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SPEECH BY LIU SHAO-CHI

Delivered to the seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions on Behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

DEAR Comrades and Guests:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China I bring warm greetings and wish every success to the seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese working class has waged protracted and heroic struggles. During these revolutionary struggles, it has established the closest alliance through the Communist Party of China with the broad masses of peasants from whom it has received immense support. At the same time, it has established a revolutionary united front with other democratic classes. The mighty revolutionary force thus formed has defeated the foreign imperialists and internal counter-revolutionaries and achieved the victory in the great people's revolution. Since that victory, it has consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship, effectively supported the victorious struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and completed the rehabilitation of the national economy. All these are immense historic achievements. In these great struggles, the broad masses of the Chinese working class have displayed boundless courage and industry, contributed their wisdom and fulfilled the duty that history placed upon them. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wishes to express its sincere gratitude to all the comrades of the Chinese working class.

Comrades! Our motherland is now entering upon a new historic epoch and has entrusted us with a new historic task: the industrialisation of our country and the gradual transition to Socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Without industry there can be no solid national defence, no people's welfare and no national prosperity and power." The prerequisite for the development of our country under present

conditions is the rapid development of our industry and especially the building and development of our heavy industry. The level of our present industrial output must be raised year by year both in quantity and quality. Many factories will be rebuilt and expanded. At the same time we will build many new factories and new branches of industrial production. Other economic and cultural enterprises must also be expanded rapidly in conformity with the development of industry.

Step by step we must transform our country into an industrial one with a high technical level. This great enterprise has already begun. Hundreds of construction projects are already, or will soon be, started, and they will be continued in the future on an ever-expanding scale. The successful fulfilment of this historic task will make our country and our people immensely rich and prosperous. However, such a task depends especially on the Chinese working class, who must carry out these struggles in a better organised way and on a higher level of political consciousness.

To carry out this new historic task, we must exert the greatest effort to give full play to the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses of the working class in the struggle for fulfilling and over-fulfilling the economic plan of the country by raising labour productivity, improving the quality of products, practising strict economy and reducing costs of production. In order to fulfil these tasks, it is necessary to effectively organise labour emulation drives of the workers on a practical basis, to bring to the fore and seriously study all new and advanced experiences and rationalisation proposals. We should especially study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union, popularise and apply them on a practical basis. We must continually raise the technical and cultural levels of the workers. We must intensify the training of the ever-growing number of new workers and

educate the veterans to treat the new workers in a proper and helpful manner.

For this purpose we must intensify Communist education among the masses of workers and raise their political consciousness, so that they realise that the interests of the community, of the state and of themselves are one. At the same time we must use the method of criticism and self-criticism to overcome shortcomings and mistakes in the various enterprises, oppose bureaucracy, greatly strengthen labour discipline and oppose every manifestation of the breach of labour discipline.

For this purpose, too, we must constantly pay close attention to the living conditions of the masses of workers. On the basis of increased production, the material and cultural life and working conditions of the workers will be improved step by step in accordance with the need and as circumstances permit.

To raise the material and cultural well-being of the working class and the whole of the labouring people, and to prevent our country from being invaded by imperialism—these are the ultimate aims of developing our industry and all the other efforts of our country.

I believe that in the deliberations of this Congress you will and should thoroughly discuss these problems. If these problems are solved correctly, our future work in the trade unions will entail further changes.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is of the opinion that trade union work in China in the past has made positive achievements. However, there are still many defects and mistakes. We hope that you will seriously develop criticism and self-criticism in order to make known the good points, overcome defects and correct mistakes, in order that the work of the trade unions, under the leadership of the Communist Party, may be further improved and that our trade unions will actually become, as Lenin said, the "builder of new life," the "educator of tens of millions."

Comrades! In addition to shouldering the above-mentioned responsibilities in the domestic field, the Chinese working class has to take upon itself grave responsibilities in the international field. That is, the Chinese working class must struggle for the unity of the working class of the whole world, and under the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions, struggle for the unity of the international labour movement and hand in hand with the working class of all lands, with progressive mankind as a whole, struggle for the defence of world peace and security.

The Chinese working class which has already won their victory must wholeheartedly render various kinds of aid to the working class and labouring people in capitalist as well as colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is a glorious duty which we cannot renounce. The Chinese trade unions must in the future strengthen their work in this respect so that it can be better carried out.

Comrades, the domestic and international responsibilities of the working class as the leading class in our country are enormous. In order to gradually achieve the industrialisation of our country and the transition to a socialist society, in order the better to shoulder our international responsibilities, we must strengthen working class solidarity within its ranks, further consolidate its alliance with the peasants and with the intellectuals and strengthen the people's democratic front based on the worker-peasant alliance. Our comrades must note that the people throughout the country are paying close attention to every bit of work done by us, that the working people and progressive mankind throughout the world are following our work with the same interest. The success or failure of our work will have far-reaching effects. Therefore, our trade unions must educate the entire working masses to remember what Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us, not to be satisfied with our past achievements, never to show arrogance, and to maintain every minute of the day a humble attitude of learning, to abandon all bad habits and prejudices and make every effort to improve ourselves, so that our working class can do all its work in an ever better way. In this way we shall live up to the expectations of all the Chinese people and the working people of the whole world.

