



The Third International Trade Union Congress

THE Third Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions met at Rome from 20 to 26 April 1922, one regular and one extraordinary session having been previously held since the reorganisation of the Federation following the great world war. Before the war the meetings of the organisation were not in the nature of congresses, but of informal conferences based on equal representation of all the trade union centres, with one vote for each country. The Federation was first organised in 1913 with headquarters at Berlin. Conferences of representatives of the different national trade union centres had, however, been held since 1901, generally every alternate year.

During the war the Federation was disrupted, although a nominal sort of continuity was maintained from 1914 through the Dutch national trade union centre at Amsterdam. The trade union organisations of the Allied Powers maintained a degree of relationship with each other. The Leeds conference of 1916, the conference of London 1917, and the appointment of a corresponding secretary with an office at Paris were the outstanding events in the relations and policy of the federations of labour in the Allied countries during the war. The trade union organisations of the Central European Powers, usually in conjunction with the neutrals (the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland), maintained connections during the war. The conferences of the trade union organisations of the Central Powers and the neutrals had been held at Stockholm in June, and at Berne in October 1917. An attempt was made to renew the relations between the trade union organisations of the Central Powers and the neutrals on the one hand, and the unions of the Allied countries on the other, at a meeting which was convened at Berne 5 to 9 February 1919.

The first united congress of the national trade union centres after the war was held from 25 July to 3 August 1919 at Amsterdam. This congress defined the attitude of labour toward the forthcoming First International Labour Conference held at Washington in November 1919, reorganised the International Federation itself, and formally transferred its headquarters from Berlin to Amsterdam. The second congress of the reconstituted Federation was called together in extraordinary session at London from 22 to 28 November 1920.

The American trade union movement remained practically aloof during the war from any connection with the European labour organisations. It renewed its contact with them, however, during 1918, the year of negotiations of the Peace Treaty, and took part in the first congress of the International Federation in 1919. In 1921 it formally withdrew from all relation with it (1).

(1) For a further historical survey see THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : Studies and Reports, Series A, No. 18, *First Special International Trade Union Congress*, London, 22-27 November 1920. Also the *International Labour Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, Feb. 1921, pp. 47-48, and Vol. II, No. 1, Apr. 1921, pp. 17-18.

ORGANISATION OF THE CONGRESS

The national trade union centres of nineteen countries⁽²⁾ were represented at this third Congress by 107 delegates, 94 of whom were present at the opening session. Delegates to the congress were selected on the basis of the number of trade union members in the different countries in the federations adhering to the International. Each country was allowed one vote for 250,000 members or fraction thereof; two votes for membership in excess of 250,000 and under 500,000; three votes for over 500,000 and under 1,000,000 members, and one additional vote for every 500,000 members or fraction thereof above 1,000,000 for which it pays contributions to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

(²) CONFERENCES OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT 1901 TO 1922

<i>Conferences and Congresses</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of delegates</i>	<i>Countries represented</i>
<i>Pre-war Conferences</i>			
Copenhagen (1st)	1901	—	Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.
Zurich (8th)	1913	—	Austria, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, United States.
<i>Period of drawing together</i>			
Leeds	5-7 July 1916	—	Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy.
Stockholm	10 June 1917	—	Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden.
London	10-17 Sept. 1917	39	Canada, France, Great Britain, Serbia, United States.
Berne	1-4 Oct. 1917	59	Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland.
Berne	5-9 Feb. 1919	55	Austria, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, France*, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Greece, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.
<i>Post-war Congresses</i>			
Amsterdam	25 July to 3 Aug. 1919	90	Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States.
London	22-28 Nov. 1920	91	Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland.
Rome	20-26 April 1922	94	Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Serb, Croat, and Slovene State, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

* Alsace-Lorraine also had a delegate.

In addition to the voting delegates there were present at the congress, but without voting right, the representatives of 21 international craft federations or so-called international secretariats. The international crafts represented were : diamond workers ; musicians ; tobacco workers ; transport workers ; clothing workers ; agricultural workers ; workers in public services ; hat makers ; miners ; metal workers ; building trades' workers ; post office and telegraph employees ; lithographers ; food and drink trade ; textile workers ; boot and shoe workers ; clerical, commercial and technical employees ; printers ; general factory workers ; painters and woodworkers.

The International Federation of Working Women, with headquarters at London, also had a representative at the Congress. This Federation had been organised in 1919, and has held two congresses ; the first one in Washington, October 1919, and the second one in Geneva, October 1921. A representative from the International Labour Office attended the Congress as an observer.

The Congress represented the total trade union strength of approximately twenty-three million members. The names of the countries, the number of delegates participating in the three congresses of the Federation, together with the number of trade union members represented is given below.

