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The VI. Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

Opening Session.

On 11th. November the VI. Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union was opened. At the time when the Congress opened, 1045 delegates had already arrived. 853 delegates with deciding votes were present, these representing 6,400,000 members of trade unions. The mighty hall was overfilled with delegates and guests. A gigantic relief of Lenin stood out prominently beneath the flags of the central

organisations of the separate trade unions, inscribed with trade union slogans.

The whole audience gave an enthusiastic ovation to comrades Tomski, Melnitschanski, Andrejev, Losovsky, Dogadov, and the members of the English trade Unions delegation. These took their places at the president's table.

Comrade Tomsky's Inaugural Speech.

The VI. Congress meets at the time when those questions which have been, for all previous congresses, new and contested problems, no longer raise any doubts among our workers. For us the general principles and tasks of the trade union movement are firmly established. It is the task of the present Congress to draw the balance of our multifarious experience.

In the sphere of economics we are able to record a very considerable improvement within our Union. Working wages have also improved during these two years. The working class is nevertheless still confronted by a number of extremely difficult and complicated tasks. These tasks are rendered difficult and complicated by the circumstance that they can no longer be executed under the guidance of comrade Lenin, the guidance to which we were accustomed. Since our last Congress the working class has suffered a heavy loss; it has lost its ideologist, its leader, and its teacher. I beg the Congress to honour the memory of Lenin by rising from their seats. (The delegates rise to their feet, the funeral march being played meanwhile.)

This loss renders it more difficult for us to fulfil our tasks: The restoration and improvement of our economics. We must exert our utmost endeavours, during the next few years, to raise our heavy industry to a position far exceeding that held by it before the war.

The Congress has to reply to a new and exceedingly important question: The establishment of the united front in the trade union movement. The dangers threatening the labour movement in all countries are ample demonstration that the line taken by us has been the right one, and that it is the right moment to open up the question of trade union unity. The fact that our Congress is attended by representatives of the oldest trade union movement in the world proves that this question is being taken up energetically by the working class all over Europe. (Enthusiastic applause.)

On behalf of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions I declare the VI. Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Unions open.

Election of the Presidium.

35 comrades were elected to the presidium, including comrades Tomski, Dogadov, Losovsky, Schmidt, Lepse, Schwarz, Korostelev, Kutosov, Kroll, Anzelovitch, Melnitschansky, Pavlov, Glebov-Avilov, Radtschenko, and other comrades.

Comrades Zinoviev, Kalinin, Kamenev, and Rykov were elected honourable chairmen with the greatest enthusiasm.

After paying tribute to the memory of the late comrades Lutovinov and Nogin, comrade Kalinin welcomed the Congress.

Comrade Kalinin's Speech.

Comrades, I welcome the VI. Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union on behalf of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and on behalf of the Government of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic.

During the two years which have passed since the last Congress, the working class of the Soviet Union has taken mighty strides forward. The number of workers employed in production has increased, productivity and working discipline have been augmented. The whole working class of the Soviet Union, the bearer of our revolution, has thus become correspondingly greater. The trade unions, as product of the working class, have undoubtedly passed through the same revolution as the working class itself. Our trade unions are not like the trade unions of other countries. There the trade union is the direct representative of the interests of the working class. It gathers the working class together, and organises it for the immediate protection of its interests. In our case the working class is not one of many elements struggling for the hegemony, for the conquest of state power. In our case the working class is governing directly. It leads everything. And thus it has not only to perform the actual tasks peculiar to the trade union, tasks shared by the trade unions of other countries as well, but it has at the same time to perform the work of governing the state.

What does this mean, to govern? It means that the whole of the elements from which the state draws its powers are to be brought into play, protected, and given opportunity to develop. And it need not be said that one of the main elements composing the power of our state, apart from the working class, is the mass of the peasantry. At the present time our Party is devoting much greater attention to the peasantry than was formerly the case. Our trade unions have always worked hand in hand with our Party organisations, they have invariably not only expressed the ideals of the working class, but have at the same time given expression to everything else of importance, everything of value, everything coming in question at the moment in the interests of the working class. I have no doubt whatever but that the trade unions will be found equally capable of coping with the present task.

And without doubt they will prove as fully equal to coping with that other important task, the increase of working productivity. (Applause.)

Amid storms of enthusiastic applause, comrade Zinoviev welcomed the congress in the name of the Central Committee of the RCP.

Comrade Zinoviev's Speech.

Comrades, we are all of us still under the influence of the impression left by the seventh anniversary celebration of our revolution. We recall to our memories some of the incidents of the early days of the revolution, especially the first All Russian Trade Union Congress, held from 7th till 14th January 1918, at which I was also called upon to speak on behalf of the CC. of our Party. At that time we were all full of enthusiasm over the victory we had won. But at the same time the whole of the delegates to the Congress were full of anxiety, for no one knew what the next day might bring. This Congress was still the scene of our struggles against the Mensheviks and the SR, who at that time still held fairly strong positions in our trade unions.

Between the V. and VI. Trade Union Congresses.

We are involuntarily induced to draw a comparison between the conditions obtaining at that time and now. Now there is no trace remaining of the anxiety and uncertainty of what the next day may bring forth. The trade union movement in our country has passed through many difficult stages during these years, but has now reached a broad and certain highway, and assumes its proper place in the system of the organisations forming the proletarian dictatorship. It has entirely broken with the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary vacillations, and has attained an extraordinary degree of inner strength and maturity. If we compare the present situation with that during the time of the first trade union congress, or even of the V., held two years ago, we again observe the steady and comparatively rapid progress made. At the V. Congress we were able to state, with a certain satisfaction, that our state industry had already reached 25 to 27% of pre-war production. At the VI. Congress we are able to record that our state industry has reached 50% of pre-war production, and even goes beyond this limit in some branches of production.

At the V. Congress the wage question was still a very sore point. The Mensheviks and their consorts reckoned upon this proving a stumbling block for the trade union movement of this country. But our Trade Unions have succeeded in overcoming these difficulties to a very great extent. Indeed, in all essentials, at the V. Trade Union Congress our formula was: Slow, but real and not jerky, rise of working wages. During the past two years the trade unions have in general shown themselves capable of following this formula, and today the whole mass of organised trade union members sees that the formula has been more than empty words.

The autumn of 1924 has been the first autumn without economic conflicts; there have not even been local ones. For the development of our country this is of the utmost significance.

and is one of the most striking proofs that our trade unions have been working along right lines, that the Party leading the communist work of the trade unions has been on the right path. Since February 1923 the trade unions have been working on the principle of voluntary membership. The Party and the non-partisan trade union functionaries have devoted to this campaign the whole of the energy and enthusiasm demanded by the task.

The unity of the Trade Union movement is a vital question. I believe that the most important question before the present Congress is that of the international unity of the trade unions. This question is closely bound up with the present international situation, and touches very nearly the interests of the working class of our country. During the course of the last few years we have all had the opportunity of convincing ourselves that international questions are not mere articles of luxury, or problems to which it is only necessary for the heads of organisations to devote any attention. This is not in the least the case. Even the ordinary working man is realising that the international labour movement has reached a stage at which the events occurring in one country touch upon the confines of the labour struggles and the most vital interests of the workers of other countries.

From „Pacifism“ to Fresh Reaction.

That which is going on in the world at present is the beginning of a fresh period of bourgeois world reaction. Only recently the V. World Congress of the Comintern gave a photographically exact description of the period designated the „democratic pacifist era“.

„In England MacDonald came into power, in France Herriot, Belgium is about to have a Vandervelde government, Yugoslavia a Davidovic government.“ Similar tendencies have been observed in a number of other countries. The Comintern was right when it pointed all this out as indication of the beginning of a democratic pacifist wave. And it pointed out at the same time that this era is nothing more or less than a historical masquerade on the part of the bourgeoisie, which puts its stake upon social democracy today and tomorrow, with equal success, upon Fascism. Many of us have permitted ourselves to be deceived by the „democratic pacifist“ era, we have come to regard it as something permanent, and thought that the tactics of the international labour movement should be altered. Facts have now entirely confuted this standpoint.

What is going on at the present time is the beginning of a fresh wave of the blackest bourgeois reaction. The bourgeoisie, which a few months ago thought fit to adopt a somewhat reddish shade is now again staking everything upon

black. The victory of the reactionary republican party in America, headed by Coolidge; the victory of the reactionary conservative landowners in England, headed by Baldwin; all this signifies the beginning of a new chapter of the strongest possible world reaction. Without doubt we shall presently witness similar events in other countries. It was not necessary to be precisely a prophet to foresee that Herriot's star is beginning to pale in the French firmament, and the result will be that either he himself will become blacker, and this is very probable, or he will be replaced by a blacker man. The former possibility is the more probable.

In the smaller states we may observe a similar process going on. There are a number of states in the position of vassals to these great capitalist powers. They are anxious to imitate their rulers in all things. Yugoslavia is particularly zealous in this endeavour. You will remember that as soon as the democratic pacifist tide rose in England and France, it was at once mirrored in Yugoslavia in the form of the more or less democratic Davidovic ministry. Now we can observe the reverse: The present rulers were scarcely in power, and Yugoslavia too had its reactionary government, headed by Pasic. We may observe the same in a number of these Central European countries which live in the reflected light of these great imperialist states.

Capitalism Feels its Position Shaken.

There is thus no doubt but that we are standing at the beginning of a fresh period in the world's politics, a period of the blackest imperialist reaction. It is characteristic for this present period that the bourgeoisie of even the steadfast countries, as for instance England, is forced to govern by means of going to extremes — permit the Mensheviks, almost the workers, to take office for a time, and then to replace them by the extreme Conservatives. This is an incontestable sign of decay, of the growing shakiness of the bourgeois order. This change of government in England passed off painlessly enough for the bourgeoisie, but for the people such an upsetting of balance is by no means so painless, and leaves its mark behind it. The English workers have taken this all very seriously, and have gained a real taste for power. We have seen how they conducted themselves during the electoral campaign. At some meetings, for instance, the workers threatened the lords with clenched fists, and evinced an unequivocal desire to alter the physiognomy of the noble speakers. (Applause.) This is something entirely new in English history, and bears witness to the fact that wide strata of English workers are moved by passions going deeper than a mere electoral campaign, and that events are not likely to pass off so smoothly among the workers as in Buckingham palace.

The richest bourgeoisie in the world, the English, cannot reign any longer by the old means. It is our task, the task of the leaders of the working class, to follow these episodes attentively, to observe the bourgeoisie rushing from one extreme to another, and to take measures accordingly.

Why are we in Favour of Unity?

The diplomatists of the II. International have frequently attempted to sow distrust against the Russian Trade Unions and against our Party. They ask: Why are the Russian communists and trade unions suddenly expressing themselves in favour of unity in the international trade union movement? I believe, comrades, that even if we had no other reasons, the reason I have already mentioned suffices.

The fresh wave of extreme international reaction must in itself be sufficient reason to induce every sincere champion of the working class to say: in such a situation we need unity among the trade unions as we need air to breathe.

When the black avalanche of reaction begins to roll in such mighty strongholds of imperialism as America and England, when the rulers of such countries drop the mask, when the masquerade with the „labour government“ ceases, then it is more than natural that the vanguard of the working class should react on this provocation by calling upon the world's proletariat, warmly and sincerely, to unite on the common foundation of a minimum program; that it should stand for the international unity of the trade union movement, and appeal to the proletariat to join the ranks of the united front against bourgeois reaction.

For us the tactics of the international labour movement are determined chiefly by class warfare. We have never believed for a moment in the much lauded democratic pacifism. We have always known that this democratic pacifism would be but a brief episode, and that the bourgeoisie would presently show its teeth again as it is doing now. And now we call upon all sincere workers, without difference of political opinion, to all true sons of the working class: Let us join together, let us fight conjointly against this black reaction, let us unite to stand against this attacks, to break through the black front, to strike at the heart of our adversary, and to stride forward as far as possible along the road upon which the proletariats of every country must unite. (Applause)

This is our reply to the question why we are hurling forth with such energy the slogan of international trade union unity, formulated with such clearness by the Comintern and by the last congress of the Red International of Labour Unions. I hope that this slogan will find as powerful an echo at your congresses as it has found in the hearts of the best of the world's workers.

The German Social Democrats are the Greatest Enemies of Unity.

I am of the opinion that the greatest obstacle in the way of international unity is formed by the social democratic leaders of the German trade unions, these trade union bureaucrats of the first water. Therefore we turn to the workers, above all to the English workers, with the warning that if anyone is endeavouring to prevent international unity, if anyone forms a stumbling block on the road to unity, it is the German social democrats, the German trade union bureaucrats, ready to do anything only to hold back the workers from unity.

The election to the German Reichstag will take place within a short time. Germany is plunging into blackest reaction. As in America and England, the conservative groups will come into power. It is obvious that the German social democrats must be aware of this. But what are they doing about it? How are they organising their front? Against whom are they directing their efforts? Against reaction? Not a thought of it! Their efforts are directed against the Left only, against the Reds, against the communist workers. They are helping the bourgeoisie in these goal elections. They have thrown almost the whole staff of the communist Party into prison.

There are a number of countries in which the workers show reformist tendencies, and have no comprehension for our aims; but still we find among these a sincere feeling of class consciousness, seeking for the right outlet, but not finding it immediately. This is the case in England. But the case is very different in Germany. Here the bourgeoisie has been training a staff for the last 25 years, has been drilling and schooling and feeding it all this time, a staff from Noske down to the trade unionist Dismann, a staff composed solely of gentlemen fully prepared to betray the working class at any moment.

I am confident, comrades, that by the time your seventh Trade Union Congress meets, this unity will be an accomplished fact, despite the many obstacles thrown in your way by our enemies.

Let us look facts straight forwardly in the face. A number of differences of opinion divide us from the English trade union movement. The English trade unions are not founded on Marxism. They possess many prejudices. And yet we find in them something different to the qualities possessed by the well drilled German yellow social democracy, and I believe that England's latest experiences will have induced English workers to think more deeply on these matters.

What was the system in England for years, even for decades? Two bourgeois parties relieved each other alternately in the government. This was the two party system: the Conservatives and the Liberals. After the war the Labour Party appeared on the historical scene as mass power. It need not be emphasised that it paid mighty tribute to reformism, and is still in its clutches at this moment. Now we have a three party system: Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour Party. What has been the result of the attempts of the MacDonald system? There is no doubt but that liberalism is on the road

to annihilation. Liberalism has already fallen between the millstones, and will presently be ground to powder between the Conservatives and the Labour Party. Now the struggle will be between two great parties: one the party of the bourgeoisie, the other that of the reformist workers — the third party is just appearing over the horizon. This is the Communist Party, which will unite the best elements of the whole labour movement in England when the right moment comes. (Applause.)

We are told that MacDonald's endeavours will lead to a mitigation of the class struggle. But precisely the contrary is happening. These endeavours have led to an aggravation of class warfare in England, for they have been an attempt to move in a certain direction, and have failed to do so. (Applause.) They have tried to show the world how the class war is to be wiped out, how the bourgeoisie is going to have its corns cut entirely painlessly, without even noticing it; but things have turned out very differently. The class struggle in England has increased to a degree hitherto quite unknown in this country. A differentiation in the ranks of the British labour movement is thus inevitable, and neither MacDonald nor anyone else can avoid it.

What is the Kernel of the Story of the Forged Letter?

Are the gentlemen in England really of the opinion that this comedy with the famous "Zinoviev letter" has all been for nothing? (Laughter.) Comrades, we have no reason whatever to feel personally annoyed at this incident. Quite the reverse. We have every reason to be very well satisfied with the whole affair, for MacDonald and Co. have thereby given the Communist International a most tremendous advertisement. In England there are still tens of thousands of workers who do not know what a party nucleus is, either in the army or in the fleet, or even in the factory. Our press is weak in England. But now, thanks to this letter — forged though it be — these workers have at least learnt what a nucleus is. (Laughter, applause.)

Thus we are not in the least annoyed, personally, that this forgery has been published. But what a melancholy and despicable rôle MacDonald, plays in the whole affair! What is at the bottom of it? MacDonald wanted to ride two horses at the same time. He was aware that in England hundreds and thousands of workers sympathise with the Soviet Union, therefore he kept up the appearance of an alliance with us for the purpose of the election campaign. But he could not help knowing — since he is a Menshevik, a leader of the II. International — that it is very uncomfortable to sit upon one stool there must be at least two stools. (Laughter.) This obliged him to seek at the same time the support of those hostile to the Soviet Union. To him it appeared clear that this would strengthen his position. For this reason he commenced the affair with the letter. The wretched pretexts which he has used in his justification will be known to you. He admits that he knew of the letter as early as the 10th October. He has lost the game completely. A great number of comrades, well informed as to English life and MacDonald's attitude, have told me that this affair with the notorious letter cost the Labour Party about a million votes. If we deduct this million from the Conservatives and add it to the Labour Party, we have a difference of two millions, sufficient to have changed the result of the election. This is where MacDonald's mean and contemptible policy has led him, and it is to be hoped that this result will give rise to a storm of protest among the broad masses of the workers in the English Trade Union movement.