We are confident that with the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with the common efforts of the Chinese working class and the entire population, and with the powerful help of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the working people of the whole world, we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties, and succeed in making China a happy, socialist, industrialised and strong country.

Forward under the banner of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin!

Forward under the leadership of our leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the unity of the whole Chinese working class!

Long live the unity of the working class throughout the world!

Fight to Fulfil the Task of Industrialising Our Country

*Abridged version of the report on trade union work in China by Lai Jo-yu at the seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, May 3, 1953**

DELEGATES and Guests:

Many events of great historic significance have taken place in our country since the sixth All-China Labour Congress in August, 1948.

For over thirty years the Chinese working class, together with the people of the whole country, waged a heroic struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. It liberated the mainland of China and established the People's Republic of China, which is a people's democratic dictatorship headed by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated in his opening speech at the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: "Our country from now on will join the great family of peace and freedom-loving nations of the world. It will work bravely and industriously to create its own civilisation and happiness and will, at the same time, promote world peace and freedom. We will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up."

The victory of China's revolution dealt world imperialism a heavy blow. It greatly inspired the labouring people of the world, particularly the labouring people in the colonial and dependent countries, and added a mighty force to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. This victory changed the relative strengths of the two camps in the present world situation.

* LAI JO-YU was elected Chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions by its Executive Committee on May 12, 1953.

When the American imperialists launched their war of aggression against Korea and threatened the sacred borders of our great motherland, the Chinese working class with the entire Chinese people immediately responded to the call of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and enthusiastically joined the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, so as to safeguard peace in the Far East and the whole world. We stand for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We support the statements of Premier Chou En-lai, Prime Minister Kim Il Sung and Foreign Minister Molotov, calling for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and will continue our persistent and determined struggle for its peaceful settlement and for the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and the whole world.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese working class and the entire Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have eliminated the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries and have carried out a series of social reforms.

With the completion of agrarian reform, the economic basis of feudalism has been thoroughly smashed, and the productive forces in our vast countryside set free. With the completion of democratic reform in state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises, the old system of management originally employed by the reactionary rulers for oppressing and exploiting the workers has been destroyed. A system of democratic management has since been established. The working class has become the real master of the enterprises, and consequently this has greatly stimulated and developed its own initiative and creativeness. The successes gained in the *san fan* and *wu-fan* movements have repulsed the ruthless attack waged by the law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie against the

working class and state organs and have consolidated the leading position of the state economy over private enterprise, and protected the legitimate rights of the workers in private enterprise. Because of the development of the campaign to increase production and practise economy, the struggle of the working class to raise labour productivity and the quantity and quality of products and to reduce production costs has taken a new upswing.

It is precisely because of these efforts that, within the short period of three years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our country has completed its economic rehabilitation, in spite of the fact that the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea was being carried on. Production in a majority of our industries has surpassed the highest levels

of past years; prices throughout the country have been stabilised; and the country's financial situation has been changed for the better. The material and cultural well-being of the working class and the people as a whole has steadily improved and the people's democratic dictatorship is daily being consolidated, thus creating the conditions for the nation's large-scale planned construction.

This year, our great motherland embarked on the first five-year plan of national construction.

We, the Chinese working class, must unite closely, consolidate the alliance of workers and peasants and rally people of all strata to meet the new and great historic tasks under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

I. The Main Developments in Trade Union Work in the Past Four Years

COMRADES, allow me to recall the main developments in trade union work in the past four years before I touch upon the fundamental tasks of the work of our trade unions during the period of national construction.

At the time of the sixth All-China Labour Congress, the People's Liberation Army was winning victory after victory in its liberation march across the entire country. The tidal wave of the people's revolution was sweeping through the land. The reactionary rule of the Kuomintang clique backed by American imperialism was then on the verge of total collapse.

At that time the cardinal task of the Chinese working class was, first of all, to close its own ranks and then by courageous struggle and in a spirit of self-sacrifice, to unite with the people of all strata to overthrow the reactionary rule of American imperialism and its lackey, the Kuomintang clique, and to establish the Chinese People's Republic.

The message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the sixth Labour Congress on its convocation pointed out:

"The task of the workers and office employees in the liberated areas is to restore and develop industry, to consolidate the liberated areas and to give support to the front in accordance with the well-known economic policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, namely, 'to develop production and bring about a prosperous economy through the policies of taking into account both public and private interests, of benefiting both labour and capital.' The task of the workers and other employees in Kuomintang-ruled areas is to unite themselves as well as the entire people to fight against

U.S. imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, to act in co-ordination, whenever necessary and possible, with the victorious offensive of the People's Liberation Army, and to assist the democratic government in the orderly taking-over of the liberated cities. In order to accomplish these ends, it is necessary to strengthen rapidly trade union work, to unite and educate the workers and other employees, so as to turn them into the leading force of the People's Democratic Republic."

