

# WORLD LABOR UNITY

by

SCOTT NEARING



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"Now that capital has been internationalised, there is only one way in which the workers can offer an effective resistance to the capitalist onslaught, namely by the compact international organisation of their own forces, and by an uncompromising struggle conducted with the massed strength of the internationally unified proletariat."—Edo Fimmen, *Labour's Alternative*.



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# WORLD LABOR UNITY

## I. Issues before Labor

Labor has not found itself. It is not united. The workers have no idea of their organic power. Only here and there, in Russia, Britain, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and a few other countries has the labor movement taken any leading part in public life. The great unorganized masses in the remainder of the world work and suffer silently. They are still the defenceless victims of exploitation and aggression. Lacking any means of effective protest, they continue to carry the crushing burdens of poverty, over-work, and unemployment which the system of capitalist imperialism presses upon their shoulders.

This is the beginning, however, not the end, in the story of organized labor. Economic conditions are changing with great rapidity. The labor movement has grown up in less than a century as one of the many products of the industrial revolution.

Where the labor movement has become conscious of its destiny and of the immediate tasks which it faces, it understands:

1. That human life is now organized on a world scale. Individual nations can no longer contain within their boundaries the economic and social pursuits of their citizens. The ends of the earth are tied together by the exchanging of raw materials and of finished products; by the activities of investors; by the migrating masses of workers; by the growing speed with which the masses in one country are acquainted with events elsewhere. World economic and social interdependence is a fact—probably the most important fact arising out of present day life.

2. That the employing or owning class is powerfully organized within each country, and that it is rapidly uniting internationally in its efforts to control raw materials and markets and to exploit workers. There is now going on a fierce struggle among the masters to determine which group of capitalists shall dominate and exploit the earth. The World War, one phase of that struggle, wrecked whole nations and left Europe in chaos. The struggle for power still continues, however, threatening even greater destruction when it next emerges on the military plane. Meanwhile a revolution in Hungary or the establishment of a workers' government in Russia brings the terrified exploiters momentarily together until they have re-established capitalism and set up a white terror.

3. That in every country where capitalism has had a chance to develop, it has brought into existence a working class, yoked to the wage system, victimized by capitalist wars, and regimented into its mines and factories. This working class makes up the majority of the population in all capitalist countries. The master class in each country owns and controls the machinery of production, the machinery of information and education, and the machinery of the state. The working class uses the machinery of production and accepts the authority of school, press, and state. Out of the product created in the industrial process the workers receive a subsistence. The owners of the system enjoy surplus and leisure.

4. That the workers as a whole can no longer hope to gain by co-operating with the owning class. The struggle between the owners has reached too acute a stage. Class collaboration merely means that the workers are assisting the owners to prepare for another world war and thus to destroy what the workers have produced by their labor.

5. That out of the capitalist order, which has made its contribution to the world and is rapidly disintegrating, there is arising a new social order based on labor and co-operation instead of ownership and competition. The standard bearers of this new order are the organized workers. Already, in the Soviet Union, this new social order has been tested out for nearly a decade, and with amazing success. The workers in other countries, as they realize these facts, grow more restive under the old yoke. China is breaking free. All over Europe the consciousness of purpose and power is coming to the workers.

6. That the new organization of the workers must be world-wide in the same sense that economic and social life have become world-wide.

7. That in order to establish this world organization the labor movement must achieve world unity. Thus World Labor Unity appears as the biggest immediate problem before the workers.

## II. Labor Dis-unity

The labor movement is young, fragmentary, and sadly dis-united. A decade ago there were only about twelve million organized workers in the world,—most of them in Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and the United States. (See page 32.) Even today labor organizations are largely confined to the major capi-

talist countries and to the Soviet Union. The germs of labor unionism are scattered across the world, but most workers still are unorganized.

Dis-unity prevails inside such labor movements as exist within the great capitalist countries, where the first loyalty of the workers goes to a craft or industrial union. Since the war many of these sectional differences have been disappearing in the face of more general problems. With the exception of Britain and the Soviet Union, however, disunion is more prevalent than union among the various national labor groups.

National boundary lines throw additional barriers across the activities of the labor movement by making "enemies" of men engaged in the same trades, simply because they happen to live and work on different sides of a river or a range of mountains. So powerful is this force of nationalism that during the World War workers all over the world placed their loyalty to the nation above their loyalty to their fellow workers. Appeals to patriotism and the "defence of home and country" lined up the workers and bosses of Germany on one side and the workers and bosses of France on the other. Nationalism thus became the social expression of class collaboration.

Equally serious, as a source of labor dis-unity, is the economic gulf that lies between the workers in exploited nations and workers in exploiting nations. Imperialism necessitates the exploitation of foreign workers by the capitalists of the imperial nation. Therefore, if the workers in the imperial nation support their government, they make themselves a party to the exploitation that is taking place. The workers of the United States vote for a Republican administration and thus back the Standard Oil Company in a policy which leads to the exploitation of Mexican workers; French workers support French capitalists in their exploitation of Morocco; British workers back economic and political policies which enable British owners to exploit the workers of India; Japanese workers play the same role toward the workers in Korea. In such cases, by giving their political support to the government, the workers in a powerful imperial country assist the imperial class of that country to exploit the workers among the subject and "inferior" peoples.

There are still other divisions among the workers. Most of the organized European workers are federated in the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters at Amsterdam, which claims an affiliated membership of about 16 millions. The Red International of Labor Unions, with headquarters at Moscow, claims an affiliated membership of about 8 millions.

These two Internationals overtop all the rest, both as to size and importance. Many European workers, however, belong to the Federation of Christian Trade Unions. Still other workers, with anarchist-syndicalist leanings, are grouped in the International Workingmen's Association. There are, besides, many local unions that have no affiliations with any of these groups.

This is the situation in Europe. Even there little enough real unity exists among the workers.

Outside of the European continent, and, for the most part, outside of these internationals, are the American Federation of Labor, most of the trade unions in South America, the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which includes practically nothing outside of North America, and the trade unions of Asia and Australia.\*

Edo Fimmen sums up the matter by writing: "For practical purposes, the 'international' organisations are as yet purely European in scope."† "The increasingly compact international capitalist alliance is faced by a working class which, both economically and industrially, both nationally and internationally, is disintegrated."‡

### III. The International Federation of Trade Unions (I.F.T.U.—Amsterdam)

Up to the time of the World War, international trade union organizations had never been much more than offices for the collection of information and conferences for the exchange of opinion.