Country	Number of Delegates			Membership represented		
	Amsterdam 1919	London 1920	Rome 1922	Amsterdam 1919	London 1919	Rome 1922
Austria	8	3	1	500,000	800,000	1,050,000
Belgium	4	9	6	450,000	700,000	718,000
Bulgaria	—	—	1	—	—	4,000
Canada	—	1	—	—	260,000	—
Czechoslovakia	2	4	7	230,000	750,000	750,000
Denmark	6	5	8	225,000	300,000	279,000
France	14	13	7	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Germany :						
<i>Gen. Fed. of Tr. Unions</i> (1)	9	13	12	5,400,000	8,500,000	8,000,000
<i>Fed. of German Trade Unions</i> (2)	1	—	—	60,000	—	—
Great Britain :						
<i>Gen. Fed. of Tr. Unions</i>	4	3	—	—	1,500,000	—
<i>Tr. Union Congress</i>	5	8	10	4,750,000	6,500,000	6,600,000
Hungary	—	2	2	—	215,000	152,000
Italy	—	5	7	—	2,300,000	2,056,000
Latvia	—	—	1	—	—	30,000
Luxemburg	3	2	2	21,000	27,000	27,000
Netherlands :						
<i>Federation of Trade Unions</i> (2)	10	8	9	220,000	240,000	217,000
<i>Nat. Workers' Secretariat</i> (4)	9	—	—	45,000	—	—
Norway	3	5	1	122,000	150,000	150,000
Poland	—	3	3	—	334,000	403,000
Serb. Croat. & Slovene State	—	—	1	—	—	25,000
Spain	2	2	2	150,000	250,000	240,000
Sweden	4	4	8	235,000	281,000	277,000
Switzerland	3	1	6	200,000	225,000	224,000
United States	3	—	—	3,600,000	—	—
Total	90	91	94	17,708,000	24,832,000	22,652,000

(1) *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund.*

(2) *Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften.*

(3) *Ned. Verbond van Vakverenigingen.*

(4) *Nationaal Arbeidssecretariat.*

Among the countries which belong to the International Federation, but which did not have delegates at the Rome Congress, were Greece, Canada, the Argentine Republic, Peru, and South Africa; in fact, only representatives of European countries participated.

The Congress was presided over by Mr. J. H. Thomas, President of the Federation and also President of the British railwaymen's organisation. The other officers of the Congress were Messrs. Léon Jouhaux and Corneil Mertens, Vice-Presidents, and Messrs. Edo Fimmen and Jan Oudegeest, Secretaries. These together form also the so-called Bureau of the Federation, to whom are added one additional Vice-President of the organisation for every group of nations⁽³⁾ to form the Management Committee. At the close of the Congress all of these were re-elected to their positions, with the addition of a third Vice-President (Theodor Leipart) from Germany.

PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress considered semi-political and economic questions as well as matters pertaining strictly to trade union policy and organisation. The programme began with the consideration of the general report and the treasurer's report⁽⁴⁾. The more salient topics on the programme were the reconstruction of Europe; disarmament and war; and international reaction with special reference to the 8-hour day. The Congress closed with routine matters of election and the decision to hold the next congress at Vienna in 1924.

GENERAL AND FINANCIAL REPORTS

The report submitted by the Secretary, covering the activities of the Federation from its reorganisation in 1919 to the end of 1921, deals with a very wide range of questions of interest to trade unions in all countries. The first chapter of the report treats of the reorganisation of the Federation carried through by the Congress at Amsterdam in 1919. The Bureau in charge of the Federation was at that time greatly enlarged in conformity with a programme which had already been laid down by the Zurich Conference of 1913. The Management Committee was also enlarged; the activities of the federation in the direction of publicity had been broadened in scope; a translation bureau had been established and the publication of an official organ begun. The second chapter reviews social legislation, more particularly the work done by the International Labour Conferences and the International Labour Office. Chapter 3 gives an account of the boycott against Hungary, the action against the transport of munitions to Poland, the relief

⁽³⁾ There are now sixteen groups of countries (formerly ten); see note (13) on p. 926.

⁽⁴⁾ *First Report of the International Federation of Trade Unions (July 1919 - Dec. 1921)*; submitted to the Ordinary Congress, Rome, April 1922; pp. 126. Amsterdam.

work undertaken on behalf of the workers in Vienna and of the Russian population. Attention is called to the fact that the International Federation of Trade Unions took over the leadership which had been exercised by the international Socialist organisations before the war in maintaining the May Day celebrations of labour throughout the world. A special section of the chapter forms the basis of the action of the Rome Congress in the matter of disarmament and war. Chapter 4 explains the attitude of the International Federation toward the Socialist International. Chapter 5 reviews the action taken by the Federation touching the question of the economic restoration of Europe, while chapter 6 summarises its attitude towards the labour movement of Russia. The last part of the report consists of the financial statement together with an appendix summarising the activities of the workers' representatives in the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

This general report of the secretary was adopted unanimously by the Congress after some discussion. The Polish delegate criticised the Federation for organising a general boycott in 1920 against the transport of munitions—a boycott which affected only Poland and not Russia—at a time when the Polish workers were fighting to defend their territory from the menace of the Bolsheviks. The Polish representative complained that the boycott had been declared without consulting the Polish trade unions. The Secretary replied in general terms stating that the action taken was in accordance with the principles of the Federation and that similar action would be taken in the future. A French speaker attacked the Polish representative for his extremely nationalistic views. The Russian situation was also discussed but no action taken. The policy of the International Federation would be to refuse to deal with the so-called Moscow International, but it was ready at any time to treat with and to support any *bona fide* Russian trade union movement.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE : GENOA WORKERS' CONFERENCE