MacDonald and his supporters could not even close the affair with even the outward appearance of straight dealing. MacDonald appointed a commission; the commission said that it had no time to finish its work. MacDonald resigned, without giving any reason for not awaiting the results arrived at by the commission. And finally everybody declared that nobody had seen the original of the letter, but only a copy, and nobody knew where that had come from.

One newspaper, I believe it was the "Times" remarked with considerable show of acumen: "It is not a question of whether the letter is genuine or forged; it is a secret to nobody that Zinoviev is an enemy of the English people". (Laughter.) No, my good gentlemen, we are the real and true friends

of the English people, of the English workers, of the English working class. (Applause.)

In our opinion the enemies of the English people are Baldwin and Co.

It will be known to you that in the question of the genuineness of the letter we applied to the General Council of the English Trade Union Congress, begging it to inquire into the matter and to declare whether the letter were forged or not. I hope that the comrades coming to us from England are bringing us a reply to this question, and will state their opinion here. Nothing binds them, and it is their duty to tell the English working class in what net it is being emeshed: They must tell the truth, and the truth only. (Applause.)

The Bourgeois Conception of the Freedom of the Press.

This affair has been an excellent lesson for the English workman; he has been able to see what "democracy" and "freedom of the press" really mean. We often hear the reproach that the press is not free in Russia. And truly, the "Times" and the bourgeoisie have no press freedom among us, and never shall have. (Applause.) The story of this letter is a classical example of the much praised freedom of the press in capitalist countries: A few days before the election a crude forgery is circulated, aiming at alarming the petty citizens and bringing them into the camp of reaction. No time is left for refutation, but a pretence of doing so is made solely at the last moment, when everything is prepared and the communiqués already published. The whole press utilises its freedom for the purpose of deceiving the people in the most shameful manner, and then, after the new cabinet is already formed, and after the power has been taken over by the most reactionary of all reactionaries, they observe: "The matter is really of very little importance; possibly the document may be a forgery". Is this not an object lesson on how the freedom of the press, the dozens of newspapers with editions running into millions, the printing firms, etc., serve the cause of the bourgeoisie?

We say to the English people: Yes, we are barbarians. A severe dictatorship rules among us. You may introduce a milder dictatorship in your own country. (Applause, laughter.) We hope from the bottom of our hearts that you will succeed in expropriating your bourgeoisie in such a manner that nobody notices it, and that the bourgeoisie finds it agreeable. Remember the lesson which your country has been taught. Does this lesson not show that the bourgeoisie must be deprived of press freedom, which it only misuses for misrepresenting facts to the masses of the working class? Remember that where this happened was England, and not some remote corner of the earth.

Must it not be evident to everyone that a press freedom of this description is nothing else than a weapon held by the bourgeoisie against the working class? The incident, thus viewed, is of no small significance, and I believe that it will prove a serious lesson to the English workman. He will take note of the occurrence.

Nevertheless, the English Labour Party won 1½ million fresh votes at this last election. The British workman's appetite for power has been awakened. The new reactionary government will increase this appetite. The day will come in England, when a labour government will seize power, but it will not be a "labour government" of the kind we have just seen. (Applause.) It need not be exactly a Soviet government, a communist government; it may be merely a transitional form of government. But it will not be a "labour government" of the sort which is delighted to accept positions from the king, positions which we designate as "laundry superintendent positions". The Labour Government took over positions whose duties included the counting of the king's underlinen. And MacDonald appointed leading functionaries of the English labour movement to the position of treasurer of the king's household. (Laughter.) It is time to put an end to all this.

The English workers deserve a better fate than to be condemned to count the king's underlinen. (Applause.) They are worthy of possessing a real labour government, not such a wretched substitute as they have just experienced. (Applause.) Of course this real labour government need not be on the Russian pattern (laughter) — we do not insist upon this by any means — they may make it on English lines. (Applause.)

The Unity of the Trade Union Movement is the Best Pledge of the International Victory of the Working Class over the Bourgeoisie.

Our Congress is thus faced by the task of arriving at decisions, in the midst of a highly interesting and peculiar situation, on the question of the unity of the international trade union movement. In the course of the last few months we have witnessed an almost entire change of scenery on the stage of the world; class forces are changing places, and there is a wide spread fermentation going on among the working classes. Many of the Amsterdam leaders have a presentiment that no future lies before them. The international labour movement is pushing forward towards unity, and we proclaim to the whole world: Here in our midst the workers of the whole world will find sincere proletarian support, and will find our workers genuinely desirous of joining their ranks. We do not retreat for a moment from our standpoint — no one can demand this of us. We have celebrated the seventh anniversary of our proletarian and non-royal revolution, we remain the true followers of Lenin, members of the Communist International; we hold steadfastly to our positions!

The workers of all countries come to us. And we — without leaving our fighting positions — stretch out our hands in aid to the organised trade union movement of the whole world, entirely without display of diplomacy, and say to them: "Let us unite in the elementary and initial questions of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, which is attacking us with such unheard-of impudence and with such concentrated unity. We must unite against this danger, and we are fully convinced that even those who have been against us will reply Yes to us here. We proclaim, and are not afraid of being refuted by history, that the time will come when we shall join together, despite everything, in one united trade union international, and then the English workers will not be amongst the last who join us on the road to the final emancipation of the workers of all countries. (Enthusiastic applause.)

The Working Class and the Peasantry.

The second fundamentally important question before the Congress is that of the relations between the working class and the peasantry. Here, too, we have no need to set up any new theses. Lenin has bequeathed to us all fundamental principles, but there is something new, both in the political and in the economic situation, which you, the leaders of the organised working class of our country, must take into full consideration. Comrade Lenin taught our Party, and the comrades working in the trade union movement, that it is not he who thinks "only" of the workers who is a Bolshevik, but he who thinks of the whole country, and who feels himself as leader and main force of the revolution. At this Congress we shall not make decisions on the tasks of labour policy in general, but on the tasks of labour policy in an agrarian country. As the working class is ruling in the country, as it is exercising dictatorship over an agrarian country, it must act with prudence and insight, in such manner that it is accepted by the overwhelming majority of the peasantry. The working class must feel itself responsible for the whole people, and not regard questions from a limited trade union point of view. This is the main difference between Leninism, Bolshevism, and Trade Unionism.

"Jealousy" of the Workers.

We may now observe a certain "jealousy" on the part of the peasantry towards the working class. This did not exist formerly, or appeared in quite a different form. In many places we may even see a mutual "jealousy", that is, a "jealousy" on the part of backward groups of workers towards the peasantry. A particularly dangerous form of this feeling is that which sometimes arises in the villages against the workers, and has a certain class basis, causing the Kulaks (big peasants) to be anxious to incite the peasantry against the workers. We must accord full attention to the trends of feeling in the peasantry.

Trade Unionism and Bolshevik Relations to the Peasantry.

We must repudiate that trade unionist who looks down upon the peasantry and considers that they are no affair of his. He is a narrow minded Trade Unionist, and does not com-

prehend that we stand on the frontier between two classes, and that our aims, both in our own country and internationally, penetrate into the world's history. There is no doubt but that there are plenty of peasants who consider the eight hour day to be a luxury: "I work for 16 hours during harvest time, why should the worker work only eight hours"? Can we give in in this question? Not in the least. There are some questions in which we must not give way to the prejudices of the peasantry, for the simple reason that they are only prejudices. The peasantry must develop beyond these prejudices, and learn to understand that the eight hour day is the basis of labour, a blessing for the country and therefore a blessing for the peasantry as well.

There is another group of questions in which the peasantry are justified in expressing dissatisfaction, and these questions must also be accorded our attention. Above all, the question of prices. How often individual groups of peasantry say to us: We are giving the workers bread at pre-war prices, but when are you going to give us your industrial products at pre-war prices? This is a question which the VI. Trade Union Congress cannot pass over in silence, a question which formed the main subject of the recent plenary session of the C.C. of our Party, which must be accorded the attention of so important a Congress as this of yours. We cannot evade this question. It is no longer a mere peasant prejudice. To be sure we must explain to the peasantry why the price question is not so easy to solve, and why the blockade and the war have done more damage to city industry than to agriculture.

As early as the XI. Party Congress, Lenin spoke to us on this subject. Every force existing in the whole working class, in the Party, in the trade unions and in our political economists, must be pressed into service for the solution of this question, that we may be able to answer it satisfactorily, that we may be able to show the peasantry that justice is being done them. This of course requires a certain time.

What Kind of Soviet Apparatus is Required in the Village?

The village requires a real Soviet power, an honest, cultural sober Soviet power, without bribery and without vodka: such a power as we already possess in the most important centres of the labour movement. Even in these centres it has not been so easy to form these powers. You will recollect that only two or three years ago we had to excuse ourselves to the workers at the meetings because various adventurers and hangers-on had made their way into the ranks of our party and into the Soviet apparatus. The apparatus has been put more or less in order in the towns, but only more or less. In the country we have not yet reached this point.

Can the Trade Union Congress be of help here? Yes indeed, it can be of great help. Just as the first trade union congresses dealt not only with our current trade union work, but discussed at the same time such great questions as the problem of the organisation of the civil war, in the same way our discussion on our current daily trade union work at this Congress must not make us forget the main question, the question of general political significance: How can we help the peasantry to create an honest, sober, cultural, cheap Soviet apparatus, one of which we have no need to be ashamed.

The Trade Unions out in the Country must Intensify their Work.

This question has already been discussed among us, at our XIII. Party conference. We were all somewhat surprised to hear that we have over a million trade union members out in the country. But, comrades, can we honestly say that these trade union members in the villages have been working as they should? Now that a fresh wind is blowing in the country, this million of trade union members must emerge from the realm of shadow into the realm of actuality, and must take part in real life.

The Productivity of Labour is the Frame — work of our Whole Policy.

The question of the relation between the working class and the peasantry brings us to the question of labour productivity. For you the increase of productivity is one of the most important questions, both from the international and the economic and innerpolitical viewpoint. The working class can assert, without exaggeration, that the productivity of labour of this or that factory in Moscow, in the Donetz valley, or

in Baku, now possesses an international significance; it is of great significance for the agitation among the working masses of other countries. It is not only an immediate factor towards the increase of our wealth, but one of the bridges connecting us with the peasantry, one of the replies which we give to their discontent. It represents the sole possibility of being able to sell goods to the peasantry at just prices, and at the same time the sole possibility of further increasing working wages.

The productivity of labour is by no means increased solely by the intensification of personal work. 50% depends upon the state, upon the political economists, upon us all. But the remaining 50% depends upon the workers. We must have the courage to tell the workers that the second 50% depends upon them. At one time we joined with you to demand the eight hour day from the bourgeoisie, from the Czar and his consorts. But now the Workers' State requests you, we request you, to give us the eight hour day, the real and actual eight hours day, filled with honest work. We have not had this day yet.

Today, at the VI. Trade Union Congress, we can state this more straightforwardly and courageously than at the V. Congress, for now the working wages and material position of the workers are beginning to recuperate, if not by any means to the extent imagined by the peasantry, who are inclined to fancy that the workman lives like „God in France“.

The question of productivity of labour presses upon us, and we cannot evade it. We must go beyond the everyday and at times perhaps unavoidable debates between the economic functionaries, the trade unions, and the Party functionaries.

Productivity of Labour is of Decisive Importance today.

At the present juncture our international position depends very much more upon our productivity of labour than upon the skill of our Red diplomatists; perhaps our international position depends more upon it than even upon the Red Army. Productivity of labour is of greater international importance for us than it was before, of greater importance for the fortunes of our state and for the fortunes of international revolution. It must attract the hearts of workers of other countries like a magnet, for it must show them that socialism is growing in Russia. The productivity of our labour is our sole political and economic foothold, for it alone can establish our relations with the peasantry. This is the key to our whole situation.

We are of the opinion that at present, at the end of 1924, we should not be over anxious to grant concessions to international capital. In the year 1918, when we were badly off, it was another matter: concessions were then advisable. But now we can manage many things ourselves. We have no reason to collaborate with hostile elements, we have no reason to deliver ourselves into the hands of foreign capital. We can do much with our own strength, but only if we join together in a firm phalanx, and really increase the productivity of our work.

We have nothing to fear, for we can all see plainly that our productivity of labour is beginning to increase. Some results may already be observed.

Trade Unions — Participate more in Economics!

Our Trade Unions can record considerable achievements in the work of enlightenment. They have founded 2000 workers' clubs. Work of this kind is real cultural work, not mere talk about proletarian culture. The Trade Unions must and can continue work in this direction. But on the other hand our Trade Unions are backward with regard to economics, they do not participate sufficiently in immediate economic life. The production circles being formed at the present time are a very promising commencement. But this is not enough. The economic rights possessed by the Trade Unions, accorded them in the resolution drawn up by Lenin and unanimously passed by us, are not by any means fully utilised by them. During these last years the Trade Unions have been overburdened with other work. It is worthy of all praise that they have fulfilled these duties. But now we are entering a new period.

The Trade Unions must take greater part in actual economic life. The Trade Unions must participate much more actively in the drawing up of the program of production, in the appointment of the works' managements, in the fixing of prices, etc. etc. They must see to it that productivity of labour

is increased as far as possible everywhere. The problem of our relations to the peasantry can only be solved in this manner.

In my opinion another question immediately bound up with this is that of the staff of workers who are to direct production. The Trade Unions have begun to train the ignorant and unschooled elements in their own ranks, and to set aside the pseudo-specialists, replacing these by their own people, and by really honest and competent specialists. The question of the control of production now unfolds before us in its widest extent with reference to the peasantry, to the settlement of land questions, to cultivation, etc., in a word, with reference to every sphere of our life. For this reason we are also approaching our teachers and instructors from a new viewpoint. It is not that we are merely running after things pertaining to the people only, without reference to any principle. We are adapting ourselves to a new historical situation. We need such a transition all along the line. The staff of workers directing production, in the middle and lower positions, must consist of our own people. I do not know how this is going to be put into actual practice; but it is a political problem which is of vital importance for the VI. Trade Union Congress. I have thus considered it my duty to lay it briefly before you.

The Proletarian Students.

Here we must also touch upon the question of the proletarian students. At the present time the commencement is being made with the formation of craft units among the students. This question must be carefully and competently discussed, for to a great extent it is a political problem, a part of the question of the staff of workers controlling production, and our Congress must take up this problem, and must accord it due attention in some section or commission. 20,000 workers are learning in our 42 technical schools, and these will form a considerable section of the future directors of our production.

Permanent and Imperative Fundamental Questions.

These, comrades, are the tasks placed upon our agenda. Besides these, it need not be emphasised, there are a number of other questions: everlasting fundamental questions.

Go to the masses! has long been one of our watchwords, but we must not be content with what we have already achieved, we must rather change this watchword to: Still nearer the masses! We see that the cultural needs of the workers are not the same as they were in the year 1919. The requirements and wishes of the peasantry increased too. Our leaders must take this into consideration, they must develop with their surroundings, they must show themselves capable of meeting the ever growing needs of the masses.

Another of our old slogans is that of the bolshevisation of the labour movement. We are teaching this to the workers of the whole world. But we must not forget it ourselves. Our Party is of course the most Bolshevist Party in the world, we possess the most powerful labour movement in the Comintern, but this does not mean that we are bolshevised to 100%. Even our own Party requires bolshevising, and our Trade Unions, our whole labour movement. No self-satisfaction! We know our own strength, but we must learn to recognise our weaknesses as well, we must never fail to observe a conscious or unconscious attempt at a revision of Leninism, even when made in the name of Lenin.

Final Conclusions:

I am thus of the opinion that we are confronted by a number of problems.

In the question of the international Trade Union movement we stand for unity. We shall decide in favour of this slogan, and shall fight on Bolshevist lines till we succeed.

In the peasantry question we find ourselves faced by a new situation. Many obstacles block up our path, but these can be overcome, and they will be overcome.

To the question of productivity of labour we reply: It is clear that this is the actual fundamental question at the bottom of our whole economics, of our whole international situation. It is of greater decisive power than our diplomacy, or even of our Red Army; it is the question of questions. Trade Unions! Take more active part in economics!

The problem of the staff of workers controlling production appears for the first time in its full importance in the proletarian arena. The question of the proletarian students is a part of this problem.

All these questions are dominated by the economic question: Metal! This slogan was issued by the XIII. Party Conference. We can now add, with greater accuracy: not only metal, but textiles, coal, naphtha, railways. It is these which decide the fate of our country, and, in a certain sense, at the same time the fate of the international labour movement.

And now we must apply the whole of the iron perseverance and impassioned determination of the Bolshevik, hitherto active in civil wars and in the many tasks set by former conditions, the iron perseverance, the impassioned determination, and the steely hardness, taught us by Lenin, the whole of the energy.

Messages.

After this Comrade Geschke greeted the Congress in the names of the Red International of Labour Unions and of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany; comrade Dudillier brought a message from the CGTU of France.

On behalf of the revolutionary workers of the West, these comrades called for an energetic struggle for the establishment of unity in the Trade Union movement.