After the sixth Labour Congress, a mighty battle was waged by the working class in accordance with the line laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the resolutions adopted by the Congress. In spite of extremely difficult conditions, the workers in the liberated areas gave support to the War of Liberation by working selflessly to increase production. In the Kuomintang-controlled areas, especially in cities such as Shanghai, Kunming and Chungking, the workers succeeded in uniting people of all strata, consolidated and extended the united front and waged a fight against aggression, persecution and hunger. In the liberation of cities the workers gave battle heroically to protect the factories, thus safeguarding the people's property.

In the liberated cities, the trade unions helped the People's Government to take over the enterprises owned by bureaucratic capital and then to carry out the necessary checking and accounting. They helped to transform the property of bureaucratic capitalism into the property of the people and to change such enterprises into socialist enterprises. Order was thus rapidly restored in production. At the same time a course of political education was carried out among

the workers which strengthened their understanding of their position as masters of the country and gradually established among them a new attitude towards labour.

Workers in private enterprises, in accordance with the policy of "developing production and benefiting both labour and capital," formed a united front with the national bourgeoisie, overcame difficulties and succeeded in restoring production beneficial to the national welfare and people's livelihood.

In order to meet the demands of the rapidly developing revolutionary situation, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (formerly translated as the All-China Federation of Labour—*translator's note*) convened a national conference on trade union work in July, 1949, in which the question of organising the workers on a nation-wide scale was discussed. In November of the same year, the Chinese Labour Association—its organisations having affiliated with the All-China Federation of Trade Unions as member organisations—announced its dissolution. This further strengthened the unity of Chinese trade unions.

In June, 1950, the Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China was promulgated by the Central People's Government which granted extensive rights to, and placed heavy responsibilities upon the trade union organisations.

Besides, the Communist Party sent many of its best members to participate in trade union work, thereby greatly strengthening the work of the trade unions. Consequently, the working-class movement developed rapidly throughout the country. Today, the Chinese trade unions have become a mighty force entirely under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

After we took over the factories and mines from the enemy, the basic demand of the workers and the urgent need of the state were first and foremost the restoration and development of production. However, in these factories and mines, bad elements and a vicious system which still remained were seriously hampering the growth and development of the labour enthusiasm of the masses. This called for a movement of democratic reform to be carried out while restoring production so as to eliminate the bad elements and the vicious system that were oppressing the workers. This movement which began in 1951 and developed throughout the country was in the main completed after the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements. The democratic reform in the state-owned enterprises in Northeast China was completed earlier than others as Northeast China had early been liberated. Consequently, since 1951, a mass movement to increase production and practise economy, to develop produc-

tive potentialities, to popularise advanced experience and to implement the system of business accounting was launched throughout Northeast China, and greatly raised labour productivity.

In other parts of the country, inspired by the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, which was then everywhere on the upsurge, campaigns for patriotic pledges and labour emulation were developed extensively in co-ordination with the democratic reform, as a support to the struggle of the Chinese people's volunteers at the Korean front.

In October, 1951, at the third session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"On the industrial and agricultural fronts, the growing patriotic movement to increase production has created a new atmosphere in our country, an atmosphere worthy of celebration."

Chairman Mao Tse-tung also issued a stirring call to the Chinese people to "increase production and practise economy in support of the Chinese people's volunteers." Hence, the patriotic movement to increase production and practise economy spread swiftly and widely throughout the country. Many model workers emerged from this movement and much advanced experience was gained. Within the past three years, over 489,000 rationalisation proposals put forward by the workers have been adopted, thus raising labour productivity and creating and saving great wealth for the state. Hand in hand with the patriotic movement to increase production and practise economy, a series of measures were taken to perfect production management. At present this work is still being carried on.

The basic aim of these measures for production management in the state-owned enterprises is to introduce planned management, to fix individual responsibility in production and to implement the system of business accounting. This work must be carried out in co-ordination with the labour emulation among the working masses—the movement to increase production and practise economy. This is being done in most areas.

In the last few years, our work has in the main followed the path mapped out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the resolutions of the sixth All-China Labour Congress. It should be pointed out, however, that the leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for a short period had committed mistakes of economism and syndicalism. These mistakes showed themselves in the following ways in trade union work in state-owned enterprises:

Emphasis was laid on the so-called contradiction between public and private interests rather than on the identity between workers' individual interests and the collective and long-term interests of the working class, while workers' welfare was placed as contradictory to the development of production; in trade union work in private enterprises, one-sided emphasis was laid on labour-capital consultation while neglecting the class contradiction between workers and capitalists; on the question of the relations between the trade unions and the Party, there was a tendency to deviate from the leadership of the Party. Further, in dealing with concrete questions, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions adopted subjective work-

ing methods which were out of touch with reality and the masses. These erroneous tendencies did not cause serious damage because the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung speedily discovered and corrected them. At the same time trade unions in various localities, under the correct leadership of the local Communist Party organisations, did not accept much of the incorrect advice from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Therefore, we may be justified in saying that trade union work has played an important role during the restoration of national economy and has completed the tasks of this historical period.

