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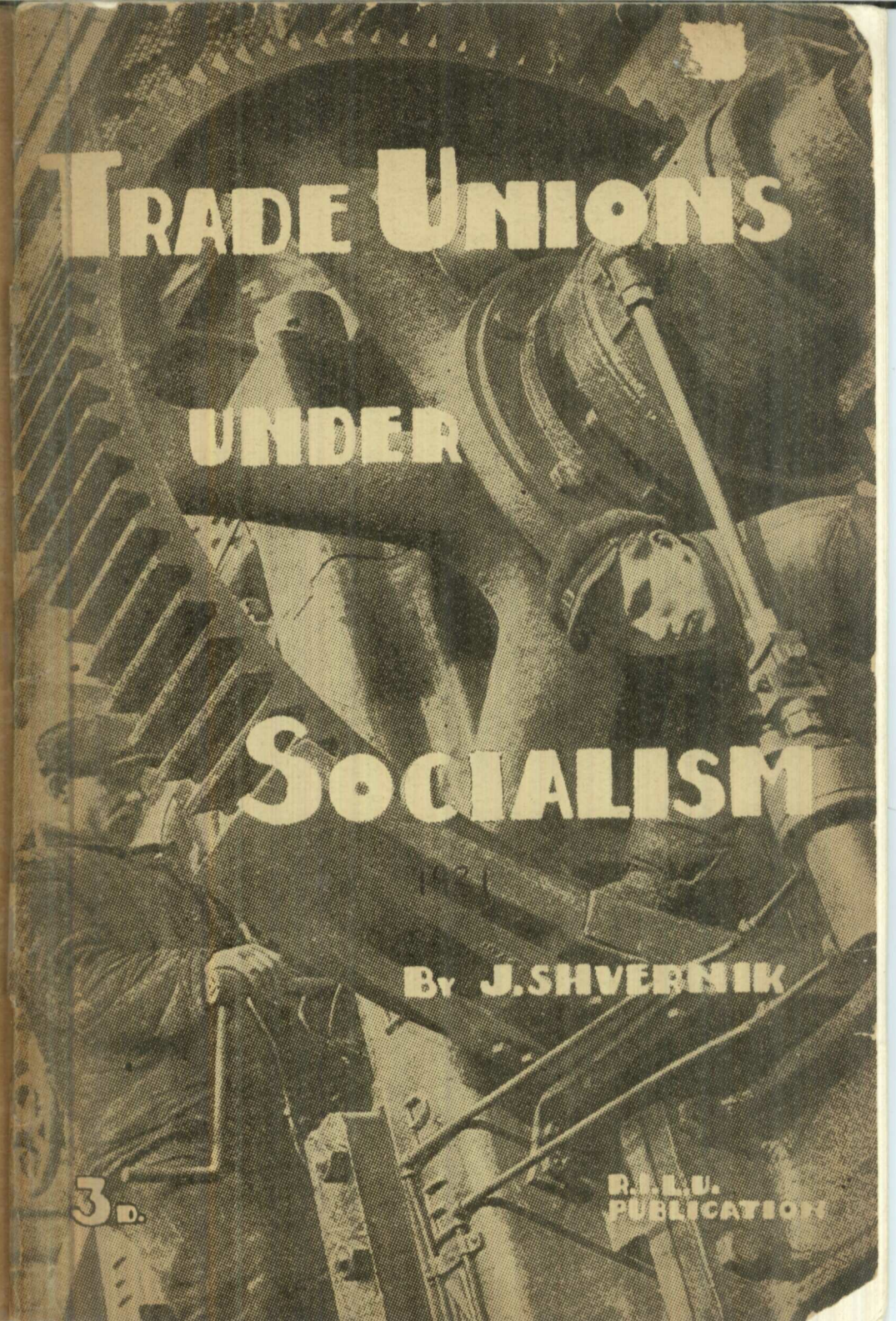
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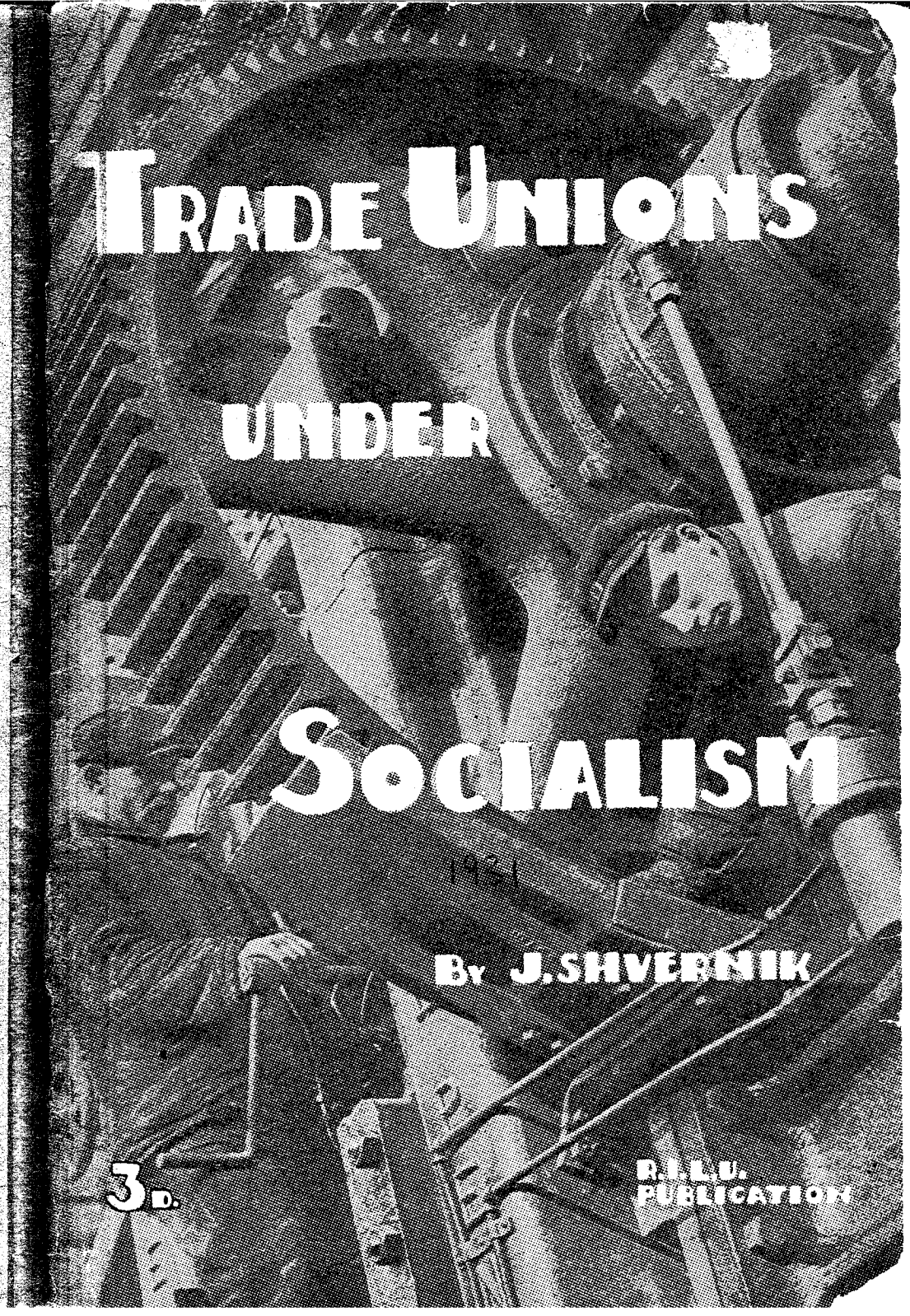
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TRADE UNIONS UNDER SOCIALISM

By J. SHVERNIK
Secretary of the Central Council
of Soviet Trade Unions

Price Threepence

R.I.L.U. PUBLICATIONS
59 Cromer Street - London, W.C. 1

PUBLISHERS' NOTES

IN the present pamphlet we reproduce the full text of the speech made by Comrade Shvernik, Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, at the Eighth Session of the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions, which met in Moscow in December, 1931.

In his speech Comrade Shvernik reported on the work of the Soviet Trade Unions in the construction of Socialism, of the improvements in the wages and conditions of the workers and the methods of work of the unions. Since December, 1931, the Ninth Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union has met, and has registered further progress both in the work of the trade unions and in Socialist development.

Special attention should be paid by the reader to the criticism of the work of the other sections of the R.I.L.U. made by Comrade Shvernik, and the concrete proposals put forward by him. The chief task before the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the capitalist countries is that of making *every factory a fortress of the revolutionary movement,* and in the carrying out of this many important lessons can be drawn from the work of the trade unions of the Soviet Union, the land of Socialist Construction.

At the same time, at a period such as the present, when world imperialism is feverishly preparing for armed intervention against the U.S.S.R., the popularizing of the work of the trade unions of the Workers' Fatherland is of the utmost importance.

London, *August,* 1932.

TRADE UNIONS UNDER SOCIALISM

By J. SHVERNIK

BEFORE starting on my report of the work carried out by the Soviet Trade Unions since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U., permit me, on behalf of the workers of the U.S.S.R., organized in the trade unions, to convey their cordial proletarian greetings to this gathering.

The tasks of the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council are to sum up the results of our joint work and struggles for the development of the international revolutionary trade union movement carried out since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. This must be done, because the developing crisis in capitalist countries, the economic and political contradictions which grow from day to day in the world capitalist system, the development of the revolutionary labour movement, the growth of elements of a revolutionary upsurge in the West and in the East, and the tremendous growth of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R. make it necessary to take into strict consideration both the achievements as well as the shortcomings of our work, in order to enable us, with the help of relentless proletarian self-criticism, to expose all the weak points and lay down concrete lines for more rapid headway to victory over the capitalist system throughout the world.

We will only be able to carry out this task by a most thorough analysis of the work carried out by both the revolutionary unions in the capitalist countries as well as by the Soviet trade union movement.

In its decisions the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress emphasized that the activities of the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. constitute a link in the international revolutionary trade union movement.

"Noting the very great achievements of the Soviet Trade Unions in developing and strengthening the Proletarian Dictatorship, the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. expresses its firm and unshakable conviction that the Soviet Trade Unions, which have with just honour occupied the foremost positions in the international revolutionary trade union movement, will in the future be in the front ranks of the fighters for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world." (From the Resolution of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress.)

This decision of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress laid on the Soviet trade unions a very great and responsible task—to further develop the activities of the U.S.S.R. unions for Socialist Construction and to strengthen the Proletarian Dictatorship. This is why we must speak in all seriousness, at this Eighth Session of the Central Council, of the work carried out by the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. during this period.

But in bringing up our work for the discussion at the Session we must first of all mention the decisive successes in the economic development of the country, for the whole of the activities of the Soviet Trade Unions are inseparably connected with the struggle for Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.

As the result of the unparalleled creative enthusiasm of the masses in carrying out the general line of the Party, the U.S.S.R. has entered the period of Socialism. This means, first of all, that the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has carried out the task of building the foundation of Socialist economy, and has introduced Socialist planning in all spheres of national economy.

Economic development, the rate of which is unparalleled throughout the world, has become the law for our progress to Socialism. The process of Socialist reconstruction has spread to all branches of national economy.

The attention and creative enthusiasm of the Soviet working class are concentrated on fulfilling the Five Year Plan.

The fulfilment of the Five Year Plan in four years has become the decisive method of work in all spheres of economic construction. In a number of key industries—for instance, electrotechnical, turbine construction, etc.—we have fulfilled the Five Year Plan in three years, and in some branches of national economy—oil, agricultural engineering, general engineering—it has been carried out in two and a half years.

I consider that this is a tremendous achievement, not only for the Soviet workers, but that it is an achievement for the entire working class of the world (applause).

We approach the last year of the Five Year Plan with a sharp growth in new technique in Socialist industry. The tractor, which was never even dreamed of in Tsarist Russia, is widely employed on our Soviet plains, upturning the virgin soil and transforming agriculture on to a new Socialist basis.

Agricultural engineering during the last year has made tremendous strides, and has supplied vast material means for agriculture, to raise the technical basis to a Socialist level.

The development of the engineering industry, particularly heavy engineering, has made rapid progress. We have organized the production of 50,000-kilowatt turbines, of blooming mills (which in the West are counted in units), of heavy rolling machines, boring

machines, generators, on a serious basis, making it possible to still further raise the technical basis in heavy industry, and thereby to move forward more rapidly along the path of developing Socialist economy.