The discussion on this question was practically a continuation of that which took place before the International Workers' Conference called by the Federation to meet at Genoa on 15 April, in connection with the Conference of the Powers. On April 20, a resolution was presented by the workers to the representatives of the various Powers assembled at Genoa. Those who took part in the Genoa Workers' Conference were the Bureau of the International Federation, delegates of the national trade union centres of thirteen countries, representatives of three international craft unions, and those members of the International Federation who were acting as technical advisers to the Government delegates of certain countries at the Conference of the Powers, these countries being Germany, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

The Genoa Workers' Conference was presided over by Mr. Jouhaux (France), who also led the discussion on the same subject before the Rome Congress. He submitted, in connection with his remarks, a pamphlet summarising his views (5). Mr. Jouhaux reviewed the economic situation in Europe and the attitude of the working classes as expressed in resolutions of Congresses since 1919, and as reflected in their activities in connection with the International Labour Organisation. He pointed out the evils resulting from the unequal level of the exchanges and the tendency of the nations to close their frontiers by the erection of high tariff barriers. The value of the international trade union movement, he insisted, lies in its condemnation of this economic nationalism. The distress created by such ultra-nationalism has been the direct cause of the calling of the Genoa Conference. "The international working class, the working classes of the various countries, pointed out at the end of the war the conditions under which stability might be regained. It is because you [the Governments] have refused to listen to them that the present situation has arisen, and it is for this sole reason that you have been obliged to seek at Genoa a *modus vivendi* that will allow Europe to continue to live."

He brought up again the question of the more equitable distribution of raw material, which has figured so largely in the congresses of the international trade union movement since the close of the war. Here he insisted on the recognition of the equality of all nations. The present economic crisis throughout the world is the result of the lack of correspondence between production and demand; it is due to the lack of buying power in certain countries, which in turn evokes lack of producing power in certain others. Raw materials should not be kept at the frontier by custom prohibitions, nor should any countries be allowed to impose prohibitive maritime freight rates on their neighbours. Only by considering questions of extraction, transport and manufacture of raw materials on an international scale, can humanity be extricated from its present catastrophic situation. The peace of the world can only be obtained by an economic reorganisation that will involve the suppression of military and naval armaments which weigh so heavily on the productive life of the world. The financial credits, so necessary for the reconstruction of Europe, when secured must not be allowed to be used for war purposes. The workers must see to it that they are applied to useful productive purposes. It is the duty of the workers, in fact, to supervise or control in some manner the application to which such credits can be put.

Mr. Leipart (Germany), Mr. Ben Turner (Great Britain), Mr. Buozzi (Italy) and Mr. Madsen (Denmark), were all, though each from his own point of view, in agreement with the review of the general economic situation as presented by Mr. Jouhaux.

(5) LÉON JOUHAUX : *La reconstruction de l'Europe. Rapport présenté au Congrès Syndical International tenu à Rome les 20 avril 1922 et jours suivants.* International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam.

Mr. Leipart discussed principally living conditions and standards of consumption in Germany. He presented a report dealing with unemployment, real wages and cost of living in Germany, material which he had already presented at the workers' conference held in connection with the Genoa meeting of the Powers. Mr. Turner emphasised the unemployment problem of Great Britain, and Mr. Buoizzi the seriousness of the situation for Italy as respects the securing of raw material and problems of emigration. Cancellation of war debts, he held, and the equitable distribution of raw materials are essential for any settlement of the present economic situation. Mr. Madsen of Denmark described the industrial situation in that country, and Mrs. Altobelli (Italy) stressed the importance of bringing the workers on the land into the industrial labour movement; this, she maintained, was particularly important, inasmuch as the competence of the International Labour Office has been questioned as respects agricultural labour.

The resolution finally adopted by the Conference is the same as that which had been laid before the Genoa Conference of the Powers. The chief remedies suggested for the economic recovery of Europe are an international loan for the provision of credits to countries with depreciated currency, and international control of the distribution of the chief raw materials, in order to withdraw them from the domain of private speculation. Further, it is indispensable that there should be a reciprocal cancellation of war debts, and the reparations policy hitherto pursued should be revised. Nations should agree to regulate production in accordance with requirements, by accurately estimating the producing and absorbing capacities of the various countries, and determining for each the quantities and qualities to be consumed and produced. Such a policy should enable nations to abolish the system of protection which has had disastrous effects on the standard of life of the workers, raising the cost of living and reducing productive power. Labour organisations are unanimous in declaring that disarmament is a necessary condition for the revival of Europe. "The seizure of the impoverished parts of Europe by syndicates, trusts, and consortiums organised in the rich nations, would produce further economic competition."

The resolution reads as follows :

On the occasion of the meeting of representatives of the various Governments at Genoa, for the purpose of seeking the best means of securing the economic reorganisation of Europe, in recognition of the need for a change in international policy and for a readjustment in national relations, the Workers' Congress called by the International Federation of Trade Unions desires to give expression to the demands of the world of labour without whose co-operation the work of reconstruction demanded by all countries cannot be contemplated nor successfully accomplished.