A number of messages to the Congress, on behalf of workers in the Soviet Union, were next delivered. Comrade Bogatschew welcomed the Congress on behalf of the transport workers of Zaritzyn, comrade Kaschevenko in the name of the miners of the Donetz basin; comrade Barmin in the name of the building workers of Donetz. These comrades brought

Comrade Purcell's Speech.

Comrades, friends and fellow workers all, I am here in the name of the British Trade Union Congress, and I have been sent here to offer their heartiest greetings for the success of your congress, and in addition to that to congratulate you upon the tremendous work you have done in the interests of all the world's working class. I can speak with some little experience, and particularly as I was a delegate in the year 1920 when you were passing through what might be regarded as a frightful state of change. The present visit has enabled me to see the improvements that have taken place since 1920. The long travail of that phase of the revolution, of the phase when it is necessary for labour to deal with the change of things as the times move and as a result of the terrible heritage left you by Czarism. Some of us saw in 1920 the conditions of things that Czarism and wars had left to great Russia. But today as I came along, and yesterday as I passed on to Moscow, I observed that there is a tremendous change in the appearance, in the clothing, in the headgear, in the attitude, and if I may say so, from my point of view in the frame of mind of the people themselves. It is possible to see that a tremendous change has come over the working class of Russia, that that change was due to the great work of the working class representatives of Russia, the Soviet Republic Representatives together with the working class representatives and through the Trade Union movement. We have heard from time to time that there was a change, but speaking again for myself, I would say that the impression I have gained is that one of the best works that the working class did for themselves was that contribution of Russia in removing in large masses the illiteracy of the people and in helping to feed and better clothe the large masses of their working class.

If the British working class could see the great change that has come over the working class of Russia, in this short space of time, I believe that the great masses of our working people would cry that a change is due in Great Britain and would take steps whereby they would see that a change of this type takes place as speedily as possible. (Applause.)

I know that our British Trade Union Movement has the highest regard for the great work of the Russian people in the tribute and reception and appreciation they gave to Tomsky, Lepse, etc. when they received them in the enthusiastic manner in which they did at our Hull Trade Union Congress. Therefore, I repeat, our people can appreciate all this and it can be

the understanding, and talents of the Party and the Trade Union movement — all this must now be applied to these things, to metal, textile materials, coal, Naphtha, and railways, that the productivity of our labour may be increased. (Enthusiastic applause.)

And all these problems must be solved in the light of those teachings which we received from Lenin, in the light of true Leninism, in the light of a quiet and undemonstrative, but steady and persevering effort for the Bolshevisation of our labour movement. If we accomplish this task, then our Congress will prove a real landmark in the history of the labour movement of our country, in the history of the struggle of the international working class for the emancipation of labour. (Enthusiastic and continuous applause, lost in the tones of the orchestra, which played the „International“.)

the Congress promises from the workers to exert their utmost efforts for increased output of work.

Comrade Tschaplin greeted the Congress on behalf of the Youth Union, and pointed out the close association existing between the Trade Unions and the Youth Union. He called upon the Congress to aid the Youth Union in its efforts to win over the youth of the villages.

Before the representatives of the English Trade Unions rose to speak, Comrade Tomsky introduced the members of the English delegation to the Congress. The participants in the Congress rose to their feet and greeted the English Trade Union functionaries with the utmost enthusiasm. The speeches of the English delegates were frequently interrupted by continuous bursts of applause.

found in the fact that despite the falsehoods spread broadcast at the recent General Election, in England, despite all that was said in that respect; and some of us were told that if the working class of England voted for the Labour candidates „the Russians would come and take your wives“. We were told by way of huge posters

Vote Tory or Liberal
Address London or Manchester
Not Moscow.

The truth is, that the capitalist class of England, in common with the capitalist class everywhere are bankrupt in ideas and all they can now do, is to resort to these means in order to further delude the working classes to vote for the reactionary politicians again. This proves that capitalism is on its last legs.

I can say that our British working class has a greater appreciation of international work, and knows more of Russia to-day as a result of our agitation, and can appreciate the work of the Russian workmen far, far better to-day than they did in the days previous to the General Election. Our adherents have been growing numerically until now we can count 5,500,000 voting solidly for the working class candidates despite all lies and calumnies. Again, be that as it may, the time has come when there must be real International Unity, and when I say that, I believe that the real basis of International Unity must be a definite anti-capitalist class organisation and not some mere form of unity. (Applause.)

More and more, I repeat, our working class in Britain is beginning to recognise the importance of international solidarity and I think I am uttering their views when I say that our own General Council of the British Trade Union Congress will do its utmost to see that the Russian Trade Union Movement is brought within the sphere of the international mosaic. Our first step should be to get some agreement as to the basis, to get the parties together and to come to some form of common agreement. I say that we cannot leave them out of account; it would be absurd to attempt to leave Russia out of any type of international organisation. It would be like having Hamlet played, without having Hamlet acting in the play. Our task in the British Trade Union Movement, and our mission is that of mediators. You must try to meet as far as you can our desires to come together under one international flag. We on our part

will do all we can in that direction. If Amsterdam cannot do it, then we, of the British movement are convinced that it will be our task to force on this unity ourselves.

Therefore, in bringing these greetings we come here to help, associate, and to stand with you in the great task of securing International Solidarity, believing that solidarity alone must be the supreme effort to realise world working class emancipation. We say it is our duty to assist in the abolishment of capitalism from our midst and secure the emancipation of our class, remembering always that there are no foreigners

Comrade Bramley's Speech.*)

Comrades, on behalf of the English Trade Union movement I bring you the fraternal greetings of 5 million organised workers. At the same time I should like to remind you that we have given proofs of our sincerity towards you. As you know, we have more than once mobilised the whole power of organised labour in our country to prevent our government from proceeding against Soviet Russia. In the year 1920 we exerted all the forces of our organisation against the capitalist government, to prevent the blow it was going to strike against Soviet Russia.

Allow me to employ the time placed at my disposal for the purpose of informing you briefly with regard to our country.

First of all I should like to make a slight correction of what has been said by our chairman **Tomsky**. He declared at this Congress that we are the oldest Trade Unions in the world. And as a matter of fact we are the representatives of the oldest Trade Unions, but at the same time we are extraordinarily young, are animated by extremely young ideals, and are adherents of progressive tactics.

At the present time we are attacking the capitalist system in our country in three ways: We are utilising the Trade Unions for the protection of the interests of the workers as productive value, we are utilising the co-operatives for protecting the interests of the same workers in their capacity of consumers, and finally we are utilising our political movement for the purpose of destroying the political power of the capitalist class.

I think it will be useful to give you a few statements referring to the first of these forms of organisation. In the year 1913 2,232,446 organised workers were represented at the English Trade Union Congress. In 1920 the Congress spoke in the name of 6,505,482 organised workers. Since that time the continuous depression of industry has caused the number of our members to sink, and at our last Congress only 4,328,235 workers were represented. But despite this retrogression of our membership we are representing, after three years of abnormally difficult industrial conditions, double as many organised workers as we represented before the war.

In England the last three years have been a period of great suffering and impoverishment. In the course of the years 1921, 1922, and 1923 we had more than 1½ million unemployed. We have many thousands of workers who have not been able to return to the workshop since the war. Many of these were continuously out of work during these three years. Our em-

Comrade Ben Tillet's Speech.*)

Dear comrades, although I am unable to address you in the Russian language, I shall speak in that language which is to become the language of all the workers of the world in the future. First of all allow me to pay a tribute to the memory of one of the greatest men in the world, to the memory of our comrade Lenin. I believe that his name will still be honoured after the memory of the caesars has long since been forgotten. I have not the feeling that he is dead. Today, when I stood before the mausoleum in which his remains rest, I felt the full significance of this human being, one of the mightiest that the world has known. I felt clearly that he still lives, and will continue to live, because he was the leader of the revolution, the first real revolution of the working class, and led it to victory. His name is synonymous with the great truth of the rise of the working class for the overthrow of the tyranny of capital, and for emancipation from wage slavery.

*) Re-translated from the Russian.

in the working class movement anywhere, we are all part of one great world working class family and must move towards the final solution of every problem affecting us with these things always in our minds.

Hurrah for the Russian working class!

Hurrah for the International Unity of the world's working class and down with all capitalism!

(Prolonged applause.)

ployers are endeavoring to gain profits for themselves from industrial depression and the impoverishment of our workers, and have reduced wages to an amount valued at a total of 1 milliard pounds sterling yearly. This discloses more clearly than anything else the complete failure and swindling character of the sermons which they held during the war on the unity of interests between workers and employers.

I should now like to give you some figures referring to the co-operative movement, which is also a movement conducted by wage workers. The total sum of the capital possessed by these organisations, accumulated from the shillings and pence of the workers, amounts to 127 million pounds sterling. Last year the returns, or in other words the revenue derived from the sale of goods in the co-operative stores, amounted to 259,999,999 pounds sterling. Almost 1,875,000 workers are employed in their own co-operative enterprises. Thus we utilise the powers of the working masses as productive force and at the same time their powers as consumers, with the aid of the Trade Union and co-operative organisations, in order that the capitalist field of activity may be reduced, and the power of capital in trade and industry undermined.

Permit me to declare that at the present time we are exerting our utmost endeavours to win the victory for our views. We see clearly that our country is a country of extraordinarily sharp social extremes. We are perfectly aware that despite the enormous accumulation of wealth, the perfecting of machinery saving human labour, the mighty triumphs of science, the development of electrification, all this has not lightened the yoke pressing upon the workers, and these are still carrying on the same wretched existence as they did 200 years ago. Therefore we are carrying on the work on our own methods, in order to open the eyes of the English workers as to the sole means of removing economic insecurity. The sole possible means of putting an end to the misery of both body and soul is the seizure of complete rule of all the means of production by the workers. This, comrades, is the aim of the English trade union movement. In order to achieve this aim we are employing our own means and methods.

We are following the same aims as you, and will join you in your struggles, using the forms most suitable for us, that we may bring the day nearer on which the workers of the whole world may utilise for themselves the whole fruit of their own work.

Permit me to point out further that all the revolutions of the past have been paid less dearly by the workers than the wars have been. The workers have never lost anything by revolution, but have never won anything as result of a war. I am proud of taking part in your Congress. You have applied to us for our co-operation. You have turned for aid to the labour movement in England, and I cannot but be ashamed at the same time that you have come to us, you, who have done so much for the world, and have realised this miracle of miracles, which will give freedom and new life to the whole of humanity, and open out wide spheres of fresh hopes for every child which will be born into the world.

Our capitalist class fears you, and is endeavoring to discredit your brothers in our country, for it is perfectly aware of the strength of the Soviet power, and of its daily increasing strength.

The letter ascribed to comrade **Zinoviev** is forged. Dear comrade **Zinoviev**, yours is now the best known name in England. This letter was employed to serve the political ends of

the most villainous cliques in the world, but it is precisely this fact which has awakened such general interest, and we shall be able to unmask the liars before the eyes of the broad masses of the people immediately on our return, and long before the next Parliamentary elections in our country. Our ruling class is the most ingenious, cunning, and energetic organiser of capitalist despotism. It conceals its greed and egoism beneath the veil of benevolence towards the working masses. But after 40 years of the movement, and after the unwearying efforts of better people than we, our working class is beginning to recognise the necessity of not only Parliamentary struggle, but of struggle outside of Parliament.

Whatever may be the forms taken by the activity of the working class, I hope that these will be organised, and will be carried through in the systematic manner ensuring us success within the next few years, in face of the resistance offered by capital.

The eyes of the masses of the workers are being opened to the hypocrisy of our Foreign Office, whose leading officials — I state this quite openly — are obviously hostile to the working class. These officials, who sent the protest to the representative of the Soviet Union, have expressed neither the

Comrade Tomsky's Reply.

I am confident of expressing the general feeling of the Congress when I thank the delegation, on behalf of the organised Russian workers represented in this hall, for the fraternal greetings sent by the workers of Great Britain.

Whatever obstacles may arise in the way of the uniting of the international proletariat into one family of brothers, the mere fact of the presence of the representatives of the English labour movement at our Congress is a guarantee that all obstacles will be swept out of the way, and the unity of the Trade Union movement realised.

It is a slow and difficult piece of work. It need not be said that we do not imagine it as the bare fact of the Russian Trade Unions joining Amsterdam under these or those conditions, or under observance of the dignity of the Amsterdam International to this or that degree. Slowly but surely, gaining more followers day by day, we shall succeed in making the working class and its trade unions realise the urgent necessity of unity, and shall create a new united International without any conditions whatever, and without any question of dignity. In our opinion it is in this way, and in this way only, that the unity of the working class can be realised.

Whilst we were in England we had the opportunity of convincing ourselves that Lenin was right when he said that if it was not easy for us to conquer power, it would be a good deal more difficult for the English workers to do so, for the English working class has not only many good traditions,

opinions of the labour party government nor the feelings and wishes of the broad masses of English workers. Here we had a lie from beginning to end, but at least it has served the purpose of opening the eyes of the workers to the character of our bureaucrats in the Foreign Office. Until these Augean-stables have been cleaned our people will not entrust its interests to it again.

My dear friends, my time is limited. I should like to address you expressly as friends, for this is a really solemn moment. Do not be anxious for us! The fate of the world depends more upon you than upon capitalist England. With respect to the English workers, your achievements are to them a source of consolation in their own sufferings, they awaken fresh hopes and stimulate to fresh efforts. I believe, friends, that if Lenin was the greatest leader in the fight against the capitalist system, he was still greater in that he gathered you together in unity. Lenin is no more, but the prerequisites for the execution of his work are expressed in the principles which he taught, and which have sunk deeply into your minds and consciousness. The world looks to you. May your war-cry electrify all workers. May your example serve to gather together all the peoples of the world in one great confraternity of humanity. (Continuous applause.)

but also many difficult and harmful ones. England has a strong and united bourgeoisie, possessing hundreds of newspaper with editions running into millions. A clever and educated bourgeoisie, not one like ours. This throws many obstacles in the way of the working class, and it is difficult for the English worker to seize upon power.

We hope that when the representatives of the English Trade Union movement become acquainted with our country, they will come to the conclusion that the Russian workers did rightly when they made it their first work to destroy the bourgeois apparatus, replacing it by their own new apparatus. I believe that this acquaintance with the Soviet republic, with our workers, with our life, with our capability of living in hard times without losing our faith in the proletarian revolution, and with our ability to build up a new life of our own that all this will be a means of enlightenment to them, and will force them to teach the English workers to judge more correctly of the question of seizure of power.

On behalf of the Congress I once more thank the English comrades for their messages, and for the comradely welcome accorded us, the representatives of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, by the English comrades at Hull.

The opening session was then closed to the strains of the „International“.

Second Day of Session.

Report on the Activity of the Central Council of the Trade Unions.

Comrade Tomsky's Speech.

Comrades, I believe that if we compare the results lying before us today with those of two years ago, we must admit that the collective activity of the Trade Unions, not only of the Central Council, but also of the individual Trade Unions, has proved to have been on entirely right lines. The line followed by the V. Trade Union Congress has proved equally right.

During the transition to the new method*) our Trade Union movement was threatened by a number of dangers. In the first place the danger of deviation in the direction of independence from the Soviet power, in the direction of Menshevism, and in the second-place a number of practical dangers. The first fear, that the Trade Unions would become so intent upon the defence of the interests of the working class as to lose sight of the totality of Trade Unionist tasks in the proletarian dictatorship, has proved groundless. Our statistics show that in the year 1920 we had fewer strikes than in 1922, and in the first half of 1924 comparatively fewer strikes than in 1923. And if we submit these strikes to an analysis, we see that their chief causes have been the delay in payment of wages, or in the depreciation in value of old bank notes.

With respect to the other group of dangers, arising from the most part from the sharp curve which we took with regard to the financial policy of the Trade Unions and to voluntary membership, we see that in spite of the transition to voluntary membership there has been no diminution in the number of members in our unions, and we have already overcome our financial difficulties.

Deviations in our Trade Union Movement.

There is no need for us to conceal the fact that certain sections of our Trade Union movement have deviated at times from the right path. During the first period following the V. Trade Union Congress there was a first deviation when the Trade Unions permitted themselves to be carried away by the atmosphere of the new economic policy. We saw many firmly established individual organisations making the attempt to take up commercial activity, to form joint stock undertakings within the confines of the Trade Unions, etc. We have perhaps been a little too severe, and even rough, in condemning this, but we have invariably suppressed all such attempts from their very beginning.

A second deviation has been the attempt to return to the old working methods of issuing orders, sending round circulars, etc. Even today this erroneous method may be encountered. And I am of the opinion that our Trade Union movement is threatened by the bureaucracy of the circular. And if we declared, when starting on our new course, that the best union is the union which manages with the least number of strikes and conflicts, we may now take the following as criterion for excellency of organisation work: The best union is the union with the fewest employees, the union managing with the smallest amount of office work, and issuing the fewest circulars.