The automobile industry, aviation, basic chemical industry—all industries which were practically non-existent in Russia previous to the Proletarian Dictatorship—have during the past few years developed immensely.

By developing the key branches of heavy engineering and producing the most complicated equipment we have proved that we are able to turn the U.S.S.R. into a land producing equipment and machinery for the key branches of Socialist industry.

The rapid mastering of technique in the key industries, the development of ever new industries, is increasingly freeing us from foreign dependence. In the third year of the Five Year Plan, Soviet equipment catered for 75 per cent. of the land's requirements, compared with 60 per cent. in the first year of the Five Year Plan.

INCREASING PRODUCTION

The growing part played by the production of the means of production qualitatively changes the structure of our industry. Combining the foremost achievements of world technique with the creative enthusiasm of the working class and Socialist forms of labour organization, we are creating a powerful technical-economic basis for further intensifying the rate of development of Socialist economy, and for the fulfilment of such a task as the *overtaking and outstripping* of the more advanced capitalist countries.

Such new giants of Socialist industry as the Kharkov Tractor Plant, the Stalin Motor Works (former A.M.O.), have already been completed. The construction of world-famous giants such as the Dnieperstroy, the Nijni-Novgorod Automobile Works, the Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk giant Metal Plants, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant, the world-famous heavy engineering giant, Uralmachinstroy, and a number of others, is now nearing completion.

In the East the second powerful metal basis is being laid at a rapid pace (Urals).

The construction of 518 factories, some of which have already been completed, and the others to be completed in the third year of the Five Year Plan, makes a profound revolution in the entire life of the country and indicates the tremendous victory of the Socialist system of economy.

Compared with pre-war, our industrial output has increased more than two and a half times. In 1931 industrial output increased by 20 to 21 per cent. compared with the previous year.

As for capital construction and the production of building

materials, we now occupy the first place in the world, having left the U.S.A. behind. In metal production we are overtaking Germany, after having overtaken England. We are now second in oil output, and in September we took fourth place for coal output. We also occupy the second place in the world for the amount of metal used. None of the capitalist countries, with their highly-developed technique, produce as many agricultural machines as we do in the U.S.S.R. We already occupy the second place in the world in the production of tractors. The victories of the Stalingrad tractor works, equipped according to the last word of technique and each day approaching the complete utilization of its effective equipment, are common knowledge to every worker and collective farmer of the Soviet Union.

During the last few months of this current economic year—October and November—the rate of industrial development, particularly in the heavy industries, has grown rapidly. The light industries, which work to satisfy the growing requirements of the working class and toiling masses, have shown a substantial increase in output. Thus, for instance, the food and drink industry (under the People's Commissariat for Supplies) during the first ten months of the year, compared with the respective period of last year, increased its output by 27.3 per cent.

The Soviet Union has made decisive successes in the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The plan for collectivization drawn up for 1931 has been surpassed. To date, throughout the U.S.S.R., 63 per cent. of the poor and middle peasant farms are united in the collective farms. In the chief grain-producing districts—North Caucasus, Lower Volga, Middle Volga, Ukraine (the Steppes belt)—complete collectivization has been carried out, and the kulaks as a class have been liquidated on this basis. The Collective Farms, embracing 79 per cent. of the total sown peasant area, jointly with the Machine and Tractor Depots and the State Farms, present in a gigantic mass the Socialist sector of the countryside. The Soviet Union has become the land of the most advanced and largest-scale agriculture in the world, which differs fundamentally from agriculture in the capitalist countries and possesses decisive advantages over the latter.

The successes of Socialist Construction have led to fundamental qualitative changes, not only in the economics of the country, but also in the correlation of class forces.

NEW FORMS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

The correlation of social-class forces in the U.S.S.R., which has arisen on the basis of the decisive successes of Socialist Construction, completely ensures the victory of Socialism. The Soviet working

class, leading the broad masses of collective and poor and middle peasants, defeating the frantic resistance of the class enemy, liquidating the kulaks as a class, and ridding the great Soviet land of all survivals of the capitalist past, unswervingly strengthens its Socialist Workers' Government and confidently moves forward to the construction and triumph of Socialism, having in its hands everything necessary to completely ensure it. The irrefutable fact that we have entered upon the period of Socialism is seen in the gigantic rate of industrial development, in the construction of new giant factories, the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the mastering of technique, the growth of new Socialist forms of labour.

The problem of "who beats whom," both in industry and in agriculture, has been settled once and for all in favour of Socialism. This does not at all mean that there is no class struggle in the country. Only opportunists can argue so.

The developed offensive of the Socialist elements all along the front, the tremendous successes of Socialist Construction and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, sharpen the resistance of the survivals of kulak-capitalist elements. This is why the class struggle at the present stage is not only not being lessened, but is of a sharpened character.

The kulak-capitalist elements, fanning the grasping tendencies of certain sections of the collective farmers, are endeavouring to prevent the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and disintegrate them.

Of course here, too, they will suffer complete defeat, but we must not overlook the fact of kulak influence in some collective farms.

The bourgeois influence of the kulak-capitalist elements is felt even in some of the State enterprises, as, for instance, in State farms, where grasping tendencies were displayed in the turning in of the produce to the State. The kulaks agitate against the Socialist Competition, shock work and cost accountancy.

Such are the new forms of the class struggle and the resistance of the class enemy.

In the struggle for the victory of Socialism, for the realization of its general line, the Party has accomplished great victories over the class enemy and their agency inside the Party, right and "left" wing opportunism. But there are still survivals of right-wing opportunism and counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which has become "*the vanguard of the international counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.*" (Stalin.)

In connection with the changed forms of resistance by the kulak-capitalist elements, the forms in which right and "left" wing reformism display themselves have changed. Concealed by formal agreement to the general line of the Party, the opportunists of all shades endeavour to carry out bourgeois influence, do not fight the kulak-capitalist elements, and smuggle opportunist and counter-

revolutionary contraband. This is why the unions, as the mass organizations of the working class, must be particularly vigilant and wage a relentless struggle against the opportunists of all shades as disorganizers of Socialist Construction. Sweeping out of our path all capitulationists, heroes of spontaneous drifting and "leftist" phrases, the unions, under the leadership of the Party, will in the future show crushing resistance to right-wing opportunism, as the kulak agency, and likewise to all manifestations of "leftist" opportunist phrase-mongering and tendencies of rotten liberalism.

There are objective difficulties in the way of Socialist Construction, caused by the conditions of the class struggle, both within and without the U.S.S.R. The working class, under the Leninist Central Committee of the Party, is successfully overcoming these difficulties and mobilizing its creative initiative to fight for the eradication of the lagging behind in some branches of our industry, for the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan in four years, as the decisive conditions for the triumph of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

STALIN'S SIX POINTS

The tremendous scope of Socialist Construction has led to a complete change in the whole of the politico-economic situation in the country. The fact determining this change is that we have completed building the foundation for Socialist economy, and on the whole have completed thorough collectivization in all the chief agricultural districts of the U.S.S.R. The tasks of Socialist Construction not only extend but grow more complicated from day to day, for we have positively come to the stage of outstripping the technically and economically more advanced capitalist countries in the space of ten years.

All this requires from the working class and its mass organizations, from the unions in the first place, from the entire system of economic administration, the reorganization of their work; requires the ability to "work along new lines," and improved leadership of the economy and the masses. The six historical conditions for the victory of the working class, formulated by Comrade Stalin, are the practical directions for reorganizing work in all sections as applied to the new economic tasks and the new conditions of Socialist Construction. The speediest fulfilment of these conditions ensures a further great development of Socialist economy, improved material-living conditions for the working class, and the decisive victory of Socialism.

What is the substance of these six conditions?

Firstly, the adoption of new methods of recruiting labour power, *i.e.*, organized recruiting on the basis of agreements between the

enterprises and the collective farms, and improved material and living conditions for the workers.

Secondly, the struggle against the petty-bourgeois equalizing tendency in wages (equal pay for unequal work) and the introduction of the new wage scale reform, to be in accordance with the new economic tasks.

Thirdly, liquidation of the lack of personal responsibility, improved organization of labour and correct placing of labour power in the factories, departments, etc., which is to lead to consolidation of the permanent cadre of workers.

Fourthly, changed attitude towards the engineering technical forces which have come from the old school, more attention to them, and getting them to participate in work more boldly.

Fifthly, the establishment of our own industrial-technical intelligentsia from the working class.

And sixthly, the last condition is to introduce and consolidate business accountancy as a measure of increasing internal-industrial accumulation.

The realization of these six conditions implies the still greater development of the rate of Socialist Construction and the scope of creative enthusiasm of the toiling masses in the Soviet Union, and ensures the realization of the task "to overtake and outstrip" the advanced capitalist countries in ten years at the most.

Comrades, the successes of the Soviet Union in economic construction indicate that we start the fifteenth year of the Revolution with a balance-sheet which fully confirms the correctness of the general line of our Party, and determines the decisive victory in the struggle between two irreconcilable systems, *i.e.*, the victory of Socialism over capitalism.

Our successes and victories are of tremendous revolutionizing influence over the workers in capitalist Europe, America and the toilers of the East, increasing ten-fold their strength and energy in the struggle against capitalism.

The support of the working class in the capitalist countries for our victories, for our struggle, is of immense assistance in building up Socialism.

In the struggle for the triumph of Socialism the trade unions of the Soviet Union play no mean part.

This is why to-day, at the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council, we must reply clearly to the question of how the Soviet Trade Unions have carried out their task, their rôle as the School for Communism, the school for administering Socialist industry, the school for the class education of the working class; how it has carried out this task since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U.

REORGANIZATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The activities of the Soviet Trade Unions are marked, first and foremost, by the tremendous creative enthusiasm of the working class and the growth in its productive activity, seen in the powerful scope of the Socialist Competition and the shock work movement.

To-day, throughout the whole of the U.S.S.R., we have 3½ million shock workers and 200,000 shock brigades, the result of the development of working-class industrial activity and its creative enthusiasm. The Socialist Competition and the shock work movement are developing to a new and higher phase—I am speaking of the organization of cost accountancy brigades.

The development of towing brigades, of planning-operative groups, of shift-counter planning, etc., which is partially a development since the Fifth Congress, indicates that the Soviet workers, in their struggle for Socialist Construction, are realizing their creative initiative and energy in new Socialist forms of labour, thereby showing that their attitude towards the enterprises of a Socialist type is that towards enterprises where they alone are masters, working for their own welfare.

The growth of production, the increasing complexity of the industrial tasks in the reconstructive period, have required a complete reorganization of all mass organizations of the working class, particularly the trade unions. This is why the decision of the Fifth Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions (C.C.T.U.) is of particular importance, laying down, as it does, the concrete tasks for further improving the work of the unions, which have been dictated by the entire struggle for Socialism.

What is the substance of the decisions of the Fifth Plenum of the C.C.T.U. ? They call for more concrete participation of the unions in industrial life, bringing the leadership of the unions close down to the broad masses, improved work by the trade union organizations to cater for the masses, the social insurance organs, the co-operatives, etc.

The decision of the Fifth Plenum to reorganize the unions into smaller bodies, thereby getting them closer to the direct day-to-day catering for the masses, is the practical expression of the more concrete participation of the unions in industrial life.

I do not want to touch in detail on the contents of the Fifth Plenum decision to reorganize the unions, but will simply point out how we carried it out. The Metal Workers' Union, which united the workers in all the industries related with the manufacture and handling of metal, was divided into seven independent unions : the Ferrous Metal Workers' Union, the Coloured Metals Workers' Union, the Transport Engineers' Union, the Union of Agricultural Engineers, the Electrotechnical Workers' Union, the Automobile, Tractor and Aviation Workers' Union, the General Engineers'

Union. The Miners' Union was divided into four : the Ore Miners' Union, the Coal Miners' Union, the Oil Workers' Union, and the Slate and Peat Workers' Union. Then the Chemical Workers' Union, which was divided into three : the Basic Chemical Workers' Union, the Chemical Workers' Union (light chemical trades), and the Glass and Porcelain Workers' Union. The Textile Union was also divided into three : the Cotton Textile Workers' Union, the Woollen and Silk Workers' Union, and the Flax, Hemp and Jute Workers' Union. The Builders' Union, divided into three independent unions : Union of Housing and Municipal-Industrial Building Workers, Union of Railway and Port Construction Workers, and the Union of Cement and Ceramic Workers. Again, the Food and Drink Workers' Union formed four independent unions : the Flour, Milling and Bakery Workers' Union, the Union of Meat, Fish and Canning Workers, the Union of Agricultural Produce Workers, and the Catering Workers' Union. The Agricultural Workers' Union was divided into four : the Sugar Workers' Union, the Union of Workers of State Agricultural Farms, the Union of Workers of State Stock-Breeding Farms, and the Union of Workers of Machine and Tractor Depots and Farm Labourers. The State and Commercial Employees' Union has been divided into three independent unions : the Co-operative and State Commercial Employees' Union, the Union of State Employees, and the Union of Financial and Banking Employees. The Municipal Workers' Union was divided into three unions : Municipal Workers' Union, the Union of Workers of City Enterprises, and the Union of House Employees and Domestic Servants.