The International Workingmen's Association, organized in 1864, had broken the ground for the later and larger associations. The miners formed an international in 1890. There were

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\*The British Labour Research Department's *Labour White Paper No. 11* issued in 1925, states the position as follows: "Hardly any country, even the most backward, but had its small beginnings of Trade Unionism (in 1924), while in the more developed capitalist countries the membership of the Trade Unions was numbered in millions. No single organisation, even of the loosest kind, linked up these millions of organised workers. In Europe two organisations disputed with a bitter animosity for the membership of the European Trade Unions. . . . In several of the European countries there were two or three rival federations of Trade Unions, some affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, some to the Red International of Labour Unions. . . . Outside the European arena where this struggle of rival organisations was taking place to a greater or lesser degree in almost every country, there remained unconnected with the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Trade Unions of the United States of America, of Latin America, Australia and the other Pacific lands, of Africa other than the Union, of India, Japan, China, the Far East, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

†*Labour's Alternative*, London, Labour Publishing Co., 1924, p. 120.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 98.



twelve such organizations in existence before 1900, and in 1914 there were 32 trade union internationals.\*

At Copenhagen, in 1901, the International Trade Union Secretariat was organized. In 1909 it was joined by the American Federation of Labor. This International held regular conferences, and in 1913 decided to found an International Federation of Trade Unions. The membership of the I.F.T.U. in 1913 included about seven and a half million workers in 21 countries. The activities of the I.F.T.U. were to be confined largely to the collection of statistics and the issuing of reports. The war hampered the work of the I.F.T.U., but in 1919 delegates representing 14 nations gathered at Amsterdam and reconstituted the Federation.†

Before the war broke out there were great peace demonstrations all over Europe, with many pledges of international solidarity. August 1, 1914, found the workers throughout Europe armed and prepared to slaughter one another. Protests were feeble and ineffective. The masses of European workers had no clear-cut social philosophy, and their leaders—the leaders of the Trade Unions and of the working class political parties, generally—rushed to the defence of their respective countries.

Some of the leaders took ministerial posts; others were given lesser governmental positions. By the time the war had ended, pre-war labor leadership had become thoroughly imbued with the principle of class collaboration and quite accustomed to its practice.

Had the war brought peace and liberty, as some of its more ardent and unenlightened advocates hoped, these labor leaders might have had at least a temporary justification for their position. But the war ended with intensive exploitation and active preparation for the next conflict. Consequently the men who had put their shoulders behind the imperial war found themselves quite out of sympathy with the sharply defined class conflict that followed the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

The leaders of the I.F.T.U. made several attempts during 1920 to take an active part in public affairs. Chief among these efforts were the attempted blockade of Hungary, as a protest against the White Terror there, and an attempt to head off the Polish War against Russia. A special conference was held in London in November, 1920. There were 100 delegates present, representing about 25 million workers.

The crest of the revolutionary wave had already passed, how-

\* *American Labor Year Book*, 1921-22, p. 209.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4.

ever. Peace and reconstruction were the watchwords of capitalist imperialism. Instead of turning their energies toward the prosecution of a struggle against the exploiters and imperialists, the leaders of the I.F.T.U. devoted themselves to a fratricidal struggle with the Moscow International.

Revolution in Russia, Germany, Hungary, and Italy forced the leaders of labor opinion to take sides. Older men and women, who had received their training before the Great War was dreamed of, sided generally against the revolutionary movements. But the war period had produced a new group—militant and determined. These men saw the world through new eyes. For them the issue lay between revolution on one hand and destruction on the other.

During the post-war years the conflict grew sharper. Its development was accentuated by the organization of the Red International of Labor Unions.

#### IV. The Red International of Labor Unions (R.I.L.U.—Moscow)

The R.I.L.U. was founded in 1920 as the "International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions." Its genesis was thus explained by M. Tomsy, its president, in his speech before the Anglo-Russian Unity Conference, April 6-8, 1925:

"In 1917 the Russian working class overthrew capitalism and took power. In January, 1918, the first Trades Union Congress unanimously decided that the Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions must establish connections with the Trade Unions of the West. We twice tried in the only way open to us at that time—the period of the blockade—namely, by wireless messages to all Labour organisations. After a time we managed to get a few letters through from Russia but did not receive a single reply during the whole period. In 1918, if my memory does not fail me, the first International Congress of Trade Unions after the war took place at Berne. The defeated countries met under the leadership of the German Trade Unions. Although that was many months after the Revolution, no word of Russia was uttered, no desire to discuss with the Russian Unions was expressed. With the British and French Unions matters stood even worse. They were still more difficult for the Russian Unions to approach. We stubbornly repeated these attempts in 1919, but nothing came of it. In 1919-20 The International Labour Office appeared to be becoming the centre of the International Trade Union Move-

ment, and, in spite of all their efforts, the Russian Trade Unions could not get anyone to talk to them. Capitalism was blockading us by armed force; the Trade Unions were in effect blockading us by not replying to our correspondence.

"That situation forced the Russian Trade Unions in 1920 to set about the formation of a new Trade Union International of their own."\*

It was in July, 1920, that the new organization—the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions—was formed with the Russian Unions dominating the group.

The efforts of the Russian Unions to establish relations with the Unions of western Europe did not cease at this point. "Every one of the twenty-three Executives of the Russian Trade Union Movement has applied, and continues to apply, for membership of the International Secretariats of their appropriate trades. Only one reply has been received all the way through, and that was to the effect that until our Trade Union Movement enters the International Federation of Trade Unions and accepts the Constitution and Rules of that body, and changes its tactics, no one will have anything to do with us."†

Following these ineffective attempts to gain admission to the Western Unions, the Russian Unions, in 1921, through the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, called a world congress, at which the name of the organization was changed to the Red International of Labor Unions. At this conference a constitution was adopted which began with the words: "The class struggle has now reached such a degree of development and acuteness that the working class, in order to successfully conduct and complete its struggle for emancipation, must fight as a solid revolutionary class power."‡ The preamble to the constitution continues with a statement that "the International Secretariat of Labor Unions before the war was merely an information agency, it did not pursue any militant class aims. The Amsterdam International of Labor Unions is even less fit to deal with the issues at hand than its predecessor. . . . Against this international of impotence, confusion, subservience to the bourgeoisie . . . we must oppose an international of revolutionary vigor, of class activity . . . an international which will seize all the means of production and establish the Communist commonwealth."

\*M. Tomsky, *Getting Together*, London, Labour Research Department, 1925, pp. 96-7.

†*Ibid.*, p. 99.

‡*American Labor Year Book*, 1923-4, p. 278.

During its early days the tactics of the Moscow International were based on the idea that there would speedily be a world revolution. Soon, however, it became apparent that no such revolution was taking place. Consequently, the third session of the Central Council of the Moscow International in 1923 declared that "the attitude of the R.I.L.U. toward the Amsterdam International remains unchanged; i.e., merciless struggle as before against reformist theory and practice; also against cooperation of classes as practiced by the Amsterdam International. But we are ever ready to create a united front for fighting our class foes."\*

In April, 1922, the Executive Committee of the three political internationals had held a meeting in Berlin and appointed a Committee of Nine for the purpose of bringing about unity between the two trade union internationals and the three political internationals. The Committee never functioned, and until 1924 the pronouncements of the Moscow International in favor of a united front had produced no tangible results.

