educational and useful analysis of fascism, in particular as fascism and corporatism relate to labor and the workers movement, as well as theses on other key tasks and questions of the international workers movement.

We have taken the liberty of making minor grammatical/spelling changes where there were errors in the original text. In a few places we have maintained the original errors because it was unclear what the original intention of the authors was, and in those places we have written a "[sic]".

Tasks of the Red International Labor Union (RILU) Adherents in the USA

1. The growing industrial depression in the U.S.A. is determining the capitalists and the Government to attack the unions (mineworkers, needle trades, etc.), to speed up the process of production in all industries, and to make extensive preparations for war.

Such military preparations by American imperialism indicate a more aggressive role on the part of the U.S.A. in the struggle for markets, raw materials, and spheres of influence. All points to a sharpening of the class struggle and intensification in its conduct. It is therefore necessary to prepare for more frequent clashes between the working class and the capitalists, and the T.U.E.L. as the leader in the struggle of revolutionary trade unionism in the U.S.A. shall build its programme upon such a perspective. It is the main task of the T.U.E.L. to organise and lead the workers in these struggles; in order to successfully accomplish this task it is necessary:

(a) To expose to the masses the reactionary character of the leadership of the A.F. of L., the Railway Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, etc. who betrayed the interests of the workers, and do not even struggle for the most elementary demands. On the contrary, they act jointly with the capitalists and the capitalist State against the workers.

(b) Refusal of the bureaucrats and the socialist leaders to organise the masses in the last five years of unprecedented capitalist prosperity in the U.S.A. in order to resist the attacks upon the living standards of the workers, productive efficiency unionism and class collaborationist policy has the inevitable result of reducing the membership of the unions whereas these objective situations should have resulted in large increases in the membership.

(c) The existing membership of the trade unions in the U.S.A. is made up mainly of skilled and privileged workers.

Notwithstanding that there are approximately thirty million organisable workers, of whom approximately nineteen million are industrial workers, less than three million are actually organised. This decisive factor must determine the orientation of the T.U.E.L. towards the masses of unorganised workers.

The development of the productive methods in the U.S.A. has given a decisive role to the masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers employed in the basic industries, who are entirely or almost entirely unorganised, and whom the trade union bureaucracy refuses to organise.

A whole series of big and small struggles which have taken place since 1925 (needle trades, Passaic textile, coal mining, Pennsylvania and Colorado, and Haverhill shoe workers) show that the masses are more and more willing to fight against the capitalists, the capitalist state and the bureaucrats.

The T.U.E.L. united front policy shall be based upon the united front from below and mass pressure on the so-called progressives to involve them in the struggle.

STRUGGLE AGAINST CLASS COLLABORATION.

2. The T.U.E.L. shall immediately launch a wide campaign amongst the broadest masses of workers, against the class collaboration policy of the treacherous reformist leadership, now utilising the unions as instruments of capitalist production. It shall lead in the fight for the defence and improvement of the workers living and working standards, and shall fearlessly expose the harmful effects of Trade Union Capitalism, and management co-operation plan, which are demonstrating themselves to be bankrupt and futile. (Locomotive Engineers' Bank, B.L. & O. Plan, etc.)

3. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

(a) ORGANISATION OF UNORGANISED.

The vital and immediate task of the T.U.E.L. is to become the leading organisation struggling to organise the unorganised, concentrating especially in mining, steel, oil, automobiles, rubber, textile, chemicals, marine transport and lumber industries. In all of these industries definite plans of work must be drawn up and carried out around programmes of concrete and immediate demands.

Failure on the part of the T.U.E.L. to take the leading role in this task will lead to a repetition of the recent Colorado strike experience, where the I.W.W. took over the leadership of the struggle, and the failure to organise resistance to wage cuts such as have taken place in the textile industry.

The organisation of the unorganised is the most vital task which the T.U.E.L. has now to face. At the same time it must use all the possibilities of working inside existing unions, participating in the daily life of these unions and fighting for the leadership (the workers organised) in them. The members of the T.U.E.L. must undertake this two-fold task under the slogan of "No task too big, no task too small." This means they must train the revolutionary workers to be able to effectively participate in local and national trade union work, and to lead the workers in the struggle against capitalism.

This main line in the carrying out of our policy in relation to the unorganised must not be one-sided. Further appeals to the bureaucracy and dependence upon the so-called progressives in the reactionary unions is useless and wrong. The T.U.E.L. must itself become the basic organisation for the organisation of the unorganised. It must openly and definitely occupy the leading role and be the arming force [sic] concentrating especially in such industries where the workers are not organised at all, or are very badly organised. The T.U.E.L. when necessary may fight for the affiliation of the organisations to the A.F. of L. but only on conditions which guarantee class leadership and a militant programme.

(b) NEGRO WORKERS.

In the work of organising the unorganised, great attention must be paid to the organisation of Negro workers. Owing to the refusal of the majority of white unions to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for Negroes. At the same time, however, the struggles for the inclusion of Negro workers into the existing unions must be intensified and concentrated upon, special attention being given to those unions in which the statutes and rules set up special limitations against the admission of Negro workers. In places where the Left Wing is in control of the local section of the existing unions, Negroes must be admitted to membership on the basis of equal rights, notwithstanding any barrier which the constitution of the union might contain. In industries in which Negro and white workers are at present organised into separate unions, efforts must be made to secure the amalgamation of such unions on the basis of equal rights. In those industries where new unions are being set up, Negro workers must be included in the same unions as white workers.

(c) LATIN AMERICA.

The T.U.E.L. must maintain close organisational relations with the Latin-American Secretariat and in co-operation with this body it must conduct special work amongst the large masses of Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S.A., especially those engaged in the metal, oil and railway industries, the T.U.E.L. must fight against discrimination against Mexican workers by American unions.

(d) CANADA.

There must be the closest relations between the R.I.L.U. Sections in the U.S.A. and Canada, especially for work in those unions having members in both countries, such as the A. F. of L., Railway Brotherhoods, etc., the T.U.E.L. of the U.S.A. must support the fight of the T.U.E.L. of Canada for the independence of Canadian Trade Unions, and autonomy of the Canadian locals. In carrying out the task of organising the unorganised sections should assist each other, but under no circumstances shall new organisations which may be set up in the U.S.A. by the T.U.E.L. bring into existence Canadian locals in imitation of the practices of the reactionary A.F. of L.