REFORMIST SLANDER REFUTED

The social-fascist and the reformist trade union press saw in this reorganization of the Soviet Trade Unions a return to the craft principle in union structure.

Is this accusation correct ? I categorically declare that the accusation levelled against the Soviet Trade Unions, that they are sliding towards the craft principle in reorganizing the trade union movement, is below all criticism, for the fundamental principle which determined the reorganization of the work of the Soviet Trade Unions is, first and last, the industrial principle, " One factory, one union."

The reorganization of the Soviet Trade Unions is neither more nor less than the further deepening of the industrial principle.

How can it be said that we are turning back to building the unions on the craft basis when we observe the industrial principle, as the basis, in every factory ?

The social-fascist and reformist slander aims at misleading the

broad working masses of the West, and making out the position of the trade union movement in the U.S.S.R. to be as if there is no progress in the development of the trade union organizations on the basis of deepening the industrial principle, but a return to the craft principle, and it must be resolutely exposed. We determinedly refute the slanderous attacks on the Soviet Trade Unions made by the reformists (applause).

The reorganization of the work of the unions was not restricted to dividing them into smaller bodies only. The entire politico-economic situation and the conditions of work demand from the unions forms and methods in leading the working masses that would ensure the completest satisfaction of all the workers' interests. This task confronted us particularly acutely, for during the past year vast numbers of new workers have come into industry who but yesterday were petty owners in agriculture. These new cadres required great intensification of the work of the unions to politically and culturally educate the masses.

In order to enable the trade union organizations to get the broadest possible masses of workers to participate in solving the questions of production, and to extend their feelers so as to embrace all their day-to-day needs and cater for their requirements most fully, in addition to the dividing of the unions into smaller bodies, it was necessary to follow the line of organizing production sections in the chief industries inside the various trade unions.

The Production Sections ensure for the workers in the given trades the broad possibility of concrete participation in discussing and considering the production questions and questions of management of production which confront the group of workers. By developing the work of the production sections the trade union organizations bring their leadership closer to the broad masses of the workers, study their day-to-day needs and requirements, and thereby get down four-square to concretely satisfying the day-to-day material-living and cultural requirements and needs of the working class.

In addition to the organization of Production Sections inside the unions, we have specially marked the workers in the key trades, and have commenced to call production conferences of the key trades in the factories. What was our object in doing this ?

In particularly taking up activities among the key trades, *i.e.*, among the skilled cadres, we put ourselves the task of getting them to take a more active part in solving production questions. By paying particular attention to the key trades and holding special meetings, production conferences, in these trades, the unskilled workers will also be drawn into taking an active part in solving the production questions inside the department or factory. Thus the intensification of activities among the key trades is likewise a means, an incentive, to the unskilled workers to raise their skill.

The calling of production conferences of workers in the separate trades and special meetings of the trades, on the one hand, ensures that we show up all the achievements and shortcomings in the work of the individual trades, ensure a rapid exchange of experience and, on the other hand, makes it possible to gain a completer knowledge of the material and cultural-living requirements of these groups of workers.

FACTORY TRADE UNION GROUPS

Activities among the key trades on the basis of holding special meetings and production conferences ensure, not only the elimination of shortcomings and obstacles in the work of the department, etc., but also raise the Socialist Competition and shock brigade movement to a higher level, drawing the workers to take direct part in managing the given department of the factory, etc.

Paying more attention to the key trades and intensifying activities among them by no means implies that the trade union organizations turn their backs on the less skilled workers. By calling meetings of the workers in the different trades we make use of them as a school for drawing the workers, including the unskilled workers, into direct and active participation in discussing production questions, as an incentive to them to raise their skill in the process of developing productive activity and the initiative of the workers. We would like to ask the reformist trade union officials who criticize the decisions of the Fifth Plenum of the C.C.T.U. whether they do anything of the kind to raise the skill of the workers. We know beforehand that we will get no reply, for the work of the reformist unions tells us that the reformists " forget " the interests of raising the skill of the workers.

A further measure in improving the work of the unions is shifting the basis of trade union activities to the rank and file trade union links.

While formerly the factory committee was considered the rank-and-file trade union link, now, after the reorganization of work on the basis of the Fifth Plenum decisions, the rank-and-file link is not the factory, or even the department committee, but the trade union group.

Only through the trade union group, as the basic link in trade union work, can the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan, for the correct application of the wages policy, be carried out properly and the attention of the workers be concentrated on the most concrete questions and details of hitches in industrial life, on the elimination of which frequently depends the successful fulfilment of the production programme. The trade union group is the basic rank-and-file trade union link which affords the possibility of getting

into the closest possible contact with the working masses, concretely learning their moods and interests, studying the good and bad points in work, and rapidly signalizing to the shift, department and factory committee both the need to eliminate shortcomings in work as well as to transfer good experiments in the work of the given group of workers to the entire department, etc. Only through the trade union group is it possible to put trade union activities in the department on a proper footing.

This is why, after the Fifth Plenum of the C.C.T.U., a widespread network of trade union groups was set up in the Soviet factories as the basic form for catering most completely for the production, social, living and cultural requirements of the workers, as a method of educating the broad cadres of active workers directly on practical work in the basic link.

The experience gained from the work of the trade union groups and trade union group organizers shows us that, given concrete leadership by the department, shift and factory committees, the trade union groups and group organizers cope successfully with the complicated and specific tasks which confront the given group of workers.

I consider the reorganization of rank-and-file trade union work on the basis of paying more attention to the key trades and shifting the centre of work to the lowest trade union link, *i.e.*, the trade union group, to be one of the greatest achievements of the Soviet Trade Unions, which deserves being noted by the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council.

WAGE INCREASES

Thus the chief meaning of the decisions of the Fifth C.C.T.U. Plenum is to make the day-to-day leadership of the working masses more flexible, operative and concrete, to bring this leadership not only down to the departments, but also to the trade union groups, so as to direct the creative activity and initiative of the broad working masses and organize it in new Socialist forms of labour.

Likewise, another inseparable part of the decisions taken by the Fifth Plenum of the C.C.T.U. for the reorganization of trade union activities is to intensify the attention of all trade union organizations on improving the social living services of the working class, creating privileges for union members as regards social insurance and mutual aid societies, establishing a body of social labour protection inspectors.

The Soviet Trade Unions, during the past period, have carried out great work to improve the material living conditions of the working class, in accordance with the decisions of the Sixteenth Party Congress and the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress.

Improving the material living conditions of the workers is an inseparable part of the struggle for the fulfilment of the industrial and financial plan, for the development of the Socialist Competition and shock work, for Bolshevik cost accountancy.

This basic line of our work has given definite political and social economic results. The improved material living conditions of the working class, which have found their expression first of all in the steady increase in wages, particularly in the key industries, is the logical result of the decisive success of Socialist Construction. They cannot be separated from the achievements which are to be recorded in all the branches of our Socialist economy.

The Socialist reconstruction of national economy is marked by the tremendous development of productive forces in the country, and by the vast capital investments, which alter the qualitative structure of basic capital in industry and in the Socialist sector of agriculture.

Thus, for instance, capital investments in 1931 for the whole of the socialized sector of national economy amounted to 16.1 milliard roubles. It is planned for 1932 to invest 21.1 milliards.

Needless to say, as the result of the rapid development of national economy, we see an increase in the working class. The working class of the Soviet Union sees and feels the decisive successes of Socialist Construction in the fundamental change in its material and living conditions. The Soviet workers are convinced from their own personal experience that each new factory, every new State farm or collective farm, leads to improved material and living conditions for the working class and the toiling masses of the great land of the Soviets.

In 1931 wages increased by 18 per cent.

We should particularly stress that a further increase in wages was carried out during the last quarter of 1931 in the key industries. Thus in the ferrous metal industry this increase amounted to 23.9 per cent.; in the coal-mining industry a 12 per cent. increase, while taken together with the increase made at the beginning of 1931 it amounts to 35.8 per cent.; in the ore-mining industry the increase for the last quarter was 29 per cent., and in the coke-chemical industry the increase was 20 per cent.

GROWTH OF WORKING CLASS

The assertions of the reformist and social-fascist press that the measures taken by the trade unions and the Government of the Soviet Union in increasing wages are a gesture to pacify the workers are more than strange.

In my opinion such assertions are but another slander against the Soviet Trade Unions, refuted by facts.

The working class is rapidly growing as the result of the decisive successes in the development of national economy. In 1930, throughout the whole of the Soviet Union, there were 14,360,800 workers and office employees in industry, transport and agriculture (State farms). In 1931 the plan called for an increase in this number to 16,748,000, while towards the end of the year the actual number was 18,700,000. These figures speak of the rapid rate of growth of the working class. Also they indicate that our Socialist system is a system which, raising the creative enthusiasm of the working class and developing its industrial activity, ensures not only the fulfilment but also the surpassing of all our projects. This is the decisive advantage of the Socialist system of economy as compared with the planless, anarchic system of capitalist production, permeated with the greatest contradictions.

We would like to know what the reformists will say in reply to these figures characterizing the growth of the working class. Perhaps they can boast of something better? I do not think that any person, class conscious to the slightest extent, will be able to deny that the tremendous increase in the Soviet working class takes place in conditions of the complete abolition of unemployment. In the capitalist countries, however, unemployment grows from day to day, assuming terrific dimensions. At one pole—the steady growth of the working class, the liquidation of unemployment, continual increase in wages; at the other—40 million unemployed, 100 million workers working part time. Such is the contrast to-day between the two systems.

What are the prospects for the growth of the working class in 1932? In 1932 it is planned to bring the number of workers and employees in the Soviet Union up to the figure of 21 million.

This tremendous increase in the working class, taking place in conditions of the stormy *tempo* of Socialist Construction, and the complete abolition of unemployment confronts the trade union organizations in an entirely new fashion with the question of the remoulding of the new cadres in the proletarian melting pot, and the political education of these cadres, which have come into industry for the first time in our Socialist enterprises. We must impart to these sections of workers, who are unacquainted with capitalist exploitation, those political habits possessed by the old workers who passed through the school of capitalism and the school of the class struggle during the years of the civil war, and thereby raise their political level to the level of the basic cadres of the working class.

This task confronts us now with all insistence, and requires from the trade unions the organization of such cultural and political activities as will ensure the speediest possible remoulding of the new cadres of workers, and their education in the spirit of class loyalty to Socialist Construction.

Meanwhile cultural-political activities leave much to be desired as compared with what we should have in this field. This is one of our weaknesses on which I dare not remain silent, and which we must correct as speedily as possible.

In view of the stormy development of our industry, the question as to the methods of organizing labour power arises in new fashion.

VILLAGE NO LONGER A "STEPMOTHER"

At the conference of directors of industry, Comrade Stalin, dealing with the need to ensure labour power for the factories, said:

"Formerly, as a rule, the workers sought the factories and workshop themselves. This means that there was something of an uncontrolled drift. And this uncontrolled drift was the result of the fact that there was unemployment, differentiation in the village, there was poverty, there was the fear of starvation, which drove people from the village to the towns. Do you remember the formula '*the peasants escaping from village to town*'? What was it that forced the peasant to desert the village for the town? The fear of starvation, of unemployment, the fact that the village for him was a stepmother, and he was prepared even to escape to the very devil, if need be, as long as he could get work there.

"Thus, or approximately thus, is how matters stood in the not far distant past.