Our financial policy demands the most efficient measures, and if there are still organisations with deficits, then we must show them how to avoid this, if needs be by means of voluntary unpaid evening work on the part of some functionaries.

Wages Policy.

It is probable that the subordinate organisations have frequently disagreed with the Central Council, in the course of these last two years, with regard to this or that point of its wages policy. Here I need mention two points only: the gold loan and the transition from goods index to gold rouble. Working wages have risen with extreme slowness during this year, and only with great pains and trouble. The All Russian

*) From compulsory to voluntary membership. Ed.

Central Council saw this and made sacrifices. And those who see the results for which we made these sacrifices cannot make us any reproach on this account. We were perfectly aware that unless the gold and bread loan was successful, there could be no question of financial reform or stabilised currency. And if anyone should now propose that we return to the old currency, even in combination with increased wages, nobody would be willing to do so. Our wages policy has proved right.

During the last two years the collective agreement has become a uniform and general form regulating and fixing working wages. In the future we shall endeavour to render the collective agreement even more simple. The further task incumbent upon us at the present juncture, and now being dealt with by our tariff department, is the fixing of a uniform qualification system for every branch of production.

The Question of Cultural Work.

We attach the greatest importance to the workers' club, to this lever of enlightenment, with its capability for satisfying the whole of the mental demands of the worker. And we see that besides the circulars, or despite the circulars, the workers' club has awakened a new life, thrown out fresh branches, and pointed out to us spheres of work of which we had not even dreamed hitherto. The workers' club began by arranging craft instruction sections, and by introducing a whole number of new methods of club activity. We may thus see what an unlimited field of activity is offered us for our enlightenment work by the workers' club. For the immediate future the enlightenment work performed by all our Trade Union organisations must be on the lines of: attentive study of all forms and descriptions of cultural work, the greatest possible independence, more animation, greater attention given to the clubs, without any attempt at smothering their living activity in the bureaucracy of the circular.

The old dissensions as to what the club is really intended to represent: school, political school, or place of entertainment? have not yet completely disappeared, ridiculous and nonsensical though they are. The club has to fulfil all these tasks.

With reference to the work of enlightenment in the Trade Unions we may say that the Unions are aware that they are a school of communism. But what they do not at all know is the method which they must follow for the fulfilment of this task. They forget Lenin's words, written to them with his own hand, and incorporated in the resolution passed by the V. World Congress; the words on the role of the Trade Unions as transmission mechanism for connecting the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, with the collective mass of the non-partisans.

Thus for instance the Trade Unions have forgotten their chief task in the question of anti-religious-propaganda; that they have to act as transmission gearing between the vanguard and the organisation which unites all wage workers. The point is that the vanguard consists of 600,000 to 700,000 persons, the non-partisan mass, on the other hand, of over 6 million.

The Trade Unions represent an organisation uniting the wage workers without reference to their political or religious convictions, without consideration of their nationality. This has been forgotten. Even today we find such errors committed as the employment, in the Trade Unions, of methods only suitable within the Party itself. Where the Communist Party, rightly enough, purges its ranks of unreliable members, some Trade Unions have begun to imitate this procedure automatically, and to clear the Trade Unions of politically untrustworthy elements. But is this their business?

To expel anyone from a Trade Union means depriving him of the right to be an organised member of his class. Who

possesses the right to punish a worker in this manner? Yet this is being done by our Trade Unions, though they are supposed to unite all wage earners, without considerations of their political and religious convictions. This is a dangerous deviation.

Work Amongst the Women.

I have often been impelled to observe that this expression: „Work amongst the women“ should really be substituted by another term: „Work amongst the men for equal rights for women“. It is not a question of according privileges to women just because they are women; this would be entirely wrong, and is in reality an insult to woman.

But at the same time we must keep in view the fact that the question has not been exhausted by the decree issued by the October revolution which formally recognises equal rights for women. This must not suffice us. This formal acknowledgement of equal rights must be supplemented in our working class by the wish not only to realise this equality in the form of resolutions, but by having every Trade Union functionary become actually conscious of the necessity of equal rights.

We must not think that we can help woman merely by resolutions and words; we must help her in our daily life to assert her rights, for this has been made exceedingly difficult for her, oppressed as she has been for so many centuries, not only as member of a class, but as woman.

Our International Work.

I consider it to be my duty to report on one of the most important branches of our work, our international work. The letters which we exchanged with the Amsterdam International up to the 1. January 1924 — this forming a chapter of our relations to the Amsterdam International — represent a kind of cheap rubbishy novel in letter form.

Since the 1. January of this year the problem of the United Front and the problem of Trade Union unity have entered upon a new stage. The closer relations which have arisen between us and the English labour movement have pushed the problem of creating and organising unity in the Trade Union movement more and more into the foreground. Our strivings in this direction were first expressed in the resolution, signed by comrade Dogadov, telegraphed to the address of comrade Purcell at the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International.

As reply to this the Vienna Congress, chiefly on the initiative of the English delegation, of whose members comrade Purcell is here present, and of the well known international Trade Union functionary Edo Fimmen, brought up the question of relations to the Russian Trade Unions. As result of the exchange of opinions following this, and of the resultant debate, the Vienna Congress passed the customary compromise resolution, admitting the possibility of the admission of the Russian Trade Unions to the Amsterdam International. This resolution contained a series of reservations. One of these reservations is: „On the basis of the existing statutes of the Amsterdam International“; the second: „The dignity of the Amsterdam International being observed“.

We received this resolution in July, in the form of a letter from the Amsterdam International. We replied that we were desirous to negotiate, but that we consider it exceedingly unjust for any conditions to be imposed, from any side whatever, for these negotiations, and that the question of labour organisations cannot be approached in this manner.

Upon this a second letter was sent us. This letter stated that tactical and political differences of opinion exist between us and the Amsterdam International. But as these differences of opinion are not merely in question of tactics, they would like us to send them a written statement of our principles. Comrades, it need not be said that we do not doubt for a moment that the Amsterdam International knows our principles very well indeed. And since they know our principles, and still passed a resolution admitting the necessity of negotiations with us, what more do they want from us? We did not however refuse to reply, we said that our main principle was a relentless struggle against the capitalists, and that we should not countenance any agreements with them. We promised to explain the fundamental principles of our movement more in detail on the occasion of a personal meeting.

I must however admit that this correspondence was little more than the sequel to the above mentioned rubbishy novel, if in a somewhat milder form. The majority of the Amsterdam International throw considerable obstacles in the way of our endeavours to create a united front. When I speak of the majority, I am speaking of the functionaries in the offices of the Amsterdam International, and do not in the least identify comrade Purcell, the chairman of the Amsterdam International, with these. Comrade Purcell is in the Minority, and as representative of the minority he is frequently obliged, for the sake of discipline, to sign documents which are little to his taste. I have no doubt but that the question would be settled much more rapidly if it depended upon the English comrades. I must say that I was entirely satisfied with the declaration made yesterday by the responsible leader of the English workers, comrade Purcell, and I believe that he gives us a faithful representation of the feeling among the English workers when he says that if the whole of Amsterdam will not go with us, then the English will go with us without Amsterdam.

I am fully confident that among our English comrades, and among the English workers and their representatives, words and deeds will be one.

It is easily comprehensible that the people actually running the Amsterdam International do not like to come in contact with the „lepers“ of communism. I believe, however, that the international working class is realising more and more clearly that capital is continuing its offensive. In Germany the offensive begins with political repressions, and the weakened political front of the workers is broken through economically at the same time. It is impossible not to grasp this, it is impossible not to see it.

Those who do not see this, who do not grasp that West European industry feels itself cribbed and confined, that it has no foreign markets at its disposal, that the industry of every individual country — in England, France, or Germany — is endeavouring to find out how it can cheapen the cost price of its goods so as to win these markets, have no idea of how things are going in the world at all.

From all sides we hear the laments of West European capitalists, that it is of no advantage to produce goods, that labour is dear, currencies shaky. This is a general lamentation. And it implies the inevitability of fresh economic attacks upon the working class. And those who do not grasp that one factor thrown in the balance of the struggle between capitalists and workers is the six million of Russian workers now ruling a great, important state, capable of great deeds in spite of its poverty, a state which the West European capitalists are forced to recognise whether they want to or not — those who do not grasp that these six million workers may turn the scale, know nothing of the labour problem. We need unity, because we feel the approach of fresh struggles in the West in which the West European workers will be forced to take part; and the things which touch the West European worker touch the Russian worker just as nearly, and are part of his own problem, for the defeat of the workers of the West is our defeat.

Lenin's Labour Movement Principles.

It is only natural that some comrades may doubt whether it is permissible for us to join the same International as the social democrats, who have shown us their real countenances often enough during these seven years since the war, to say nothing of their conduct during the war. Will our principles not suffer? Does it not signify that we shall have to sacrifice at least a part of our principles?

I believe, comrades, that we have really forged our principles in fire and iron, that they have been steeled by civil war and two revolutions, and by the revolution in 1905, that we do not stand for our principles in wordy conflicts only, but can discuss with machine guns at times, that we have successfully passed the test of a mass labour movement in our own country, that we have stood the test of the struggle against our own Russian reformists, the Mensheviki, and that these two principles, our and those of the reformists, have been cut on trial in every trade union organisation, in every practical question; but the result of the trials has not been favourable to reformism, to Menshevism. Where are their principles now? But our principles have been realised in every

sphere of the labour movement, firmly established, and developed. They have been confirmed by life itself: the steady growth of our movement is the best proof of this.

Wherever we may be, to whatever organisation we belong, we are working for the welfare and the interests of the working class. And we shall collaborate with everyone who is sent us by the workers of Western Europe. But we do not concede the very least part of our principles, nor shall we concede the very least in the future.

Comrade Dogadov.

The Results of our Organisation Work.

During the period covered by this report work was carried on in the Trade Unions under comparatively favourable conditions. The characteristic of this period was the restoration of our industry. A few figures will serve to illustrate this.

In the year 1923 the total production of industry amounted to 33% of pre-war industry, in the year 1924 to 44%, and according to the latest calculation to 50%. In 1913 2,797,000 persons were employed in industrial undertakings, in 1921 the number was 1,243,000, and today it is 1,713,000 (60%). The activity of the working masses has grown at the same time. The process of declassification in the working class has ceased.

The chief points to which the Central Council has had to direct its attention have been: the nearer approach of the Trade Union apparatus to the masses, the struggle against bureaucracy and the official tone, and finally the question of Trade Union finances. We have devoted no small degree of attention to the work, done by the subordinate organisations: the factory councils. We have not forgotten the chief task of the Trade Unions; the protection of the interests of the Trade Union members, and we have of course invariably combined this protection with the interests of the industry of the proletarian state.

What are the results of our organisation work? At the time of the V. Congress we had 4,547,000 members, today we have 6,360,000. Of these 61% are workers and 38% employees. Unorganised workers do not exceed 8%. This is the first fact demonstrating the successful work accomplished by the Trade Unions.

As we have already stated, we have devoted special attention to the work of the factory councils. At the present time we have, in the whole Union, 35,000 factory councils and works committees with 120,000 elected functionaries. We have 40,000 to 50,000 members of factory councils, who are freed from all other work; this is a complete army serving to keep us in contact with the Trade Union members.

During the period of this report the financial position of the whole of the organisations has greatly improved. On the 1. October the Central Council was able to state its deficit is finally wiped out. Whilst there were only 23 Trade Union centrals in a secure financial position at the time of the V. Congress, today the whole of the unions, with the exception of two or three, have no longer any deficit; many of them, on the contrary, have very considerable surpluses. 80% of the Trade Union Councils of the districts are also working without deficit. 80 to 85% of the Trade Union members pay their subscriptions regularly. All this is evidence of success. On 1. January 1924 we had 383 funds for mutual aid, comprising 880,000 members.

We may distinguish two periods in our wages policy. The first period extends up to the beginning of 1923, at the time when working wages rose greatly in combination with increased productivity of labour. In the second period wages rose much more slowly than in the first. In the year 1922 wages were 30% of the pre-war wage. In the summer of 1923 wages rose to 52% and in the summer of 1924 according to a somewhat rough calculation — to 72.5%. During the whole of this time wages have risen uninterruptedly. During the last two years, that is, since the V. Trade Union Congress, wages have risen by 63%.

And if we are set the task of applying our principles in actual practice in the West European labour movement, in co-operation with the Amsterdam leaders, then we face this test with the most perfect confidence, and our principles tried in the fire of the Russian revolution, will stand the test here as well. We are convinced that this test will yield results in our favour, in favour of the old Bolshevist principles of the labour movement propagated by Lenin. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Figures from various branches of production:

Metal workers: End of 1922 23% of pre-war wages, today 56.6%.

Textile workers: End of 1922, 43%, today 91.7%.

Miners: End of 1922 39.9%, today 52.2%.

Chemical workers: End of 1922 60%, today 89.2%.

In Moscow and Leningrad wages are somewhat higher than in other districts. In Moscow the average wage at the end of 1922 was 62% of pre-war wages, today it is 109%. Leningrad remains somewhat behind Moscow; here the corresponding figures are 42% and 90%. A certain degree of equalisation has been attained for the wages of different professions. Thus for instance the average pre-war wage of the metal workers was 140%, the average wage of the textile workers 68%, of the general average wage; today these figures are 106.5% and 80.7%.

This shows us that, despite the difficult situation, our state industry is approaching pre-war conditions. The figures show that the wages policy of the Central Trade Union Council is yielding slow but tangible results.

In the months of May and June of this year the real wages of the workers have been increased, though without a rise in the nominal value of the wage; this has been brought about, in the first place, by increased piece work output, and in the second place by reductions in prices. We trust real wages will continue to increase in this manner.

With reference to the policy of wages regulation, I hope that the VI. Congress will condemn the propositions aiming at a mechanical rise in wages. The wages regulation of the Central Council is based upon the following factors: 1. The drawing up of a uniform wages scale with eight stages. 2. The practical results of the general agreements. 3. The introduction of a uniform tariff. This last measure cannot however be realised for some time.

In the question of specialists' wages, the Trade Union Council has taken the strictest measures for reducing the specialist fund, as also the number of persons classified as specialists, to a minimum.

80% of the workers and employees are comprised in the collective agreements. The chief exertion is formed by the season workers. The number of conflicts has been considerably less than last year. At the same time we may observe that whilst conflicts have become fewer in state undertakings, they have increased in private enterprises.

Cultural Work of the Trade Union.

The workers' clubs are the centres of cultural work. According to the latest reports, we have 10,572 clubs (I believe that the number is larger in reality), of which 1049 are in factories. These clubs comprise over 150,000 members. These figures speak plainly of the mighty development of our cultural work. Cultural work depends chiefly upon the initiative and independent activity of the local organs. (Applause.)

Discussion on the Report on the Activity of the Central Council.

Comrade Woskanjan (Central bureau, proletarian students) pointed out the difficult situation of the students, and emphasised the unpermissibility of a reduction of the support granted by the Trade Unions to the students.

Comrade Gull (Charkow) pointed out that a false tendency exists in the campaign for increasing working productivity, this being that some comrades imagine that productivity of labour is to be increased by intensification of individual work only, and thus pay no attention to the technical equipment of the factory or works.

Comrade Geiro (Donetz basin) expressed the wish that the differences existing in working wages, in various professions and enterprises, be removed.

Comrade Suchomlin (Ukraine) pointed out that the reports say nothing on two important points; work in the country, and work among the national minorities. The speaker stated further that the wages system plays an extraordinarily important rôle in the increase of productivity of labour. Up to now we have only had a proper wages system for the workers, but not for the large group of the administrative technical staff. The present system of specialist salaries is detrimental to an increase of working productivity. The wages of railwaymen are still very low, and must be further increased.

Comrade Plaxin (Saratov) protested against the views held by comrade Tomsy on the question of circulars, and reproached the General Council that it does not always impart its instructions in good time to the provincial organisations.

Comrade Kuropatkina (Jaroslav) pointed out that comrade Tomsy did not say a word about questions of everyday life, although these questions require urgent solution.

Comrade Akulov (Donetz basin) demanded that the variegated wages scale and the great differences in wages between centre and province should cease. The deficiencies in club work mentioned by comrade Tomsy are due to the fact that we have but few experienced club workers.

Comrade Petrosov (CC of the Metal Workers Union) referred to the negotiations with Amsterdam, and pointed out

that the workers cannot imagine how they are to work without international unity; but they do not want unity with the yellow leaders, but unity with the real working masses.

Comrade Kusmenko (Kiew) called for detailed practical instruction for work amongst the masses of the peasantry.

Comrade Jevrenkov (Tula) pointed out the extraordinary advantages of mass work.

Comrade Krol (CC of the Foodstuffs Workers) criticised the statistics office. The wages of the food workers are not so high as stated by the statistics office. The office has based its figures on investigations covering the wage conditions of only one tenth of our Trade Union members.

Comrade Soloviev (Charkow) expressed the opinion that an obstacle in the way of increasing working productivity is the fact that the workers are afraid that increased productivity would render a part of them superfluous, and liable to dismissal.