## V. The American Federation of Labor Breaks Away

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, wrote to Jan Oudegeest, Secretary of the Amsterdam International, on March 5, 1921, severing the connections of the American Federation of Labor with the Amsterdam International.†

Three reasons were given for the action of the American Federation of Labor. First was that the new constitution of the Amsterdam International "abrogated the principle of complete autonomy for each national trade union Federation." The second reason was that "through the issuance of appeals and proclamations the Executive body of the International Federation had committed the Federation to a revolutionary principle to which the American Federation of Labor is and always has been uncompromisingly opposed and to which no labor movement guided by democratic ideals could give approval." The third objection related to the method of assessing dues for the support of the Amsterdam International.

The objections regarding autonomy and dues collection were disposed of by Mr. Gompers in a paragraph. "More serious than either of these questions is the conduct of the International officers during the months that have elapsed since the organiza-

\**American Labor Year Book*, 1923-4, p. 283.

†*American Federationist*, April, 1921, pp. 328-30.

tion of the new international federation." These officers "have adopted and promulgated a policy calling for revolutionary action with the 'socialization' of industry as its objective. The American Federation of Labor is opposed to that policy and there can be no compromise between the two points of view."

The revolutionary viewpoint which gained control of the executive machinery of the International Federation of Trade Unions found its extreme manifestation in an appeal for revolutionary measures in aid of the Soviets, issued on September 8, 1919, which had been neither repudiated, modified, nor abandoned. From this appeal Mr. Gompers quoted the following language:

"The International Federation of Trade Unions calls upon all National Trade Union centres to prepare, if necessary, for mass action by means of a general strike (against war).

"The production of war materials must cease in all countries. . . ."

After citing other pronouncements of a similar nature Mr. Gompers wrote: "The American Federation of Labor denounces the revolutionary principles espoused by the executive officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions."

By this action the A. F. of L. divided the important labor movements of the world into three groups: the Amsterdam International, the Moscow International, and the A. F. of L. (or the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which includes several of the Latin-American countries). Though the Amsterdam International had the largest membership, it controlled, at best, only a minority of the world's labor movement.

## VI. Moscow Negotiates with Amsterdam

Shortly after its organization the Red International of Labor Unions, through its executive officials, began negotiations with the Amsterdam International for the organization of a united labor front. The Council of the Amsterdam International took the position that since the Moscow International had assumed a critical and hostile attitude toward Amsterdam "any organization which announces its affiliation with the politico-trade union Moscow International places itself outside the I.F.T.U."\*

Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the International Federation of Transport Workers, and joint secretary of the I.F.T.U. from 1919 until his resignation in 1923, waged an active campaign for

\*Executive Committee meeting, May 18-20, 1921, *American Labor Year Book*, 1921-22, p. 226.

labor unity. He won out in his own International, but lost the fight in the I.F.T.U.

Fimmen thus states his case:

"Today, capital is no longer national. Even before the war, a tendency toward the internationalisation of capital was manifest; today the internationalisation is obvious."\*

"Already before the war capitalism was internationally united. And it remained so during the great slaughter.

"Where, however, is our unity? We have not even built the bridge which unites us, but we must do so. It seems as if our hate is greater against those workers who are not of the same political opinion as us than it is against our common exploiters. This situation will become even worse if we do not find the way to greater unity on a national and international scale. . . .

"In my opinion, in the struggle between Amsterdam and Moscow there must be neither victors nor vanquished. There must no longer be any talk of Amsterdam or Moscow, but only of a united international which shall embrace all peoples and all countries, of a great trade union movement which must stand on the basis of irreconcilable class war."†

Initiative looking in the direction of labor unity was finally taken by the representatives of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress. At the Vienna Congress of the I.F.T.U. in 1924 they were responsible for a resolution instructing the Executive Committee of the I.F.T.U. to continue consultations with the All-Russian Trade Union Council.

Such negotiations were held. On December 5, 1924, the I.F.T.U., in a letter to the All-Russian Council, "intimated that that organization did not appear willing to affiliate with the I.F.T.U. on the basis of its rules and resolutions." In the Russian reply, dated January 29, "a joint conference of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the Union of Soviet Republics' Central Council of Trade Unions was pressed for." That was the situation when the I.F.T.U. General Council met in Amsterdam on February 5, 1925. Meanwhile the British Trades Union Congress Delegation had been to Russia and had made its report.

Upon the return of the British Delegation from Russia a special meeting of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress was called. A letter from Tomsky, dated November 17, was discussed, and the Council decided to send a letter to the Amsterdam International asking for a conference. That

\**Labour's Alternative*, London, Labour Publishing Co., 1924, p. 108.

†*Daily Worker*, April 11, 1925.

conference took place in Amsterdam on February 5, 1925.

At this February conference Fred Bramley, in the name of the British Delegation, moved that: "The British section propose the convening of an unconditional conference for informal discussion purposes, at which both sides would be free to express their representative opinion without being tied to any formulae or constitution, it being understood, of course, that the findings of such a conference should be considered preliminary to a mandatory conference to follow after reports of the preliminary discussions had been given to the bodies responsible for the final conclusions."

The vote on this resolution was six for, 13 against, and one not voting.

An opposition resolution, proposed by Steinhuis and Smit, was carried on a vote of 14 for and five against. This resolution declared that "the I.F.T.U. is prepared to admit the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, when they express their desire to this effect." The resolution also pledged the I.F.T.U. "to convene a conference in Amsterdam with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions with a view to an exchange of opinions as soon as possible after the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions intimates its desire to be admitted to the International Federation of Trade Unions."

## VII. Bramley's Amsterdam Speech

During the negotiations at the February 5-6 Amsterdam Conference, Bramley made a masterful appeal in favor of unity. In the course of this address he analyzed the negotiations between Amsterdam and Moscow: "Too much effort has been made to emphasize points of disagreement. That is not diplomacy. It is not sound business." He then pointed out that groups with conflicting interests could not hope for united action until they met in conference. His whole speech was a plea for such a conference. He said:

"We are not merely concerned about the position of the British section on this matter. We are internationalists, and we say this morning that a policy which may lead to the exclusion of a country as big and as important as Russia . . . would be disastrous and very, very unfortunate indeed."

After pointing out that he, Bramley, was "a member of the extreme Right Wing of the British Trade Union Movement," and therefore differed with the Russians both on theory and on tactics, he called attention to the remarkable constructive work

being done among the Russian masses by the Russian trade unionists, whose leaders are "as steady, as constructive, as logical, as clear, and as well-informed as any trade union leaders that you will find in any part of the world."