"Can we say that the picture at the present time is the same? No, we cannot say this. On the contrary, the situation has now been changed fundamentally. And precisely because the situation has changed we no longer have the uncontrolled drift of labour power. What is it that has changed during this period? In the first place, we have done away with unemployment, and consequently we have destroyed the power which pressed on the 'labour market.' Secondly, we have completely uprooted the differentiation in the village; consequently we have overcome the mass poverty which drove the peasant from the village to the town. Finally, we have supplied the village with tens of thousands of tractors and agricultural machines, we have smashed the kulaks, organized collective farms and given the peasant the possibility of living and working in humane conditions. Now the village can no longer be called a step-mother; the peasant has begun to settle in the village and we no longer have the '*peasant escaping from the village to the town,*' or an uncontrolled drift of labour power." (Stalin, speech at conference of industrial directors, June 23rd, 1931.)

In this speech Comrade Stalin has pointed out the new feature which has appeared in our villages, which are reconstructing on a Socialist basis, and the new feature which is connected with the present reconstructive period, which transforms all branches of our national economy. Socialist reconstruction of agriculture and the increased welfare of the poor and middle sections of the countryside have placed before us the task of a fundamental change in the methods of recruiting labour power. It has become necessary to go over from the policy of uncontrolled drift to organized recruiting

of labour power on the basis of concluding agreements between the factories and the collective farms.

In these conditions the system of wages had to be built in such a manner as to supply the incentive for the organized influx of labour power to the key industries—coal, metal, chemical industry and ore mining—to those industries upon the development of which depends the development of other sections of national economy, and in which the working conditions are far more difficult than in the light industries. You know full well what it is to work as a hewer underground in the mines, or as a blast-furnace worker, as a steel smelter in the Marten Ovens, etc.

WAGE RATES IN INDUSTRY

Up till recently, however, wages in these decisive industries were on practically the same level as wages in the light industries. This can be seen from the following figures, comparing the average monthly wages in some of the heavy and light industries in 1930.

Average monthly wages in 1930 were as follows: 76.47 roubles in coal mining, 88.30 in metal, 92.60 in railway transport, 108.36 in engineering, 99.96 in the electrical trades, 88.29 in the leather industry, 81.70 in the clothing trades, 79.93 in the food and drink industry, and 105.40 in the rubber industry.

As you see from the above figures, wages in the coal-mining and metal industries were lower than in the leather and rubber industries. As a striking instance of the equalizing tendency between wages in the heavy and light industries I can quote the following fact. In August a galosh maker in the " Red Treugolnik " factory earned 6.50 roubles a day, while a pony driver in the Dombas mines earned from 3 to 4 roubles a day, and wheelers in the blast furnaces earned from 4 to 4.50 roubles a day. Compare the wages of galosh makers with those of pony drivers and wheelers, taking into consideration the difference in their working conditions, and then you will realize that such things are incomparable.

This is why we had to put a stop to this equalizing tendency between the wages in the key heavy industries and the wages in the light industries, and build the wage system in such a manner as to make wages in the decisive branches of economy higher than in the other branches.

For this purpose the Soviet C.C.T.U. concluded an agreement with the Supreme Economic Council (S.E.C.) to fundamentally change the wage system, bring wages in the coal-mining, metal, ore-mining and coke-chemical industries up to the first place. Similarly, wages were increased in railway transport in October.

A comparison between wages in the key industries in the last

quarter of 1931 (October, November) and wages in 1930 shows that we have great achievements to record in the reconstruction of the wage system :

Average Monthly Wages in	1930 (roubles)	Last Quarter of 1931 (roubles)
Coal mining	76.47	119.00
Metal	88.30	125.00
Railway transport	92.60	124.00
Engineering	108.36	123.40
Electrical trades	99.96	128.60
Leather industry	88.29	98.80
Clothing industry	81.70	86.80
Food and Drink industry	79.93	89.06
Rubber industry	105.40	117.00

From the figures given above we see that the wage policy in 1931 takes a sharp turn towards increasing wages in the decisive heavy industries as compared with the light industries. But in the light industries too we have increased wages during the past year as compared with 1930.

In solving in a new fashion the question of ensuring labour power for the factories it is impossible for us to overlook the question of creating the necessary urge for the workers to improve their skill. The demand for skilled cadres grows from day to day, for the gigantic factories which are opened, the introduction of new industries and the growth of technique present an increasing demand for skilled cadres of workers, able to handle complicated mechanisms, and able to utilize the equipment of such giant factories as the Stalingrad Tractor Works, Avtostroy, Magnitostroy, to the greatest productive effectiveness. We have not enough skilled labour power, and this is why we must establish such a system of wages as will ensure an incentive for the workers to raise their skill.

This is why the trade unions have taken the stand of creating such wage conditions as will draw workers into the heavy industries, create an incentive for them to raise their skill, and ensure the satisfaction of their material, living and cultural requirements.

In our wage policy we must base ourselves not only on the moral, but on the complete totality of material and economic conditions which interest the workers, in raising their productivity of labour and their skill. We would be wrong to say that the ideological level of the people in our country is such that we can ignore the material conditions. No, comrades, material conditions and material interests are and will still be of immense importance.

The vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party and the advanced sections of the workers, possess a sufficiently high political level. But we also have broad masses of workers for whom

material conditions play the decisive part and are of primary importance.

WHILE WAGES FALL UNDER CAPITALISM . . .

One of the fundamental differences between our order and the capitalist order is that the growth of production is coupled with the growth of the workers' material interest, and in raising their productivity they improve their material conditions. Only our enemies, the reformist trade union officials, do not understand this, see in the combination of Socialist Competition with material interest of the workers a vulgarization of the fundamental principles of Socialism. Such people fail to understand one thing: that the Socialist Competition and getting the workers materially interested in raising their productivity are inseparable links in the struggle for the *tempo* of Socialist Construction. Only on the basis of combining the Socialist Competition with getting the workers materially interested in raising their productivity is it possible to achieve the steady growth in the welfare of the working masses and the growth in the *tempo* of Socialist Construction. This is why we say that we can by no means ignore the entire totality of material conditions in getting the workers economically interested in raising their productivity and skill.

Thus the wage policy of the Soviet Trade Unions creates the incentive for the organized influx of labour power into the key industries, for increased productivity, improves the material economic position of the working class and makes the workers materially interested in raising their productivity.

The growth of the working class and the policy for systematically increasing wages have led to a sharp increase in the wage fund. In 1930 the wage fund amounted to 13,350,800,000 roubles. In 1931 the plan called for an increase in the wage fund to 15,650,700,000. Actually the wage fund in 1931 increased to 21,100,000,000 as compared with the 14 billion called for in 1931 by the original Five Year Plan.

This shows us that as regards the wage fund we are going beyond the projected plans, and these infringements of the projected plans lead to a steady increase in the material standards of the working class of the Soviet Union.

It is planned to bring the wage fund up to 26,800,000,000 roubles in 1932, which indicates a further real prospect for improving the material position of the working class.

The Five Year Plan for wages in the coal industry has been exceeded by 21.4 per cent. Instead of the average wage of 98.50 roubles which was called for in the Five Year Plan, the average wage in 1931 was 119 roubles. In the metal industry the Five

Year Plan for wages has been exceeded by 16 per cent.; in place of the 109 roubles which were planned for the last year of the Five Year Plan, the average wage now is 126 roubles.

The policy of the Party and the Soviet Trade Unions with regard to wages is sufficient refutation of the social-fascist and reformist lie that the living standards of the working class in the U.S.S.R. are not improving, and that as regards wages we are returning to the capitalist system. We would like the social-fascist and reformist leaders to give us some figures and facts showing how they fight to increase the workers' wages and improve their material living conditions.

On the day that the Soviet Union published the decision for a 23.5 per cent. wage increase in the ferrous metal industry the Steel Corporation of America announced a wage cut of 10 per cent. for the workers in their metal factories. This fact is sufficiently convincing to prove the entire difference in the wage policy of the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries.

WAGE SCALE REFORM

The substance of the wages scale reform now being carried out by the Soviet Trade Unions is not only an increase in wages in the key industries. In addition to paying more attention to the key industries, we raise the question of fundamentally changing the wage scale, setting up new rates. In the existing scales the difference between the lowest category and the highest does not increase gradually, but decreases, thus not creating for the workers the necessary urge to raise their skill. Take, for instance, the metal workers' rates. The difference between the first and second category, according to this tariff rate, is 20 per cent., while the difference between the seventh and the eighth categories is only 12.6 per cent. We ask, can the workers have any interest in shifting from the lower category to the higher and in raising their skill under such a scale, which lessens the difference between the higher categories, seeing that this promotion will give them only very slight material improvements? This is why we put ourselves the task of reorganizing the wage scales in such a manner as to make the difference between the various categories steadily increase. By building the new wage scales in such a manner, on the principle of graduated increases, we thereby create the incentive for the broad mass of the workers to raise their skill, being paid according to the middle and higher categories of the wage scale.

A furious campaign has been developed in the social-fascist and reformist press on the question of the individual piecework system applied in the Soviet Union. The object of this campaign is to show that in reorganizing the wage system we retreat from the

principles which have been fought for by the labour movement of all countries, and are backsliding to the capitalist methods of introducing piecework.

What is the chief substance of the direct and individual piecework practised in our factories ?

The chief and most important difference between the piecework practised in the U.S.S.R. and piecework practised under capitalist conditions is that the application of piecework in our country is based on the untiring care of the proletarian State for the labour protection of the workers, is based on the shortened working day and the widely developed struggle for safety first measures, for the establishment of hygienic conditions of work. Already 86 per cent. of the workers in industry and transport have been put on to the six and seven-hour working day.

Progressive piecework is built as a system encouraging the work of the best workers and does not contain any of the elements of fines, which are particularly inherent in the piecework employed under the capitalist system.

On the basis of piecework the Soviet workers, on a six and seven-hour working day, receiving fats in the harmful trades, being supplied with working clothes, being sent to sanatoriums and rest homes, raise their productivity of labour in direct combination with their material interest, and while raising their skill.

We can take the following as an example which emphasizes the sharp difference between piecework as applied in our country and capitalist piecework. Comrade Zolataryev, a hewer in the "Yunker" pit, for twenty-eight shifts in September, 1931, earned 428 roubles, while when going over to the progressive piece rate system Zolataryev's earnings for twenty-eight shifts increased to 710 roubles, while his productivity of labour increased 38 per cent.

Another example. Comrade Biryukov, brigadier of the moulding department in the Koloman factory, a worker in the eighth category, earned for 175 hours on the straight piecework system 328.29 roubles, while in September, going over to the progressive piecework system, for the same number of hours (175) his earnings increased to 802.57 roubles, and his productivity of labour increased 97.47 per cent. But this is in the eighth category, *i.e.*, a high wage category.

Permit me to give you an instance showing the increase in wages by employing the progressive piecework system among workers in lower categories. For instance, in Comrade Biryukov's brigade a worker in the third category earned 95.31 roubles for eighty-four hours' work. In September, when going over to the progressive piecework system, the same worker, for the same number of hours, earned 288.58 roubles, increasing productivity of labour by 107.6 per cent.

TAYLORISM AND SOVIET METHOD

I have given these instances, showing the personal earnings of individual workers, in order to stress what concrete leadership by the trade unions means. When we spoke about trade union leadership generally average wages were put in the centre of attention. Now, when shifting the centre of all work to the rank-and-file link, to the trade union group, and bringing the whole of the leadership closer to the catering for the immediate and day-to-day needs of the workers, it is no longer possible to take average wages only ; we must know what the wages of Tom, Dick and Harry are. This approach is an instance of concrete leadership and gives us the opportunity of following up in good time the way our new wage scale reform is put into practice.

The breaking down of the old wage rates, which were permeated with the petty-bourgeois equalizing tendency ; the introduction of individual and progressive piecework ; large numbers of workers being put on the piecework system on the basis of increasing wages in the key industries, create the conditions for putting an end to the fluidity of labour power, for the clear-cut organization of labour, to fight for quality, strengthened labour discipline and get the workers materially interested as an incentive to raise their skill.

The workers in the metal, coal-mining, ore-mining and coke-chemical industries, in reply to the decision of the Soviet C.C.T.U. and the Soviet Executive Council, have organized hundreds and thousands of new cost accountancy brigades, are increasing their struggle for quality, are fighting for the surpassing of the industrial and financial plan, are joining the Party and the Y.C.L.