Comrade Siatopolsky (Ekaterinoslav) demanded the simplification of the obligation to render statistical statements on the part of the subordinate organisations. A strict regulation of working wages, specialists salaries, and premiums, is necessary. No word had been uttered as to how the wages policy of private enterprises should be conducted.

Comrade Klujeva (Leningrad) protested against comrade Tomsy's assertion that the shop stewards occupy themselves with trivial work only, and declared that she for her part was occupied with the study of daily life and the protection circle, which we have established accomplish a great deal of work.

Comrade Rublov (Odessa) had also missed details on work in the country in the speeches of comrades Tomsy and Dogadov. Neither had comrade Tomsy touched upon the question of unemployment among agricultural labourers.

Comrade Rjasanov entered in much detail into the question of increased working productivity. We have already attained considerable results in the intensification of work. But enhanced working productivity does not depend solely upon the intensification of work, from the degree to which technical aids are utilised, from the raw materials, etc.

Third Day of Session.

Comrade Tomsy's Concluding Speech.

There were several points which I intentionally did not touch upon in my report. I did not refer to work in the villages because I did not want to repeat what comrade Zinoviev had already said at this Congress on this subject. And when some of our comrades demand detailed instructions as to work in the country, I can only reply that we cannot issue any until we have gathered more experience.

We have been reproached with lack of energy in our wages regulation policy. It is only possible for us to regulate wages by general decrees, and with the aid of Trade Union discipline. We must not attempt any other form of state wages regulation, or else we shall find ourselves back again at state tariff regulation. Those who cannot realise this have forgotten the history of state wages regulation in Russia.

With regard to the national question, centralism is and remains the unshakeable principle of the Trade Union movement. The general rule to be followed is this: In the national republics (Georgia, Azerbaidjan, etc.) the whole of the administrative work of the Trade Unions must be conducted, on the wish of the members, in the national language. The Congress may decide that, in places where there are considerable groups of Russian workers, the work of administration be carried on in two or three languages. The work of enlightenment must be carried on exclusively, or chiefly, in the national language. These are all uncontested principles of our work, and only need to be developed and adapted to the requirements of the organisations.

I am much pleased to acknowledge a written communication to the Congress, from the engineers, to the effect that the office of the Engineers' Union will exert utmost endeavours

to induce the engineers and technicians to participate in the work of increasing productivity.

It is not long since conditions were so absurd that the provinces were complaining of lack of technical workers whilst almost one thousand unemployed engineers were living in Moscow because they did not want to leave Moscow. Disorder of this kind must cease. We must ask whether these specialists are not to be regarded as shirkers of work, and if they should not be treated as such.

In conclusion I should like to say a few words on the United front in the Trade Union movement. Our decision on our association with Amsterdam is based upon the fact that we do not want merely to look on during the coming struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of Western Europe. We must take an active part in this struggle, and must throw the whole of our revolutionary enthusiasm, the whole weight of our working class, governing one of the greatest states in the world, into the balance of this struggle. There is no other way. Those comrades who are of the opinion that the Amsterdam International is falling to pieces in any case, and we can wait till it has finally done so, are very gravely in error. A policy of this kind is worth nothing.

The speakers in the discussion have not been able to point out any serious defects in the activity of the Central Council. Our work has of course not been perfect, but the defects have been so small that our comrades have not discovered them.

After comrade Tomsy had concluded his closing speech, the Congress unanimously expressed its approval of the activity of the Central Council of the Trade Unions.

Report for the People's Commissariat of Labour. Comrade Schmidt's Speech.

At the V. Trade Union Congress the principles of the new code of labour laws were accepted, these being based on the contents of my report at that Congress. Two years of experience have shown that the code of labour laws is adequate in all essentials, and is in full harmony with the conditions, of our economics. We have had to make a number of concessions, however, with regard to some categories of workers, thus for instance with reference to agricultural work, to the obligatory state labour exchanges, etc.

We were also obliged to make a number of alterations with regard to women's and youths' work. It is among these that there is the greatest unemployment. This circumstance is due to the fact that the work of these categories was once economically the most advantageous. We must so develop our laws that the work done by women and young people is protected, but without this protection becoming a reason for crowding these workers out of production.

The question of unemployment is one of the problems causing us most anxiety. On 1 July 1,400,000 unemployed were registered in the Soviet Union. This is of course not the real number. 25% of these registered unemployed have never been employed at all, further 17% have not been employed in production. The number of unemployed among the industrial workers does not exceed more than 350,000 to 400,000.

Our unemployed consisting of these elements, we were induced to release the unemployed from the obligation to avail themselves of the state labour exchanges. This made it possible for us to keep away from the labour exchanges those elements who have themselves registered solely on account of the advantages enjoyed by the unemployed.

Social insurance has been greatly extended during the three years of its existence. Over 5½ million workers, that is 90%

of those coming under the insurance obligation, have already been insured. We are already paying the actual working wages as compensation for temporary inability to work. For invalids conditions are not so favourable. This is our next task.

Last year we expended considerable sums for workers' sanatoria and medical institutions. More than 50,000 workers have been treated in the sanatoria in the health resorts in the course of the past year. Our funds did not permit us to afford more. The patients treated in our sanatoria have been on an average workers to the extent of 80%. This is an extraordinarily great achievement, and one which we must maintain.

In the sphere of labour protection it has hitherto been customary to compensate the harmfulness of compulsory work by other means: by more holidays, shorter working day, etc. We must now devote more attention, not to compensation, but to the removal of the harmfulness of the working conditions.

The law of 16. May renders it possible for us to take up the building of workers' dwellings to a much greater extent. Above all, 16,500 dwellings for 95,000 workers are being built. Besides this, the workers themselves must participate in the house building by material participation in the formation of dwelling house building co-operatives. The Trade Unions must take part in this work in the form of strict control ensuring the proper utilisation of the means intended for building purposes.

After a discussion on Comrade Schmidt's speech, and comrade Schmidt's reply, the third day's session closed.

Fourth Day of Session.

At the beginning of the meeting comrade

Tomsky

informed the Congress of the death of comrade Morel. Comrade Tomsky pointed out that although comrade Morel had not shared our views on every question, he had accomplished much in the antimilitarist campaign during the imperialist war, and had been one of the sincerest and most consistent friends of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the energy of comrade Morel, and his friends here present, it had been possible for the negotiations already once broken off between the Soviet Union and England to be resumed, and settled in a manner acceptable to both sides. Comrade Tomsky berated the English Trade Union functionaries present to express the deepest sympathy of the Congress to the English working class.

The Economic Situation in the Soviet Union. Comrade Rykov's Speech.

The Economic Situation in the Country.

In order to gain an accurate idea of the present economic situation in the Soviet Union, with its population of 130 million inhabitants, we must first of all describe the economic position of the majority of the population of our Union, that is, of the 100 million human beings comprising the peasantry.

This is necessary for the reason that these 100 millions human beings out in the country represent the basis of the whole of the economic life of our republic, the foundation upon which our industry and the working class have worked and are still working. Industry receives a considerable part of its raw materials from the peasantry, and industry provides the peasantry with its products. The further growth of our industry, especially of our lesser industries, depends upon the quantities of our goods purchased by the peasantry, for the most important market, the only market based upon the masses and possessing unlimited possibilities, for the workers and for the factories, is the village.

The Area under Cultivation.

During the last two years the area cultivated has been increased by almost 30%. Its extent is already 88% of the pre-war area.

It must be observed that the extension of the area cultivated is not proceeding regularly over the whole area of the Union. In some districts the area cultivated is greater than before the war. The consuming regions are to be classified under this category. Here the area under cultivation already exceeds that of the year 1916 (the 1916 area being approximately that before the war). In the consuming areas the area cultivated has increased as follows, compared to the standard of the year 1920: in the year 1921 by 13%, in 1922 by 28%, in 1923 by 35%, and in the year 1924 by 47%. The area under cultivation in that part of our producing districts which did not suffer from the failure of crops in 1921 has increased in the same, or a slightly lesser, degree.

Comrade Griffith

replied on behalf of the English delegation. He spoke of comrade Morel as one of the sincerest and most self sacrificing adherents of international unity among the workers, and of pacifism in the best sense of the word. During the negotiations between England and the Soviet Union he was the first to protest against the treaty being dropped, and to exercise pressure on the government in favour of the treaty. He was one of the comrades who induced the government to sign the treaty.

The Congress honoured the memory of comrade Morel by rising from their seats.

After this comrade Rykov, welcomed by storms of applause, rose to speak.

This goes to show that if we had not encountered the elementary catastrophe of the famine in 1921, our industry would now, at the beginning of the economic year 1924/25, have almost reached the pre-war level! The whole productive region in the South West and on the Volga, which suffered severely from the famine in 1921, has remained behind the other regions in the restoration of its cultivated area.

The present year is a year of bad crops. This year the peasantry have brought in 9 to 10% less grain than last year. But we can already make a calculation of the results of the winter corn for the year 1923. This calculation shows an increase of winter sown area, the average for the whole Union being 5% in the districts where the crops have failed, and even 10% in the districts suffering from this year's failure. This is a result of the policy pursued by our government, of its struggle against the failure of crops, a most important factor of which is the maintenance of the economic significance of this region, furthered by grants of seed, by public works, etc. Thanks to these aids, it has been possible for the area sown in these regions to be not only maintained at the level of the year before the failure of crops, but to be increased by 10%.

Changes in Kinds of Crops.

The increase of the area cultivated is accompanied by a considerable change in the nature of the crops grown. The so called consumers' crops of corn, millet, etc. play a part of ever decreasing importance. A larger proportion of the more valuable descriptions of grain is being grown. Thus for instance the area under cultivation for wheat, as compared with that for rye, has increased from 15% in 1922 to 20% in 1924.

On the other hand, the cultivation of technical plants is gaining steadily in importance. These are naturally consumed entirely or chiefly by industry.

A few figures will give an idea of this:

	Area cultivated (in thousand desiatines)		
1922	52	818	169
1923	165	844	226
1924	419	1056	320
1924 as compared with 1922	804%	130%	189%

Cattle Rearing.

With respect to the rearing of live stock, there is still a very great shortage of horses, the most important agricultural draught animals. The total number of horses does not exceed half of the number existing before the war. The number of farms working without horses reaches the figure of 40% in many places, especially in districts where the crops have failed. At the present time it is the first task of our agriculturalists to increase the number of horses, and to decrease the number of farms working without them. During the last two years the number of our horses has only increased by 10%. On the other hand, our stock of large cattle has increased by 32% since 1922, that is, it has increased by one third. The number of sheep has reached pre-war level. Other branches of animal rearing (pigs etc.) are able to record an increase of 300% in comparison with 1922. Cattle rearing is beginning to play a rôle of ever increasing importance in the budget of the farmer, and a great part of the "agricultural single tax" is today not being paid from the proceeds of corn growing, but from the proceeds gained by the products of cattle rearing or by the sale of cattle, especially of the smaller animals.

The Significance of the Revival in Agriculture.

This is the present situation of our agriculture, which can be summed up by the statement that despite the famine year of 1921 great advances have been made during the last few years, the upward tendency being well maintained in spite of this year's bad crops, which are a slight set back, but by no means interrupt the favourable development. The importance of this revival in agriculture, and of the resultant enhanced purchasing powers of the peasantry, is extraordinarily great. The following gives an idea how great: Last year we were plunged into a crisis for lack of markets; our industry languished, and could find no purchasers. In the course of this one year the revival in agriculture has so changed the markets that there is a shortage of goods. Industry cannot supply the amount of goods required to meet the requirements of the peasantry and agriculture.

Improved conditions in agriculture have been the basis for the restoration of our industry, for the recovery of our budget, and for the progress made in every branch of our economic life. They have proved the chief prerequisite for the development of the cities, for the development of industry, and for the development of the working class.

But this revival in agriculture does not by any means entitle us to jump to the conclusion that the peasantry now wants for nothing, that there is no more poverty in the villages, and that the peasantry have no longer to suffer want and privation. In many districts the peasants are still living in the direst need, but during the last few years we have made rapid strides towards a permanent and comparatively rapid uplift in agriculture and towards an improvement in the situation of the peasantry.

The Growth of our Industry.

The increased prosperity of the peasantry has enabled our industry to develop, especially those branches of industry which provide for the needs of the peasant and the farm, that is, light industry. The recovery of light industry has been followed by that of heavy industry. When we passed from war communism to the new economic policy, our total industrial production did not amount to more than 18 to 20% of pre-war production. In the course of the last few years industrial production has increased by about 30 to 40%, and reached 50% at the beginning of the present economic year. If we take into consideration that at the time of transition to the new economic policy we have only attained 20% of pre-war production, and have now risen to 50%, this is a very great advance; but in spite of this very rapid progress we are not yet producing more than half as much as was produced before the war. Up to very recently the progress which we were able to record for our industry has referred chiefly to our light industry.

We are not able to record a certain degree of progress for our heavy industry. We have been especially successful in the production of mineral fuels. Thus we have been able to increase our output of petroleum, amounting to 233 million poods in 1920/21, to 360 million poods, or 55% of pre-war production, in 1923/24.

Coal.

In 1921 our coal output did not amount to more than 27% of pre-war production, and we passed from one fuel crisis into another. Last year our coal production reached 53% of pre-war production. But here our coal industry advanced too rapidly. It is almost the only branch of industry which has increased its production to such an extent that it cannot find markets at the present time. It has advanced too rapidly in comparison with other branches of industry, and must now slow down for the time being. Some 10 millions poods of coal are lying in the Donetz basin, dead capital, unable to find a market. The growth of fuel production must be brought more into line with the development of its chief consumer, the other branches of industry.

Naphtha.

Our naphtha production is in a different position, and has much scope for increased development. Our naphtha works are working to a great extent for the foreign market. Last year our naphtha export reached 85% of pre-war export. The circumstance that the balance of our naphtha industry is now covered to a considerable extent by export is not only of very great importance from the economic standpoint, but our naphtha export represents, so to speak, an international victory of Russian industry.

Metal.

The position is not so favourable in the metal industry. The recuperation of basic capital, the equipment of our factories, the restoration of agricultural stock and implements, all depend on the development of the metal industry. The development of the metal industry is the standard by which we can judge the degree in which the industrial frame work of our whole economics, industrial and agricultural alike, have been restored. The metal industry is far behind the other branches of industry in its development, and the same must be said of ore mining, which borders on the metal industry and is dependent on it for its development.

In the year 1921/22 the amount of cast iron manufactured did not exceed 10 million poods. I am not in a position to state exactly what percentage of pre-war production this is, but in no case is it more than 5%. By 1923 our cast iron production had increased to 40 million poods, that is, it had increased fourfold in two years. Our output of Martin steel increased from 36 million poods in 1922/23 to 60 million poods in 1923/24. This means an increase of 66% in the course of a single year. The same development is shown by our rolled iron output.

With regard to this year's prospects, an increase in cast iron production from 40 to 50 million poods is provided for. As compared with the pre-war output, this is still but little more than 20%.

With regard to Martin steel, the production for next year is expected to be 81 million poods, that is, 38% more than in this year. As compared with pre-war years this is about 30 to 33%. Our output of rolled iron will be 35% of the pre-war production. This is the situation in the metal industry.

Difficulties in the Restoration of Heavy Industry.

The chief stumbling block in the way of the restoration of our heavy industry lies in the fact that it is impossible to restore it with the aid of the open markets only. Our industry was developed, during the old regime, by the aid of gigantic state orders — railways, bridges, etc. The production of current goods for the market was a very secondary matter for most of our great metal manufactories.

Our budget at the present time places no means at our disposal for setting about any kind of work in the least comparing with the construction of the old Siberian railway. Thus the recovery of our industry depends much more than formerly from the agricultural market. At the present time agriculture is requiring agricultural machinery and implements to a degree utterly unknown hitherto. Additional working capital and re-equipment of our factories are of equally urgent necessity for our industry. The speed at which working capital recovers in industry and agriculture, upon which the speed of development of the metal industry depends to a very considerable extent, is contingent on the extent of the accumulation taking the form of net profit in our industry or of taxes in our budget. We have no other means and ways at our disposal for the restoration of basic capital.

Manufacturing Industry.

The manufacturing (light) industry working for the great market of consumers, being able to make a rapid turnover, is able to recover much more quickly. I need not touch upon every branch of light industry. It is only necessary to refer to the cotton industry, as this plays the leading part. In the economic year 1923/24 the production of the cotton industry increased sixfold as compared with 1920. A further extension, of about 60%, is expected for the economic year 1924/25. The output of cotton goods is already 60% of pre-war production. Should we have sufficient raw material, we shall have reached pre-war level in this branch of industry within the next two or three years.

Goods Traffic and Export.

The revival of industry and of its basis, agriculture, determines the whole of the other factors of our economics, thus the development of goods traffic, increased railway travelling, the development of our commercial system, and of private trade as a part of this system.