II. Basic Tasks of Our Trade Union Work in the Period of Construction

OUR country has now entered a period of construction.

As stated above, China is a people's democratic country led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. This very nature of our state specifies that all the undertakings of our country, in their final analysis, are for raising and protecting the material and cultural well-being of the working class and the entire labouring people. The working class has been working as master of the state in post-liberation China and has contributed to the restoration and development of the national economy, with the result that the material and cultural life of the working class and the entire labouring people has been markedly improved. Following the further progress of our national economy, the welfare of the working class and the entire labouring people will assuredly be further promoted. The developments in the short space of time since the liberation have amply proved that in a state led by the working class the individual interests of the workers and the interests of the state are identical.

The immediate and sectional interests of the working class must be subordinated to the long-term and overall interests of the state, that is, interests of a state led by the working class. Only by following this principle will the working class movement have a correct direction and the working class be assured of a bright future. Conversely, if the long-term and overall interests of the working class were sacrificed to its immediate and sectional interests, and mistakes of economism committed, then the trade union would inevitably become a narrow, divided craft organisation, and the working class would be unable to reach the glorious future of Communism.

Only when the masses of the workers really understand that their immediate and sectional interests must be subordinated to long-term and over-

all interests, and are striving militantly for the glorious future, will the genuine advancement of their consciousness be manifested. In order unceasingly to raise the level of consciousness of the workers, the trade union cadres must, on the one hand, constantly pay attention to the well-being of the workers, and show them with vivid examples that the progress of history points to a bright future. On the other hand, they must untiringly educate and influence the workers in the spirit of Communism, and integrate this with the personal experience of the masses in order to raise the ideological level of the workers, to integrate the individual interests of the workers and those of the state, and to integrate the working class movement with the Communist movement.

Only the trade union organisations and the working-class movement led by the Communist Party can achieve these ends.

The trade union organisations, therefore, must maintain close connections with the masses and rally the workers around the Communist Party, becoming transmission belts between the Party and the masses.

The trade unions should first of all unite with the broad masses of the workers in production, that is to say, they must, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rally millions of workers consciously and actively to take part in national construction.

The working class, which has become the leading class of the state, not only shoulders the glorious task of fulfilling the industrial plan of the country, but also shoulders the heavy and important responsibility of helping to bring about the modernisation of agricultural production. The trade unions must educate and organise the workers to strive for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the industrial plan of the country and actively help the development of agricultural production, so as to consolidate the alliance of workers and peasants. Only in this way will our socialist future be assured.

In the period of national construction, the most important and fundamental tasks of our trade unions are, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, to maintain connections with, and educate the workers, to raise continuously their levels of consciousness and organisation, to consolidate the alliance of workers and peasants, to unite with the

people of all strata and actively to fulfil the national plan of construction; then, on the basis of developed production, to improve step by step the material and cultural life of the working class and the entire labouring people, and to strive for the systematic realisation of industrialisation and the advance towards Socialism.

III. Organise Mass Labour and Develop Fully Labour Emulation

AS has been said before, the trade union in a people's democratic dictatorship is no longer the organisation of an oppressed class or a class being ruled, but the mass organisation of the leading class which now holds political power.

The most important task of the trade union is to unite and lead all workers, technicians and other employees so that they may consciously and actively develop production. For it is only through the development of production and the strengthening of our economic forces that we can change the economic backwardness of our country and gradually industrialise and advance towards a socialist society. It is only through the development of production that we can continually improve the material and cultural life of the working class and the entire people.

The fundamental method of the trade union in developing production is to lead the masses step by step to take part in labour emulation, and, through emulation, to develop to the highest degree the active and creative spirit of the workers, technicians and other employees; to improve labour organisation, production processes, equipment and methods of operating machinery, and thus to raise labour productivity.

Labour emulation is an effective way of mobilising the broad masses to achieve the targets of the state plan; it is the socialist and Communist method of construction based on the highly developed consciousness of millions of people.

As Comrade Stalin put it:

"The most remarkable feature of emulation is the radical revolution it brings with it in men's views of labour, for it transforms labour from a degrading and painful burden, as it was regarded before, into a matter of honour, a matter of glory, of valour and heroism."

What then is the correct way of organising emulation?

In the light of the practical experience of the last few years, attention should be paid to the following points in organising labour emulation:

1. We must begin by mobilising the workers, technicians and other employees to take part in

discussions of state production plans. Our discussions must centre around the realisation of these plans. We must raise the rate of utilisation of equipment, economise on the use of raw materials and develop the productive potentialities of the enterprises through improving labour organisation, production processes and instruments of production. We must map out our advanced production, technical and financial plans on the basis of practical possibilities for increased output, improved quality and reduced production costs. We must map out, in accordance with the overall plan, the concrete conditions—conditions of emulation—for each workshop, team and individual to ensure their fulfilment and to strive for their overfulfilment. Without production plans emulation would be without concrete content and would be only formal.