The tremendous enthusiasm of the workers, aroused by the introduction of the new wage scale reform, the change in the Donbas coal-mining industry, which is directly connected with the realization of the wage scale reform, is the best proof that the Soviet working class actively supports the reformed system, despite the inventions of the social-fascist and reformist press.

Progressive piecework, based on such labour legislation as can be paralleled in no capitalist country, helps to speed up the *tempo* of Socialist Construction and to raise the material welfare of the working class. This is why the social-fascist and reformist press sets up a furious howl against our wage scale reform, making out that the progressive system of payment of labour is identical with Taylorism.

Taylorism is a system which, ignoring the interests of maintaining the health of the workers, is based on the principle of fining the workers. For the slightest non-completion of the worker's norm as the result of the artificially built methods of payment, he not only does not receive the wages due to him, but even has to pay fines. Taylorism sucks the last ounce of strength out of the worker

in addition to turning him into a soulless appendage to the machine.

The piecework system employed in the Soviet Union is based on the struggle for the interests of the working class, to continually improve their material living standards, is a direct and positive denial of Taylorism's system of fines and of the exploitationary sucking of human strength which takes place in capitalist countries when employing piecework.

In capitalist factories the workers, struggling to fulfil their excessively high output norm, use up the last ounce of their strength and frequently faint. We do not mention the high early death rate of workers in capitalist countries and the terrific number of accidents among workers in the factories. In our factories there are no such cases of workers fainting and dropping of exhaustion when fulfilling their output norms. Labour protection and the safety first measures are put on such a high level as can be compared with in no capitalist country.

MASTERING OF TECHNIQUE

It is ridiculous to say that, as we are masters of our factories, there is no need for us to employ wage forms that serve as an incentive for higher productivity, but it would be blindness not to see the tremendous difference, the fundamental difference, between piecework in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries. Where the workers toil for the capitalists piecework serves as a means for capitalist accumulation and capitalist exploitation ; it transforms labour into still greater slave-like toil.

But here, in the Soviet Union, the working class, being complete master of its enterprises, works for its own welfare. The necessary surplus product of the worker's toil goes for internal industrial accumulation and is used for the development of still greater *tempo* in Socialist Construction, is used for the purpose of transforming labour "*into a matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of valour and heroism.*" How is it possible to say that by applying methods of individual and progressive piecework we are returning to capitalism ? No serious-minded person will credit such an accusation.

The campaign organized by the reformist and social-fascist press against the new wage scale reform aims at sowing doubts in the mind of the international working class as to the correctness of our methods of fighting for Socialism, and at covering up their betrayal of the working-class interests in the interests of their own bourgeoisie.

Having shown in detail the struggle of the trade unions to increase the workers' wages, I must also touch on our achievements in other fields of the struggle to improve the material living standards of the working class, particularly housing construction.

In 1931 1,325,000,000 roubles, not counting the outlay for

municipal construction, were spent for housing construction. In 1932 it is planned to spend 1,942,000,000 roubles for housing construction in the Socialized sector of national economy, while it is planned to spend 950,000,000 roubles for municipal organization.

In 1931 the Social Insurance budget amounted to 2,500,000,000 roubles, while in 1932 it is to increase to 3,490,000,000 roubles. These figures go to indicate that in the fourth, the last year of the Five Year Plan, the living standards of the Soviet working class will improve at a still more rapid rate.

A characteristic feature of the reconstruction that we are carrying out in the Social Insurance system is that the work of the Social Insurance organs is made to serve, first and foremost, the key heavy industries. A number of measures have been taken by the Social Insurance organs to insure the greatest possible differentiated and developed service for the direct needs of the workers. For this purpose, in accordance with the decisions of the Fifth Plenum of the C.C.T.U., seventeen industrial Social Insurance organs were formed, catering for the workers in the following industries : metallurgy, engineering, coal mining, basic chemical industry, ore mining, railway transport and water transport. The industrial Social Insurance organs use their financial funds for the key industries, thereby creating the most favourable conditions to give medical treatment to the workers in these industries, to extend the necessary prophylactorial institutions, for more effective financial assistance as regards the amount of benefit for sickness, incapacitation, etc.

We must emphasize that the introduction of the reforms and Social Insurance, the establishment of industrial insurance organs and payment offices in the factories, is of tremendous political importance in catering for the working masses and improving their social living conditions.

The decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government on town economy, workers' housing construction, on the work of the consumers' co-operative societies, on the development of stock breeding, social feeding, on the establishment of a meat basis and the building of meat combines, which within the next year or two are to give a huge meat produce and thereby put on a proper footing the supplies for the workers—all this constitutes a Bolshevik programme of action to satisfy the growing requirements of the working masses.

The question of cadres is of decisive importance in Socialist Construction. The trade unions play a tremendous part in solving the task of mastering technique and creating an industrial-technical intelligentsia among the working class. Already now workers from the factories and the State farms form the majority throughout the entire system of higher schools, numbering 70 per cent. of the students in the higher educational institutions. The fact that 70

per cent. of the students in the higher educational institutions are workers is one of the greatest political achievements of the Party and the trade unions, and ensures for us the fulfilment of the task to create an industrial technical intelligentsia from among the working class.

It is planned in 1932 to admit into the higher technical educational institutions 210,000 new students, 422,000 into the Technicums, 267,000 into the workers' faculties, and 930,000 into the factory training schools. This army, numbering 1,829,000, is to consist chiefly of workers and workers' children. The task of the trade unions is to select all that is best in the working class, that is capable of rapidly mastering technical knowledge, and to send these best elements for training to the system of secondary and higher educational institutions. In a few years' time there will return to our ranks cadres strengthened with scientific knowledge, forming flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the working class. They will form the kernel of the new industrial-technical intelligentsia of the working class, a reliable prop for the proletarian dictatorship in carrying out the tremendously important task of creating powerful advanced technique, technique of Socialism.

Neither can we overlook the fact that the polytechnicalization of the average school, the unbroken industrial practical work in the technical universities and in the higher educational institutions, and the organization of study for the workers without tearing them away from industry, ensures the training of skilled specialists from the ranks of the working class.

We have a vast network of all kinds of courses which enable the workers, without breaking away from industry, to raise their technical knowledge. The trade unions in the U.S.S.R. take a most active part in technical propaganda and raising the technical knowledge of the broad working masses.

The rapid growth of the working class, chiefly by the influx of new strata, confronts us with a number of big tasks to raise the political level of the new workers, and for their class re-education. The new cadres that come to our factories frequently bring with them petty private ownership, moods and habits, petty bourgeois laxity, etc. The task of training new cadres in the spirit of loyalty to Socialist Construction is one of the most important tasks of the Soviet Trade Unions. This is why the cultural political work of the trade unions must be subordinated entirely to this task.

FACTORY COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

I want to go over, comrades, to one of the most important parts of our work, namely, the factory committee elections which were

carried out between October 25th and December 1st. The factory committee elections are directly connected with the reconstruction of the work of the trade unions and its further improvement. Shifting the centre of trade union activities to the lowest link, to the trade union group, reorganizing the middle trade union links, the C.C.T.U. had to check up how speedily the entire system of trade union organizations carries out the decisions taken by the Fifth Plenum of the C.C.T.U. to further improve the work of the trade unions. The factory committee elections campaign was of extremely great political and economical importance for us from the viewpoint that the elections were connected with the fulfilment of the industrial tasks to carry out the industrial and financial plan, with the active mobilization of the broad masses of workers to carry out the economic tasks of the third year of the Five Year Plan, and likewise with checking up the quality of the organizational reconstruction in the work of the trade unions in the lower links and the further improvement of the workers' material and living standards. The factory committee elections were to show us to what extent the lower trade union links are really feelers, capable of ensuring direct service for the day-to-day needs of the workers and of actively fighting for the fulfilment of the six historical conditions for the victory of the working class laid down by Comrade Stalin.

I have no generalized complete statistics characterizing the political results of this campaign, for the elections have only just ended. In view of this I will restrict myself to quoting a few selected figures which describe the character of the election campaign, as well as the state of work of the rank-and-file trade union links.

The tasks in the election campaign of the rank-and-file trade union organs were not to have one functionary replaced by another—this would be very simple. We place the tasks more broadly, namely, to check up the state of trade union activities in the rank-and-file links of the trade union system. In its appeal to the men and women workers of the Soviet Unions on the factory committee elections the C.C.T.U. called

> "Upon all members of the trade unions, men, women and young workers, office workers and technical workers, during the election campaign to carefully check up the activities of their trade union organizations, their every day connections with the working masses.
>
> "The election of factory committees must give rise to a new wave of the shock work movement, an increase in the Socialist competition, an increase in trade union membership, a growth in the cadres of active voluntary workers in all sections of trade union activities, and on this basis triumphantly complete the third decisive year of the Five Year Plan, in order with still greater forces to commence the fulfilment of the tasks of the fourth and concluding year of the Five Year Plan."

Thus the C.C.T.U. put itself the task of turning the factory committee elections into a general check-up of the militancy of all

its links in the trade union organizations in the struggle for the *tempo* of Socialist construction, for further improving the material living conditions of the working class.

For the purpose of checking up the quality of the work of the rank-and-file trade union organs in the factories self-verification brigades were formed, the task of which was to acquaint themselves with the activities of the factory committees on all fields. At the general meetings or conferences of workers, after the report by the factory committee, the self-verification brigades made their co-reports on the results of their verification of the factory committees' work, and showed the good and bad points in the work of the factory committees. Thus in this manner the factory committee in each factory was subjected to strict proletarian self-criticism by the self-verification brigades, which gave very good results. The great significance of the work of these self-verification brigades can be seen from the fact that the work of many factory committees was voted unsatisfactory.

SELF-VERIFICATION BRIGADES

In previous elections the leaders of the factory committees, when coming on to the platforms, often said that everything is as it should be, that they worked well. In this campaign such instances were far less frequent, for the self-verification brigades, which had carefully studied the work of the factory committees in all directions, without delay exposed such factory committee chairmen who only praise themselves, glossing over the defects. Proletarian self-criticism was a sharp weapon in the election campaign.

In Leningrad alone there were 120,600 workers drawn into these self-verification brigades; in Moscow there were 162,000; in Nijny Novgorod, 30,000; 10,000 in Ivanovo-Voznessensk; 7500 in Armenia, a national outlying republic. These hundreds of thousands of workers drawn into the self-verification brigades examined the whole of the work of the factory committees in literally all directions, they drew concrete deductions—estimated the good achievements and the shortcomings in the work of the factory committees and criticized their activities. The criticism of the factory committees' work by the self-verification brigades was inevitably linked up, not only with showing up the shortcomings, but also with the drawing up of those concrete measures which were required in order to determinedly eliminate the defects in the work of the factory committees. Such widely-developed criticism, based on an attentive study of all branches of rank-and-file trade union activities, ensured the possibility, in electing the new factory committees, of preventing a repetition of the mistakes made in the past.

The social-fascists and reformists accuse us of having no trade union democracy in our Soviet Trade Unions. We would like to ask the leaders of the reformist trade unions a question: Did they form self-verification brigades during the factory committee elections; did they draw hundreds of thousands of workers into the work of checking up the factory committees' activities and into the self-verification brigades, to criticize the work of the factory committees, driving out all those who failed to cope successfully with the urgent tasks of fighting for the working-class interests, and who betrayed these interests to the bourgeoisie? We know beforehand that we will get no reply to this question from the leaders of the reformist trade unions, for nothing in the slightest resembling the trade union democracy in the Soviet Trade Unions is applied by the reformists. Our proletarian Soviet trade union democracy differs from the reformist democracy in that millions of people take active part in the political campaigns, millions of people criticize their leaders, millions of people outline the concrete paths along which to develop the activities of the factory committees; while in the reformist trade unions the work of the factory committees is separated by a thick wall from the day-to-day interests of the working class. In the reformist unions the officials of the factory committees and other links of the reformist trade union apparatus form a self-sufficient caste, isolated from the broad masses of the workers, a caste which gives no resistance to the capitalists, who systematically lower wages, which does not organize the workers to fight the capitalist offensive and the lowered living standards for the workers. What is this if not betrayal of the workers' interests and knuckling under to the bourgeoisie by such "leaders"?

What better form of democracy can be imagined than direct participation by the workers in checking up the work of their elected organ, the factory committee?

In our opinion, this form is the most complete expression of the substance of trade union democracy in the Soviet Trade Unions.

COMPOSITION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES

The attendance by the workers at the election committees strikingly proves the high level of political activity of the working class.