(e) MINING.

In the mining industry the T.U.E.L. must at once commence to organise new local unions in the unorganised districts, and in those sections where the reformist union has disintegrated. These local unions should demand affiliation to the U.M.W., in no case sacrificing the Left Wing leadership and

programme. If this is refused the local sections must be linked into independent district organisations for common action.

(f) NEEDLE TRADES.

In the needle trades consolidation of the Left Wing must be secured; only on such a basis can the left wing in those unions face the attacks of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the demagogues and socialist leaders in these unions.

(g) AGRICULTURE.

The T.U.E.L. must give attention to the organisation of the agricultural workers. This is a field for work which is not utilised by the reactionary unions, or the T.U.E.L., notwithstanding that there are millions of these severely exploited wage-earners. A definite policy for work amongst this exploited section of workers must be drawn up and operated.

(h) WOMEN AND YOUTH.

American rationalisation of industry to an ever-increasing degree tends to utilise women and youth in industry at the expense of a reduced standard of living for the working class as a whole. Women and young workers are discriminated against by the trade union bureaucracy in many ways. The T.U.E.L. must immediately organise these workers, giving them special attention to the trustified industries. Our chief slogan in this work must be "Equal pay for equal work."

4. STRIKE STRATEGY.

Strikes of a national or local character must be actively supported by the T.U.E.L. The categories of strikes we must expect in the present circumstances can be summed up in the following groups:

(a) More or less sporadic strikes amongst unorganised workers, mainly in large trustified industries.

(b) Strikes by organised workers conducted in spite of and in opposition to the trade union bureaucracy (so-called outlaw strikes). [*Note: wildcat strikes*]

(c) Strikes into which sections of the bureaucracy may be forced by rank and file pressure.

It is mainly the first two categories that we will be faced with in the immediate future, and of these the first will be the most frequent, and of greatest value to us in our efforts to organise the unorganised. In such struggles the T.U.E.L. must come forward as an organisation and as the organiser of these strikes, and must avoid the mistake of coming in only after the revolt of the workers had actually taken place. The T.U.E.L. must, whilst assisting in the conduct of the strike and its direction, at the same time build up definite organisations of the T.U.E.L. Due to our weakness among the unorganised at present we shall not, for some time, be able to determine or manœuvre the time and place of these strikes in accordance with our conceptions of strategical advantages. We must, however, utilise these strikes to establish and consolidate our influence among the workers in the particular

industry affected. But we must make it clear to the workers that fundamental demands can only be realised by strong national organisations covering each industry linked up with strong bodies of industrial workers and having effective revolutionary international connections.

5. COMPANY UNIONS.

The T.U.E.L. must struggle against company unions. The slogan “smash the Company Unions” and the mere issuing of literature on the subject is not sufficient. Concrete organisational steps in which the shop and factory committees should play a leading part must be taken, and a flexible programme of action adopted. The T.U.E.L. must follow two tactics with the same objective; penetrate to destroy them wherever they have a mass membership, and smash them by pressure from without, or both.

6. SAVE THE UNIONS.

The slogan “Save the Unions” is no longer correct. It is incapable of rallying broad masses for decisive struggles in the U.S.A. Our policy must be to fight against the treachery of the trade union bureaucrats and the attacks of the capitalists. Our slogans must be in accord with these objectives. “Save the Unions” from the corrupt trade union bureaucracy and organise the workers against the capitalist offensive.

The T.U.E.L. must now become the genuine organisational centre of the unorganised workers as well as being the centre of the left wing in the reformist unions.

The amalgamation movement must be stimulated locally and sectionally, as well as nationally. Wherever it is possible to amalgamate local unions and sections of the unions it should be done without waiting for the national movement to come to its full development.

7. UNEMPLOYMENT.

In face of the rapid growth and permanent character of unemployment in the United States in consequence of the rationalising processes adopted in American industry, the T.U.E.L. must take definite action in order to organise the unemployed workers into Councils of the unemployed. They must be rallied around such slogans as: “Work or full maintenance at trade union rates,” etc. The closest possible relations must be maintained between the employed and unemployed workers.

8. ORGANISATION.

We must pay great attention to the task of creating and building up shop and factory committees which are capable of becoming vitally important factors in the organisation of the unorganised, and can be the basic units for the industrial unions. Every endeavor must be made to make these committees the organisational units in the respective localities.

The National Committee of the T.U.E.L. should at once intensify the work in metal transport, mining, food, textile and needle industries. The local groups in the T.U.E.L. must be strengthened in every possible way. They must admit into membership all workers prepared to fight against capitalism

and the bureaucrats. The local general groups of the T.U.E.L. must be established in every industrial centre.

The National Industrial Committees of the T.U.E.L. must be made to function as the actual leading organs in the respective industries with which they are connected. They must include in their composition representatives of the unorganised workers, both Negro and white as well as representatives from existing separate Negro and white unions. The steps taken in the recent National Convention of the T.U.E.L. in this direction must be continued and strengthened.

Each industrial section must establish its own mass paper.

Industrial conferences of union members, together with the unorganised workers, must be held regularly under the auspices of the industrial sections of the T.U.E.L., and systematic reports presented to the appropriate sections within the organisation.

The central organ of the T.U.E.L. must be expanded to become a weekly agitational and propaganda publication.

The whole apparatus of the T.U.E.L. from top to bottom must be broadened and strengthened, and the forces consolidated under the direction of the National Committee of the T.U.E.L. Immediate preparations must be made for the calling of the next National Conference in order to deal with the urgent problems now facing the workers in the U.S.A. The National Conference should be preceded by Conferences called by the National Industrial Committees. Every effort should be made to draw into the conference more organised workers from the reformist unions, as well as unorganised workers from the reformist unions, as in addition there should be conferences of the local general groups along the same lines, thus preparing for the National Conference out of which should be gathered new elements to assist in the conduct and direction of the work of the T.U.E.L. For these conferences new slogans and programmes should be worked out. They should be of a positive and concrete character in keeping with the actual issues facing the workers, and calculated to raise the level of their class consciousness. (Examples—organise the unorganised, fight wage cuts, build militant unions, one industry one union, smash the capitalist offensive.)