The present economic crisis illustrates the errors committed since the war. It is the result of an economic policy of nationalism and imperialism, and the prolonged failure to recognise the material and moral interdependence of the nations, aggravated by the effects of speculation, and of the non-adaptation of production to the development of a super-capitalism, which, without engaging directly in production, is gaining an ever-increasing hold on the economic machinery of the world. The serious disturbance of the economic equilibrium

shown by the stoppage of industry in the rich countries, at a time when the exhausted nations are unable to satisfy the most elementary requirements of their populations, is due to the fact that certain favoured nations have ignored the solidarity that in effect binds them to the countries impoverished by the war. The consequences are in themselves sufficient to condemn such a policy and such a system.

The Workers' Congress draws attention to the disastrous effects of this situation on the working classes. At a time when it is essential to utilise the labour of every able-bodied man, some ten million wage earners are without work or bread. Moreover, the reduction of the standard of life of the workers of certain countries not only results in increasing the distress, and prolonging the unbearable state of want of the families of the unemployed, but has also had a disastrous effect on the economic system of other countries. The abnormality of the situation is so marked and so widespread that the impoverishment of one country contributes directly to the ruin of others.

The economic crisis in Europe can only be overcome by international action in which every country co-operates. The growing paralysis of production and of the exchanges can only be remedied by giving each country the means of production, and thus of acquiring the commodities indispensable to its existence. Nor can economic equilibrium be established unless all nations are called on equal terms to take part in the common task of restoring the economic unity destroyed by the war and by the policy hitherto pursued. The Workers' Congress, therefore, maintains that Russia should without reserve resume her place as an equal among the European nations.

With respect to the methods to be adopted for the economic reorganisation of Europe, the Congress, recalling the resolutions of the International Trade Union Congress held in London (November 1920), assigns a foremost place to the questions of the exchanges and the distribution of raw materials. The present unprecedented disturbance in the normal rates of exchange, which makes it impossible for the countries with depreciated currencies to recover without outside assistance, can only be remedied by the united action of all nations. The enormous debts of the European States prevent an economic revival. The first condition for such a revival is the reciprocal cancellation of the debts contracted by European countries during the war. It is indispensable to arrange for the grant of credits in order to supply impoverished states with the means of resuming their industrial and commercial activity under normal conditions. These credits should be provided by means of an international loan on the security of all European nations, organised by the League of Nations, and administered under its control.

In addition to these methods, there is another and immediate measure that the Congress considers indispensable for the solution of European economic problems. No remedy for the present financial disturbance can be satisfactory which does not take into account the effects of the reparations policy hitherto pursued. The Congress demands the revision of this policy in accordance with the programme drawn up by the International Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam (March 1921). That programme condemned the policy of regulating reparations by financial methods alone, and the mistake of imagining that adding up milliards is the way to determine the obligations of Germany. It declared that the only solution allowing of a rapid recovery was that involving the co-operation of every nation, placing the burden of reparations on the possessing class and not on the workers. It is impossible to expect that reconstruction can be successfully accomplished by means of the resources of a single country. The regulation of reparations should be international, not only because it must mobilise the resources of Germany, but also because it must appeal to the co-operation of other nations. Moreover, to reduce the burden on Germany to reasonable proportions, the Entente Powers should give up the payments demanded for war pensions, and put an end to military occupation and to the sanctions.

But the present economic depression is not solely due to financial operations, however wide in their effect. Along with the provision of these international credits, it is essential to establish international control and distribution of the chief raw materials needed by industry and agriculture in order to withdraw the purchase and distribution of such materials from the domain of private

speculation, and to regulate the question of freights in such a way as to reconcile the interests of exporters with those of importers.

The solution of the problem of raw materials cannot be separated from the financial measures that must be adopted in order to remedy the exchange situation. The equilibrium of the exchanges can only be re-established if every nation agrees to regulate production so that the industries of the countries owning or monopolising raw materials shall not render conditions more difficult for poorer countries who find themselves unable to compete in international markets. Such regulation will only be practicable if every country is put in a position to deliver, by means of intensified labour, an equivalent of the raw materials and finished products they have received. Such general measures, which might ultimately be supplemented by entrusting the exploitation of unworked or badly worked land and mines to international co-operation, would place Europe in the way of returning to the ordered movement of production and exchange, and utilising the labour available in the various countries, so as to avoid as far as possible the scourge of unemployment. The degree of perfection to which the process of production could be regulated would depend on the accuracy with which the producing and absorbing capacities of the various countries could be estimated, and the quantities and qualities to be consumed and produced reciprocally and proportionately determined.

By these means alone may it be hoped to achieve a final rejection of the policy of protection which is carried to its extreme in every country during periods of crisis, and which, adopted during the period after the war throughout the world, has been one of the chief factors in raising the cost of living, lowering the standard of life of the workers, reducing their productive power, and demoralising the proletariat through the ever increasing unemployment.