The attendance at the reporting-election meetings was extremely high. In Leningrad the average attendance at the election meetings was 90.5 per cent.; in Ivanovo-Voznessensk it was 90 per cent.; in the Ukraine factories it was from 80 to 100 per cent.

What is the composition of the newly-elected factory committees? Comparative data on the composition of the factory committees

previous to and after the elections in thirty-five trade unions show that out of 72.733 factory committee members 68.6 per cent. were newly elected. Women form 29 per cent. of the factory committee members ; 53.2 per cent. are industrial workers, 72.5 per cent. are shock workers. Members and candidates to the C.P.S.U. form 34 per cent., members and candidates to the Y.C.L. form 11.8 per cent ; 17 per cent. are young workers up to twenty-three years of age. In some unions the percentage of members serving their first term on the committees—as, for instance, in the metal union—is considerably higher, 91.3 per cent. In some districts—for instance, Leningrad—the percentage of shock workers in the factory committees is as high as 80 per cent.

Side by side with the cadre workers, who have a long standing in industry, among the group organizers there are large numbers of young workers who have only recently crossed the threshold of our Socialist factories. I have no generalized figures for the whole of the U.S.S.R. with regard to the election of group organizers, but I will give you data characterizing the composition of the group organizers in the Proletarian District of the city of Moscow. In this district 65 per cent. of the group organizers are non-Party workers, 17 per cent. are Communists, 15 per cent. are women, and 19 per cent. are workers having been in industry less than one year.

The influx of new cadres to the rank-and-file links of the trade unions confronts these organizations in all seriousness with the question of leadership and training new cadres of rank-and-file trade union functionaries. This leadership must be concrete. It must ensure for the new cadres a higher political level, and must impart to them the necessary organizational habits of work, so that they should be really able to realize the tremendous tasks confronting the rank-and-file trade union organs, which have been so clearly expressed in the workers' mandates adopted at the reporting-election meetings.

For the purpose of the political education of the new cadres of rank-and-file trade union functionaries a widespread network of short-term courses is already being organized, where the group organizers will receive the most elementary knowledge, where they will be taught how they should carry out their work in the rank-and-file trade union link, the trade union group. We will widely practise special meetings of trade union organizers for the purpose of ascertaining the practical experience of their work. One of the most important tasks of all trade union organizations must be continual practical instructing of these new cadres of trade union functionaries, for correctly organized leadership and activities among these new cadres of functionaries in the rank-and-file link will train them into a vast active from which the Party and the trade unions will draw firm fighters for the general line.

The elections to the rank-and-file trade union organs took place

in conditions of a tremendous upsurge of working-class industrial activity. According to far from complete data characterizing the political and industrial activity of the workers during the campaign, 1,000,000 workers were drawn into the Socialist competition and declared themselves to be shock workers ; 115,000 new shock and cost accountancy brigades were formed ; 250,000 proposals were submitted by the workers. This tremendous upsurge in the workers' industrial activity was accompanied by greatly heightened attention of the rank-and-file trade union organizations to questions of the correct organization of wages and the material living conditions of the workers. According to incomplete data more than 500,000 workers have been put on the piecework system, of which 400,000 are working the progressive piecework system ; 258,000 workers are commencing technical training. For nine unions alone thirty-four clubs have been opened, 2135 red corners organized.

Unprecedentedly great activity was displayed during the election campaign in the largest centres of the Soviet Union. In Moscow alone, during the elections, there were formed 11,380 shock brigades, 12,000 cost accountancy brigades, 14,500 workers declared themselves shock workers, 2779 shift counter-planning brigades were formed and 94,216 workers' proposals collected. These figures show that the workers displayed their own initiative and actively made practical proposals, which must be carefully studied by the newly-elected factory committees in order to carry them out and direct the workers' initiative along the still more organized channel of Socialist competition and shock work.

In the Leningrad region 8484 new shock brigades were organized, with 134,955 members, 9616 cost accountancy brigades were formed, 67,897 workers participated in shift counter-planning, 63,795 have declared themselves shock workers, 40,348 rationalizational proposals were made.

In the Ukraine 11,843 new shock brigades were formed, embracing 128,091 workers, 10,848 cost accountancy brigades were organized, 43,237 rationalization proposals were made.

The concrete results of the participation by the trade unions in the fulfilment of the economic tasks of the third year of the Five Year Plan, in connection with the elections, were seen, in many factories, in the early completion of the industrial and financial plan. In Moscow and the Moscow region alone the industrial and financial plan was completed before date in 217 enterprises.

WORKERS' PROPOSALS

Directly connected with the figures I have given characterizing the tremendous increase in the industrial and political activity of the working class, I would like to say that I was very surprised

yesterday when Comrade Monmousseau and Comrade Dalhem said in their speeches that in the conditions of France and Germany the trade union functionaries (speaking of the functionaries of the revolutionary trade union organizations) come to the factory and do not know the life of the factory, do not know the questions that interest the workers. I have to state that when functionaries of the Soviet Trade Unions come to the factory they know its life to their finger tips, they know what are the interests of the working masses. Such tremendous results in the process of the election campaign show that the activities of the rank-and-file trade union organs are built on the basis of taking into consideration the day-to-day activities of the workers.

I wish that our comrades in the West, in the factory committee elections, adopted our methods of work, drew from our experience all the good points that can be fully applied in the conditions of the West and America, needless to say adding that which, in view of our specific conditions, we do not have.

The factory committee elections have given us great and good results in the sense of the further development of working-class industrial activity, for clear-cut forms of drawing the broad masses of workers to take part in solving the industrial tasks have been established.

The factory committee elections were linked up with further improving the living conditions of the working class. Thus in Leningrad during the campaign 158 new dining-rooms were opened for the workers, 132 grocery kiosks were opened, 45 workers' closed co-operatives were opened, 119 pig-breeding farms, 49 creches, 27 medical stations. In other districts of the Soviet Union we see a similar considerable extension in the network of dining-rooms, stores, closed workers' co-operatives, etc. The great improvement in this work indicates that the rank-and-file trade union organs have begun, in Bolshevik fashion, to satisfy the day-to-day social, living and cultural needs of the workers, which is directly and inseparably connected with the struggle for the realization of the industrial and financial plan.

I would like to draw your particular attention to the political results of the factory committee elections in such a gigantic factory as the " Red Putilov " works, which has inscribed many glorious pages in the history of the revolutionary movement.

There were 15,000 workers in the self-verification brigades checking up the work of the factory committee in the " Red Putilov " Works, *i.e.*, half of the workers employed. The self-verification brigades made more than 10,000 proposals in all fields of trade union work. These proposals reflect all the concrete tasks facing the factory, both as regards the struggle for the industrial and financial plan, as well as improving the living standards of the workers, raising their cultural-political level, etc. 688 shock brigades, 813 cost accountancy brigades were organized in the factory.

During the election campaign rationalization proposals were made giving an economy of 1½ million roubles. Moreover, during the campaign itself 335 of these proposals were already put into effect, which alone showed a result of 800,000 roubles. Applications for membership in the C.P. were submitted by 914 workers, 4500 workers joined the trade union. We are able to declare that as the result of the factory committee elections the " Red Putilov " works is an all-trade union shop. The " Red Putilov " factory, however, is not the only factory that has emerged from the election campaign with such tremendous political and practical results. There are hundreds of such factories.

In every factory during the elections the workers adopted decisions in which they confronted the factory committee with practical tasks to carry out the general line of the Party and the decisions of the higher trade union organizations. Literally hundreds of thousands of people took part in drawing up these decisions. I do not intend to go into a long description of even part of the decisions adopted at the election meetings, for this would require too much time ; I will only detain your attention on a very brief acquaintance with the mandates adopted at the election meeting in the First Tula State Factory.

CONCRETE PLANS

The headings of the sections of the decisions are sufficient proof of how actively the workers discuss the tasks confronting the new factory committee, how they practically approach the measures which must be put into practice by the factory committee.

With regard to the sector of industry and planning, the decisions outlined concrete measures for cost accountancy, for rationalization and planning, for developing the work of the production conferences, for mastering technique, putting an end to the lack of personal responsibility towards equipment with regard to inventions of the workers, developing the shock work movement and the Socialist competition and the exchange of experience in economic work.

With regard to social living services, the decisions confront the workers with such strikingly practical tasks that I am unable not to quote them in brief :

" To strengthen the apparatus of the closed workers' co-operative with the best shock workers from the departments, organizing Socialist voluntary work in the apparatus of the co-operative by members of the co-operative active.

" To organize by May 1st a poultry run for 1000 breed fowls ; to enlarge the existing pig farm of the closed workers' co-operative by May 1st, increasing the stock to 1,200 pigs and 300 sows ; jointly with the management of the vegetable gardening artel to organize a dairy farm by November 1st, 1932, with 200 cows.

" *Market Gardening :* Increase the area to 460 hectares, to carry on recruiting

work in the factory departments among the workers, to join the artel, bringing the total membership of the artel up to 16 per cent. of the total number of workers.

"*Housing Construction:* To instruct the factory committee to take all necessary steps to complete the construction of dwelling-houses (new construction commenced in 1931) by May 1st; to complete the construction of fifty standardized type houses by April 1st; to organize in the factory a closed workers' co-operative society (housing construction).

"*Public Feeding:* To organize dinners for the second and third shifts; to improve the quality of the dinners by (*a*) organizing in the factory kitchen an 'inspection committee,' consisting of the best shock workers in the departments; (*b*) the patron departments taking part in drawing up the menus for five days; (*c*) introducing cold dishes, etc.

"*Social Amenities Institutions:* The factory committee must organize by January 1st, 1932, shift work in all the factory children's institutions (creches, kindergartens); in the summer of 1932 to organize not less than fifteen open-air kindergartens for 1500 children of the workers of the factory, to take out into the country not less than 500 children at present in the factory children's institutions."

The decisions are not restricted to these measures, which alone comprise an immense programme of practical work. The decisions develop practical proposals with regard to wages and technical norm setting, with regard to mass work (activities among the new cadres of workers, among the women, among the workers connected with agriculture, activities on the countryside, international work), on the sector of cadres, on financial work, cultural mass activities, checking up the extent to which decisions which have been taken are carried out, work to direct the department organizations, for the development of self-criticism, work among the voluntary activists, informational activities and union membership. Not a single branch of work of the factory committee has been overlooked in the decisions.

I went into details on the decisions taken by the First Tula State Factory in order to show how direct the connections between the trade unions and their rank and file organizations are with the broad mass of trade union members, how the trade union membership concretely outlines the path for developing the work of the trade union organs in all fields of industrial and trade union work. The decisions are the best plan of work for the factory committees.

SCHOOL OF COMMUNISM

We are now confronted with a big task—to bring the newly-elected factory committees up to the mark, carrying out with Bolshevik determination the valuable proposals of the workers which are formulated in the decisions We will carefully supervise the work of the rank-and-file trade union organs, give them the necessary practical assistance, continually instruct them, but those who do

not come up to mark will be replaced in the process of work by workers who are more active, who have more initiative.

Our trade union members can at any time recall and replace those elected functionaries who do not fight to carry out the tasks confronting the trade unions. And in my opinion this is the highest expression of trade union democracy, ensuring the broad possibility of getting the working masses to take an active part in Socialist Construction.

What was the effect of the factory committee elections on the trade union membership? In 1925 we had 10½ million trade union members, in 1930 we had 12,065,000 members, while on October 1st, 1931, we already had 15 million members. During the election campaign about a million new members joined the trade unions; and, comrades, I am convinced that on March 5th, 1932, we will come to the Ninth Trade Union Congress with a trade union membership in the neighbourhood of 17 million.

In the process of the election campaign the trade unions actively selected the best cadres of workers from their midst to be recommended for Party membership. In Moscow 25,135 workers were recommended for the Party; in Leningrad, 17,744; 4000 in Ivanovo-Voznessensk; 10,000 in the North Caucasus; 410 in Armenia.

Thus the upsurge in the political activity of the Soviet working class during the election campaign was expressed in the powerful support given to the general line of the Party and its Leninist Central Committee. The elections showed up the weak points in the work of the trade unions, the inability of individual trade union links to work with Bolshevik *tempo*, their inability to reorganize their work on the basis of fighting for the six conditions put forward by Comrade Stalin. With our inherent proletarian self-criticism, we exposed all shortcomings in the work of the trade union organizations, and the trade unions emerged from the election campaign with new cadres of activists, with a vast scope of political and productivity activity of the working class expressed in concrete forms, with a widely-developed practical programme of work for the rank-and-file trade union organs, with strengthened connections between the rank-and-file trade union organs and the broad masses of workers. These tremendous political results of the campaign are proof that the trade unions have raised themselves to a still higher level.