Holding that "an all-inclusive international is desirable," he asked the Amsterdam General Council to agree to "a free and unconditional immediate conference with representatives of the Russian Trade Union Movement."\*

After listening to Bramley's plea, the Council passed the Steinhuis-Smit resolution to the effect that the I.F.T.U. "is prepared to admit the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, when they express their desire to this effect." The resolution practically ended the hope for further negotiations as it meant that the Russian unions must abandon the R.I.L.U., join the I.F.T.U., and then talk matters over.

### VIII. British and Russian Unions Fraternize

Meantime a delegation from the Russian Trade Unions had visited the British Trades Union Congress at Hull in September, 1924. The delegation was given a hearty reception and the Trades Union Congress voted to send a return delegation to Russia in time for the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which opened in Moscow November 11, 1924. A. A. Purcell, who had been a member of the British Trade Union Delegation to Russia in 1920 and who was then chairman of the British Trades Union Congress, headed the British Delegation to the Russian Congress.

In the course of its visit to Russia the British Delegation arranged for the organization of an Anglo-Russian Committee for the promotion of world unity in the trade union movement. Bramley, in his speech cited above, gives a report on these negotiations, including the British proposals for joint action on world labor unity.

The resolution passed by the Amsterdam General Council at its meeting (February 6-7, 1925) practically ended negotiations with Moscow. As soon as this decision was reported to the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, the latter body immediately called an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference "for the purpose of discussing the difficulties arising from the Amsterdam International Council meeting." This Anglo-Russian Conference was held in London on April 6-8, 1925.

\*Speech as published in full by *Trade Union Unity*, March, 1925.



## IX. Report of the British Delegation to Russia

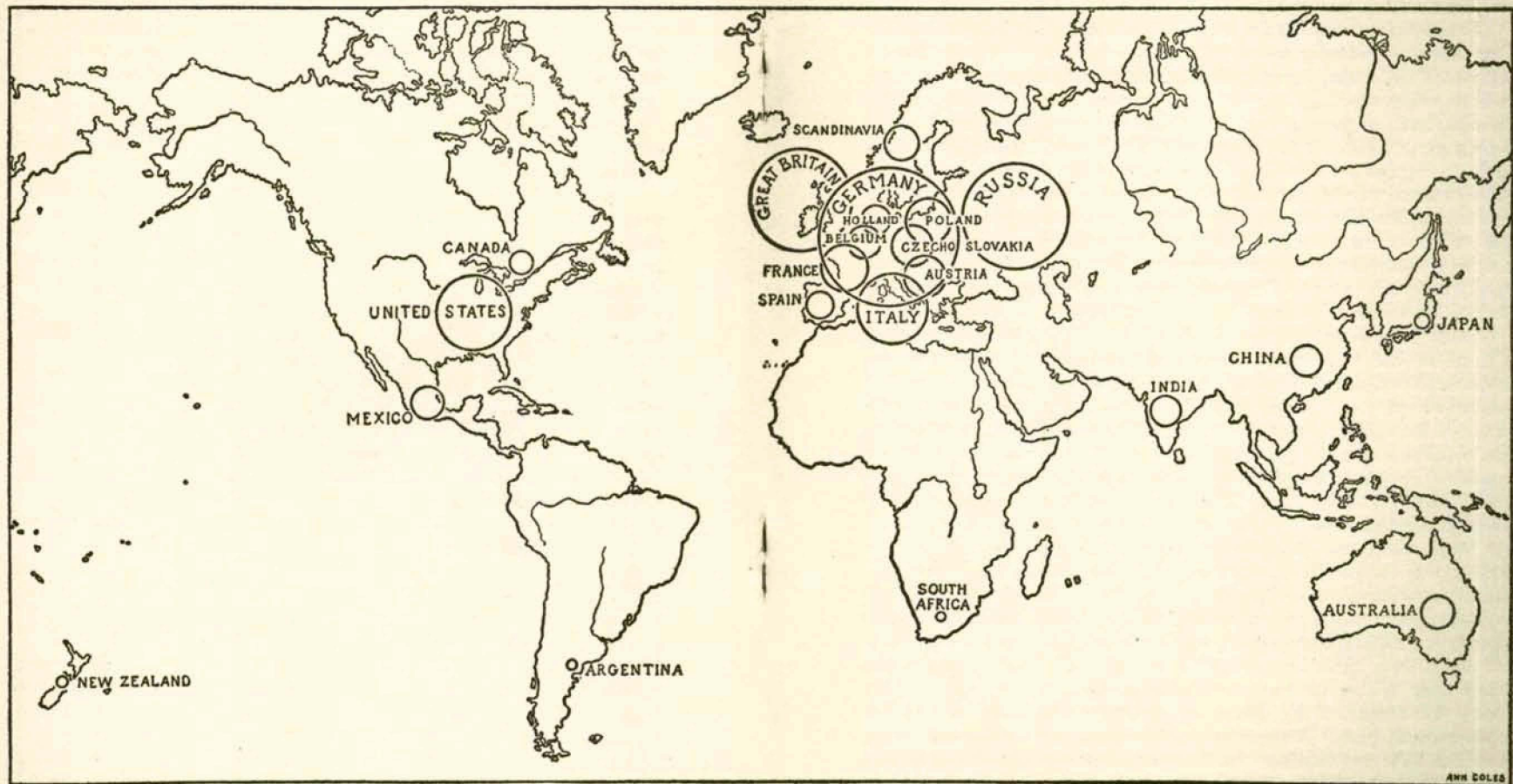
The position of the British in these negotiations was greatly strengthened by the Report of the British Delegation to Russia. The Report, published officially by the Trades Union Congress, is a careful, extended document covering various phases of public life in Russia under the Soviets. There are chapters on politics, finance, industry, transport and agriculture, foreign commerce, education, public health, trade unions, labor regulations, wages, and other topics. At the time of its appearance it was the most comprehensive and thoroughgoing statement in English concerning the life of the workers in Soviet Russia.

It is impossible in a brief space to give any adequate idea either of the extent of this report or of the conclusions which it presents.

Early in its pages the British delegates assert that unless people realize that the working class is the ruling class in Russia they can have no correct understanding of the events which have taken place there since the Russian Revolution. Great emphasis is laid upon the improvement in the political, economic, and social conditions of Russian workers. Those members of the Delegation who had been in Russia in 1920, and those who were familiar with Russia before the Revolution, found the situation in 1924 vastly improved. The Delegation found Russian finance on a sound basis with a stable currency, a balanced budget, and an experimental relation maintained between private trading, the co-operatives, and the state organizations. Great emphasis was laid on the improvement in industry and on the effective work done by the State Planning Commission, whose object is the control of production and trade. "The existing economic system is not only viable, but has real vitality . . . it does not stunt, but can even stimulate the economic recovery that peace has now made possible."\* Equally favorable are the reports on commerce, transport, and agriculture.

