
Constitution of the Red International of Labor Unions, as of 2nd World Congress — Nov. 1922.

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Introduction.

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, not only on a national but also on an international scale against the bourgeoisie, who, despite the severe competition on the world market, is closely united in its hatred of the proletarian revolution, and solidly welded against the slightest attempt of the proletariat to free itself from exploitation. Since the exploitation is international the fight against it must have an international character. All internationals of labor unions, which existed up to the present moment, at best were but international statistical bureaus for mutual information. 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. The first was but an information office; the latter occupies itself with politics of the worst kind, with anti-proletarian, bourgeois politics. It sets forth the idea of class cooperation, social peace and peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. In its essence it is an international of counteraction to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Against this international of impotence, confusion, subservience to the bourgeoisie, such as the Amsterdam International is, we must oppose an international of revolutionary vigor, of class activity, an international which, together with the Communist International, will organize the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of

the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, an international which will seize all the means of production and establish the Communist commonwealth.

Such a militant labor union international can be built up only by revolutionary class unions, conscious of the purpose and methods of the defensive and offensive struggle against the class enemy. The problem history has put before the revolutionary unions requires the utmost concentration of power, unexampled intensity and the greatest self-sacrifice of the conscious vanguard elements of the working class.

I. Name.

The International Congress of revolutionary, class conscious trade and industrial unions, which unites the revolutionary labor union organizations of all countries, decides to create a permanent international organization under the name: The Red International of Labor Unions.

II. Aims and Purpose.

The Red International of Labor Unions has for its aims:

1. To organize the large working mass in the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation, and the establishment of the socialist commonwealth.

2. To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda of the principles of the revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

3. To fight against the corruptive ulcer, gnawing at the vitals of the world labor union movement, of compromising with the bourgeoisie, against the ideas of class cooperation and social peace and the absurd hopes for a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

4 To unite the revolutionary class elements of the world labor union movement and carry on, a decisive battle against the International Bureau of Labor attached to the League of Nations and against the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions which by their program and tactics are but the bulwark of the world bourgeoisie.

5. To coordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries and organize international demonstrations each time the situation demands them.

6. To take the initiative of international campaigns about prominent events of the class struggle, to open subscription lists for the benefit of strikers in great social conflicts, etc.

III. Membership.

Any revolutionary economic class organization is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labor Unions if it accepts the following conditions:

1. Endorsement of the principles of the revolutionary class struggle.

2. Application of the principles in its daily struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state.

3. Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism through the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition period.

4. Recognition of and submission to the international proletarian discipline.

5. Recognition and application of the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

6. The rupture with the Amsterdam Yellow International.

7. All organizations, members of the RILU should realize unity of action according to existing conditions with all revolutionary organizations and the Communist Parties in all defensive and offensive actions against the bourgeoisie.

IV. International Congresses.

The International Congress of revolutionary class trade and industrial unions is the supreme organ of the Red International of Labor Unions. Congresses take place as often as possible—and at least once a year. They determine the general principles, program, tactics and statutes; elect the directing organ and decide all the questions connected with the orientation of the Red International of Labor Unions. Extraordinary Congresses are called by the decision of the Executive Bureau or at the demand of organizations representing no less than one-third of the members of the Red International of Labor Unions.

All trade and industrial unions which accept the program and are following the directions of the Red International of Labor Unions have the right to send delegates to the congresses.

The representation is distributed as follows:

Every national organization of trade or industrial unions having less than 5,000 members, receives 1 consultative voice at the Congress; having from 5,000 to 20,000 receives 1 decisive vote; from 20,000 to 50,000, 2 decisive votes; from 50,000 to 150,000, 4 decisive votes; from 150,000 to 300,000, 6 decisive votes; from 300,000 to 500,000, 8 decisive votes; from 500,000 to 700,000, 10 decisive votes; from 700,000 to 1,000,000, 12 decisive votes; having over 1,000,000, receives 1 additional decisive vote for every additional 500,000 members; international revolutionary class organizations by trades or industries have the right to; 2 deciding votes each.

Organized minorities in countries have the same representation; but all the organization of a given country affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions make up a single delegation, inside of which the votes are divided proportionally to the membership of the respective organizations. Organized minorities and fractions have representation on the congress only in those cases where the general labor union organization of that country is not affiliated with the International of Labor Unions.

V. Organs of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Red International of Labor Unions has two organs: The Central Council and the Executive Bureau.

The Central Council. The Central Council is composed as follows National Federations having from 5,000 to 50,000 members, send one representative with a decisive vote; from 50,000 to 300,000, two delegates with decisive votes; from 300,000 to 700,000, three delegates with decisive votes; from 700,000 to 2,000,000, four delegates with decisive votes; having over 2,000,000, send six delegates with decisive votes. International organizations by trades or industries have one representative with a consulting voice.