9. INTERNATIONAL.

The T.U.E.L. must maintain and strengthen its international contacts. It must point out to the workers of the U.S.A. that it is the only organisation with organisational contact with the workers of other countries. It must show that affiliation to Amsterdam is not a step towards international solidarity, and must point out that in the countries where the workers' organisations are affiliated to Amsterdam, the leadership of the trade unions is adopting American methods of class collaboration. The T.U.E.L. must maintain in the closest possible relations with the R.I.L.U., and the National Industrial Committees must have close organisational contact with the I.C.C.'s. The reports to the I.P.C.'s and the National T.U.E.L. from the National Industrial Sections must be more systematically organised.

The T.U.E.L., together with the Latin-American comrades, should develop a fight against the Pan-American Federation of Labour, dominated as it is by American imperialism. It must be regarded as an instrument of imperialism and an agency of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the

Mexican labourists now leading the C.R.O.M. [*Note - Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana*]. The T.U.E.L. must render all possible assistance to the workers and peasants of the Phillipines and Haiwaiian Islands, and must maintain close organisational contact with the workers there.

The T.U.E.L. and its adherents must co-operate fully with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, bringing to the attention of all workers in America the struggle of the masses of the Far East against American imperialism.

10. The U.S.A. section of the R.I.L.U., the T.U.E.L., is now faced with extremely difficult circumstances, but if the above programme is seriously applied to the rapidly developing class struggle it will rally important sections of the masses to its support, and thus be enabled to direct the resistance to all phases of the capitalist imperialist offensive. It will strengthen the whole labour movement of the U.S.A., which is urgently necessary to resist the attacks on the workers at home and the impending war danger. It will root itself deeply in the masses to be a resolute force in the struggle against Capitalism at home and in the struggle as part of the world proletariat against world imperialism.

Measures for Fighting Fascism in the Trade Union Movement (Thesis Adopted on the Reports of Comrades Monmousseau, Redens, Dimitrov)

I. Roots and Character of Fascism.

1. Fascism represents a special system of the class domination of the bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism and Social Revolution. After the imperialist war, after the victorious October Revolution, and after the consolidation of the Soviet Union, and with the tremendous revolutionising influence of all these factors on the proletariat, on the peasant masses, and on the oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples, the bourgeoisie is finding it more and more difficult to hold the masses of the people under its class hegemony, and is not in a position to solve the problem of the stabilisation of capitalist economy with the help of the old forms and methods of parliamentary democracy.

These conditions determine the peculiar character of Fascism in various countries. In some countries (Italy, Poland), the Fascist dictatorship is being established by means of the direct utilisation of the movement of the dissatisfied: the petty bourgeoisie and certain strata of the peasantry; whilst in other countries (Bulgaria, Spain, Portugal, Lithuania), it is being established by revolts of the bourgeoisie and against the resistance of the masses, the bourgeoisie being supported by the armed force of the country and receiving the financial support of banking capital. On the other hand, in some countries, Fascism is being applied as a means of struggle for the prevention of the revolutionisation of the labour movement (Britain, France, Belgium, America). It is being organised, armed, and is gathering its forces for a determined attack, under the patronage and with the fullest assistance of the government authorities (Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania). In other countries, it is being applied as an open weapon of counter-revolution in the period of the extreme sharpening of the revolutionary struggle (Germany in 1923, China), or as means of consolidating the tottering positions of the bourgeoisie after temporary victory of the proletarian revolution (Hungary), and so on.

2. For the class movement of the proletariat of all countries, Fascism is a *constant and growing danger*. To underestimate the forces of the Fascist dictatorship and deny the possibility of the establishment of Fascism in the big capitalist countries is likely to weaken the vigilance and resistance of the proletariat towards Fascism, and to further the temporary strengthening of the Fascist dictatorship wherever it already exists, and permit its establishment where it is not yet the State form of authority.

II. Fascism in the Trade Union Movement

3. For Fascism, the possession of the trade unions, the destruction of the class Trade Union movement, is a vital necessity.

Just as the dictatorship of the proletariat is unthinkable without a class trade union, so, too, the Fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is impossible without the break-up of the class trade union

movement. Fascist terror is directed against any genuine working class movement, and against any economic struggle.

4. In regard to ideology, Fascism mainly makes use of nationalism and chauvinism. It tries to divert the attention of the masses from internal problems to external problems, by holding out the prospects of a betterment in the position of the working class through the conquest of neighbouring regions, territories, by obtaining colonies, etc. Fascism advocates the theory of co-operation between the capitalists and the workers for the stabilisation of capitalism and the rationalisation of production, the theory of class harmony, the “unity of interests” of the various classes, the liquidation of all class struggle, the substitution of compulsory arbitration for strikes, and the transformation of the trade unions into organs of the capitalist State, etc.

5. Fascism is directing its main efforts towards the subjection to its tutelage of the movement of transport workers through police repressions, miners and workers in other key industries, as well as the movement of the employees in the direct employment of the government apparatus. Fascism is also making big efforts to strengthen its influence on the agricultural workers, taking advantage of their cultural backwardness. It is also trying to make every use of the starving unemployed masses, recruiting adherents from their ranks. No less attention is being given by Fascism to the youth, whom it is attracting into its net by means of various sport, military, and other “cultural” organisations.

Trade schools are being utilised by Fascism to train new skilled staffs under Fascist influence, who could be used to replace the main part of the revolutionary proletarian skilled labour in transport and the key industries.

In many countries, in every big undertaking, Fascist reserve officers, Russian white guards, and all sorts of thugs and blackleg elements are being appointed as overseers, watchmen, etc., usually forming armed groups, terrorising the workers and office employees, endeavoring to disorganise and demoralise them, whilst at the same time these undertakings are purged of the best revolutionary proletarian elements; leaving the masses at the point of production without leaders.