Health and housing have improved; social conditions are definitely better; education has received an immense impetus as a result of the Revolution. "Every opportunity and encouragement is given to the worker, no matter what may be his or her calling, to obtain the best instruction in any branch of art, industry, science, or literature for which he may feel he has an aptitude. The results which were seen by the Delegation in all the districts visited were certainly astounding, especially when it is considered that the whole system has not yet been in operation for three

\**The Official Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia, Nov. and Dec., 1924*, London, Trades Union Congress General Council, 1925, p. 59.



Size of Labor Movement in Various Countries

years. . . . A peasant or a worker can by his own energies rise in his or any other profession with the aid given to him by the system. The pathetic feature in our own civilisation of wasted and dormant talent, the slave of circumstance, owing to the absence of all possibility of outlet or instruction through lack of means, seems likely to become very rare among the workers of Russia."\*

Trade unions in Russia are well housed. Their membership has been continually increased. At the 1924 Congress it was 6,300,000. "Being largely freed from their main function elsewhere of protecting the workers against exploitation by the wealthy, and of preventing the public service of the workers from being prejudiced for private profit, the Trade Unions have been able to engage in educating the workers as citizens and rulers."† The unions participate actively in the control of labor, in the determination of wages, and in the general direction of social life. So effective has their activity been that the workers of Russia in many districts are living on a standard of housing, education, and other advantages "in many respects better than those obtained by labor in Europe."

After reviewing all this evidence the Delegation concludes: "That the U.S.S.R. is a strong and stable State; That its Government is based firstly on a system of State Socialism that has the active support of a large majority of the workers and the acceptance of an equally large majority of the peasants and, secondly, on a federal structure that gives very full cultural and very fair political liberties to racial and regional minorities, together with full religious toleration; That the machinery of government though fundamentally different from that of other States seems to work well, and that the government it gives is not only in every way better than anything that Russia has ever yet had, but that it has done and is doing work in which other older State systems have failed and are still failing; That these good results have reconciled all but a very small minority to renouncing rights of opposition that are essential to political liberty elsewhere; And that this causes no resistance partly because these rights have been replaced by others of greater value under the Soviet system, and partly because recent movements have been steadily toward their restoration; And finally that the whole constitutes a new departure of the greatest interest that is well worth foreign study and a new development that may be greatly benefited by foreign assistance."‡

\**Ibid.*, p. 121.

†*Ibid.*, p. 147.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 171.

The British Delegation to Russia did not consist of Communists. On the contrary, British trade unionism was the strongest single element in the Amsterdam International. The delegates state in their report that they were given every facility for making a thoroughgoing investigation of working and living conditions in Russia. As a result of this investigation they presented a series of conclusions, not one of which was generally unfavorable to the Soviet regime, and most of which were specifically pro-Soviet in character. The report naturally produced a profound effect on the thinking of British labor leaders.

## **X. The Unity Conference in London, April, 1925**

The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Conference held in London in April, 1925, was dominated by the atmosphere of the British Trade Union Report on conditions in Russia. Both the Soviet and the British delegations included some of the most prominent figures in the trade union movement in their respective countries. A. B. Swales presided at the Conference sessions. The Soviet Delegation first stated its case. The British Delegation replied with a statement of its position. A joint committee appointed for the purpose drew up the text of an agreement and declaration of principles which constitutes one of the most important documents of modern Trade Union history.

## **XI. The London Unity Agreement**

**1.** The Joint Conference affirms that national and international unity must be recognised as the first essential condition to enable the Trade Union Movement to defend effectively the present position of the workers against attack and to achieve the social and political aims of organised Labour, as set forth in the declarations made by the workers of many countries.

**2.** The political situation in nearly every so-called civilised country is dominated by reaction, and in many countries the increased power of co-ordinated capitalist interests is evident. This is shown by the continued persecution of leading Trade Unionists, who in the exercise of class prejudice on the part of employing interests are suspected, persecuted, thrown into gaol, and even tortured by those in power.

3. In the industrial and economic field the capitalists of all countries are forming their united front—a united front for the exploitation of workers all over the world. The workers in the meantime remain divided, and in some countries are formed into antagonistic groups. Instead of being employed in the task of defence against capitalist aggression they are plunged into bitter quarrels and dissensions.

4. In nearly every country, in consequence of the growing power of the capitalist class and the lack of unity among the workers, advantages gained in the direction of reduced hours of labour and increased wages have been lost. Where the eight-hour day has not been abolished it is imperilled. In many industries the hours of labour have once more reverted to nine, ten, or even more hours per day. . . .

5. Through the economic paralysis of Europe caused by the world war, millions of workers are unemployed and with their families are being driven into the depths of despair, starvation, and degradation. Wages, never sufficient to maintain a decent standard of life for the workers, have been reduced by 20 per cent, 30 per cent, and in some cases over 40 per cent. The standard of living in many countries is now below pre-war level.

6. The hope of better times which existed among the workers shortly after the great world war and which they were led by unscrupulous politicians to believe would be the result of their enormous sacrifices, has now disappeared and given place to despair. The pledges of politicians and the promises of capitalists during the war and directly after it have been cynically repudiated. The blind faith that inspired the workers to fight for their respective Governments in the universal catastrophe in which millions of their class were killed and maimed has been shattered. After the greatest sacrifices and the severest sufferings, they are now faced with little prospect of a better life for the workers.

7. Already it would appear that a new war, more terrible, more monstrous than anything known hitherto, is being prepared. New weapons of destruction are being devised; the chemists and scientific thinkers of European countries are devoting their knowledge and skill to the task of inventing new weapons of torture and destruction for use not only against the soldier but also against the civilian. In the meantime so-called disarmament conferences are merely en-

couraging dangerous illusions. They are being used to deceive the workers and lull them into a false state of security. But the capitalist politicians and employing interests are no longer able to hide the fact that new armaments are being built up, greater than before and more deadly.

8. There is but one power that can save mankind from being plunged into another universal catastrophe. There is but one power which can defend the workers of all countries against political and economic oppression and tyranny. There is but one power which can bring freedom, welfare, happiness, and peace to the working class and to humanity. That power is the working class, if well organised, properly disciplined, self-devoted, and determined to fight all who would oppose and prevent its complete emancipation. The working classes, if united nationally and internationally, would constitute an insuperable barrier to capitalist oppression and an unbreakable bond of peace and economic security. The workers are able to defeat all those who by their reactionary tendencies keep the workers divided. So long as the capitalist system continues there is danger of war. The merciless struggle for supremacy between the conflicting vested interests of competing groups of exploiters will, as in the past, eventually provoke a new crisis plunging the workers of the world into another disastrous war.

"For the above reasons the British and Russian trade union representatives reaffirm the agreement made in Moscow between representatives of British and Russian organised labour to promote international goodwill amongst the workers as a means of more adequately safeguarding the interests of international peace.