After the plans have been mapped out, we should encourage the masses to bring forward rationalisation proposals and solutions related to the key problems of production around the various technical measures adopted by the managements with the aim of ensuring fulfilment of the plans.

During the discussions we must enable the broad masses of workers to understand fully the great significance of the state production plan for our national development and the well-being of the people, to understand concretely what is required of their enterprises by the economic development of our country, and enable everyone to realise the importance of drawing up advanced production and financial plans and advanced production norms, and of improving the management of their enterprises.

This is in fact drawing the broad masses into studying and participating in the management of the enterprises, which is also a most practical education in Communism. Only then will the actions of the masses for the fulfilment of the production plan become their conscious actions.

Conscious labour discipline is founded on such a basis. This kind of conscious labour discipline and Communist attitude towards labour is the surest guarantee of the fulfilment of the state plan.

2. One of the important conditions for the correct leadership of labour emulation lies in the timely

discovery and practical support of all that is new and advanced, the study, summing-up and popularisation of advanced experience, especially that of the Soviet Union, the raising of technical and vocational levels of the workers, technicians and other employees, and the thorough implementation and constant improvement of technological processes.

3. The holding of meetings to discuss problems in production is the best form of mass organisation for the development of emulation drives, the popularisation of advanced experience and the improvement of management of the enterprises. At present, in the course of introducing reforms in production management, many enterprises are holding various kinds of production meetings to bring out the views of the masses and thus solve all kinds of problems in production.

We should learn from Soviet experience to establish the system of holding regular production meetings, taking into consideration the experience already gathered in various factories and mines.

After the systems for planned management and production norms have been initially completed in the factories and mines, production meetings for teams and workshops, joint production meetings between different teams and workshops, production meetings

concerned with specialised trades, and representative production meetings of whole factories, should be organised in a planned way.

All these meetings should discuss production plans, assist the managements of enterprises to overcome all difficulties and develop criticism and self-criticism in order to wipe out defects in production management.

4. The signing of collective agreements has a significant bearing on the clarifying of emulation targets and assurance of the fulfilment of the state plan, on the systematic improvement of the material and cultural life of the workers, and also on the raising of labour enthusiasm. By means of collective agreements, individual and state interests in state-owned enterprises can be closely and concretely linked up. Therefore collective agreements should be signed in good time in the various enterprises.

Collective agreements should include production plans and set out the obligations of the management and trade union towards each other during the course of production and in the completion of production plans. Contents of the agreements should be extensively discussed by the masses in connection with the production plans, so that they may become the programme of conscious action on the part of the masses.

IV. Continually Raise and Improve the Material and Cultural Life of the Workers, Technicians and Other Employees on the Basis of Developing Production

UNDER the care of the great leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the Central People's Government, outstanding improvements have been made in the material and cultural life of the broad masses of the workers following the restoration and development of production.

In state-owned enterprises, the unreasonable wage system left over from Kuomintang bureaucratic capitalism has been basically removed. In a majority of enterprises, a reasonable system of grading wages has been put into effect and wage standards raised year after year. The wages of workers and other employees in state-owned enterprises in 1952 were 60% to 120% higher than the 1949 levels. In private enterprises, wage levels and the wage system have also been improved.

At the same time the improvements in the lives of the workers are seen not only in the raising of wage levels. The stabilisation of commodity prices and the initiation of various social welfare activities and other undertakings to promote the well-being of the workers are all important factors in improving the lives

of the workers. These factors are increasing day by day.

In Northeast China, which was liberated earlier than other parts of China, labour insurance was introduced in 1949. In 1951, the Central People's Government promulgated the Labour Insurance Regulations which have been applied throughout the country in all public and private enterprises employing 100 or more workers. In many enterprises with less than 100 workers, labour insurance contracts have been concluded. Labour insurance in our country is entirely financed by the managements or owners of enterprises. The amount expended by the state on labour insurance in 1952 alone was more than 1,600,000 million yuan (approximately £23,000,000).

The state is also continuously improving working conditions in factories and mines. Various safety and sanitation measures for workers have been adopted. In 1952, in the Northeast area alone, the state appropriated 1,283,000 million yuan (approximately £18,600,000) for the improvement of working conditions. Regulations and systems relating to safety and sanita-

tion have been established in the main and are being gradually put into effect. It is particularly noteworthy that many general inspections and inspections at specific points on safety and sanitation have been carried out in various regions and cities. These inspections have given practical education in industrial safety to the cadres and the masses and have inspired the mass movement for industrial safety. In this way great improvements in safety and sanitation have been brought about in the state-owned factories and mines, resulting in a yearly decline in the rate of injury, disease and death among the workers. In private enterprises, as a result of the leadership of the People's Government and the supervision of the trade union organisations, notable progress has also been made in safety and sanitation.

There are now more than 3,000 workers' sanatoria, rest homes, creches, over-night rest homes, homes for the aged and other collective welfare undertakings, established either by direct state investment or out of the appropriations from the directors' funds and labour insurance funds.