6. Whilst doing everything to destroy the existence and hinder the strengthening of the class organisations of the railwaymen, postal and telegraph employees, and other State employees, and miners, and so on, Fascism is also trying to take hold of the leadership of the reformist and yellow organisations in these important fields with the assistance of the reformist and yellow leaders themselves. At the same time, Fascism is putting forth every effort to create its own trade unions, and to subordinate the entire Trade Union movement to its tutelage. Combining the instrument of political and economic terror with the instrument of demagoguery, and corruption of the masses, Fascism very frequently shows great ability to manoeuvre and to adapt itself to the specific conditions of each country, each branch of industry, and each category of the proletariat, broadcasting popular slogans and demands for the workers (social insurance, State and workers’ control over industry, etc.) and making use of the discontent of the masses with their reformist leaders, it hides behind the slogan of “no party politics,” and sometimes even heads workers’ strikes; of course, not for the object of carrying them to a successful issue, but for the purpose of bringing about a compromise with the employers through its agency and thus extend its influence over the working masses.

III. Reformism in the Service of Fascism

7. By their anti-working class policy the reformist Amsterdam bureaucracy is clearing the way for Fascism in the trade union movement. By trying to liquidate the last remnants of the ideas and methods of the class struggle in the reformist trade unions, by proclaiming and pursuing the policy of “peace in industry,” and of compulsory arbitration, by helping their capitalist bourgeoisie on the national scale (by means of various “national economic councils”) and on the international scale (League of Nations, the International Labour Office, etc.), in the work of stabilising capitalism and rationalising production, and by sabotaging in every way the struggle of the workers for their everyday interests, *this reformist bureaucracy is actually taking up the same stand as Fascists*. The line of demarcation between its ideology and the ideology of Fascism is tending to disappear more and more, and the reformist bureaucracy is being transformed into the instrument of Fascism in the Trade Union movement. In destroying trade union democracy, in breaking up the real mass Trade Union organisations by splitting them and expelling militants, in endeavouring to cause a break between the revolutionary elements and the masses inside the trade unions, and by their shameless persecution of Left revolutionary tendencies in the Trade Union movement—in doing all this, the reformist bureaucracy is working on the united front with Fascism.

8. Part of the leaders of the reformist trade unions are already in open and full ideological and political unison with Fascism (Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc). The other part is on the way to Fascism (Jouhaux, Thomas, Grossman, etc.). The more the masses in the reformist trade unions move to the left and become revolutionised, and the more they resist the treacherous policy of the reformist bureaucracy, the more—in the process of the sharpening of the class struggle—will the leadership of the reformist leadership in the Trade Union movement is creating a certain foundation for Fascism in the movement.

IV. Struggle with Fascism in the Trade Union Movement

9. Against Fascism in the Trade Union movement, and especially against the Fascist unions, a systematic, stubborn, merciless and continuous struggle must be fought everywhere, and in every way. Wherever Fascism has reared its head—in the factories, in offices, in organisations, among the unemployed, etc.--it must be struck at in concrete and business-like fashion. This must be done from the point of view of the workers’ class struggle for liberation, and in accordance with the immediate interests of the workers and office employees, and with the special task of the Trade Union organisations themselves.

An ideological, political, and organisational struggle must be conducted simultaneously within the Trade Union movement on the following basic lines:

Firstly, the Fascist ideology must be determinedly opposed by the class revolutionary ideology of the proletariat. We must expose and fight nationalism and chauvinism, the ideas of “international peace” and “class harmony,” of the theory of the liquidation of the class struggle, and all such manifestations of reformism. We must expose Fascism as the splitter and grave-digger of the trade union movement, the slogan of “no party affiliation” for the trade unions, which serves as a cover for the Fascists. Exposure of Fascism as the bearer of the seeds of war, and more especially of war against

the first proletarian State in the world. Broadest and most constant popularisation among the masses of the programme and tactics of the R.I.L.U.--the International of the class Trade Union movement.

Secondly, organisational consolidation of the class trade unions and the enrollment of the masses of the unorganised workers in their ranks; transference of their organisational basis and the centre of gravity of their activities to the factory and workshop. Creation of illegal Trade Union organisations maintaining connections with the broad working masses and guiding their struggle wherever the existence of the legal class unions is impossible. Strengthening of the class-conscious wing in the reformist, nationalist, autonomous, and other unions, while linking it up with the class trade unions for joint work and struggle. Extension and strengthening of the network of general workers' committees at the point of production, and in offices (shop committees) as the organs of the masses right at the place of their employment, while linking up their work with the class Trade Union movement. Organisation of the unemployed movement, and its co-ordination with the campaigns of the class Trade Union organisations. Organisation of the agricultural proletariat. Extension of work among the civil servants and State employees who are the most liable to yield to Fascist agitation and influence. Enrollment in the ranks of the class trade unions of the vast mass of the working youth and women workers.

Thirdly, mass campaigns and strikes, against the consequences of capitalist rationalisation, for the freedom of the class trade unions, freedom to strike, etc. In this manner we must set the masses against Fascism (and its agent, reformism) in the process of the struggle itself for the workers' immediate interests and demands, and expose their treacherous bourgeois nature. In this way we can isolate Fascism and the Fascist unions from the proletarian masses.

Fourthly, in the struggle of the workers (during strikes, etc.) the active moral and material support of the rest of the town, and peasant working masses, must be obtained. The united front between the workers and the toiling peasants in the general struggle against the capitalists must be established, thus isolating Fascism from these toiling masses on the basis of the struggle.

Fifthly, organisation of mass self-defence against the Fascist oppressors in the factories (protection of organisations, meetings, strikes, Trade Union officials, etc.). Campaign for hounding Fascist agents, overseers, spies, provocateurs, etc., under the slogan of "clear the factories of the Fascists!"

Sixthly, strengthening of the campaign against the splitting policy of Fascism (and reformism) *from below* among the masses in the process of their practical struggle for the class unity of the Trade Union movement, no concessions whatever being allowed to the Amsterdam International or the Fascist unions.

10. Inasmuch as the Fascist unions have succeeded in some countries in grouping workers within their ranks either as the result of repressions and legislative measures of the Fascist dictatorship or in consequence of the lack of class-consciousness, lack of courage, or demoralisation of these workers, the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must work inside these unions, doing everything to oppose the treacherous Fascist leadership by the Trade Union democracy. In this way the internal struggle in the Fascist unions will be rendered more acute, and connections between the Fascists and the masses undermined. But this work must not be undertaken with the object of winning the Fascist unions from inside—a thing utterly

nonsensical—but for the purpose of destroying them and liberating the workers in their ranks for enrollment in the class unions (legal or illegal).