"As a result of the discussions at this London Conference and of the agreement reached there, joint efforts, as provided in the procedure laid down in the British declarations, will be made to induce the Amsterdam International, in all goodwill, to agree to a free, unconditional, and immediate conference with representatives of the Russian Trade Union Movement.

"We also jointly place on record our determination to maintain and weld closer the friendly relations of the British and Russian Trade Union movements by taking such joint action as is provided for in the agreements arrived at by this Conference.

"The representatives of the British and Russian Trade Union Movements herewith declare their intention to do what

they can by joint means to bring about international unity. The need and importance of international unity is recognised by millions of organised workers throughout the world. Their co-operation in the task of removing racial prejudices, artificial barriers, and economic obstructions to their joint development is assured. Knowing that unity brings power we are convinced that the workers of all countries joining hands across the frontiers, will work together to secure their emancipation.

"The mottoes to be inscribed on our international banner must continue to be the following:

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!"

"LONG LIVE A WORLD-WIDE FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS!"\*

This agreement was unanimously adopted by both the British and Russian delegations. It was endorsed by the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress on April 21, 1925, and by the All-Russian Trade Union Council at its meeting April 30-May 3, 1925.

## XII. Moscow Continues Negotiations

During the course of the negotiations at the London Unity Conference the British delegation had proposed that the British Trades Union Council should submit to the I.F.T.U. two alternative courses of action: (1) "That the Bureau of the I.F.T.U. call an immediate conference with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions for the purpose of considering the position arising" from the Amsterdam meeting. This failing, (2) "The British Trades Union Congress General Council will undertake to convene a conference and endeavor to promote International Unity by using its mediatory influence as between the Russian Trade Union Movement and the Amsterdam Bureau." In doing this, the British will be "inspired by a full appreciation of existing difficulties and a desire to create a united industrial International organisation capable of efficiently representing the International interests of the workers."

By way of fulfilling their part in this understanding, as soon as the findings of the London Unity Conference had been endorsed Tomsky, President, and Dogadov, Secretary of the All-Russian Council addressed to the General Council of the Amsterdam International a communication, in part as follows:

"We would once more inform you, comrades, that we are in favor of a single International of Trade Union Federations.

\**Labour Monthly*, May, 1925, p. 304 ff.

Our aim, and, as we believe, the aim of the majority of the class-conscious workers of all countries, is the creation of a single International of the organised workers of the whole world, standing for the point of view of the class struggle and the final emancipation of the working class from the capitalist yoke. Compared with this great aim the constitutional question is of secondary importance. The Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. are ready to affiliate to a united International Trade Union Federation whose constitution, in its general features, would not differ vitally from that of the I.F.T.U.”\*

### XIII. The British Trades Union Congress, September, 1925

When the British Trades Union Congress met on September 7, 1925, the delegates faced two issues of historic moment. One was unemployment. The other was Trade Union Unity.

President Swales, in his opening address, made the issue clear. No effort had been spared, he said, to bring together the representatives of Amsterdam and of Moscow. “In the opinion of the General Council, the Russian representatives showed an inclination and genuine desire to find agreement and a place inside the International Federation of Trade Unions.” On the attitude of the Amsterdam officials he said nothing.

“Though the door appeared to be closed,” President Swales went on, “owing to misunderstandings, at the request of and on the advice of British representatives the Russian representatives offered to meet representatives of the I.F.T.U. in a conference to . . . talk over existing difficulties. As a preliminary, Russian representatives agreed to a constitution similar to that of the I.F.T.U. The difference between the two parties appears to the General Council to be so small and their responsibilities to the whole Trade Union Movement so serious that, in my judgment, a very great disservice is being perpetuated by the parties being kept apart one moment longer than is absolutely necessary. . . . We note with regret that the Press has taken a hand, along with some of our friends, in challenging our right to continue

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\**Trade Union Unity*, July, 1925, pp. 62-3. The details of the negotiations between Moscow and Amsterdam and between the British and the Russian General Councils will be found in *International Trade Union Unity*; in *Labour White Paper No. 11*, London, Labour Research Department; in two reports issued by the British Trades Union Congress in the summer of 1925, on *Russia and International Unity*; in the Report of the General Council to the 57th Annual Trades Union Congress, p. 215, ff.; in *Trade Union Unity*, a monthly magazine published at 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London; and in the files of the *Labour Monthly* which is published at the same address.



these negotiations. We have never had a doubt that we were fully meeting your wishes in holding open the door to negotiations between Moscow and Amsterdam, and I feel sure our mediatorial efforts will ultimately meet with success. . . . It is our duty to bend all our energies to the reconstruction of the International Trade Union Movement on the basis of toleration, mutual understanding, and unity of purpose.”\*

President Swales added: “It is imperative that we shall have a clear understanding with the Trade Unions throughout the world.”

Attacks from inside and from outside the Labor Movement had been centred upon those members of the British General Council who were responsible for pushing the Russian Report, and for insisting upon unity with the Russian Unions. A hard fight on the Unity Resolution was predicted, and some of the opponents of the resolution even went so far as to suggest that there would be a thorough house-cleaning in the General Council, and that Purcell, Swales, Hicks, and Bramley (the outstanding advocates of Trade Union Unity) would find themselves out in the cold, with the General Council policy on the unity issue completely reversed by vote of the Congress.

All of the fraternal delegates, including Tomskey, spoke on the fourth day of the Congress. Immediately following these addresses, the resolution on International Unity was introduced: “This Congress records appreciation of the General Council’s efforts to promote international unity, and urges the incoming General Council to do everything in their power towards securing world-wide unity of the Trade Union Movement through an all inclusive International Federation of Trade Unions.”

Fred Bramley, in moving the resolution, made an impressive appeal to the delegates. He declared that the six and a half millions of Russian workers could not be left outside the World’s Labor Movement; that the Russian Revolution was the first great historic step of the working class toward freedom; that Russia was being held at bay, for this reason, by the organized capitalists of the world; and that there was nothing for the British workers to do except to declare their solidarity with the workers of Russia. The motion was seconded. The air of the Congress became tense and electric. From all parts of the hall there were cries of “Vote! vote!” The *London Times* stated the next day that the President rushed the resolution through. Quite the contrary was true. The Congress rushed the President. Sentiment was at fever heat. Without a single word of opposition,

\*Official text of the speech as issued at the Congress sessions.

and by an almost unanimous shout of approval the Unity Resolution was carried.

Delegates sank back in their seats. Advocates of the resolution slipped their undelivered speeches back into their pockets. The crisis of the week had been passed; the spokesmen for unity had won out without a struggle, and with this unanimous approval the General Council was in a position to go on with its work for International Trade Union Unity.

#### XIV. Unity Sentiment Grows

During the past five or six years two barriers have stood in the way of World Labor Unity. The first was the localism and sectionalism of the Labor Movement. The second was the Russian Revolution.