In brief, the end aimed at should be :

(1) to put an end to the difficulties experienced by countries with depreciated currencies in obtaining the materials needed for their industries, and enable them both to satisfy their internal requirements and to undertake exchange transactions with other countries and thus to re-establish their financial situation ;

(2) to put an end to economic imperialism, the effects of which are manifest in the present crisis, and to the danger which it constitutes for the peace of the world ;

(3) to induce the various nations to seek, both separately and collectively, for a method of so reorganising production that it may not only be adjusted to requirements, but will permit of the exploitation of natural resources and their maximum utilisation. This can only be achieved by placing every nation in a position to make use of its full labour power.

The international labour movement considers that these measures are essential to overcome the present depression, and that their realisation can no longer be delayed.

The Congress further expresses the unanimous conviction of labour organisations that disarmament is a necessary condition for the economic revival of Europe. It is a lamentable thought that after a terribly murderous war, and in spite of the disarmament of Germany, the effective force of existing permanent armies in Europe amounts to 4,700,000 men as compared with 3,700,000 before the war. These military burdens weighing on the life of the people constitute heavy and unproductive charges which hinder the reconstruction of the ruins that the war has made. That the reduction of armaments is the subject of one of the most urgent demands of the nations is not only due to the waste of energy and material involved by large armaments, but also to the danger they mean to peace. The Congress, while regretting that the question of disarmament should have been excluded from the Genoa programme, takes note of the declaration by which this problem has been submitted to the special Commission constituted by the League of Nations, which has already begun its investigations. It demands that the Governments shall undertake to facilitate the work of this Commission, and every measure necessary for carrying its recommendations into effect, and thus contribute towards the economic reorganisation of an exhausted Europe. Such economic reorganisation can only be accomplished

under peace conditions. It will succeed just in so far as it establishes security in international relations, uniting the nations in a common task and thereby removing both the hatred occasioned by war and fresh causes of strife.

For the same reason the Genoa Workers' Congress should oppose the attempts of capitalism to acquire exclusive control for its own profit of the international measures to be undertaken. The seizure of the impoverished parts of Europe by syndicates, trusts and consortiums, organised in the rich nations, would produce further economic competition between the nations. The labour movement cannot accept arrangements which work for the benefit of capitalism, whose responsibility for the present depression is obvious. Nor can it allow the proposed economic reorganisation to serve as a pretext for reducing the advantages gained by the working classes, and in particular, the 8-hour day and 48-hour week.

While prepared to make their contribution to the work begun at Genoa, profoundly anxious for its success, and fervently desiring to protect peace, to put an end to the distress from which the various nations are suffering, and to serve the truest interests of humanity, the workers can under no circumstances admit that such work shall be directed against their interests and still further compromise a precarious situation.

WAR AGAINST WAR

The discussion on disarmament was led by Mr. Edo Fimmen (Netherlands), one of the secretaries of the Federation. The control of production of war material, international transport of munitions, and the general strike as an instrument of the working classes to prevent new war from breaking out were the main points considered ⁽⁶⁾.

Mr. Brodecky (Czechoslovakia) emphasised the need of education and propaganda among young workers of the trade union movement. Mr. Reina (Italy) briefly outlined the extent to which militarism prevailed among the nations, recounted the heavy expenditure for its support, and finally called for not merely opposition of word, but for "energetic action". Messrs. Will Thorne and J. H. Thomas (Great Britain) emphasised the practical situation with which the working classes were faced in taking up this question. The latter, who wanted the resolution referred to a special committee, pointed out that if the trade union movement was capable of carrying out all the orders of the International Federation, it would mean that they had already acquired political power. He doubted whether a general strike order would or could be carried out under present-day conditions.

⁽⁶⁾ The following excerpts are taken from the section on "war against war" in the *First Report on the Activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions*, submitted to the Congress by the secretaries. "The action against war is one of the most difficult of all the tasks with which we are confronted . . . the action against war is in the very first instance directed against the mentality of a great many people who from generation to generation have been brought up in the belief that wars are unavoidable. . . . The propaganda against war in the abstract, in the form in which it has hitherto been carried on, should begin in the elementary schools by completely altering the history books which are put into the hands of the children; and by making fundamental alterations as regards the system of education which is at present in vogue in most countries and by which the spirit of nationalism—and very often even of chauvinism—is continuously incited and strengthened. Until the teaching of history is completely changed the propaganda against war is foredoomed to failure and the danger of war will continue as before."

He thought the very best they could do was to educate the workers against war. The work of the trade union organisation is to make known the horrors and miseries of war, with which this generation is only too well acquainted, and with which future generations ought not to be left in ignorance. Mr. Ilg (Switzerland) on behalf of the International Metal Workers submitted a resolution couched in much stronger terms than the one put forth by Mr. Fimmen. He favoured more strict control of the manufacture of war material, thought the time had come for "concrete propositions and the taking of formal engagements".

The resolution finally adopted declared against all ultra-political and economic nationalism, against the conclusion of alliances and agreements involving concerted military action, and urged the trade union movements of the respective countries to meet declarations of war by declarations of general strikes. The International Federation of Trade Unions promised its support for the establishment of some control over the manufacture of arms and munitions. The wording of the resolution was as follows.