11. It is essential to devote particularly serious attention to questions concerned with the unemployed. The employers make use of the dismissal of part of the workers in the factories to create antagonism between different sections of the workers. Constant work must be carried out to overcome this antagonism by establishing and maintaining close connections and developing a closely-cemented solidarity between unemployed and those working short time, and the other workers.

Further, in countries where there are masses of foreign workers, the most energetic work must be carried out against the attempts of the Fascists to foster antagonism between the native and foreign workers, and against the deportation of foreign workers on account of their sympathy with the revolutionary labour movement, this work taking the form of bringing the foreign workers into the class Trade Union movement, strengthening the solidarity between them and the local workers, and by fighting most determinedly in defence of foreign workers, against deportations and various methods of persecution, and exclusive measures.

V. Fascism and the Trade Union Movement in Italy

12. In Italy the Fascist unions are defined by the law as “State organs of class collaboration.” This definition in itself is quite enough to characterize the Fascist unions as organs of the over-lordship of the capitalists over the workers, organs excluding any class struggle, the real and traditional task of every working class trade union.

Owing to the very essence of their bourgeois class character, as well as their forcible methods of organisation, the Fascist unions have not, and cannot have, any deep roots in the working class, and cannot be regarded as proletarian organisations. If the Fascists speak of hundreds of thousands of members in their unions when issuing their official reports, it is, of course, only a matter mainly of simple bureaucratic registration, and by no means of the active participation of the masses in the life of these organisations. The hundreds of thousands of Fascist Trade Union members is for the most part the result of coercion carried out by the means of: (a) compulsory membership dues deducted by the employers from the workers’ wages for the membership cards of the Fascist unions; and (b) various direct forms of coercion on the part of the Fascists against the workers (no worker may take up employment if not registered in the Fascist union; arrests, bludgeonings, etc.).

The Fascist unions in Italy display no real trade union life; the vast bulk of their members, or rather booked members, take no part at all in the life of these unions.

The workers do not participate, or do so to a very limited extent, in the meetings called by the Fascist unions. At these meetings, the workers are afforded no opportunity whatever of discussing the problems they are interested in; and, general speaking, these Fascist Trade Union meetings are more in the nature of a show, and of Fascist political demonstrations.

The members of the Fascist unions have no right to elect leaders for the unions, these being appointed directly by the State organs. The minister of the Fascist corporations appoints the secretaries

of the confederations; these latter appoint the secretaries of the national federations, who in turn appoint provincial secretaries; and so the appointments go on, from the top, right down.

Owing to this bourgeois class character of the Fascist unions, and their internal coercive system of organisation, all possibility of conquering the Fascist unions and reorganising them on the basis of the class struggle is out of the question. The general slogan of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must therefore be the slogan already adopted in Italy: "Leave the Fascist corporations! Join the General Confederation of Labour!" This does not mean of course, that the adherents of the R.I.L.U. must give up working to win the workers belonging to the Fascist unions or to disintegrate these unions. At the present time, the Fascist unions represent the only legal organisation in existence in Italy; the mass of the workers are organised in them forcibly, and it is the task of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. to develop special work in these unions, suited and adapted to the special character of the Fascist unions.

All this work to disintegrate the Fascist unions must be carried on concurrently with work for strengthening the General Confederation of Labour, the sole class Trade Union centre mobilising the masses and leading them to the struggle for economic demands against capitalism and its Fascist dictatorship.

13. The fundamental tasks of the R.I.L.U. adherents in Italy must be: (a) Whole-hearted support and consolidation of the General Confederation of Labour as the sole Trade Union organisation of the Italian working class, which continues successfully to develop and guide its struggle, in spite of the fact that it is entirely illegal, and despite the most outrageous repressions.

(b) Transference of the base of organisation of the illegal trade unions to the factories and workshops.

(c) Livening up and extension of the practical work of the illegal trade unions of the G.C.L. on the basis of a clear-cut programme of partial demands for mobilising the working masses for the struggle against Fascism.

14. All work in the Fascist unions must be directed towards exposing to the workers the *system and role* of the Fascist unions as an instrument of capital and of the Fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, towards rousing the forcibly organised workers to press their demands and fight for the defence of their immediate interests, and thus develop the internal struggle inside the Fascist unions, render their internal contradictions more acute, widen the gulf between the masses and the Fascist leadership, steadily strengthen the process of disintegrating and destroying the Fascist unions.

15. The struggle against the Fascist Trade Union movement in Italy is at the same time a struggle for the obtaining of freedom for the class Trade Union movement, the right to strike, and against the Fascist regime generally. It must be linked up with the struggle against the militant policy of Fascism as well as with the common task of the proletariat and the toiling masses—the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship of the Italian bourgeoisie.

VI. International Character of the Struggle with Fascism in the Trade Unions

16. The struggle against Fascism in the Trade Union movement, against the Fascist unions, and against the Fascist dictatorship, must be fought *internationally* by the joint efforts of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries. It is particularly necessary to organise international campaigns in defence of the class trade unions of countries in which the Fascist dictatorship has already been established (Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Spain, Lithuania, etc.). The weakening of the position of Fascism in countries where it holds the dominating position will undoubtedly facilitate the struggle against the onslaught of Fascism in the trade union movement in those countries where the Fascist dictatorship is not yet established.

17. Any success in the struggle against Fascism in the Trade Union movement will depend primarily on the activity and good work of the adherents of the R.I.L.U., on the correct revolutionary policy they follow in their practical work, on their placing themselves at the head of the struggle of the masses against the offensive of the capitalists along the whole line, and against the growing danger of war, on their winning the confidence of the broadest masses by their practical work for the defence of the daily demands of the workers.

Only in this way will it be possible to preserve the class trade union movement wherever it still exists openly, and to obtain its re-establishment wherever it has been suppressed or is subjected to repressions—only in this way will final victory over Fascism be achieved.