People's governments and trade union organisations at all levels are using every means to improve the housing conditions of the workers, and in many cities living quarters for workers have been built. In 1952 alone, the state appropriated 2,860,000 million yuan (about £41,600,000) to build living quarters for one million workers.

The continuous improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the working class has greatly heightened its enthusiasm for production and has strongly developed the movement for labour emulation.

The trade union organisations must consistently pay attention to making all possible improvements in the material and cultural well-being of the workers. As pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, it is necessary to improve step by step the workers' livelihood on the basis of increased production. Comrade Mao Tse-tung also taught us:

"At the same time as we increase production and practise economy, attention must be paid to safety, health, and the indispensable amenities of the workers and other employees. It is completely wrong to take note only of the first aspect while forgetting or even slightly neglecting the second aspect."

Experience proves that it is only when the masses of the workers have been first mobilised for the fulfilment of the state production plan, for accumulation of capital in enterprises and for increasing the wealth of the state to extend reproduction, is it possible to improve their material and cultural well-being.

Divorced from production, any talk of welfare is empty and erroneous, for no one can possibly enjoy what has not yet been produced.

Our country must first invest a huge amount of capital in capital construction and industrialisation which aims at extending production. Although the material and cultural well-being of the workers is raised year by year, there will inevitably be problems which cannot be completely solved for the time being. We must clearly explain to the workers what problems relating to their daily lives can be solved and to what extent, what problems cannot be solved and to what extent, and what can and will be completely solved in the future when production is highly developed.

Some trade union officials fail to really understand these facts, or fail to adopt a serious and responsible attitude in dealing with these problems, with the result that there are now two erroneous deviations:

First, a tendency towards economism.

In the matter of welfare and living conditions of the workers account is not taken of the actual possibilities and needs. In dealing with wage problems an equalitarian outlook is adopted in contravention of the principle of "to each according to his work." In carrying out labour insurance, some trade union workers are over-ambitious, and show blind adventurism out of proportion to the practical requirements of the masses. Sometimes they make unreasonable stipulations in relation to the disbursement of labour insurance funds. Notwithstanding that a large labour insurance fund has been accumulated, they still place excessive demands on the management of enterprises, thus not only increasing the expenditure of the state but also alienating the trade union organisations from the masses. In the field of cultural and educational work, the policy of serving production has not been clearly understood.

The prolonged and persistent existence of this erroneous tendency towards economism is primarily due to an apolitical tendency in trade union work. The political and ideological leadership of many trade union organisations is weak, failing to carry out consistent and practical Communist education among the workers. Once there is a deviation from Communist ideology, the worker's movement will inevitably move towards economism.

Secondly, a bureaucratic method of work which cares little about the hardships in the lives of the workers.

At places where trade union organisations are led by bureaucratic elements, a number of reasonable

and urgent demands of the workers, many of which can be satisfied or even easily solved, are not solved or not solved in time. On the question of workers' living quarters these elements ignore actual conditions, indulge in empty talk on "socialist standards" instead of adopting simpler and cheaper methods which would provide more houses for the workers. On the other hand, some of the so-called cheap houses are completely shoddy jobs, which are a waste of state property and cannot solve any practical problem. On the question of medical services, some enterprises hoard medical funds and the trade unions fail to give the necessary supervision. On the question of wages, some unions do not seriously study those unjust wage systems which can and should be readjusted, and do not raise suggestions and help the management of enterprises to deal with them. On the question of workers' cultural life, they ignore the rising demands of the workers for culture and recreation, and do not develop the cultural and recreational activities of the masses.

This kind of bureaucratic method of work which shows indifference to the hardships of the workers' daily life is utterly wrong and must be resolutely opposed. It should not be allowed to continue under

V. Carry Out Systematic Political, Technical and General Education Among the Workers

IN the past few years the trade unions have consistently educated the broad masses of the workers in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Particularly during the last year, many trade union organisations have, in a comparatively systematic way, carried out Communist education among the workers and have repeatedly explained the identity of individual and state interests, thus establishing among them a correct attitude to labour and a strengthened labour discipline based on their consciousness and understanding that they are masters of the state.

With the development of production, the requirements of workers for general and technical education are also growing. Much work has been done by trade unions in organising workers to take part in general educational and technical studies. They have assisted the managements of the enterprises in establishing 16,277 spare-time schools, at which 3,087,000 workers are studying, and 535,000 illiterate workers have become literate. They have also assisted the managements in establishing various spare-time classes for technical studies and technical research societies. All these are for the purpose of promoting technical education among the workers. Workers studying in spare-time technical classes number

the pretext of combating the tendency towards economism.

In improving the material and cultural well-being of the workers, the following points should be observed:

1. It is necessary to carry out in production the line of industrial safety and improvement of working conditions and to pay attention to solving specific problems with regard to women workers and apprentices.

2. In setting up collective welfare establishments consideration should be given to actual needs and possibilities. Blind adventurism, over-ambitiousness and an unpractical approach to things should be avoided.