The International Trade Union Congress [here follows a recital of the number of delegates in attendance, countries represented, names of craft internationals having delegates] declares that the struggle against militarism and war on behalf of the peace of the world based on the fraternisation of peoples, is one of the principal tasks of the trade union movement which adopts the programme of the overthrow of the capitalistic system ;

The Congress declares that it is its especial duty to struggle against all political and economic nationalism and against the conclusion or maintenance of alliances or understandings liable to lead to concerted military action ;

The Congress confirms the resolutions on war and militarism which were adopted by the Extraordinary International Trade Union Congress held at London from 22-27 November 1920, and by the International Conference Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions and representatives of the Craft Internationals of Transport Workers, Miners and Metal Workers, held at Amsterdam on 15-16 November 1921 ;

The Congress declares that it is the duty of organised workers to avert any war which may threaten to break out in the future by all means at the disposal of the labour movement, and to prevent the actual breaking out of wars by proclaiming and carrying into effect an international general strike ;

The Congress declares that it is the duty of all the international confederations of trade unions affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, as well as all of the craft internationals adhering to the International Federation of Trade Unions and of all their respective organisations, to conduct by oral and written propaganda among the workers in their respective countries an energetic and sustained activity against militarism, and to train the workers for this struggle in such a way that they will be both willing and able to respond to all appeals to the solidarity of the working classes, and in case of need to give effect to the appeal of the International Federation of Trade Unions by an immediate cessation of work in the event of war being definitely threatened ;

The Congress supports the efforts of the international craft organisations which are everywhere insisting that the production of all kinds of arms and munitions of war should be supervised strictly and reduced to a minimum for civil needs ;

The Congress instructs this Committee to maintain, direct, and work up propaganda against war and militarism, which propaganda is to be carried out by the various national confederations of trade unions and craft internationals, as well as their respective affiliated organisations, and to take all steps which may be judged necessary with a view to rendering effective the action and propaganda against war and militarism which has been decided upon by this Congress.

WORLD REACTION AGAINST THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

A discussion on the present situation as regards the 8-hour day was led by Mr. Mertens (Belgium). He pointed out that while the opposition to the 8-hour day was universal, the form of that opposition was very different in each country. The attack upon the 8-hour day must not, said Mr. Mertens, be construed in too limited a sense ; it threatens also wages and social legislation as a whole. He insisted that the capitalistic forces of the world are using the present depression to create a demoralising state of unemployment. This view was further emphasised by Mr. Dumoulin (France) who accused international capitalism of a desire "to take advantage of the present situation and to revoke the concessions which it had been forced to make to the working classes" ; the traditional attitude of employers is one of hostility to all social reform legislation. In speaking of the attitude of the Entente countries towards the working classes, Mr. Mertens declared that those countries which appeal continually to the sanctity of the Treaty of Versailles are the very ones that trample under foot the labour clauses of the Treaty.

Finally, the Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution.

The International Trade Union Congress, meeting at Rome on 20 April 1922 and following days :

Has examined the situation in which the international proletariat find themselves in consequence of the action of the employers and governments of the various countries.

It declares that promises made to the working classes have not been kept ; that, on the contrary, the few gains previously obtained by the workers are today menaced by the employers in all countries ; that the forces of reaction are having recourse to various pretexts in order to endeavour to crush the working-class movement, by attacking especially the "8-hour day", wages, social legislation and international conventions.

The International Trade Union Congress protests most energetically against the various manifestations of reaction such as military dictatorship, "fascism", the assassinations of trade union leaders, the arbitrary punishment and imprisonment of workers in various countries.

It declares that the gains realised by the working class during the war should not be considered as presents or rewards granted by the employing class, but as rights gained after bitter struggles by the action of the organised workers.

The Congress appeals to the manual and non-manual workers of the entire world and calls upon them to affiliate through their respective national trade union centres to the International Federation of Trade Unions ;

It appeals especially to the workers of Russia, America, and the countries in the far East of Asia, in order that these may bring about, while retaining their full autonomy, a united front by forming one organisation of the workers of the entire world.

It declares that only the unity of organisation and action of the working classes will repel the assaults of reaction and prepare the way for the emancipation of labour.

With regard to the immediate defence of the interests and social liberties of the workers, the Congress decides that the various national trade union centres shall keep the International Federation of Trade Unions regularly informed as to the situation in their respective countries. The International Federation of Trade Unions shall then take such energetic measures as may be necessary to render moral, financial and material support to the countries which are most exposed to the menace of reaction.

It instructs the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to issue as soon as possible a manifesto to the working men and women of the entire world, manual and non-manual—calling upon them to join the International Federation of Trade Unions as being one of the most powerful means of effectively repelling the assaults of reaction. Let the call be: A maximum 8-hour day, no wage reductions, defend the rights and liberties already won!

RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERATION OF WORKING WOMEN

The question of the organisation of women in the various countries of the world, and of the way in which they should lend their strength to the International Federation of Trade Unions for the general support of the labour movement, came up indirectly in the course of the discussions of the Conference. The matter grew out of a proposal of the Bureau, introduced by Mr. Oudegeest. Briefly, the proposal was for mutual affiliation of the International Federation of Working Women and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam). The Working Women's International Federation at its Geneva Congress defined its jurisdiction in the trade union movement by declaring that membership of the Federation should consist of national trade union organisations containing women members and affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, together with organisations which, though not affiliated, could accept the aim of the International Federation of Trade Unions and agree to work in its spirit. This means that most of the subordinate organisations composing the Federation of Working Women are already a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Having thus defined their jurisdiction, the Women's Federation also sought affiliation as a body to the International Federation of Trade Unions. It may be added that the International Federation of Working Women had been in close touch with the Amsterdam Federation since the organisation of the former some three years ago and, as already noted, had fraternal delegates at the Rome Congress.

The proposals of the Bureau were opposed by Mrs. Gertrude Hanna (Germany) and Mr. Tom Shaw of the Textile Workers (Great Britain) on the ground that in both of these countries women are accepted in the trade unions of those industries where both men and women are employed on an equal basis, and that such affiliation of the International Federation of Working Women with the International Federation of Trade Unions would imply that the Federation favoured the separate organisation of men and women in their respective countries. Mrs. Hanna pointed out that inasmuch as the trade union women would belong to two international organisations, each possessing autonomy, it would be quite conceivable that the two organisations, one controlled by men, the other by women, would not express the same opinions and views of the problems of interest to labour. Mr. Shaw took the view that the woman worker was not a special and peculiar factor in the labour world, but stood on the same plane and offered the same problem as the male worker. The report of the Bureau,

on the other hand, was favoured by Mrs. Jeanne Chevenard (France), who pleaded with the Congress not to disrupt the organisation of the women workers, which was in a position to appeal to the women themselves in the cause of trade unionism. She desired the acceptance of affiliation of the International Federation of Working Women, and the putting of women on the Management Committee and on the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Miss Marion Phillips, the General Delegate of the Women's Federation, and Secretary of it, took a similar stand. The Working Women's Federation would be a valuable instrument for the organisation of the women, who might otherwise remain outside the trade union movement.

As a result of the discussion the question was referred for further study to the Bureau of the Federation. The resolution instructed the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions to encourage the organisation of women in the unions already in existence, i.e. towards the formation of unions having both men and women as members. However, where there were peculiar reasons, and where women's organisations are already in existence, it was thought that the separate organisations of women ought to be affiliated directly with their respective national trade union federation. The resolution was as follows.

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions to encourage in every country the organisation of women's labour and considers that the most efficient form of organisation for trade unions is that which comprehends both women and men.

Where for particular reasons there exist special organisations of women workers, those organisations ought to be affiliated to the national confederation.

Considering that the situation is not sufficiently clear with regard to the objects and composition of the International Federation of Working Women, the Congress instructs the Bureau to report on the question at the next Congress, and invites the Executive Committee to continue relations with the International Federation of Working Women in the present spirit of comradeship.

THE FEDERATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

The Director of the International Labour Office had been invited by the Bureau of the Federation to address the Congress (?). In his speech Mr. A. Thomas briefly outlined the significance of the international labour movement in relation to the International Labour Organisation. He particularly emphasised the fact that the workers' congresses of the past had demanded the creation of what was at present the International Labour Organisation. Too much, however, must not be expected from the International Labour Office. It is not authorised, he said, to enforce the ratification of the Labour Clauses of the Peace Treaty ; that is entirely a

(?) A member of the French delegation rose and left the hall when the Director began his speech, protesting that the admission of the International Labour Office to the Congress should have been referred to the various national trade union federations.

matter for each of the countries ratifying the conventions of the Labour Conferences. The International Labour Office plainly reflects the state of the international social reform movement. The preamble and Article 427 of Part XIII of the Peace Treaty constitute a veritable labour charter, which the Governments have promised to respect. The duty of the International Labour Office is to aid in the realisation of the principles incorporated in that charter. Thus far the principal service of the International Labour Office has been that of investigation, collection and publication of information bearing upon labour and industrial problems.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND TENDENCIES OF THE CONGRESSES

The post-war congresses of the International Federation of Trade Unions represented a larger number of trade unionists than any of the pre-war conferences. Compared with the international trade union representation of 7,394,000 from 19 countries in 1912, and 17,633,000 from 14 countries in 1919, in both cases including the membership of the American Federation of Labour, the present Federation represents some 24,000,000 workers from 24 countries, which does not include the approximate 4,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labour⁽⁸⁾. What strength the International Federation of Working Women added to the movement cannot be determined at present, as the relations of that Federation with the International Federation of Trade Unions have not as yet been clearly defined.