The growth of agriculture and industry was further led to the development of our foreign trade. If we take our foreign trade returns in the economic year 1922/23 at 100, then our comparative returns for the economic year 1923/24 have already reached the figure of 214, or more than double. The grain which we exported last year, to the amount of 200 million poods, played a considerable part in increasing export. According to preliminary estimate, for the economic year 1924/25 our total exports will exceed those of last year, although grain will be lacking among the articles exported. We fully realise that we shall not be able to export grain, and shall not export any. The gap thus produced in our export will be filled by an extensive increase in the export of naphtha, manganese ores, and wood.

Price Policy.

The main questions which we had to solve last year, in order to secure the possibility of uninterrupted progressive development for our economics, were in my opinion the two following: in the first place the tasks imposed by our price policy, and in the second place the question of stable currency. It is known to you that we replied to the crisis caused by lack of markets by reducing the prices, by a policy making it possible for industry to sell to the peasantry. For it was perfectly clear to us that unless a reduction of prices took place the peasantry could not buy. Thanks to our policy the following results were obtained: in the autumn of 1923, when the crisis was at its highest point, and we had a superfluity of goods and a shortage of purchasers, the angle of the "scissors" (disparity between prices of agricultural and industrial products) was 3.10. This means that industrial products were three times as dear as agricultural, compared by pre-war standards. The result was a state of affairs which may be designated as a boycott of industry on the part of the peasantry. In the sphere of politics this might have led to a breach of the alliance between the peasantry and the working class.

The policy of price reduction had the effects of closing the blade of the "scissors" to an angle of 1.46, so that at the present time the price of industrial products is no longer three times as high as that of industrial products, but one and a half times. You see that a very considerable success has been attained. The demand for industrial goods has greatly increased, and the crisis is reversed into a goods famine. Industry is no longer able to supply the wants of the peasantry. Thanks to our price policy, we have secured the absolute necessity of increasing production in the coming year.

The Stable Currency.

This success would not have been permanent, however, if we had not been able to combine it with another mighty achievement: the introduction of a stable currency. The commercial intercourse consequent on the new economic policy is carried on in the terms of money traffic.

Without a stable currency there is no trustworthy way of carrying out the exchange of goods between factory and village; where the currency is constantly depreciating, we are plunged into such an abyss of insecurity that all traffic in goods is not only thrown into disorder, but frequently made entirely impossible. The introduction of a stable currency has enabled us to bring about firmly established connections; by way of exchange of goods, between town and country, factory and agriculture. This colossal reform, representing one of the most important prerequisites for the restoration of our whole economics, has been accomplished and consolidated within a very brief space of time.

At one time the danger existed that our budget would require expenditure for which we had no revenues or sources of income, so that we should have to resort to a fresh issue of paper money. But in the current year we have been successful for the first time, in balancing our finances without the aid of paper money.

The Budget and the Growth of our Economics.

Our budget cannot be called good, for it does not meet the needs of the Union, not even the most urgent needs. It does not satisfy the requirements of the broad masses of the population, whether in regard to the extension of our network of schools, or of our network of cultural institutions. Thus it cannot by any means be regarded as an ideal budget. We can only be content with it if we regard it as a starting point for the more rapid reconstruction of our economics. We can manage with such a budget for a year, or at longest two years, but it is needless to say that it is impossible to go on for any length of time without satisfying very essential needs.

We must however accept this year's budget as it is, for it is the only possible budget, enabling us to guarantee the stability of our whole money system and currency, making it possible for our economics to make further favorable progress and permitting us to enlarge our next year's budget rapidly on the basis of this progress.

We are Paying Fewer Taxes than Formerly.

In the Soviet Union the burden of taxation has not increased; it has lessened. The calculations made by the People's Commissariat for Finance show that when we add together

the whole of the direct and indirect taxes intended to be raised this year, the sum per head of the population will be seven roubles. Before the war the taxation per head of the population was eleven roubles. At the same time the purchasing power of our present gold rouble is less than that of the pre-war rouble.

With reference to agricultural taxation, we may say that for the current year this amounts to about 4% of the proceeds of agriculture.

The weak offers in grain are not to be explained by the assumption that the peasantry are not paying taxes (they are paying, but not from the proceeds of the sale of corn; other sources of income are employed), but by the fact that the peasantry is in a position to retain their corn. This means that the burden of taxation is comparatively light. We were of the opinion that the taxation was severe enough to throw large quantities of grain upon the market, but we were mistaken. In a large number of districts, for instance in North Caucasia and a part of the Ukraine, the peasants have paid the agricultural taxes from the proceeds of the sale of cattle rearing products (milk, cream, butter, etc.) and of the sale of melons. In North Caucasia further by the sale of sunflower seeds, etc. The second source of income enabling the farmers to pay their taxes is the rearing of smaller animals, a branch of agricultural activity now being carried on in some places even more intensely than before the war. This is the cause of the considerable fall in the price of meat. The peasant is however very cautious about selling his corn, although the grain prices are three times as high as last year.

The High Grain Prices.

Last year the chief factors of our political economy were the "scissors", the price policy, the stable currency, and the budget. Apart from a few partial failures, we have been successful in solving these questions in all essentials, or have at least advanced far towards their solution. Today our difficulties consist of the high grain prices, the shortage of circulating media, and in the goods famine.

Last year in September rye cost 27 copeks loco farm. This year in September it cost 62 copeks. Wheat cost 53 copeks, today 96 copeks. This is the most important economic factor of the moment. It includes the most important essentials of our economics and our policy: the question of the alliance between workers and peasantry, and the question of the relations between the peasantry and the Soviet power. The question of the grain prices expresses the whole complexity of the politics required from us in an agrarian country.

This year's grain yield is 9 to 10% less than last year's. But the whole of the statistical returns go to show that our grain will suffice for the whole population of the Union, without the least shortage. We have worked out a plan for the purchase of corn for the requirements of the cities, of the working class, the army, etc. Our various organisations were to have purchased 170 million poods by the 1. October. We have only purchased 117 poods, that is, 53 million poods less. Our program formerly included the export of grain, but this year this is completely excluded. The purchase price has reached 1.20 roubles in some places. The party and the working class are confronted by the question of what policy they intend to pursue in view of the high and steadily rising grain prices. We have replied to this question by fixing the highest permissible prices for state purchase, these being 57 copeks for rye, 84.4 copeks for wheat. (Average figure for the whole Soviet Union.)

The Question must be Settled by an Agreement Between the Working Class and the Peasantry.

The price of grain represents a problem which in a certain sense demands an agreement between the working class and the peasantry. It need not be said that the workers are anxious for cheap bread, whilst the farmers prefer it to be dear. Under present conditions in Soviet Russia it is absolutely imperative, not merely desirable, that the working class and the peasantry co-operate. It is necessary to find a solution satisfactory to both parties. We cannot accept the offer made by the peasantry, that is, we cannot pay more than a rouble for their rye in the year 1924. Why? Because the price of corn determines to a great extent the wage of the workers. And the wage of the workers again determines the price of industrial products in a considerable degree. The price of corn must be

taken into consideration when our budget is drawn up. An unlimited increase in the price of corn would overturn our budget, for it would involve a rise in wages, a rise in the price of goods, and the breakdown of our whole price policy and our struggle against the "scissors".

The maximum grain price decided upon by us for this year is very high in comparison with last year's price, but it is one which does not frustrate either our planning economics nor our price and wages policy, and it enables us to continue our policy of price reduction in our industry, although our maximum prices are lower than those originating spontaneously in the market. At the present time the question of maximum prices is being discussed everywhere among the peasantry, and it need not be emphasised that the members of trade unions will not be able to avoid very detailed debates on this subject under the present circumstances. Every worker must be ready with his reply to the question of why grain prices cannot be permitted to rise unlimited and spontaneously; the reply is that this is not to the advantage of the peasantry in the long run.

The Methods of Fighting the High Grain Prices.

The chief methods to be employed against excessive grain prices are: increase of cultivated area, increased production of grain, the intensification and revival of agriculture. The fixing of maximum prices must be regarded solely as a temporary measure for this year. The increased production of grain is the chief measure enabling us to prevent repetition of this year's experience with regard to grain prices. Despite the high price of grain, we have contributed not inconsiderable quantities of seed corn in aid of agriculture, as these supplies of seed enable the area under cultivation to be extended, and the grain yield increased.

The Shortage of Goods.

The second question occupying our political economists is the shortage of goods. Lenin once said that the working class must show the peasantry that they are as well off under the dictatorship of the working class as under the dictatorship of the landowners and noblemen, that the nationalised industry can satisfy their wants as satisfactorily as a capitalist system.

Today we are suffering from a shortage of goods felt most acutely by the peasantry a shortage of goods which prevents us from satisfying the most elementary needs of the peasantry. The sole possibility of relieving this shortage of goods consists in increased industrial production. As already mentioned in the report on the textile industry, this has already been taken in hand. I fear, however, that this increased production may prove inadequate, as the extension of our industry does not depend solely on the requirements of the market, but at the same time on the extent of the means at the disposal of industry, and the means which we can give as credits. At the present time these means are still insignificant.

Our Trade Policy.

The circulating means at the disposal of industry are still very insufficient — every member of a trade union realises this at once from the fact that his wages are frequently paid unpunctually. The demand for unlimited credit for the co-operatives would not only hamper the increase of industrial production, but would result in further irregularities in the payment of wages, etc. Should we grant such credits or not? I am not of the opinion that we should. The difference between wholesale and retail prices is still extraordinarily great, especially among the private tradesmen. Were industry to grant unlimited goods credit to the co-operatives, and especially such credit as would not always be punctually redeemed, then industry would be deprived of considerable resources which could be employed for trade, and the extension of production would be hindered.

Co-operatives and Private Trade.

The granting of unlimited credits to the co-operatives, and the suppression of private trade, have frequently been carried out wrongly in actual practice. The consequence is that we may presently experience a crisis among the subordinate co-operative organisations, in which the resources of industry often lie unutilised for long periods. We must exert our utmost endeavours to defeat the private tradesman, but with economi-

and not administrative means. Such detrimental factors as the purely administrative pressure put upon the private tradesman must cease; the unlimited credits granted to the co-operatives at the expense of industry must be revised; at times we must utilise private capital, when it proposes to furnish means advantageous to the development of trade.

In our present situation we suffer from a shortage of means enabling us to develop our factories and increase our circulating capital, and we cannot yet entirely dispense with the services of private capital for trading purposes, where this is of advantage to industry.

We shall of course continue to do our utmost, to the farthest extent of the powers possessed by the Party, the government, and our finances, to develop the co-operatives, but in such manner that our factories and industries are not damaged by it.

The Question of the Productivity of Labour.

The question of the productivity of labour is closely bound up with the collective organisation of our industry, and with the organisation of a new form of society. The chief task set us during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism is the organisation of industry in such manner that it produces as much as possible with the least expenditure of labour. We must raise technics, and the organisation of work, to a higher level.

As soon as the working class proves that, under the conditions imposed by the workers' dictatorship, it can organise labour and the workers better than Ford and the other capitalists, then it has solved the knottiest problem of the October revolution, then it can demonstrate in a manner visible to everyone, by the proofs offered by actual economic practice, the advantages of our system as compared with the capitalist system in this most difficult of questions.

In our present position it is scarcely possible for us to tackle the question of the productivity of labour as it should be tackled, for it is a task involving the reconstruction of our industry, the perfecting of our technical equipment, the solution of the question of removing the factories to the vicinity of the sources of fuel and raw materials, the question of electrification, etc. It further involves the restoration of the basic capital of industry. The degree to which we can increase the productivity of labour at the present time, the number of improvements which we are able to introduce, are limited by the means at our disposition. Of the series of tasks confronting us, the one most possible of accomplishment for us at the present juncture, with our present means, is the increase of the productivity of labour on the given level of productive powers. This is the question of the moment, for we have the means for its immediate solution at hand, whilst the other possibilities — electrification, complete re-equipment of our whole industry with the newest machines and tools — are dependent upon the possibility of raising extensive means, that is, from the accumulation of our capital. In order to come into possession of this capital, we must build upon that basis of production already at the disposal of the workers and peasants. The accumulation of surpluses and the gradual growth of the wealth of the country will enable us to cope with all the other tasks.

It is only by means of a rapid increase in the productivity of labour that we can hope to solve all the other cardinal questions. The fate of the dictatorship of the working class depends greatly upon this. For if the workers' dictatorship does not give the people, the peasantry, the whole 130 millions of the population of the Soviet Union, an object lesson that the work done in the factories improves under the dictatorship of the working class, that the products become cheaper, and that life becomes easier from year to year under Soviet rule — then it will naturally be impossible for the dictatorship to be maintained.

Fifth Day of Session.

The fifth day of session was filled by speeches from comrade Sakarov on the co-operative question, from comrade Jaglov on questions of organisation and finance, and from comrade Senjushkin on the cultural tasks of the Trade Unions. All

How is the Alliance between Town and Country to be Realised?

The alliance between the working class and the peasantry is spoken of everywhere today. Whatever may be the question under discussion, whether it be a question touching the development of industry, of the price of cotton, or anything else in the sphere of economics, it is invariably viewed from the standpoint of the alliance between the workers and the peasants.

Why is this inevitable precisely now? The workers accomplished the October revolution with the aid of the peasants. Peasants and workers together fought the civil war and defeated the landowners and the bourgeoisie. At this time a certain political contact existed between the two classes, a political alliance. But if we observe economic life during the period of war communism, we see that during this period the peasantry lived independently, that it had practically no connection with the working class in the towns, either in respect to goods traffic or cultural relations.

Today this is completely changed. Town and country are connected by a thousand ties. The restoration of agriculture of which I have spoken signifies that the peasantry begins to make enormous demands for the products of the towns, cultural values and economic values alike. Tractors, ploughs, etc. are in great demand. This revival of agriculture, striven for eagerly by the peasantry, is only imaginable if town and country combine.

The Working Class must Lead the Peasantry.

The peasant follows the happenings in the cities with the greatest attention. He knows how much the working man has to work and how he lives, he knows that the workers have convalescent homes, children's nurseries, etc. The working class in the towns knows much less about the life of the peasantry. The interests of the alliance demand that the workers regard it as one of their duties to learn more of the life and needs of the peasants. The working class, the trade unions, the workers' organisations, and the Party, must prove themselves to be the leaders of the peasantry in actual reality, and lend economic and cultural support alike. If this is not done, then the various links of the ever lengthening chain connecting town and country will lead to very unsound results. Thus the chief slogan of working class policy towards the peasantry is expressed in the words: "Look to the country"! The observance of this slogan has never been so important as it is now. The mutual bounds between the interests of town and country have already become very strong. But it is necessary that the working class learn to comprehend the peasantry and their needs to a wider extent than has hitherto been the case. (Enthusiastic applause).

After an animated discussion on comrade Rykov's speech, in which the debaters dealt chiefly with the punctual payment of wages, the situation in the metal industry, the production programme, the distribution of state orders among industrial undertakings, the co-operatives, and transport questions, and in which almost every speaker made some mention of the productivity of labour, comrade Rykov replied with a closing speech, dealing in detail with all questions raised by the debaters.

After this comrade Vladimirov gave a report on the details of the tariff and economic policy of the trade Unions.

The intense interest roused by comrade Rykov's speech was shown by several hundred written questions sent up to him before he made his closing speech.

three speakers confirmed and supplemented the report on the activity of the Trade Unions given by comrade Tomsky and Dogadov, and added many corroborative statistics.

Sixth Day of Session.

The Question of the Unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

Comrade Losovsky's Speech.

You know that the III. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, which took place a few months ago, issued the slogan: "Unity in the international Trade Union movement". This slogan originated as logical necessity out of the decision arrived at by the II. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions on the united front question, for the united front in Trade Union organisation implies at the same time a striving towards organisational unity. Whilst we have invariably made it our endeavour, in our political movement, to make our Communist Parties act with the utmost independence, to draw as distinct an ideological and organisational dividing line as possible, in order to develop our political organisation, our Communist Party, at the same time we have also invariably made it our endeavour, in the Trade Union movement, — and this has been a tradition of Bolshevism, — to preserve the unity of the Trade Union movement. Here we adopted the standpoint that a united Trade Union movement offers a much wider field of operations for our communist work than a split and scattered Trade Union movement.

How is unity to be obtained in the Trade Union movement? This is the most important question before the Congress, and one to which we shall have to reply.

Is Unity in the Trade Union Movement Possible?

Before we pass on to this question, it is necessary to pause a moment over a highly important point: Is unity actually possible in the Trade Union movement? We are fully aware of the tremendous ideological chasm gaping between those organisations which have developed on an international scale at the present time, and those organisations which have developed in their own countries at the same time.

We have two systems. On the one hand an agreement with the bourgeoisie, on the other a conflict against the bourgeoisie. On the one hand a struggle against the socialist revolution, on the other a struggle for socialist revolution. On the one hand support of the coalition with the bourgeoisie and participation in this, on the other hand a determined fight against the coalition with the bourgeoisie. On the one hand imperialist policy and support of the Versailles Treaty and the Dawes Plan, on the other a policy of inexorable hostility against the Versailles Treaty, against the Dawes Plan, and against everything fettering the hands of the workers' organisations either ideologically or politically.