What deductions can we draw from the work carried out by the Soviet Trade Unions since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U.?

Carrying out their rôle as the school of Communism, the Soviet Trade Unions during the past period have won great successes in reorganizing their work, strengthening the leadership of the masses, developing the Socialist competition and the shock work movement, raising the industrial activity of the workers to a still higher level, improving the material and living conditions of the workers and raising their political standards.

We can boldly declare that the Soviet Trade Unions were, are, and will continue to be, a reliable bulwark for the Proletarian Dictatorship and the Party's helper in the struggle for the Leninist general line.

WORK OF OTHER SECTIONS

The Soviet Trade Unions, as one of the R.I.L.U. sections, and actively participating in its work, with unslackened attention will follow the development of the revolutionary trade union movement in the West and the East, for your struggle against capitalism, aimed at the development and the victory of the Proletarian Revolution, serves at the same time as tremendous support and assistance for the Soviet working class in solving the great tasks of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.

Carefully studying the successes and shortcomings of your work, we consider it our duty, as proletarian revolutionaries, together with you to check up how the decisions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress are being carried out.

I want to touch on a few questions connected with the realization of the Fifth Congress decisions, namely, the strengthening of the independent revolutionary unions, the reorganization of the revolutionary trade union opposition activities on a factory basis, shifting the centre of all work to concrete and day-to-day work among the masses. This decision of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress is of particularly great importance, moreover, because it aims at setting up leaning points for the revolutionary trade union opposition in the factories in the form of regularly functioning trade union groups.

The revolutionary trade union opposition in a number of countries has had successes in carrying out the tasks laid down by the Fifth Congress, which we cannot overlook at the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council.

For instance, in Germany the line taken by the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress to organizationally and politically extend the revolutionary trade union opposition has during the past period been carried out with certain successes. The recruiting of organized and unorganized workers to the trade union opposition is assuming the character of a systematic growth of the revolutionary trade union organizations. The figures in our possession show that while on October 15th, 1930, the R.T.U.O. had 80,000 members, in September, 1931, it had 295,000 members. This rapid increase in the R.T.U.O. membership, the establishment of 3800 factory groups of the revolutionary trade union opposition, 1401 unemployed groups, indicate that there are definite successes in the organizational building up of the German revolutionary trade union movement.

Despite the political and organizational mistakes in the conduct

of the Berlin metal workers' strike, of the Ruhr miners' strike, made by a part of the R.T.U.O. leading cadres, the revolutionary trade union organizations have gained a certain amount of experience in independent leadership of the economic struggle and the mass strike movement.

These successes, however, should not make us overlook the shortcomings which were spoken of here, particularly by Comrades Dalem, Monmousseau and Allan. By only seeing the good points in our work and overlooking the shortcomings, not exposing them with all sharpness, we will fail to set up strong revolutionary trade union organizations. This is why we must attack the shortcomings in the work of the R.I.L.U. fraternal sections with all the straightforwardness characteristic of the working class, applying proletarian self-criticism. Only in this manner can we lay down the correct line for our tactic in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress.

Have we had sufficient self-criticism here? I feel it necessary to declare, in all seriousness, that there has been insufficient. The question is made more complicated by the fact that you have put us in such a position—I am not casting a reproach, I am just stating a fact—that we are unable to display sufficient activity in the discussions that take place here on the work of our fraternal sections, for we have not a sufficiently detailed analysis of each strike, and of all the good and bad points in the work of the R.I.L.U. fraternal sections. We must express the wish that we should be enabled to take a timely part in analysing the day-to-day practical work, and thereby assist you by giving our fraternal advice and making critical remarks. How this is to be done is what we must think out.

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORY TRADE UNION GROUPS

Comrade Dalem justly reproached us, saying that the Soviet Trade Unions do not give the fraternal sections timely information on the state of our work. We accept this, and promise to eliminate the shortcoming, but in turn we draw the attention of our comrades in Germany, France and other countries to the need to keep us acquainted with all the current work of the fraternal sections. When we analyse in time the class struggles that you conduct, then we will really be drawn into your struggle and will know of it in all its details. And for this we need living mutual connections between the Soviet Trade Unions and our fraternal sections, a systematic exchange of revolutionary practical experience in the class struggle.

One of the big shortcomings of our work is that the rate of growth of the revolutionary trade unions, and of the organization of the workers in these, lags behind the class contradictions that grow

more acute from day to day in the capitalist system, lags behind the growth of elements of a revolutionary upsurge and the objectively favourable situation for the growth of the revolutionary trade unions. We must state that the activity and the rate of growth of the revolutionary organizations—despite the achievements which were spoken of by the German comrades and Comrade Monmousseau —are still insufficient. Matters are still worse in Britain, where this rate of growth is absolutely insufficient.

The contradictions between the imperialist countries and between the working class and the bourgeoisie are growing so rapidly in the conditions of the developing economic crisis that they create a favourable objective situation for the development of the activities and rate of growth of our fraternal revolutionary trade union organizations. Actually, however, this growth is not to be seen in most of the countries.

In view of this, the first deduction that we draw is that, despite the certain successes in organizing the working class into the revolutionary trade unions, and in organizing trade union groups in the factories, we have not done all that is demanded of us by the situation and the developing revolutionary movement.

It is insufficient to have a well-organized trade union centre only. If this centre does not know what is the very life of the workers, how to organize the workers around their direct day-to-day demands, how best on the basis of this organization to draw the workers into the political struggle against the existing political system in the given country, how to organize actives in the factory, then our affairs are bad and we will fail to carry out the tasks which confront us as the result of the development of the class contradictions and the growth of elements of a revolutionary upsurge in a number of countries.

This is why, comrades, we must hasten the organization of trade union groups in the factories, with the establishment of broad cadres of trade union activists, particularly rank-and-file actives, in order, by resolutely carrying out these measures, to be enabled to increase ten-fold and more the achievements gained by our fraternal sections in Germany, France and other countries since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U.

I must particularly stress the lagging behind the objectively favourable situation in the rate of organizing the working class into the revolutionary trade union organizations in France. The data which we have in our possession shows that the membership of the Unitary General Confederation of Labour is declining. The U.G.C.L., which formerly occupied second place among the R.I.L.U. sections as regards membership, has now taken the third place.

What is the matter? From what has been said by Comrade Monmousseau on the work of the U.G.C.L., we have to draw the deduction that the U.G.C.L. has not organized its work quite as it

should. Our comrades in France give up their second place and now take the third. This is not heroism but a very great political shortcoming in the work, which must be overcome at all costs in the shortest possible space of time.

I criticize in a friendly fashion, and do not think that our comrades in France will take offence at my criticism. They must analyse why matters are so bad as regards organizing the working class in the revolutionary trade unions, why in other countries—for instance, in Germany—we are making rapid headway while in France we are backsliding, why there is no stability, why is there the fluidity in membership, and what should be done, not only to reinforce the present membership, but also to turn the revolutionary trade unions of France into real powerful revolutionary organizations of the working class.

THE WORK IN FRANCE

The task is particularly acute for France in view of the fact that French imperialism is the strongest imperialism and the most reactionary link in the system of world imperialism, waging a furious struggle against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary labour movement throughout the world. If we don't have a strong revolutionary trade union organization in France we will be unable to offer resistance to the furious attack of French imperialism against the first Workers' State in the world, the land of the Soviets.

The shortcoming that the decline in the membership of the U.G.C.L. has affected the chief industrial districts must be appreciated in all its forcefulness. The materials of the R.I.L.U. Org. Department for May show that in 1930 the Metal Workers' Union of the Paris district had 6250 members, and in 1931 there were 4800 members; in 1930 there were 1930 members in Longwy, and in 1931 there were only 20 members. What's wrong? Why is it that the membership of the revolutionary trade union organizations keep declining? Surely the influence of the revolutionary trade unions is not declining? This deduction would be incorrect. The decline in the U.G.C.L. membership shows that the French comrades evidently have drawn up a wrong plan for the practical realization of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress decisions, and have not developed mass work to set up revolutionary trade union groups in the factories and cadres of rank-and-file trade union militants.

The decision of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress to set up leaning points in the factories in the form of trade union groups is being carried out very poorly in France. We must point out this shortcoming with all seriousness in our friendly criticism. The U.G.C.L. has not yet reorganized its work in the spirit of the Fifth Congress decisions, in such a manner as to make the factory groups of revolu-

tionary trade union members in the factories the basic lower form of reorganization. Evidently those few small factory branches of the U.G.C.L. which have been built up in the factories do not carry on systematic day-to-day activities to organize the workers around their immediate needs in the conditions of the struggle in the given enterprise. This can be the only explanation for the drop in the U.G.C.L. membership. Believe me, if an active were organized in the factories, strongly connected with the working masses, if it were acquainted with all the day-to-day demands of the workers and succeeded in organizing them around these demands, then the authority of the U.G.C.L. would increase considerably and the broad masses of workers would flock to the revolutionary trade union organizations. But there is none of this systematic struggle, and this is the fundamental weakness of the work of the U.G.C.L. and its local organs.

The French comrades themselves speak of their chief weaknesses. I am basing myself, not on what was said here at the Eighth Session, but on the fact supplied in May to the R.I.L.U. Org. Department when the French Comrades came to the Executive Bureau and reported on their work. For instance, this is what Comrade Gitton said : *" Our militants do not know how to draw up the demands for the workers in their factories. They mechanically transfer the general demands for the whole of France."* This only confirms what I said above. Such trade union leaders and trade union members who do not know how to draw up the demands of the workers in their factories, who do not know how to organize the workers around their day-to-day needs but simply repeat like parrots the general demands for the whole of France, which may frequently be inapplicable for the conditions of the given factory, aren't worth a bad penny. The same Comrade Gitton says : *" As yet the U.G.C.L. members are only dues payers ; when work is required they demand somebody from the centre."*

" We did nothing to interest our members in the internal life of our union." This is how Comrade Croizat describes the work.

The above quoted descriptions of the work of the U.G.C.L. and its local organs by leading comrades of the U.G.C.L. only confirm my criticism of the shortcomings and defects of your work. It is not surprising that most of the strikes, as a result of the U.G.C.L.'s poor organizational work inside the factories, commenced with insufficient preparations. The leadership of the strikes by the U.G.C.L. and its local organization is sufficient proof of the failure to reorganize on a factory basis.

IN BRITAIN

From the experience of our own struggle in the past, we know what it is to start a strike without having behind us day-to-day connections with the working masses and a strongly consolidated active. Such strikes are foredoomed to defeat.

Our French comrades should at all costs bring about a turn in the work, shift the centre of work to the factories, must begin to set up broad cadres of rank-and-file trade union actives and recruit the working masses to the revolutionary trade union actives and recruit the working masses to the revolutionary trade union organizations on the basis of attentively studying their day-to-day needs.

Comrade Allan said yesterday that the militants of the revolutionary trade union organizations in Great Britain *" speak about the resolutions but don't want to perform the day-to-day dirty work."* Such militants, who not only do not know what is the life of the workers, but are afraid to do the dirty day-to-day work, are no militants ; they are make-believe militants, who have put on a mask. We must tear these false masks from such militants, they must be exposed and as speedily as possible expelled from our ranks, for they can bring nothing but harm to the revolutionary trade union movement.

It is quite plain that if in our work in the factories we have to rely on such militants, who, to use the words of Comrade Allan, *" do not know what is happening in the factories and therefore make speeches which do not reflect the real situation in the factory or workshop ; do not know what is troubling the workers now and come with ready-made programmes,"* work to win the masses in the factories cannot be developed in such a manner as is demanded by the decisions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress and the entire conditions of the class struggle in the capitalist countries.