The Central Council directs all the work of the Red International of Labor Unions from congress to congress; takes all decisions necessitated by the circumstances; represents the Red International of Labor Unions before the whole world; acts in its name; gathers in its hands all the materials and documents concerning the international labor movement; manages all funds, including the International Fund of Militant Solidarity; publishes papers and magazines in different languages — in short, is the organ invested with the power to direct the work between the world congresses.

The Central Council meets at least twice a year, dealing mostly with the clearing up of questions of principle, and leaving all current work to the Executive Bureau.

The Executive Bureau is elected at the Congress, and is composed of fifteen members, representing the following countries: Russia, three members; Germany, one member; France, one; England; one; America, one; Scandinavian countries, one; Spanish-speaking countries, one; Poland, one; Australia, one; Eastern countries, one.

The elected members of the Executive Bureau can be called off or substituted by their substitutes only with the agreement of the Executive Bureau.

The Executive Bureau directs all the current affairs of the Red International of Labor Unions. It regulates the work of the departments and sections; publishes the official organ of the Red International of

Labor Unions; represents the Red International of Labor Unions; and the Central Council wherever and whenever it is necessary; and prepares all the questions for the sessions of the Central Council. The Executive Bureau meets at least once a week.

VI. Unity of Action and Unity of Organization.

Minorities of general labor unions and of national centers affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions and separate organizations affiliated with it must coordinate all their actions. If in a given country the general federation of all unions affiliates with the Red International no other separate organizations can affiliate with it. The revolutionary organizations endorsing the stand of the Red International must join the general labor union organization of their country.

VII. Funds.

1. The adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions who represent a minority in the trade unions, not affiliated with the RILU, pay monthly contributions in the shape of propaganda stamps.

2. The headquarters of the opposition in each country collects these membership dues.

3. Five per cent of the whole sum of these dues is sent to the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

4. The national federations and organizations, affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions pay one per cent of all incoming membership dues of the local funds.

VIII. International Fund of Militant Solidarity.

The International Fund of Militant Solidarity is made up of a special one per cent of the general income of the funds of the organizations affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

This fund is also augmented by voluntary collections.

IX. Connections with the International Trade and Industrial Organizations.

The Red International of Labor Unions admits to membership not only general labor union, organizations by countries, but also international organizations by trades and industries, and International Propaganda Committees. International trade and industrial organizations establish their connections with the Red International of Labor Unions, through their special representatives of the International Congresses and in the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The international trade and industrial organizations work in close cooperation and under the direct control and leadership of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions. The conferences and the congresses organized by the International Propaganda Committees take place upon a preliminary agreement with the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

X. Relation with the Communist International.

For the purpose of coordinating the struggle of all revolutionary organizations, the Executive Bureau can, if circumstances require it:

1. Conclude agreements with the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International.
2. Arrange mutual sessions with the Executive Bureau of the Third (Communist) International for the purpose of discussing the most important questions of the working class labor movement, and for the organization of concerted actions.
3. Issue appeals jointly with the Communist International.

XI. Expulsion and Membership.

Organizations affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions which, by their action have violated the decisions of the congresses, or do not obey the decisions of the Central Council, can be expelled by the decision of the Central Council on condition that the motion of expulsion must be carried by not less than a two-thirds vote.

If the violation is done by the central organs of a given organization, the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions must call upon the membership of that organization to consider, at a special conference or congress, the dispute at issue between their leading organ and the Red International of Labor Unions. The question of expulsion is taken up by the Central Council, only after the conference or convention of that organization has reached a decision on the question at issue. The expelled organization has the right to appeal from the decision of the Central Council to the next international congress, which may endorse or annul the expulsion.

XII. Internal Structure.

The Red International of Labor Unions is designated to direct the struggle of the proletariat and to inform its members of the situation in different countries who must adapt its apparatus to the work it must perform. For this purpose the Central Council develops its apparatus by creating such sections and departments as shall be necessary.

For the normal conduct of affairs and close contact of the Red International of Labor Unions with the labor union organizations of different countries, the Red International must establish regular reports of all the organizations affiliated with it and periodical trips to the most important countries by the members of the Central Council, especially in connection with the coming big economic conflicts.

XIII. Magazine, Bulletin, and Information.

The Red International of Labor Unions publishes its official organ in four languages (French, German, English and Russian), and a bulletin in the same languages. Besides those two organs for systematic information and ideological leadership, the Central Council of the Red International, shall turn their attention to the system of circular letters and visiting trips to organizations.

All organizations affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions are bound at their own expense, to distribute among their members a corresponding number of copies of the central organ of the

Red International of Labor Unions.

XIV. Auditing Committee.

The Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions elects an Auditing Committee of five persons, which supervises the correct income and expenditure of the funds and submits periodical reports to the congresses.

**XV. Location of the
Red International of Labor Unions.**

The permanent location of the Red International of Labor Unions is decided by the congress. The time and place of the congress are designated by the Central Council.

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