On the Trade Union Press

1. The trade union press should reflect the daily needs and aspirations of the large masses of the workers, inform them on important political events, clarify questions of economics, social legislation, and so on. At the same time the trade union press should carry out the thorough preparation for all the campaigns, strikes, etc., conducted by either revolutionary trade union organisations or by oppositional minorities in the reformist trade unions.

2. The growth of the revolutionary trade union press does not correspond to the growth of the influence of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The revolutionary trade union press is still suffering from a number of defects which hinder its successful coping with its tasks. Chief among these defects are the following:

(a) The untimely and not always able [sic] clarification of important events;

(b) The dry and frequently quite unpopular language in which the materials are published;

(c) The feeble illustration of the trade union activity and of the life of the workers directly in the factories, and the lack of proper illustration of the home life of the workers;

(d) The feeble and not always businesslike and concrete exposure of the actions of the reformist leaders of the trade unions;

(e) The insufficient reflection of cases of expulsion of revolutionary workers from the reformist unions;

(f) The lack of immediate attention to questions of organisation and the daily activity of the factory committees;

(g) The inadequate treatment of the everyday questions of the Labour movement;

(h) The inadequate elucidation of the activities of the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated bodies;

(i) The absence of an extended network of worker-correspondents and of an efficient apparatus for circulation in the leading districts and in the largest enterprises.

3. The revolutionary trade unions should endeavor to achieve the widest circulation of their trade union press. In countries where the trade unions embrace workers of different nationalities, steps should be taken to publish trade union journals and newspapers in the respective national languages. By the side of press organs of the inter-union organisations, there should be published specific organs by the industrial unions (or by the large sections of the O.B.U. in Czecho-Slovakia) adapted to serve the interests of the workers in the separate branches of industry and economy.

4. The publications published by the revolutionary trade union should be intended not only for the militant trade unionists, but should at the same time be sufficiently popular and accessible also to rank and file.

The press of the revolutionary trade unions should endeavor to elucidate the questions relating to the attraction of the unorganised workers into the active struggle, as well as those workers who are still under the influence of the reformist trade union leaders.

The revolutionary trade unions should assist in every way in the circulation and publication of trade union organs published by the International Propaganda and Action Committees, and establish with the latter the regular exchange of materials.

5. Against the reformist press which is poison for the workers and intended to prevent the class-consciousness of the proletariat, the press of the revolutionary minorities should wage a determined struggle by means of:

(a) Exposing the reformist handling of matters in the trade union papers, by systematic propaganda in the factories, at labour exchanges, in the homes, etc.;

(b) Exposing the abuses which have taken place in the reformist trade union press, denouncing and condemning individual reformist articles, raising demands for the removal of reformist editors;

(c) The adherents of the revolutionary minorities should demand the printing of their articles in the official organs, and the freedom of criticizing the leading organs of the trade unions. For propaganda among the members of reformist trade unions the widest use should be made of the revolutionary newspapers. Care should be taken to have the revolutionary political newspapers possess special editors on trade union questions, attracting the workers and officials of both revolutionary and reformist trade unions to regular collaboration in the revolutionary press.

6. Since the organs of the trade union press and of the revolutionary trade unions are subjected in the capitalist countries to constant repression and persecution, the organs of the trade union press should attract the large masses of the workers to the creation of Special Press Funds organising mass campaigns of protest against persecution by the authorities, etc. The factory workers themselves should be organised to take part in the widest circulation of the revolutionary trade union press in the enterprises.

7. The revolutionary trade unions should take steps for the organisation of a broad worker-correspondent movement. The tasks of the worker-correspondents are: to illustrate the life of the workers directly in the factories, the activities of the factory committees, the treacherous actions of the reformists, the activity of the revolutionary elements, etc. In connection with the revolutionary organs of the trade union press there should be organised special worker-correspondent circles, and arrangements made for the systematic holding of special worker-correspondent conferences. The editorial boards of revolutionary trade union publications should engage in the constant instructing of the worker-correspondents, and in improving the close contact with them. The organs of the revolutionary trade union press should promote and assist in every way the organisation of international contact among worker-correspondents.

8. Of late years there has been wide popularity gained by the factory newspapers, which enjoy great influence among the workers, as well as their confidence, playing a tremendous educational role. Whilst recording the incontestable successes of the factory newspapers one should at the same time draw attention to a whole number of big and minor defects which should be eliminated as quickly as

possible. The chief defects of the factory newspapers consist in the drawn-out and abstract nature of the articles, the feeble reflection of the factory life, the lack of constant control and guidance on the part of the revolutionary trade union organisations or of the oppositional minorities in the reformist trade unions.

9. The Fourth Congress of R.I.L.U. instructs the Executive Bureau to see to the further improvement of the central organ of the R.I.L.U., "The Red International of Labor Unions," as well as of the weekly "International Workers' Movement," "Bulletin of the R.I.L.U.," etc.

The Fourth Congress deems it necessary that all the organs published by organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. should not fail to carry a special page dedicated to the International trade union movement and to the activities of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

10. Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to take steps for the improvement of the trade union press and for the planned publication of literature on questions of the trade union movement, primarily with a view to the need of catering to the requirements of the large masses of the workers. Congress instructs at the same time the Executive Bureau to proceed to the publication of special reference books on separate branches of the trade union movement to be of assistance to the militant trade unionists in their everyday practical work.

11. For the purpose of improving the trade union press issued by inter-union centres, as well as by the leading organs, of the industrial unions, there shall be created special Press Bureaux or Commissions for the guidance of the trade union press, which should look after its activity and work out measures for the further improvement of the trade union press and its circulation, for the detection of big and minor defects, and for their speedy removal.

12. Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to strengthen the leadership of the whole trade union press and of the revolutionary unions and of the oppositional minorities in the reformist unions, as well as the organs of the I.P.C.'s, to work out the forms and methods for the improvement of the trade union press, for drawing in the trade union press organs lessons from the experiences of the international revolutionary trade union movement; to supply the T.U. press organs of the different countries with articles and materials on the questions of the theory and practice of the international labour and trade union movement. The exchange of information and materials between the separate organs of the revolutionary trade union press on the one hand, and the R.I.L.U. on the other hand, should be widely practised in the further activity of the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated bodies.