How is it possible to speak of unity in the face of such wide differences?

Our Differences of Opinion.

As a matter of fact, the differences of opinion among us are still very great. In what manner have the two existing Internationals of compromise, the socialist II. International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, reacted upon the Dawes Plan? Scarcely had the Dawes Plan become known when the executive organs of both Internationals gathered together in a common session, which arrived at decisions upon a number of points, and concluded that this plan was inadequate and had many negative aspects; but all the same this united session of the bureaus of the Amsterdam International and the Hamburg Socialist International expressed it as their opinion that the Experts' Report, despite its defects and faults, could scarcely be substituted by anything better in the case of its failure, and that the execution of the experts' plan was the only possible solution at the present time.

And if we do not resort to this solution, what then? Then, so say the reformists, repeating the words of the bourgeoisie, then we shall have chaos and ruin; in other words: revolution.

We thus see what fundamental chasm divides us from the leaders of the Amsterdam International. Not only our ideology divides us, but the practical and concrete questions of the present day.

The Unity of the Trade Union Movement is a Method of Winning over the Masses.

Must the Dawes Plan be combatted? Must Facism be combatted? Must the capitalist offensive be combatted? Must war danger be combatted? These are the questions dividing us from the Amsterdam International, and it is only natural that many comrades should doubt whether such a chasm can be bridged. And if they have such doubts, is the endeavour towards unity in the Trade Unions not in itself an error? Will it not lead to the destruction of our revolutionary forces, to the splitting up of our labour movement, and to the disorganisation of our own ranks? Shall we not be swallowed up by the reformist organisations and by the Amsterdam International? These doubts are natural, but I shall show you that they are not justified.

What are our tasks? Let us take the revolutionary Trade Union movement of all countries? What are our tasks in the mass movement of all countries? Our task is to penetrate into all organisations, to win over the masses, to fight against the power of reformism in the masses; and the more we draw these masses towards us, the greater the number of workers under our influence, then the more rapidly shall we be in a position to utilise the masses as an instrument of revolution. We have seen, in a large number of instances, that the Trade Union split has been followed by a certain conservatism, and a section of the workers otherwise undoubtedly belonging to us has held to the parallel organisation, following the reformists, and not us.

Thus the problem of unity signifies for us more light upon the methods of winning over the masses.

The Question of the Formation of the United International.

We are all agreed that it is necessary to unite the split Trade Unions in every country. But great doubts are aroused by the question of the formation of the united International. The very first question may be stated as follows: We issue the slogan "Unity of the International Trade Union movement", and propose the convention of a congress for the purpose of putting this unity into operation. We propose to call together all the organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labour Unions, in order to create a new International at this congress. And now comes the question of conditions and reservations.

What is our idea of the new International? Can we leave matters to take their own course, and demand no conditions? Or does this new International require that we state a number of conditions, and decide for or against the united International according to whether our terms are accepted or not?

We Set no Preliminary Conditions.

Before proceeding to the first fundamental of unity, we demand no preliminary conditions whatever. Our standpoint is the following: Our object is to create for ourselves a wide field of operation by uniting the Trade Unions of all countries into one homogeneous organisation, and by amalgamating the parallel organisations of all countries. We demand impossibilities if we imagine that we can go to the reformists and say: Cut yourselves away from the coalition with the bourgeoisie. The international Trade Union movement is still so permeated with reformists, unfortunately, if not among the members, then among the leaders, that it would be simply foolish to put the question of unity in a manner obviously synonymous with a rupture.

We shall act differently. We go to the reformists, we apply to the Amsterdammers, and say: We know very well what chasm divides us, the communists, from the reformists; we know that our views are different to yours on all fundamental and prac-

tical questions, on all the most important questions of the international labour movement, but nevertheless we propose to you that we convene a common congress on entirely democratic lines. Let this congress decide which of us is in the majority, and we declare beforehand that if we find ourselves in the minority, we shall still remain in the International. You will be the leaders, and we shall fight for the propagation of our principles in the mass movement of the workers.

The Split in the Amsterdam International.

But comrades, it takes two to make unity. It is not only necessary for us to desire unity, this wish must also exist among our ideological opponents. And here we may observe that at the present time there is a serious conflict going on as to whether unity is necessary or not, and whether this unity should be towards the Left, to us, or whether the unity with the left wing of the bourgeoisie be maintained as hitherto. This conflict is splitting the Amsterdam International; various tendencies are beginning to develop, ideological groups in the first stage of formation. We have a left wing of the Amsterdam International, possessing no definite programme as yet, and yet reflecting a certain trend of feeling in the masses, the wish to find a support in the revolutionary struggle of the labour movement; in the most active and self-sacrificing section of the working class, the section which has been carrying on the struggle against the bourgeoisie during the whole time.

If we make a horizontal cross cut through the Amsterdam movement through the national organisations, we find the most determined adversaries of unity among the heads of the German Trade Unions, the reformist heads of the Labour Union of France, the heads of the Belgian Trade Unions, and then those of the Dutch and Swedish Trade Unions.

The Campaign in „Vorwärts“ against Unity.

The main force combatting unity lies in the German Trade Unions, and these are exercising their fullest pressure on the Amsterdam International. And this in spite of the fact that precisely in these Trade Unions we — the revolutionary wing of the labour movement, the adherents of the RILU — are backed up by mighty masses. But since the apparatus is in the hands of the social democrats, we experience the constant attacks of this apparatus against unity, and the categorical sabotage of the very smallest step leading towards the unity of the Trade Union movement.

German social democracy comes to the fore as ideological shock troop against Trade Union unity. The central organ of German social democracy the „Vorwärts“, has busied itself for several months, since the III. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions and the V. Congress of the Communist International, with the question of unity and the means to be used to combat the „new manoeuvre“, as they call it, supposed to originate in Moscow. The „Vorwärts“ has taken special trouble to misrepresent and distort the speeches and utterances of the English delegation, and even of the chairman of the Amsterdam International, Purcell.

Here is a brief sample. On the 9. November the „Vorwärts“ published an article on the question of unity. In this the „Vorwärts“ endeavoured to go beyond its customary general abuse of the communists, and to attack the question fundamentally. We read the following:

„To this we must first observe, from a purely organisational point of view, that definite principles would have to be established for the convention of such a congress. No organisation can be accorded the right to send as many delegates as it pleases. The number of delegates world have to be definitely proportioned to the number of demonstrably existing paying members of an organisation, and the opportunity must be given to investigate all statements“.

If this be a principle, then we do not reject it. On the contrary, we propose that the labour organisations be represented at the unity congress in proportion to their numbers. Here we go further than the „Vorwärts“. We propose to carry this principle of proportional representation down to the memberships. We say: Let us go in for the highest degree of democracy; and the leaders of the „Vorwärts“ are the highest pinnacle of democracy. We propose proportional representation at the elections, proportional representation in factories and works.

Let us see! Let us have the delegates elected in every country by list. We in the Soviet Union will elect by list too. Then the delegates will really be elected by the working masses. We shall see how many Right delegates from the German Trade Unions will get through, and how many Left.

But of course it need not be said that when the „Vorwärts“ speaks of democracy, it means democracy at the top only. It cannot imagine delegates being sent by any other agency than through the General German Trade Union Federation. But the „Vorwärts“ does not stop here; it devotes particular attention to the passage in the letter of the All Russian Trade Union Council in which it is stated that we are opposed to an agreement with the bourgeoisie. You may well imagine how severely the „Vorwärts“ suffers from this lack of culture on the part of the Russian Bolsheviks; only see what it writes:

„With reference to the demand that all connection with the capitalist class is to be broken off, this naturally includes the rejection of all tariff agreements, so that these must not be entered into for the future. It also implies that all co-operation with the International Labour Office in Geneva must be declined“.

With respect to the International Labour Office at Geneva, this is true enough, but with respect to a fundamental renunciation of tariff agreements, you see that these skilful social democratic conjurers impute to us nothing more or less than the renunciation of the tariff agreements. Why? Because we say that it is necessary to break with the bourgeoisie. Because we say: Take no part in a bourgeois government! Make no agreements with employers' organisations against the workers! Do not blackleg work in labour strikes! The „Vorwärts“ pretends to believe that we renounce the tariff agreements. We may soothe the ruffled spirits of the sensitive „Vorwärts“ journalists: We do not renounce tariff agreements, but up to now we have not suspected that coalition with the bourgeois and tariff agreements are one and the same thing. This is a fresh discovery in the sphere of the international labour movement, for which we have exclusively to thank the „Vorwärts“ and the social democratic literates.

The „Vorwärts“ continues:

„Is the new Trade Union International“ to be completely independent of political parties, or is it to exercise its activities according to the instructions of some political party? It is a well known fact, and not denied by the Russians, that the activity of the RILU is dependent on the views and decisions of the political Communist International“.

Only see how the „Vorwärts“ assumes that the Amsterdamers are an entirely independent people, living on an uninhabited island. And as to the II. International, that is an organisation entirely without relations to the Trade Union movement, and occupying itself purely accidentally with this matter. But the „Vorwärts“, which prefers to put the question in the form of: Is the new International to be dependent on or independent of the Communist International? is at bottom very well aware that our proposal for the convocation of a congress already settled this question. If they attain the majority at the unity congress, then they will be the ideological leaders of the International. Should the communists gain the majority, on the other hand, we have no doubt but that they will be the leaders of the International. It is entirely useless to juggle and to insinuate things into our propositions which they do not contain. We propose that the delegates to the congress be elected by the mass of the workers, on democratic lines. At the congress we shall lay our program before the workers of the world, and they will bring forward their program. And may the working class decide who is in the right, we or they.

The „Vorwärts“ goes on to say:

„Is the activity of the Trade Unions to be directed in the main towards improving working conditions in the present system of society, or towards furthering the world revolution?“

You see, comrades, what they are getting so excited about! They are not unwilling to improve the situation of the working class, provided this can be done without offending the bourgeoisie, but the world revolution is something which no social democratic stomach can digest. But to this question we give the same reply. In the question of the betterment of the situation of the working class our standpoint is as follows: It is

our endeavour that every day enables us to record the greatest possible improvement in the position of the working class, and it is on the basis of this struggle for the improvement of the situation of the working class that we are leading the working class to the world revolution.

What is the „Vorwärts“ afraid of? It is afraid that if the amalgamation takes place, if the United International comes to pass, and brings together the communists, syndicalists, reformists, social democrats, etc., then there might be some impetus towards revolution. Well, comrades, we are not afraid of this. Quite the contrary.

Relation of Forces and the Policy of the Future International.

And finally to the third question put by the „Vorwärts“: Will the Trade Unions themselves decide on their actions in the future, or will they be obliged to fulfil the instructions of some international central office? This is not such a harmless question as it seems.

The Amsterdam International grants autonomy to some countries, and it is important to throw a light upon the manner in which this autonomy is carried out. What does national autonomy consist of in the Amsterdam International? It consists of having the Trade Union movement of every country declare itself agreed to co-operate with its bourgeoisie. Meetings are held once or twice a year, resolutions passed imposing no duties on anybody, and the meetings break up again. That is opposed to an International of this nature. Everything depends on International; it is a merely international letter box. We are upon one question: If we are in the majority, we shall make a better International; and if you are in the majority, you will continue your present course of action until such time as we gain the majority.

Is that an International worthy of the name, when organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam International do not help one another during the greatest social convulsions? When the English miners go on strike, the American miners send their coal to England. When the French Trade Unions strike, the Germans send their coal to France. When the German Trade Unions strike, the English Trade Unions hand out their coal to Germany. I ask again: Is this an International at all? This is no International; we do not recognise such an autonomy, we do not need it. It is our aim and object that the International which we shall create shall be a proletarian fighting organisation, one regarding the working class of the whole world as one army, and every national organisation merely as a unit of this army.

It is only when we approach the problem of the International from this side that we can really create a new International. But this is again a question of the relation of forces. I repeat once more: We say to the Amsterdam International, to the reformists and to the socialdemocrats: if you have the majority in the new International, then it will be built upon your principles; but if we have the majority, then we shall build it up on other principles, and it is the task of that section of the labour movement to state in advance, when dealing with the problem of unity: We submit to the majority if we find ourselves in the minority at a sovereign congress. Thus, comrades, do we approach the problem of unity.

The Way to Unity.

To create unity, to amalgamate the whole international labour movement, to weld it together in one common spirit, with a uniform programme and homogeneous tactics — this is something demanding tremendous springs of energy, and tremendous resources of experience, on the part of the whole revolutionary labour movement.

What are the methods proposed by the III. Congress of the RILU and by us? Above all the following: The carrying on of a campaign in the factories and works. Here, at the bottom, unity must be established. Here the factory and works committees are to be formed, here the unity committees are organised, here the mixed commissions are formed by which the workers of varying political tendencies, or belonging to different Trade Unions, are held together. If we can create the nerve of our movement here at the bottom, where the collective energy of the working class is concentrated, then we shall be in a position to exercise the most powerful pressure

upon all the organisations at the top, and force them to yield to the will of the masses. The next step is the campaign within certain spheres of economics and branches of industry, whereby our endeavours must not cease at the frontiers of our own country, but must extend over other states in which the same sphere of economics is represented.

The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

An efficient measure towards the attainment of unity is to be found in the bringing about of agreements between various organisations belonging to the two Internationals. I have already mentioned that there is a left wing in the Amsterdam International. And in the Amsterdam International there is one country, the most important of all, which is beginning to adopt another standpoint than that officially represented by the Amsterdam International. It is known to you that a rapprochement is being effected, if slowly, between the Russian Trade Unions, represented by the All Russian Trade Union Council, and the English Trade Unions, and that this rapprochement began before the Trade Union Congress at Hull, and was continued at it and at this Congress.

The actual rapprochement between the Trade Unions of these two countries will play a leading rôle in the creation of real unity in the international Trade Union movement. Why? Because the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union form the foundation and stronghold of the Red International of Labour Unions, whilst the English Trade Unions are the foundation and stronghold of the Amsterdam International. And if a rapprochement takes place between these two most important sections, this signifies a mighty turn in the tide of the policy of the international Trade Union movement; it signifies the beginning of a new era, of a new epoch; it signifies the starting point for the actual creation of an organic unity.

As reply to our delegation to the Hull Congress, the English Trade Unions have sent us their delegation here. This delegation has appeared officially at our Congress. After the English delegation was officially received, negotiation took place between the representatives of the presidium of the VI. Congress and the English delegates, on the possibility and methods of common action, and these negotiations have resulted, as you will be able to read later, in a reciprocal and fundamental agreement upon the necessity of forming an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. (Enthusiastic applause.)

This temporary agreement, which must be submitted for ratification to the General Council of the English Trade Unions, is of tremendous fundamental and practical significance. It proves that if the will to unity exists, if it is actually earnestly desired to gather together all the different sections of the working class, it is possible to carry this out, despite all the lies spread abroad by the reformist press against the Bolsheviks against our revolutionary Trade Union movement.

The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee signifies a step forward; a small one, but none the less a step towards a really united International. It is our intention to form a series of similar committees in the course of time; we hope to form a whole network of such committees, comprising the workers of different countries and bringing them near to one another, erasing the old frontiers of nation and profession, welding together the various sections and formally different Internationals. We hope to form such Unity committees and commissions as preliminary to the convention of an international Unity Congress, at which workers of every political tendency will be represented, will state their points of view, and will then declare: Whatever the character of the majority may prove to be, we shall remain in the ranks of the United International, and shall submit to discipline in the fight against the bourgeoisie, reserving for ourselves at the same time freedom in the ideological struggle, and the right to represent our views within the labour movement.

The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee takes the first step. But, comrades, this step must not be viewed from the standpoint of today only. It puts the question of unity practically before the working class of the whole world. It will be difficult for the elements of the Right to disperse such an approach to unity between the working class of the Soviet Union and the working class of Great Britain. For the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee is backed up by the full forces of the Trade Union movement of the Soviet Union, and also, we hope, by the full forces of the Trade Union movement of Great Britain. (Applause)

Comrades, when we now form the Anglo-Russian Unity committee, we do not for a moment close our eyes to the differences of opinion existing between us. We have never been people who liked to deceive themselves. To our English comrades we say: Comrades and friends we do not close our eyes to that which divides us; we know that we possess a definite programme, a definite rule for our course of action; but we do not see this in the Trade Union movement of Great Britain.

In Great Britain a process of fermentation is going on; as result of this process the whole Trade Union movement, is changing ideologically from bottom to top. We realise the weakness and the strength of the English Trade Union movement the more that we see our differences of opinion in their full reality, that we do not conceal them, nor seek to conceal them. The agreement made between us will constitute a very real force if both countries are actuated by the earnest wish and determination to fulfil the task before us: the creation of the United Trade Union International. And that the earnest will exists, of this there is not the very slightest doubt: for otherwise the first fundamental agreement would not have been possible.

The East and the United International.