At any period in economic and social development the Labor Movement will probably be as sectional and as local in character as the community in which it exists—perhaps a little more so, since the masses are likely to lag behind the march of economic and social forces. Great distances, differences in race, language and customs, differences in trade and industry, and differences in nationality all serve to keep workers apart.

Summing up this world disorganization of labor, Edo Fimmen writes: "Lack of energy, lack of time, and also lack of funds—these are the main reasons for the failure, down to the present time, to get into direct touch with the trade unions of America, Australia and Asia."\* Fimmen might have added that the different stages in development of the various countries make it difficult for the workers in one country to realize the particular difficulties confronting the workers in a distant land.

Workers of the world have also been kept apart, in some degree, during the past nine years, by the Russian Revolution. A decade ago, there were no Trade Unions reported from Russia. Today Soviet Trade Unions number more than seven and a half million members. These millions of men and women work for their living. They are an organic part of the World Labor Movement. Thus far, however, they have not been absorbed into it.

The reason for this lies in the Revolution. The workers of Russia have passed out of the capitalist stage of economic development into a socialist stage. To a more complete degree than in any other part of the world the Russian workers are the masters of their own economic destiny. In order to gain this

\**Labour's Alternative*, London, Labour Publishing Co., 1924, p. 120.

freedom the Russian workers were compelled to destroy landlordism and capitalism.

Consequently, throughout the world, landlords and capitalists have done everything in their power to defame and cripple the Soviet Republic. Since landlords and capitalists are in control of the press, the schools, and the other channels of public opinion throughout the world, they have been able to tell the masses of workers daily lies about the Soviet Republic.

The burden of these lying stories was that the Soviet workers were starving and enslaved, that their women and children were nationalized, that the whole experiment was a savage plot of a few butchers to destroy civilization, and that it would fail anyway in a short time. But years passed, and in spite of ostracism and opposition, the Soviet government did not fail, but grew stronger and stronger. Then the workers in other countries began to stir themselves. They had been relying for the facts about Russia upon their economic masters, or else upon Communist propagandists. They would see for themselves.

During the past two years, from all parts of the world, delegations of workers have travelled through the Soviet Union. The elaborate and circumstantial report of the British Delegation of 1924 has probably done more than any single document to open the eyes of the European workers on the situation existing in Russia. During 1925 a delegation of about 200 workers went to Russia from Sweden. A delegation of British working women visited Russia in May, 1925, and a month later 60 German delegates, elected from the shops in many cases, visited the Soviet Union. At least 40 of these Germans were Social Democrats, and therefore politically opposed to the Communist Movement. Other delegations went from Belgium, France, Austria, Norway, and Australia.

These delegations, returning home, have revolutionized the attitude in their own countries toward Russia. The British women issued a careful report, amazingly favorable to the Soviet Union, in those fields of woman and child protection which the delegation went to study. The other delegations have issued official statements, which, in every case, have been favorable to the Soviet regime.

Meanwhile the developments in China and Morocco, the unemployment in Britain, the continued stagnation in world trade, the cutting of wages, and the war of the masters on the Labor Movement have acted as additional stimuli to the workers. Their own impotence and dis-unity in the face of the growing solidarity of the capitalists are forcing the issue upon the masses.

Rank and file meetings all over Europe are acclaiming World Labor Unity. Resolutions are being passed and circulated.\* The responsible leaders of the working class in many countries are speaking in no uncertain terms in favor of action.

At the labor conference held in Paris July 4-5, 1925, Liebaers, Secretary of the Belgian Garment Workers Union, said to the 2,470 delegates: "Workers of France! You are faced with this alternative from which there is no escape. You will either pay dearly for the error of your divided forces, and will allow still heavier chains to be loaded upon you. Or else, by Trade Union Unity, you will be able first to stop the criminal war in Morocco, and then to forge the weapon which the workers need for their final emancipation."†

Speaking to 630 delegates at a conference at Battersea, London, on January 30, 1925, A. J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, said: "Comrades, we are at the crossroads. Either we have to re-organize our trade unions into real live fighting organizations on behalf of the down-trodden working classes, or be content to allow them to be simply a medium for co-operating with and stabilizing capitalism, with the resulting enslavement of the working classes.

"The steps to be taken to obtain a united working-class front are:—

- (1) Organization by industry;
- (2) Every industry to be linked up nationally and internationally; and
- (3) Every struggle, either offensive or defensive, to be fought nationally or internationally."‡

Purcell, President of the British Trades Union Congress during 1924, head of the British Delegation to Russia, and President of the I.F.T.U., declares, in an article on "The Burning Question of International Unity": "Unorganized coolie labor abroad will force us, is now forcing us, to coolie labor at home. . . .

"One way there is, and one only, by which improvements can be achieved. That is, by everywhere building up a strong trade union movement and by fighting for trade union conditions throughout the world.

"By what means can we achieve this object? By the creation of a single fighting Trade Union International. . . . It must be able to carry out a militant policy for the emancipation of the working class in all countries."§

\*Many of these resolutions appear monthly in the pages of *Trade Union Unity*.

†*L'Humanité*, July 6, 1925.

‡*Workers Weekly*, January 30, 1925.

§*Labour Monthly*, September, 1925, pp. 525-6.

Following on the British Trades Union Congress the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council held a meeting and issued a report reviewing the whole situation. After commenting on "the growth of economic reaction"; the return of "reactionary groups of capitalists" to power in various parts of Europe; the new wars in Morocco, Syria and China, and the alliance under the Locarno Pact "directed against the U. S. S. R." (Soviet Russia), the report concludes: "The establishment of an all-inclusive world-wide Trade Union International has therefore become more necessary than ever. . . . The Joint Advisory Council . . . appeals to the workers of every country to their organisations and leaders, to join their efforts with the British and Russian trade union movements, in order to secure the removal of all obstacles and difficulties in the way of national and international working class unity, and to help them bring into existence one all-inclusive world-wide federation of trade unions."\*

Labor sentiment is gradually crystallizing about the unity issue. The masses of workers all over Europe feel its need. The leaders are beginning to speak out the demand for its consummation in unmistakably clear language.

## XV. Next Steps Toward World Labor Unity

There is little difference of opinion regarding the immediate steps that must be taken to unify the Labor Movement. Five distinct aspects of the problem demand attention. First, there is the necessity of organizing each shop, mine, department or factory—each unit of occupational activity—and having it under the direction of a shop committee. Second, there is the task of organizing by trade or industry or occupation, within each country, and internationally. Third, there is the work of federating these organizations within a given country into one Trade Union organization. Fourth, for the workers in imperial countries, there is the problem of assisting the workers in exploited countries to organize. This can be done most effectively where the assistance comes from the workers in the exploiting country to the colonials that are being exploited by that country. And fifth, there must be organized one single International Federation of Trade Unions.