Work Among Women

Capitalist rationalisation has furnished the basis for the replacement on a mass scale of skilled labour by unskilled labour. To an ever greater extent the cheaper and less well organised labour of women, young workers, children, foreign and colonial workers is being drawn into production. The increase in the number of women workers is being accompanied by a general worsening of the position of the whole proletariat and by increased unemployment.

Therefore, the fundamental task of all revolutionary proletarian organisations, and in the first place of the Red trade-unionism, is to obtain the mass enrollment in the trade unions of all sections of the proletariat and the creation of a united fighting proletarian front irrespective of sex, nationality, and age.

1. CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION AND THE WOMEN WORKER.

In the advanced capitalist countries women workers and women office employees represent from 25 per cent to 40 per cent of the total proletariat and their numbers continue to grow.

The wages of the vast bulk of women workers and office employees is so low that starvation forces a whole group of women workers to take up prostitution to obtain additional earnings.

For the same work that men do women get one-half to two-thirds of the wages paid to men. Work on a conveyor system brings with it a greater nervous exhaustion of the woman worker and threatens the life of the nursing mother and her child. Amongst women workers nervous diseases, accidents and even cases of permanent incapability and death from exhaustion are growing at an alarming rate. The capitalists not only sabotage the execution of the legislation relative to the protection of labour, meagre and insufficient though it be, but are actually vitiating what social legislation there is. The position of the woman worker is particularly appalling in the East and colonies where a 16-hour day is worked, and where they are beaten up with impunity and even murdered, while children are crippled and die off.

It is only in the country of the proletarian dictatorship that the rationalisation brings with it an improvement in the position of the men and women workers. In the U.S.S.R. rationalisation is being carried out in close unison with the trade unions and the mass of the men and women workers. Together with it the 7-hour working day is being introduced, measures are being taken to raise the skill and wages of women workers, there is an increase taking place in the number of crèches, nursery schools, kindergartens, etc.

II. THE WOMAN WORKER AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

(1) MASS NATURE OF THE WOMEN'S LACK OF ORGANISATION.

In spite of the fact that in world production tens of millions of women workers are employed and in spite of their monstrous exploitation, the vast majority of women workers have not yet been

organised. In Germany, nearly 25 per cent of all women workers have been organised. In Britain, 20 per cent; in France, from 3 to 4 per cent; in U.S.A. 3 per cent; in Japan, .8 per cent. But the women workers who are organised take very little part in trade union life and in recent years the drop in female trade union membership has been considerably greater than the decrease in male membership.

(2) BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE ON WOMEN WORKERS.

Repressions and terror are the main instruments used by the bourgeoisie to give the women workers no opportunity of participating in the class struggle, but in addition the bourgeoisie is making big efforts to hold up the development of the class conscious outlook of women workers by setting up Christian, national, employers, and fascist unions, by founding philanthropic institutions, by using the influence of the pulpit, the school, the Press, etc. Reformists are the main helpers of the bourgeoisie in this counter-revolutionary work.

(3) WORK OF REFORMISTS AMONG WOMEN.

The leaders of the reformist trade unions bear the chief responsibility for the weak organisation of the women workers. Owing to their policy of collaboration with the capitalists, they are sabotaging the drawing in of women workers into the class struggle. The whole of their work among women is done with a view to confining women to minor social measures and philanthropic institutions and so sidetrack them from the fundamental questions.

Therefore, one of the basic tasks of the R.I.L.U. adherents is to carry out constant work to expose the reformists and show the mass of women workers by the whole of their activities that only the revolutionary trade union movement is the defender of their interests.

III. TASKS OF THE R.I.L.U. IN REGARD TO WORK AMONG WOMEN.

The fundamental tasks of the R.I.L.U. in regard to activities among women workers are:

- (1) Constant struggle for bettering the position of all categories of women workers, office employees and out-workers, and for gaining the confidence of the broadest masses of the women of the working class.
- (2) Systematic work in the mass enrollment in the trade unions of women workers, office employees and home workers.
- (3) Training of active women trade unionists and their promotion to directing work in the trade union organs and those organs to which the unions delegate their representatives.
- (4) Mobilisation of the views of workers for assisting the strike struggle.

[Our] Congress is of the opinion that the work done up to now by the Red trade unions and revolutionary minorities among women workers has been insufficient and urges them to extend this work as far as possible.

[Our] Congress stresses the fact that the enrollment in the trade unions of the millions of unorganised women workers and measures to retain them in union membership constitute one of the fundamental tasks of the Red trade unions and the revolutionary minorities as a whole.

IV. R.I.L.U. PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS FOR WOMEN WORKERS

The R.I.L.U. shall fight for the following programme of demands for the women workers:

- (1) *Wages*. Equal pay for equal work. General raising of women workers' wages in correspondence with the *price in the cost of living* and productivity of labour. A minimum wage shall be established for the women workers of the backward branches of industry, agriculture, and home workers or house workers.
- (2) *Working Hours*. Introduction of a 7-hour day and 6-hour day for harmful occupations. A 4-hour day on Saturdays and the days before holidays. Introduction of an annual monthly holiday on full pay.
- (3) *Labour Protection*. Prohibition of night work, overtime, and work in particularly difficult and harmful occupations, and underground work for women and persons under 18. Until this be carried into effect, night work and overtime shall be prohibited for expectant and nursing mothers.

All women employed for wages shall be given confinement leave on full pay for 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement. Nursing mothers shall be allowed paid intervals of not less than half-an-hour for feeding the child every three-and-a-half hours during the working day. Organisation of special rooms in factories where nursing mothers may feed their children. Organisation of free crèches for the children of women workers at the cost of the employers and under the management of the workers and their organisations.

Installment in factories of special dressing rooms, wash rooms, shower baths, a sufficient number of seats, etc., for the women workers and women office employees.

The whole body of legislation relative to labour protection and all forms of social insurance shall cover not only the industrial women workers but all women working for wages.

4. BENEFIT FOR UNEMPLOYED WOMEN.

All unemployed shall be entitled to unemployment benefit which can secure the maintenance of their families and dependents during the whole period of unemployment.