More significant than numbers represented at the congresses is the change in the character of the programmes discussed. With the shift that has come about in the character of the meetings, i.e. from that of informal conferences to that of more formal congresses, an enlargement of the programmes of the meetings has occurred. The pre-war conferences discussed principally matters of strictly trade union interest, and only incidentally touched upon larger social and economic problems. Pre-war meetings covered such points as organisation, functions of the trade union labour exchanges, importation of blacklegs from one country to another, the use of strike funds, relation of the International Federation with the international unions of the different crafts⁽⁹⁾. On the other hand, the programmes of the post-war congresses have been broader. Besides the work of re-organisation, the 1919 Congress⁽¹⁰⁾ laid down the demands of labour to be embodied in

(8) Edo FIMMEN : *La Fédération syndicale internationale ; son développement et ses buts*. Amsterdam, 1922.

(9) The resolutions of the pre-war international trade union conferences may be found in the *Eighth Report of the Trade Union Movement, 1910*. Published by the International Secretary of the National Trade Union Centres. Berlin, 1911 : pp. 44-8.

(10) *Compte Rendu du Congrès Syndical International tenu à Amsterdam au Concertgebouw du 28 juillet au 2 août 1919 précédé par le Rapport sur la Conférence Préliminaire tenue les 25, 26 et 29 juillet 1919*. Amsterdam.

the Peace Treaties, recorded its disapproval of the blockade against Russia and Hungary, passed a resolution directing the Management Committee of the Federation to institute an enquiry into the question of the socialisation of industry, declaring this problem to be the greatest task requiring solution on the part of the workers. The London Congress of 1920⁽¹¹⁾ passed a resolution protesting against the attempts of capitalism and imperialism to oppress the workers and calling for the solidarity of labour in opposition thereto. It also passed a resolution demanding a more equitable distribution of raw materials, control of the evils resulting from the uneven exchanges, demanding the socialisation of land and the means of production. Besides this it passed a resolution protesting against the threatened occupation of the Ruhr, and the attack on the 8-hour day.

Another change in the character of the International Federation and its congresses has been in its leadership. Before the war the centre of the movement was in Germany and among the German-speaking peoples. In a report on the 1919 Congress prepared for the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congresses and the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, Mr. Appleton, made President of the International Federation at the Congress of 1919, said⁽¹²⁾: "It [the International Federation of Trade Unions] was created and in the main supported by German trade unionists * * *, the Germans worked and paid, and by so doing obtained a controlling influence over the organisation." After the war an attempt was made to give membership in the Bureau and on the Management Committee of the International Federation to certain countries, arranged in order of importance in trade union work. The countries are grouped according to the "just claims of affiliated nationalities" as follows⁽¹³⁾: (1) Canada, United States; (2) South America; (3) Great Britain; (4) France; (5) Belgium, Luxemburg; Netherlands; (6) Spain, Portugal; (7) Italy; (8) Germany; (9) Austria, Switzerland; (10) Russia, Baltic States; (11) Czechoslovakia, Poland; (12) Scandinavian

⁽¹¹⁾ *Bericht über den Ausserordentlichen Internationalen Gewerkschaftskongress abgehalten im Holborn Restaurant (Thronsaal), High Holborn, London. 22. bis 27. November, 1920 (nebst dem Kongress vorgelegten Berichten).* Amsterdam.

⁽¹²⁾ *International Federation of Trade Unions, July 25th to August 3rd, 1919.* Report prepared by W. A. Appleton for submission to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions, pp. and 2. London.

⁽¹³⁾ The list of countries in their importance for selection of members to the Bureau or the Management Committee of the International Federation is as changed by the Rome Congress. The order of the countries as given in the original *Rules and Regulations of the International Federation of Trade Unions* was as follows: (1) United States of America; (2) Central and South America; (3) Britain and the British Colonies; (4) Belgium, France and Luxemburg; (5) Italy, Spain and Portugal; (6) Germany and German-Austria; (7) Russia and Baltic Provinces; (8) Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugo-Slavia; (9) Hungary, Greece, Switzerland, and the Balkan states; (10) Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden.

countries ; (13) Hungary, Balkan States ; (14) Australia, Oceania, South Africa ; (15) India ; (16) Japan, China, Far East.

The changed position which the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Congresses have assumed in the international labour movement is clearly recognised in the general report on the activities of the Federation from its organisation after the war to the end of December 1921, which as already noted, was submitted to the Rome Congress and unanimously approved⁽¹⁴⁾. In connection with the May Day celebrations, it is pointed out that hitherto the Executive Committee of the International Socialist movement had undertaken the task of issuing a May Day manifesto. "Our Trade Union International had never done work of this kind before." Due to the inactivity of the Socialist International which showed "no signs of reaching the proletariat as a whole to demonstrate on Labour Day", the Bureau of the International Federation "felt constrained to take over the task of the Political International, and to formulate a workers' slogan for the First of May, 1920". The report goes on to point out that before the war there was only one political Labour International and that during the war this organisation fell to pieces. On the other hand, unity within the trade union movement was maintained, although incompletely. But "the international proletariat is now without a powerful organisation which, if it existed, might be able to act effectively on the political field". In the meantime such leadership has been assumed by the International Federation of Trade Unions.



⁽¹⁴⁾ *First Report of the Activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions (July 1919-Dec. 1921)*; submitted to the Ordinary Congress, Rome, April 1922 ; Amsterdam ; pp. 58-66.