Purcell states the immediate program in this way:

- "(1) The organization of the workers of the East.
- "(2) A common *defensive* fight against the conspiracy of capitalism to worsen the conditions of the workers.

\**Trade Union Unity*, Oct., 1925, p. 111.

"(3) A common *offensive* fight for the improvement of the conditions of the workers everywhere.

"(4) A systematic campaign against the conspiracy of British and American financial capital which has found its clearest expression in the Dawes Report.

"These aims . . . are simple enough. Now for the way to achieve unity, which is equally simple. What is required is a general world congress of all Trade Union organizations, with a full and adequate representation of the rank and file. . . .

"We cannot expect a world congress to be convened tomorrow. One important step, however, on the road to international unity can be taken at once. That is the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to the International Federation of Trade Unions. This should and can be achieved, without more ado, by a preliminary unconditional conference on both sides."\*

World Labor Unity is no utopian dream. It is an immediate pressing necessity which awaits the will of the workers for its realization. The economic basis for its accomplishment is already laid. Upon the militants of the present generation rests the task of forging the scattered Trade Union forces of the world into one International Federation of Trade Unions.

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\**Labour Monthly*, September, 1925, p. 528.

## INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS.

### Proportion of Trade Union Membership to Population, 1922.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Trade Union Membership (In thousands)</i>	<i>Population (In thousands)</i>	<i>Percentage of Population in Trade Unions</i>
Argentina .....	60	8,533	.7
Australia .....	750	5,437	13.8
Austria .....	1,177	6,131	19.2
Belgium .....	781	7,479	10.4
Bulgaria .....	54	4,861	1.1
Canada .....	292	8,769	3.3
China .....	500	302,110	.2
Cuba .....	20 (est.)	2,889	.7
Czechoslovakia .....	1,383	13,596	10.3
Denmark .....	314	3,268	9.6
Dominican Republic .....	5	897	.4
Ecuador .....	5	2,000	.2
Egypt .....	60	12,710	.5
Finland .....	49	3,368	1.5
France .....	1,396	39,403	3.5
Germany .....	11,264	59,857	18.8
Great Britain .....	5,580	42,768	10.7
Greece .....	170	5,535	3.1
Hungary .....	203	7,841	2.6
India .....	500	247,140	.2
Ireland .....	183	4,390	4.2
Italy .....	3,443	37,528	9.2
Japan .....	111	56,961	.2
Latvia .....	26	1,503	1.7
Luxemburg .....	21	264	8.0
Mexico .....	656	15,502	4.2
Netherlands .....	550	6,841	8.0
New Zealand .....	83	1,219	6.8
Norway .....	96	2,646	3.6
Palestine .....	15	762	2.0
Panama .....	3	401	.7
Peru .....	25	4,570	.5
Poland .....	1,253	27,778	4.5
Portugal .....	150	5,958	2.0
Rumania .....	82	17,393	.5
Russia .....	4,828	131,546	3.7
South Africa .....	60	6,923	.9
Spain .....	310	20,784	1.5
Sweden .....	325	5,904	5.5
Switzerland .....	243	3,880	6.3
United States .....	3,680	105,711	3.5
Virgin Islands .....	2	26	7.7
Yugoslavia .....	81	11,338	.7

## Membership of Trade Unions in Various Countries, 1911-1923.

Country	(In thousands)												
	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923*
Argentina	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68	248 <sup>4</sup>	60	120
Australia	365	433	498	523	528	546	564	582	628	684	703	750	700
Austria	200	257	253	147	112	109	211	295	772	985	1,178	1,177	1,117
Belgium	189	231	203	203	...	...	...	450	750	920	920	781	745
Bulgaria	...	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	44	54	100
Canada	133	160	176	166	143	160	205	249	378	374	313	292	255
China	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300	500	300
Czechoslovakia	100	107	107	55	40	24	43	161	657	1,650	1,562	1,383	1,505
Denmark	128	139	154	156	173	189	224	316	360	362	323	314	303
Finland	20	24	28	31	30	42	161	21	41	59	49	49	48
France	1,029	1,064	1,027	1,026	...	...	1,500	2,000	2,500	1,788	1,047	1,396	1,496
Germany	3,336	3,566	3,572	2,271	1,524	1,496	1,937	3,801	9,000	13,000	12,625	11,264	9,193
Great Britain	2,970	3,226	4,192	4,199	4,417	4,677	5,547	6,645	8,024	8,493	6,793	5,580	5,405
Greece	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	170	...	...	...
Hungary	95	102	107	107	43	55	215	500	500	343	266	203	191
India	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	500	500	500	300
Italy	847	861	972	962	806	701	740	...	1,800	3,100	2,200	3,443	2,235
Japan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	111	...	126
Latvia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	26	24
Luxemburg	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	13
Mexico	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,056	656	800
Netherlands	169	189	220	227	251	304	369	456	625	664	649	550	545
New Zealand	56	61	71	74	68	71	...	...	100	96	98	83	80
Norway	53	61	64	68	78	81	94	180	144	154	98	96	90
Peru	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	25
Poland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	947	1,343	1,253	770
Portugal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	150	...	50
Rumania	6	10	...	...	17	16	16	...	...	170	106	82	78
Russia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,222	8,400	4,828	4,556
South Africa	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	133	108	60 <sup>6</sup>	35
Spain	80	190	128	121	76	99	90	150	211	373	311	310	453
Sweden	111	120	136	141	151	189	244	302	339	390	362	325	400
Switzerland	78	86	89	50	65	89	149	177	224	312	267	234	299
United States	2,282	2,539	2,722	2,672	2,860	3,000	3,451	4,000	5,607	4,924	3,907 <sup>2</sup>	...	3,600
Yugoslavia <sup>1</sup>	8	5	9	14	12	12	12	15	20	47	72	81	60
Total	12,255	13,351	14,763	13,222	11,394 <sup>8</sup>	11,860 <sup>8</sup>	15,772 <sup>8</sup>	20,290 <sup>8</sup>	32,680	46,114	46,138	39,951	36,017

<sup>1</sup> Figures up to 1919 for pre-war Serbia. <sup>2</sup> American Federation of Labor only. <sup>3</sup> Total not reliable because of incomplete reporting during war and changes of boundaries. <sup>4</sup> 1921 figure for Argentina includes 153,000 in an Anarcho-Syndicalist federation and 20,000 in a Catholic organization not listed in 1920. <sup>5</sup> 1921. <sup>6</sup> White workers only. *United States Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1921; *International Labor Review*, February-March, 1923; *Twelfth Annual Report on Labor Organization in Canada*, 1922; *Second Statistical Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions*, 1924; *Industrial and Labor Information*, 1922-25; and *Proceedings of Congresses*. <sup>7</sup> *Third Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions*, 1925, page 234a.



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