3. Trade union organisations must study the wage policy of the Party and the Government, give assistance to the management or owners of enterprises to improve further the wage system, gradually and reasonably formulate technical standards and fix definite production norms, carry out the wage principle of "to each according to his work," and help the management of the enterprises in a planned way to introduce the piece-rates system, and the system of rewards for workers receiving a fixed wage.

477,000 while the number of workers studying full-time in technical schools amounts to 56,000. Numerous books, newspapers and periodicals are published for the benefit of the workers. The Workers' Publishing House, operated by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, published 339 different kinds of books and periodicals in a total of over 35,574,000 copies during the period from September, 1949 to March, 1953.

With the support of the People's Government, the trade union organisations in various localities have established clubs and cultural palaces for the education and cultural and sports activities of the workers. Various spare-time cultural activities of a mass character are developed which enrich and improve their cultural life.

However, it should be pointed out that propaganda and education in the trade unions are still fairly weak, and have not met the workers' cultural and technical requirements. Systematic political and ideological education and consistent education on current affairs and policies in particular leave much to be desired.

So, henceforth we must carry out the following tasks:

First, we must strengthen education on Communism, current affairs and policy among the workers and continuously raise the level of consciousness of the working class.

Secondly, we must follow the directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to mobilise the workers, technicians and other employees to learn from the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, we must carry out technical and general education, eliminate illiteracy in a planned and systematic way, and raise the cultural level of the

workers so as to enable them to master more advanced and complicated technique. It is also necessary to raise the skill of the workers, to carry on education in technical theory among skilled workers, and methodically develop technical and administrative personnel from the workers.

Fourthly, trade union organisations should make full use of clubs and cultural palaces as places for mass education, develop sports activities and link the political, technical and cultural education of the workers with their demands for proper entertainment and rest.

VI. Thoroughly Carry Out the Policy of Developing Production and Benefiting Both Labour and Capital; Successfully Carry Out Trade Union Work in Private Enterprises

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung in his work *On New Democracy* has pointed out:

"The state economy in a new democratic republic under the leadership of the proletariat is of a socialist nature. It is the leading force of the entire national economy. But this People's Republic does not confiscate private capitalist property, nor does it forbid the development of capitalist production which does not exercise a dominant influence over the people's livelihood. This is due to the fact that China's economy is still very backward."

In view of this situation, the policy of "developing production and bringing about a prosperous economy through the policies of taking into account both public and private interests and of benefiting both labour and capital" was formulated.

The trade union organisations in private enterprises must also take as their central task the successful development of production. Development of pro-

duction is the highest interest of the working class because it has become the leading class of the state. Trade union organisations should improve business management and successfully develop production by means of labour-capital consultative conferences and the signing of labour-capital contracts, then on this basis, solve as far as possible and necessary all questions relating to the welfare of the workers. We must carry out mass supervision over, and necessary struggles against, the various illegal activities of the capitalists, such as violation of state laws and policy, oppression of workers and disruption of unity among the workers.

The trade unions in private enterprises should carry out constant education among the workers, constantly maintain the political vigilance of the working class and retain the purity of the leading organs of the trade unions. At the same time, the trade unions and the workers must have a correct grasp of state laws and policy and must observe correct policies and methods of work.

VII. Strengthen the Building of Trade Unions

AT present, the trade union organisations in our country are completely unified, headed by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The Federation consists of 23 industrial unions (of which ten have national committees, eight have working committees and five have preparatory committees), 180,000 basic organisations and has a membership of 10,200,000.

Throughout the country, the workers have been in the main organised, while their family members are also beginning to become organised. There are now 223,000 advanced production workers and model workers in our country.

In the last few years, schools for trade union cadres alone have trained 111,000 cadres. The trade unions have recommended 107,000 members as cadres for the Communist Party and the People's Government. 124,000 workers have been promoted to technical and administrative positions, among whom 7,800 are factory directors and deputy directors.

The trade union organisations in our country have become powerful transmission belts between the Communist Party and the broad masses of the workers. They are a strong social pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship.

Naturally, taking our trade union work as a whole, many problems still exist in regard to ideological and organisational developments. It is necessary to carry out systematic and penetrating ideological work to overcome the influence of non-proletarian ideologies, so that the working class, whose ranks are extending rapidly, and trade union workers can unite as one and devote their efforts to the great cause of industrialising our country. It is necessary to study further the concrete tasks of trade unions in the period of national construction.

At present the organisational structure cannot meet the demands of the construction period, and must be strengthened. How shall we strengthen the work of building the trade unions?

From the experience gained in the last few years and the actual needs of the present, we must observe the following points in the work of building trade unions during the period of national construction:—

First, we should keep close contact with the masses and bring about a sound democratic life under proper leadership. Close contact with the masses is the most important and fundamental condition for the successful completion of trade union work. Any tendency to become divorced from the masses is extremely dangerous. The trade union organisation must fully develop democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and carry out self-education; only in this way will it closely link itself with the broad masses of the workers, develop their initiative and creativeness and strengthen their organisation and discipline on the basis of their consciousness.

Secondly, we must strengthen our work at the capital construction sites, in the newly established factories and mines and among new workers.