Comrades, when we speak of the United International, we do not confine this to the frontiers of Europe. It must be observed that as a general rule the European workers have regarded themselves for years as a species of higher beings as compared with the workers of the Near, Central and Far East, and of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The enormous masses of the peoples of the Near and Far East who have participated in the movement have been the object of international imperialist exploitation, and the labour movement of the most important capitalist countries has at best assumed an indifferent attitude towards this labour movement.

Discussion on Comrade Losovsky's Speech.

Comrade Geschke (Germany).

A light is breaking in upon the proletariat of the West. I maintain that the struggle for the united front is progressing with ever-increasing success, in spite of the multifarious means of resistance at the disposal of the reformists. We can daily observe the rising billow of elementary indignation. The leaders do their best to dam this back, but their efforts are in vain.

There cannot be any really united International unless it includes not only the Trade Unions of England, France, Italy, etc., but also those of China, Japan, India, and other countries. It is not a United International unless it comprises the new organisations which originated during and after the war, those new Trade Unions including thousands of workers, and carrying on an inexorable struggle against the bourgeoisie of their own and other countries. There can be no real International Trade Union Central unless these hundreds of thousands and millions of proletarians are included in our new International. And you know that the Red International of Labour Unions has always pursued a very definite policy in this direction; the same policy has been pursued by the Communist International.

Thus the task attendant on the formation of the United International, and of a really international Trade Union Central, include as imperative necessity the inclusion of the Trade Unions of all the countries of the Near, Central, and Far East, and of the Trade Unions of all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

We do not labour under the delusion that this unity is to be attained within a few months, or within a year. We do not know how much time will be required before the broad masses are aroused, and a pressure exercised upon headquarters forcing them to agree to a real amalgamation of the international proletariat.

But it is to us that the task falls of creating this International, that is, of accelerating the process towards unity. All depends upon our activity, upon our self sacrifice, upon our foresight in the fight, upon the pressure exercised by the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, and the Trade Unions belonging to the Red International of Labour Unions, upon the whole labour movement of their own countries.

If you want unity, then go to the masses, again and again to the masses, and then we shall attain a really united and efficient international Trade Union movement. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Innumerable are the crimes committed by the German reformists. It would be too far to name them all.

The rapprochement between the English and Russian proletariats is the first step towards international rapprochement. But no doubt our German reformists will not care to tread the path followed by the leaders of the English Trade Union movement. They do not want to see this path at all. But we, the revolutionary proletarians, will show them the way.

Comrade Pollit (General Secretary of the Revolutionary Trade Union Minorities in England).

Speaking in the name of the revolutionary workers of England, I must emphasise that the movement towards unity in England is both earnest and profound.

We must be prepared for the fact that the Amsterdam International when it hears of the decision come to here, will strengthen its attacks upon the movement towards unity. Did not the Amsterdam International immediately after the Congress at Hull, where a resolution was passed for the realisation of unity, issue a manifesto in which it pointed out that the recently movement in favour of unity, supported by the revolutionary minorities in England, was a result of commands from Moscow, and that the object of this movement was to split the English Trade Unions. And yet the revolutionary minorities in England are doing their utmost, in all sincerity, to avoid a split and to maintain unity.

During the last four years we have seen four attempts at Trade Union splits in England, and in every case it has precisely the functionaries of the minority who protested energetically against these attempts. With regard to unity our attitude is perfectly clear.

That the Russian and English Trade Unions join hands in common action for unity will be joyfully welcomed all over Europe, and will create a wide-spread movement, forcing the leaders, especially those of German social democracy, and all who attempt to sabotage the movement, to submit to the will of the broad masses of the workers. This movement must not be confined to England and Russia, or to the countries of Europe. We must unite all workers, without difference of colour, race, or language. One of the greatest merits of the RILU is that it maintains contact with the movement in the East and in the colonies.

The proposals for unity here made will find an echo everywhere, for an era of renewed capitalist offensive is impending. The Trade Union movement is however unprepared for this new offensive, it is split and scattered into thousands of organisations, not only internationally, but nationally as well.

We, the revolutionary minorities, welcome all the suggestions which have been made, especially comrade's Purcell's declaration on unity on a class basis. We, the revolutionary minorities, will travel all over England, and shall carry on such an extensive campaign that not one of the leaders will venture to refuse his assent.

Comrade Jusefovitch (C. C. of the Leather Workers).

It is very necessary that the tactics pursued by the craft internationalists towards the Russian Trade unions should also be discussed. It might have been expected that after the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International a great change would be observed in the question of the rapprochement to the Russian Trade Unions. But as a matter of fact the right wing of the Amsterdam International continues to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the entry of the Russian Trade Unions into the international Trade Unions.

The invitation sent to the reformist leather workers' Trade Unions of the West, to take part in the coming All Russian Congress of Leather Workers, has been declined by all coun-

tries except Switzerland. After the Hull Congress a plenary meeting of the International Congress of Shoemakers was held, at which the Englishman Poulton declared that the English organisation had received no invitation to the Congress of Russian Leather Workers. But I have in my possession the original of the letter in which the English organisation declines to take part in the Congress. It is to be hoped that the coming of the English delegation to this Congress will contribute to removing all misunderstandings, will lead to the firmer establishment of the bonds uniting us to the English Trade Unions, and will prove a turning point in the international Trade Union movement.

Comrade Hais (General Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Red Trade Unions).

The Czechoslovakian workers are following with the intensest interest the actions of the Russian workers, as these latter possess enormous experience in revolutionary struggle and in economic construction, and can serve as example to the whole world. When the Russian workers have to make sacrifices for the maintenance of their achievements, the sacrifice is for their own workers' state. In other states the workers have to make even greater sacrifices, but for capitalism.

Whilst the position of the working class in Russia is steadily improving, in Europe the situation of the workers is getting worse and worse. As result of the execution of the Dawes plan, the Czechoslovakian capitalists are already insisting upon

longer working hours, on the pretext that they will otherwise be unable to compete with German industry. Czechoslovakia is faced with a serious struggle for a living wage. This struggle is the best school for the creation of the united front.

The declarations which have been made at this Congress by the English delegates possess an enormous significance, and the effect will be even greater when these representatives make these same declarations on their return home. The alliance between the English and Russian Trade Unions will inevitably lead to a split in the Amsterdam International, and may perhaps end in the English Trade Unionists, joining the Red International of Labour Unions.

Comrade Brudno (Tver, Soviet Union).

The main line of comrade Losovsky's speech indicates that we cannot ask any conditions of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, or we may frighten away the elements anxious to arrive at an agreement with us. But if the matter had come up, let us say, in the year 1920, the Amsterdamers would not even have exchanged a word with us. They only do so now because our Red International of Labour Unions has positive work to show, because the revolutionary minorities are beginning to exercise an ever-growing influence within the reformist Trade Unions.

What guarantee have we that the agreement come to does not remain a mere scrap of paper? The English representatives making the agreement are of course anxious for the united front. But they represent a minority. Until we have a secure majority we should not be in too great a hurry, and should not renounce preliminary conditions. We must impose the condition: Possibility and necessity of the united front on the basis of revolutionary class war against capital.

Comrade Dudillier (General Secretary of the French Unitarian General Federation of Labour).

It is with great satisfaction that I take cognisance of the declaration made by comrade Purcell at this Congress, that it is time for us to unite against capital on the basis of class warfare. It is also a source of satisfaction that this is not merely a declaration, but at the same time an understanding. But we must not believe that this understanding contains the solution of the whole question. The problem is considerably more extensive and complicated.

There are two methods of forming an alliance. The first — the alliance of the craft unions — the international craft secretariat (this was the proposition of the Third Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions), and the second the entry of entire national organisations into the Amsterdam International. If this second possibility is to be taken into consideration, there is a whole series of conditions which must

first be imposed. The most important of these is the readmission of a number of revolutionary organisations expelled from the Amsterdam International.

It is further necessary to come to an understanding with the left elements in the Amsterdam International. It is necessary that these use the whole of their influence for obtaining the readmission of the expelled revolutionary Trade Unions, and for putting an end to the ogling going on between the compromisers and the bourgeoisie.

We are fully agreed from the beginning with the Anglo-Russian understanding, for we know that the Russian Trade Unions will not betray the interests of the proletariat. The French revolutionary workers will always be at one with the Russians on the question of the protection of the interests of the working class.

Comrade Losovsky's Closing Speech.

Reformism is no Accidental Phenomenon.

Comrades, this year our debates have assumed an extraordinary character, for they have been participated in by representatives of the revolutionary Trade Unions of other countries. The whole discussion revolves around the question of Unity, towards which the first step has been made at this Congress.

It would however be a grave error if we were to regard reformism and the reformists as something which we can simply shake off. This is not the case. It is something, which has arisen from the profoundest depths of the working class, it is the impress of the influence made by the bourgeoisie on the working class. It evinces the whole strength and the ideologically political power of the bourgeoisie, which has been clever enough to subdue the working class not only with material means, but by bringing about a degeneration in the ideology of the working class, influencing many of their leaders, and making them into the servants and agents of their own aims and purposes.

We Shall Fight for our Ideas.

The international labour movement will become sound and real again when the broad masses have been permeated with our ideas, and for this reason comrade Brudno is wrong when he fears unity without reservation. We do not abstain from imposing conditions because we intend retiring from our positions. By no means. But we do not want to place any weapons in the hands of the right wing of the Amsterdam International, for they are always clinging to reservations, and declaring that impossible conditions are being demanded of them, that they are being lured into traps, and so forth.

We state openly that we shall fight everywhere and at all times for our ideas. Let us join together in one organisation! You will be in the majority, you will determine the policy pursued, but we shall proceed along our own line, and those comrades who doubt whether the Communist International is capable of keeping to its own course in a United International have but a poor idea of the solid metal which Bolshevism is made of. No, comrades, a United International comprising many millions of human beings, a United International including the whole of the organisations affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions and the Amsterdam International, and constantly attracting to itself fresh millions of workers from the masses outside of both Internationals, this United International can be no exact copy of the old Internationals.

At the present time there is undoubtedly a change going on in the labour movement. The declaration which we have here heard from comrade Purcell, the representative of the English Trade Unions and chairman of the Amsterdam International, that unity can only be maintained upon an anti-capitalist basis, is no accidental declaration. It mirrors the mighty change which has been going on, not only in the English labour movement, but all over the world, and this

change justifies our firm conviction that we shall be able to develop the new International, and to convert it into a really efficient weapon in the further struggle against capitalism.

We are Opposed to a Split.

If we are to believe the bourgeois reformist press, we are sending whole cart loads of gold everywhere for the organisation of strikes, not only to Europe, but to America as well. But is a state of affairs to be called normal in which every section of workers is isolated? Is a condition normal in which the English miners were defeated in their struggle because the other workers did not support them? From the standpoint of the interests of the working class, is it normal for the workers of the separate countries? No, a thousand times no. We are indifferent to the lies and slanders spread by the bourgeois press against us. In so far as it is in our power to help our class brothers all over the world, we shall do so, for this is our elementary class duty.

But we are accused of wanting a split. If you will read the resolutions and decisions of our Congress, you will see that wherever there has been a trend in favour of a split, we have invariably opposed it. Did we not oppose a split in Fife, one of the districts of the coal basin? Have we not fought against the split in the German Trade Unions, although these are headed by the most notorious enemies of communism, the bitterest foes of the class movement in the proletariat? We have always fought against splits. And we shall always fight against them, whatever may be said of us.

Guarantees of Unity.

If the adherents of unity in England, and the representatives of the revolutionary minority here present as official representatives of the English Trade Unions, lay the question of unity before the working masses of England and not only in their own organs — and of course they will do this — then unity is secured beyond doubt. Thus my answer to the question of: „Where are the guarantees?“ is as follows: The guarantees consist of our continued fighting, of our activity, of the fact that we carry this campaign of struggle for unity further and further into other countries, and draw into the struggle not only our own organisations, but all those friends of unity to be found in millions in the organisations of the Amsterdam International and in the Trade Unions.

Unity Necessary for the Working Class.

We, the representatives of the revolutionary Trade Unions, here declare openly to the representatives of the English Trade Unions here present: We want unity, and we are striving openly for it, despite all differences of opinion. We are convinced that unity will be of advantage for the proletariats of all countries, including the English. Unity is an imperative necessity for the working class of all countries, if capitalist offensive is to be warded off, and security afforded for the achievements of the working class. And we shall attain unity, whether this or that reactionary wants it or not.

Comrade Tomsky's Closing Speech.

The VI. Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Unions has concluded its work. This Congress has shown us to be entirely agreed upon all important and fundamental questions, and has further shown an entire absence of friction or contentions in questions of practical work in the Trade Unions, and in questions dealing with the main nerve of our Trade Union activity, production. This shows that our Trade Union movement is on the right road, and is continuing the work commenced since the second plenary session of the All Russian Trade Union Council and the V. Trade Union Congress, of incorporating and widening the principles laid down by the V. Congress for work under the new conditions.

I believe, comrades, that the positive nature of this Congress, witnessing as it does that there is no vacillation amongst us, no differences of opinion on essential principles, proves that our future work for the strengthening and perfecting of the Trade Union apparatus, for its adaptation to the most comprehensive and perfect service of the broad masses, may be regarded as firmly and powerfully secured.

We have been entirely candid and relentless in our judgment of the errors and faults committed by us in practical work. At the present juncture the questions of practical work are the most important. There are not, never have been, and never will be, under the leadership of the Communist Party, any deviations of any kind whatever on the subject of the fundamental principles of the Trade Union movement.

As I have already mentioned, we have arrived at perfectly unanimous decisions on a number of questions of principle. The VI. Congress, the immediate continuation of the V. Trade Union Congress, at which Lenin promised on behalf of our proletariat of many millions to exert every endeavour for the uplift of the economics of the Soviet Union, could not vacillate in this question, and undertook to fulfil the promise given by the V. Congress. In the name of the presidency of this congress I assure you that we shall fulfil this promise.

A question of the utmost importance has been laid before us, one of historical significance for the whole international movement, the question of Unity.

Resolution on the question of Trade Union Unity.

In view of the fact that the acceleration of the cause of unity in the Trade Union movement is assuming proportions of internationally historical significance, and especially in view of the fresh era of bourgeois imperialist reaction impending in a number of large countries, the VI. Congress considers it its duty to further the cause of Trade Union unity to the utmost of its power.

The VI. Congress considers it its duty to further the endeavours made in this direction by the Hull congress of British Trade Unions, and notes with satisfaction that, according to the utterances of the English Trade Union delegation now present in Moscow, its decision meets the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the English workers.

In order to co-ordinate the efforts made by the English and Russian Trade Union movements in the cause of the struggle for unity, the VI. Congress empowers the All Russian Central of the Trade Unions to form, after suitable negotiations with the General Council of the English Trade Unions, an Anglo-Russian (Union of SSSR) Committee commissioned to co-ordinate the work done by the Trade Union movement of both countries in their struggle for international unity in the Trade Union movement.

It might have been feared that a question of such extraordinary complexity and importance for our Trade Union movement would have aroused stormy debates, and shaken our ranks. But we have experienced nothing of the sort. Even the few comrades who have expressed their doubts in this question voted for the fundamental resolution in full agreement with the Congress. This fundamentally important question has not only been decided in principle, but the fraternal attitude of the English delegation here present has enabled the principle to be put into immediate practice.

We are convinced that we, conjointly with the Trade Unions of England, which incorporate the labour movement of Europe, conjointly with the Trade Unions of Poland, conjointly with the Trade Unions of France will forward the cause of unity. The promise which we have just received from so highly esteemed a quarter as the fraternal British delegation now present gives us full confidence that the cause of unity will not merely be confined to correspondence with the Amsterdam International. The more than six million Russian workers backing up this Congress, combined with about six million organised English workers, if they join forces, have sufficient power to urge the matter over the dead point, and to guide it in whatever direction they desire.

Allow me, on behalf of the VI. Congress, to express the fullest confidence that we shall further this cause, that the Anglo-Russian agreement will be followed by an Anglo-Franco-Russian, an Anglo-Franco-Russo-German agreement, until we have created a United International combining the workers of the whole world in one single family, advancing in serrated ranks against capitalism.

Allow me, on behalf of the Presidium of the Congress, and on behalf of the workers represented by you, to shake hands with the English workers as represented in the person of comrade Purcell.

(Amidst enthusiastic storms of applause from every part of the hall, comrade Tomsky shook hands with comrade Purcell.) The Congress then closed.

At the same time the Congress commissions the All Russian Central Trade Union Council to take any other measures which it (The All Russian Central Trade Union Council) deems suitable for the furtherance of the interests of the unity of the international Trade Unions.

The VI. Congress notes with much satisfaction the declaration made by the delegation from the English Trade Unions now present in Moscow, that they are in agreement with this step, and that they will support it in the English Trade Unions and in their General Council. The VI. Congress sees, in this co-ordination of efforts towards the realisation of unity between the English and Russian (Union of SSSR) Trade Unions, the certain guarantee for the success of the international alliance of Trade Unions, and at the same time the security for the establishment of fraternal relations between the workers of England and the workers of the Union of the SSSR.

The Congress assumes that the Trade Union organisations of other countries will follow this example, and will develop corresponding activity for the realisation of Unity.