But I am surprised that Comrade Allan says, *" They come to the workers with ready-made programmes."* I ask, why do they come with ready-made programmes, and where are the workers themselves ? Work must be organized in such a manner that the workers themselves come to our trade union organization, that the workers know this organization and have confidence in it. You can't set up an active with artificial measures from above. This active can only be set up by attentively taking into consideration all the day-to-day needs and requirements of the broad working masses. As long as no trade union group has been formed in the factory, or when it is just being formed, we must come to the workers. But as soon as the trade union group has been formed work must be organized in such a manner that the workers feel the entire need for setting up connections with the trade union organization which fights for the day-to-day demands of the workers in the concrete conditions of the struggle in the given factory. This will be the

correct principle in organizing rank-and-file Minority Movement groups. But as in most factories and in most countries it has not yet been carried out, at rare intervals someone looks into the factories, but they do not know what is going on in the factory and they talk in " general."

Comrade Dalem in his speech pointed out a fact, stating that the workers in one factory only learned that our comrades had declared a strike when they were coming out of the factory gates. Of course, such a strike was defeated in twenty-four hours. Comrade Dalem criticized such methods of work among the masses and of organizing strikes. I support his criticism completely. Such facts indicate the impermissible isolation of our revolutionary actives in the factories from the broad working masses, isolation which exists in the work of a number of our fraternal sections. Finally, this fact indicates that our revolutionary trade union militants employ methods of commandeering and administration which can only have a negative result.

BAD APPROACH ON STRIKE QUESTIONS

If a militant has come from the masses, is part of them, breathes the same life as the masses, living with their day-to-day interests, he will never declare a strike unless the workers are prepared for it and know what concrete demands they are striking for. Such a militant will study the sentiments of the workers, will find out their demands, will study the forces from the point of view whether it is possible or not to declare a strike, and only having weighed all the conditions and carefully studied the situation together with the masses will he declare a strike. Such a type of revolutionary trade union militant is a reliable fighter for the interests of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The strike is one of the sharpest weapons in the working-class struggle. If a strike is conducted without preparations, this means that we surrender this strong weapon into the hands of the class enemy. The defeat of any unprepared strike is turned, not against the bourgeoisie, but against the working class. This is why we cannot permit our revolutionary trade union militants to declare strikes at the factory gates, not having prepared the masses for it, and thereby wresting from them this strong working-class weapon directed against the capitalists.

Such leaders of the strike movement must be exposed by us and driven from our ranks with irreconcilable determination, putting in their place genuine militants who possess direct day-to-day connections with the broad working masses. Only such an active

guarantees for us that the sharp weapon of the class struggle, the strike, will not be wrested from our hands.

I cannot overlook a second fact quoted by Comrade Dalem: that, " *having for ten minutes spoken for the strike, the workers agreed with the speaker and came out. Having at the meeting received information as to the need to call the strike off, the speaker had to get up and call for the cessation of the strike. Such a rapid change by the speaker naturally caused dissatisfaction among the workers and did not in the least help to raise his authority.*" The workers approach a strike, as anything else, in businesslike fashion. Before striking, the worker has a look to see what he has in his purse, what is the organization that leads him to the strike, what the conditions are, whether they are suitable for the declaration of a strike. The worker will observe the sentiments of his comrades, tries to find out how great is the solidarity, how long they can hold out in the strike. This is how the worker thinks. Then why should the speaker that agitates for the strike think otherwise? If the speaker rapidly changes over from calling for a strike to calling for its cessation, this only shows that he is mouthing hot air and does not link up his talk with the concrete conditions and positions of the worker in the given factory. We must rid ourselves as speedily as possible of such agitators for strikes. If the speakers for the strike come from the workers of the given factory, then they will lead the workers to the strike only when the necessary conditions for this are to hand.

Of course assistance is necessary for the factory trade union groups from the higher organizations, but the chief thing in the class struggles is to lean on strongly-consolidated cadres of rank-and-file trade union militants in the factories. We must stress this sharply in order to make the work of organizing trade union groups in the factories the primary task, in order in this field of work to increase both the *tempo* and the quality of work.

From the facts that have been quoted we can draw the deduction that the chief thing in carrying out the decisions of the Fifth Congress, and in developing the international trade union movement, is not to organize the trade union officialdom, but the real Bolshevik organization of the masses on the basis of shifting the centre of work to the factories.

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL WORK

Our comrades in Germany and France say that it is very difficult to take firm root in the factories, for mere membership in the Red Trade Unions is sufficient pretext for being shown the door. But is this the only explanation for the poor development of the revolu-

tionary trade union groups in the factories ? I do not think that this is the only reason that our comrades are thrown out of the factories. The weak growth of the revolutionary trade union groups and their breaking up is to be explained by their inability to combine legal methods of work with illegal ones. This, to my opinion, is the chief cause for the slow growth of the revolutionary trade union groups in the factories.

The ability to combine legal methods of work with illegal methods is of tremendous importance for the development of the revolutionary movement. In the incredibly difficult years of Tsarist reaction our Party gained great successes in organizing the labour movement, thanks only to the genuinely Bolshevik combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, in his " Left-Wing Communism," taught us how we should combine the illegal methods of work with the legal ones, and on this basis win the working masses :

" Revolutionaries who cannot co-ordinate illegal forms of the struggle with legal forms are very poor revolutionaries. It is not at all difficult to be a good revolutionary once the revolution has already broken out, when all and everyone joins the revolution from mere enthusiasm because it is the fashion, sometimes even from considerations of personal gain. It is far more difficult and yet more valuable to know how to be a revolutionary even when conditions are yet lacking for direct, general, truly mass and truly revolutionary action. To be able to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation, organization) in non-revolutionary institutions, and often-times in downright reactionary institutions, in non-revolutionary surroundings, amongst masses that are incapable of immediately understanding the necessity for revolutionary methods of action ; to be able to find, to sense, to determine correctly the correct line, or special turn of events, leading the masses to the real, decisive, final great revolutionary struggle—this is the chief task of modern Communism in Western Europe and America."

Vladimir Ilyich wrote this in 1920. These Leninist teachings of the need for combining illegal methods of struggle with the legal ones in the given conditions of ever-sharpening contradictions, and the growth of elements of the revolutionary crisis in some capitalist countries, are still of exceptionally great importance. In my opinion these teachings must be carried out as never before to enable us to avert the negative consequences that we see as the result of our inability to combine legal methods of work with the illegal methods. The comrades in the fraternal sections of the R.I.L.U. must draw the practical conclusions from these Leninist teachings as speedily as possible.

And truly, if you succeeded in organizing your work in such a manner as to skilfully combine legal methods of work with illegal methods, then the supporters of the trade union opposition would not be thrown out as rapidly as they are now. Of course there is no class struggle without the supporters of revolutionary methods being thrown out of the factory, but if legal forms of struggle are

skilfully combined with the illegal forms the places of the thrown-out comrades would be occupied by others, for the combining of legal and illegal methods of work would have ensured that we have our roots in the factories.

Now we see that functionaries are given the sack and thrown out of the factories, and there are no roots left among the working masses. We have to make our contacts anew, once more start work, spend much time and strength in training new cadres.

A BOLSHEVIK'S EXPERIENCES

Permit me to share with you my personal experience in the work to combine legal and illegal methods of work in the class struggle. For four years I was chairman of an illegal factory committee in one of the factories—from 1905 to 1909. The regime in Tsarist Russia during the years of reaction was not only no better, but far worse, than the regime in capitalist Germany and other countries. The conditions of work in the factories were extremely difficult. At each step there were stool-pigeons, persecution by the open and concealed agents of the autocratic regime, at each step there was provocation, strike-breaking, etc. ; nevertheless in these difficult conditions we managed to hold on for four years, carrying on great work among the working masses. What is the explanation of this ? Why is it that, conducting revolutionary methods of work in conditions of the raging Tsarist reaction, we managed to hold on for four years ? Because we skilfully combined the legal possibilities of work with the illegal ones.

While you have innumerable legal possibilities, our only legal opportunity was the lavatory, where we carried on our revolutionary agitation and propaganda. I do not know whether there is anything of the kind at the present time in Germany or France ?

COMRADE LOZOVSKY : There is.

Comrade Lozovsky says that there are also such possibilities in Germany and France. The lavatory was the only place where we could carry on agitation and propaganda. How did we divide our work ? We drew up plans for each day, linking it up both with the general political tasks of the class struggle in the country as well as with the day-to-day interests of the workers in the country. Coming to work an hour earlier, I or some other comrade of the factory committee had to spend at least half an hour in the lavatory, talking with the workers on subjects which we outlined the day before. Half an hour later another comrade came to take our place. In the course of five minutes we hurriedly told each other at what stage the chat with the workers was, what questions interest them, and how successful our agitation was with this or that comrade. I left and the comrade who took my place carried on with the talk I had started, and then a third arrived, and so on.

And so we divided up the ten-hour working day into periods of half-hours in order unnoticeably to carry on day-to-day and systematic propaganda among the working masses, utilizing for this such legal possibilities as a chat in the lavatory. This gave us the possibility of not losing our contacts with the workers, and to build up our revolutionary agitation and propaganda work so skilfully that it was not even noticeable to the workers that we were carrying on agitation in one definite direction.

During disputes and strikes we, the factory committee, did not jump out immediately, for we realized full well that the boss would soon drive us out of the factory when he learned that we constituted a factory committee. We are not fools, comrades, to organize our work in this manner.

There is no disgrace in the factory committee not moving forward, immediately upon the outbreak of a strike, in front of the masses. It is not a question of cowardice, but a question of the ability to carry on work ; it is a question of tactic. The interests of the struggle must decide when it is possible to sacrifice one or two members, half, or the entire factory committee. It must be borne in mind all the time, however, that firm roots must be left in the factory to carry on work among the masses.

We selected beforehand the comrades who were to be pushed to the forefront in the struggle to formulate the workers' demands. Knowing for sure that these comrades would be arrested, we took upon ourselves beforehand all undertakings to look after their families, bringing them parcels in prisons, and all other assistance required by them or their families.

As we carried on systematic agitation among the workers, it is plain that we well knew which of the workers were susceptible to our agitation. We took count of these workers and paid particular attention to them. We paid them visits, gave them papers to read, etc. We were not downhearted because we had to deal with one worker, for we realized full well that this worker, after being properly educated by us, would be a reliable support in the struggle and would be a good militant.

FORWARD TO THE FINAL VICTORY

Sometimes the leading comrades of the revolutionary trade union organizations in Germany, France and other countries do not want to carry on work with a handful of workers ; they prefer to speak at mass meetings where there are hundreds and even thousands of workers. To them it seems shameful to have to carry on meetings with only a handful of workers. Such an attitude is absolutely no good. The revolutionary trade union active must be formed literally of individual units. By systematically agitating individual workers we will draw them into the day-to-day work and create

activists from among them. Out of these individual militants dozens will grow, and from these dozens hundreds and thousands. This is why the question of individual agitation among the workers is of such great importance for France, Germany and other countries, where the chief task of the revolutionary organizations is to shift the work into the factories.

And it is work of the factory committee built in such a manner that ensured for us the possibility of taking part in all the political strikes that occurred from 1906 to 1909, and of taking root in the factory. This system enabled us to fight to improve the material position of the workers, ensured the establishment of an active which in the revolutionary struggle led the trade unions of Russia to the October Revolution.

But we worked illegally, while you have broad legal possibilities. The skilful combination of these with illegal methods of work will yield far greater results than we had in our time. I am convinced that if the fraternal sections of the R.I.L.U. utilize our experience in the struggle on the basis of combining legal and illegal methods of work we will have in the factories of Germany, France and other countries strong revolutionary trade union groups and broad cadres of revolutionary trade union militants, who will not only drive out the reformist trade union officials, but will lead the working class of the capitalist countries to the decisive victory over capitalism.

I consider that Comrade Dalem was quite right in raising the question that the Soviet Trade Unions must regularly supply the fraternal sections of the R.I.L.U. with materials on Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R. and the work of the Soviet Trade Unions. I must state that we undertake this task and will carry it out accurately. Our assistance to the fraternal sections of the R.I.L.U. will be of great importance in the development of their practical work. Our experience and our methods of class struggle must be widely utilized by you, adapting them to the specific conditions of each country.

We have not the slightest doubt that in accepting our fraternal support, utilizing our experience, you will wage an irreconcilable struggle for the Leninist Bolshevization of the trade union movement, for Marxist and Leninist methods in the militant revolutionary tactics of the trade union movement.

We are convinced that the R.I.L.U. fraternal sections, waging a resolute struggle against capitalism, will achieve still greater successes in winning over the working class and in developing the revolutionary struggle.

We rest assured that the international revolutionary trade union movement, under the leadership of the R.I.L.U., will arrive at the final triumph over capitalism throughout the world.

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