Thirdly, we must put the work in the basic trade union organisations on a sound basis. Trade union cadres must clearly understand the directive to squarely "face production, face the basic organisations, face the masses," study economic and production knowledge, go down to the workshops and production teams, find out the crucial problems in production, thoroughly carry out the policy of reward and commendation, develop activists, mobilise all the workers, eliminate conservative ideologies and consolidate labour discipline, in order to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, and at the same time, show close concern over the material and cultural life of the workers.

In strengthening the work of the basic organisations, it is necessary to devote attention to work among technicians and office employees, particularly among the technicians.

In order to bring success to the above-mentioned work in the basic organisations, it is necessary, under the leadership of the Communist Party and in close co-operation with the managements and the Youth League, to strengthen organisation and planning in this work in order to establish a normal order of work and to map out reasonable schedules for spare-time activities.

Fourthly, we must strengthen the industrial unions in a planned and systematic way.

Fifthly, we must develop and train a large number of trade union activists.

VIII. For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Working Class and For a Lasting World Peace

THE victory of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people, and their great achievements in economic restoration are inseparable from the assistance of the working class and other labouring people of the world, particularly the selfless assistance of the Soviet working class, the Soviet people and the Soviet Government. Assistance from the working class of various countries, particularly from the Soviet Union, will continue to be an important condition for success in our construction.

The Chinese trade union is a loyal member of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It resolutely carries out the resolutions of the W.F.T.U., regards the struggle to develop and consolidate the unity and solidarity of the international working class as its great and important international task.

In November, 1949, the World Federation of Trade Unions convened the Asian and Australasian

Trade Union Conference in Peking. The Conference summed up the experiences of the struggles of the working class in the Asian and Australasian countries, and pointed out that the task for the working class under the then existing conditions was to strive for national liberation and the liberation of the working class itself. The Conference clearly defined the correct relations between the international working-class movement and the working-class movement in colonial and dependent countries. It has promoted the development of the working-class movement in Asia and Australasia and the unity and solidarity of the movement.

In October of this year, the World Federation of Trade Unions will convene the third World Congress of Trade Unions. We warmly welcome this move. We are confident that it will make gigantic contribu-

tions to promoting solidarity and united action among the working class the world over.

The Chinese working class has boundless sympathy with its class brothers in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries who are subjected to a life of misery and persecution. We are under obligation to support their heroic struggles for national independence and people's democracy.

The Chinese trade unions have maintained fraternal contacts with the working class of 50 countries, including the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies as well as capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. During these last four years, we have sent many delegations to take part in various international trade union activities sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions. At the same time, we have also invited delegates from 28 countries, including the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, as well as capitalist, colonial and dependent countries to visit China and have exchanged experiences in all fields, thus furthering mutual understanding and friendship.

The friendly relations between the working class of China and other countries have strengthened the international solidarity of the working class in the Far East and throughout the world. The fact that our Congress is honoured with the presence of so many trade union delegates from other countries shows the growing solidarity and friendship between the working class of China and other countries.

On behalf of the Chinese trade unions and the Chinese workers, I warmly salute our foreign friends attending the Congress. We firmly believe that their presence will further promote the solidarity of the working class in the Far East and the world.

The Chinese working class regards the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and in the world as its own sacred duty.

With their practical action, the Chinese workers supported and continue to support the struggle waged by the Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army against aggression. In the various mines, factories and other enterprises throughout the whole country, the Chinese trade union organisations have extensively unfolded a movement for signatures against the remilitarisation of West Germany and Japan and for safeguarding world peace. They will continue to wage a determined struggle to safeguard peace in the Far East and the world.

The great, unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples is a powerful support to the unity of the working class of the whole world. This unity is indispensable to the struggle for lasting peace and universal security.

As Comrade Stalin taught us:

"The great friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China is a reliable guarantee against the threat of new aggression, and a strong bastion for peace in the Far East and in the world."

And as Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us:

"The reason that the great friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union is unbreakable is because it is based on the great principles of internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and the peoples of the various People's Democracies as well as that between all people who love peace, democracy and justice in every country of the world is also built upon this great principle of internationalism and is therefore also unbreakable.

"Clearly, the forces born out of such friendship are unlimited, inexhaustible and truly invincible."

The international mission of the Chinese trade unions is to strive persistently for the strengthening of unity and solidarity of the working-class movement in the Far East and the world, and for a lasting peace. We shall strive to overcome the difficulties and defects existing in our work so as to be able to contribute even more towards the world working-class movement.

Comrades! Our country has already entered a new epoch of economic construction. The working class of the entire country will dedicate itself to the mighty task of national construction and create with its heroic labour a more prosperous future.

We have the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our brilliant and great leader, and the Chinese Communist Party, long tried and tested in struggle. We have the selfless assistance of our great ally, the Soviet Union. We have the support of all the People's Democracies and the working class of the world. We have friends all over the world. We have full confidence in the fulfilment of our great task in striving for the nation's industrialisation and the transition to Socialism.