Women workers shall be entitled to unemployment benefit to the same amount as that of male workers. Relief works must include such work as may be performed by women without danger to health. Right of unemployed women workers to have equal representation with male workers on all State, municipal, and other organs looking after the unemployed. It shall be forbidden to dismiss expecting and nursing mothers.

V. METHODS OF WORK OF RED UNIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY MINORITIES AMONG WOMEN.

1. *Elaboration of programme of demands for women workers and struggle for carrying it into effect.* The organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. shall, on the basis of the general programme of demands of the R.I.L.U. work out concrete programmes of demands for the women workers of the various countries, branches of industry, agriculture, territorial districts, union locals, and for the women of individual factories. These programmes should be elaborated with the participation of the women workers themselves and be widely popularised. In all their work the R.I.L.U. supporters should fight for the practical carrying into effect of these programmes and bring the women workers into this struggle.

2. *Attraction of women workers into the struggle for trade union unity.* On the basis of their programme of demands for the women workers the Red trade unions must propose the formation of a united front to the other unions for the struggle for the improvement of the position of the women workers, and must also bring the broad masses of the unorganised women workers into these campaigns. The revolutionary minorities inside the Amsterdam unions must support these proposals of Red trade unions and fight for the attraction of the women workers who are members of the reformist unions into the struggle for trade union unity.

The Red trade unions must convene meetings and conferences of women workers from the workshops and endeavour to develop these meetings into real assemblies of women delegates from the workshops as one of the best methods in the struggle for the united working class front and trade union unity.

3. *Drawing on of women workers into the struggle against imperialist wars.* As a counter-blow to the criminal attempts of the bourgeoisie and reformists to mobilise the women workers for the requirements of imperialist wars and the war against the U.S.S.R. (Paul Boncour's law in France and Pilsudsky's in Poland), the Red trade unions and revolutionary minorities must work systematically to draw the mass of the women workers into the struggle against imperialist wars and for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

VI. ORGANISATIONAL FORMS OF WORK AMONG WOMEN WORKERS.

(A) In the Red Trade Unions.

1. *Commissions of Women Workers.* While always and everywhere emphasising that the trade union movement is a single whole and cannot, and must not, be divided into a trade union movement for men and a trade union movement for women, the unions should, however, at the present stage of development of the labour movement in the capitalist countries and in the East, set up under the direct and complete leadership of the elected trade union organs, commissions of women workers as auxiliary organisations for assisting the unions in carrying out work among the women. These commissions should be set up under the auspices of all trade union organisations, beginning with a factory and

finishing with the central trade union council of every country. Following are the basic tasks of these commissions:

- (1) To attract the women workers into every form of activity of the working class.
- (2) Assist to collect material on the position of women workers in the districts to which their activities are confined.
- (3) On a basis of this material to work out draft programmes of concrete demands for the women workers.
- (4) To elaborate plans of work among the women workers and submit them to the consideration of the trade union organs concerned.
- (5) Take the initiative in confronting these organs with questions connected with female labour.
- (6) To bring to the forefront questions connected with female labour in the general trade union press and extend the distribution of the trade union press for women workers as well as promote the extension of the ranks of women correspondents.
- (7) To put up candidates during elections of shop committees, wage rate commissions, strike committees, etc., and submit them for consideration of the responsible trade union organs.

2. *Trade Union Conferences of Women Workers.* In order to ascertain the requirements of the women workers and to exchange experiences the trade unions should, as deemed necessary, call trade union conferences of women workers (local, regional, by industries, national and international).

(B) In the Revolutionary Minorities.

1. The R.I.L.U. adherents in the reformist trade unions must work in the women workers' commissions of the Amsterdam unions and carry on a constant struggle for a correct class policy in the work of these commissions. The R.I.L.U. adherents must also participate in the conferences of women workers convened by the Amsterdam unions and fight in them for a correct class policy.

(C) In the Moslem East.

Wherever, owing to social prejudice women workers do not participate in general meetings attended by male workers the trade unions must steadily fight these prejudices. As a temporary measure, special women sections may be set up in the general trade unions, which sections shall meet separately and have their own elected official bodies. It is at the same time essential that the women workers' section should be represented in the general union bodies and should work as part of the whole union under the direction of the duly elected union bodies.

VII. AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA WORK AMONG WOMEN.

1. *Press.* The general Press of Red trade unions should give prominent place to questions of female labour and develop the movement of women worker correspondents. The trade unions must see to it that the women worker correspondents are well represented at conferences of such correspondents and also convene special conferences of women worker-correspondents as the need arises. The trade

unions should as far as possible issue a mass weekly paper for women workers. Trade union papers and journals should carry a “women workers’ page” as a regular feature.

2. *Agitation and Propaganda.* For the development of agitation and propaganda suitable for the level and requirements of women workers the Red trade unions should allocate a certain part of its budget to propaganda work among women. The trade unions should also organise special carefully prepared recruiting campaigns for the attraction of the unorganised women workers into the trade unions.

3. *Cultural Activities.* The unions must see to it that there be a sufficient number of women workers attending general courses for active trade unionists and if necessary arrange special courses for active women trade unionists.

4. *Explanatory Propaganda Dealing with Questions of Female Labour.* In view of the fact that many workers including some members of the Red trade unions, do not fully appreciate the tremendous role of women in production and the class struggle and so do not realise the necessity for special and systematic work among women on the part of the Red trade unions, the unions should explain to their members and to the mass of the workers all these questions in their press, at meetings, at courses, and in all practical work, and try to get all members of the Red trade unions to give up their opportunistic underestimation of the women workers as a class force and take in hand to defend and organise the women workers.

5. *Explanatory Minorities and Agitation and Propaganda among Women.* The R.I.L.U. adherents in the reformist trade unions should fight against the opportunistic and petty bourgeois way of dealing with questions regarding female labour in the Press and in the actual practice of the Amsterdamites and, by promoting men and women worker correspondents, oppose it by the correct formulation of these questions in accordance with the class outlook. They must also strive to carry out for the Red trade unions in accordance with the programme of the R.I.L.U. recruiting work, agitation, propaganda and cultural activities among the women workers and fight for the correct class policy in this work in as much as this work is in the hands of the Amsterdam leaders.