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Report on Trade Union Movement in China

by

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REPORT ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN CHINA

Presented by LI LI-SAN

Mr. President and fellow delegates!

Our long awaited Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries, the convocation of which was decided at the First Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1945, has opened in the victorious Chinese people's capital, Peking. This great conference of solidarity and victory will give a tremendous impetus to the labour movement and national liberation movements in Asia and Australasia. It is the fruit won under the leadership of the WFTU through years of continuous and uncompromising struggle conducted against the reactionary trade union leaders in the imperialist countries, Britain, the United States, France and the Netherlands – the splitters of the world labour movement.

Therefore, on behalf of the All-China Federation of Labour, I first and foremost salute the World Federation of Trade Unions, I salute the working class and peoples of all countries who struggle resolutely for a lasting peace and People's Democracy. I salute the working class of Asia and Australasia who struggle courageously for their national and own liberation as well as their delegates who are present at this conference.

Now I would like to take this opportunity to introduce to you briefly the experiences, lessons and present conditions of the Chinese labour movement.

1. VICTORY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLE OF CHINA

The Chinese working class and the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have carried out long struggles for nearly 30 years. Throughout the four stages (the Great Revolution of 1925-27, the Agrarian Revolution of nearly ten years, the eight years Anti-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War from 1946 up to the present) we have passed

through tortuous and difficult paths, and have employed and coordinated, in different stages, various extremely complex methods of struggle and forms of organisation, legal and illegal, secret and open, sanguinary and non-sanguinary, peaceful and armed struggle, guerilla and regular warfare – so that now a nationwide victory has been fully won and the People’s Republic of China, led by the working class and based on the People’s Democratic dictatorship, is established.

How is it that the Chinese working class and the Chinese people could defeat the long and brutal reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and win the victory in such a semi-colonial, semi-feudalistic and backward country? This is a question many people want to ask urgently, particularly our friends in the colonial and semi-colonial countries which are still under the brutal imperialist rule.

First, the Chinese working class could lead the revolution to victory because of the fact that the Chinese working class through ceaseless struggles won the support of the broad masses of people and became the true leader of the Chinese people’s national liberation movement. The winning of this leading position was not only due to the fact that the working class has shown itself to be the bravest, firmest, most faithful, most thorough-going and unselfish fighter in the national liberation movement of the Chinese people against the rule of imperialism and its stooges, thereby gradually winning the sincere and willing support of the broad masses of the people, but also because the Chinese working class has been skilful in using correct tactics, putting forward appropriate slogans and taking the initiative to unite with all the classes, political parties and groups, organisations and individuals who suffer from the oppression of imperialism and its lackeys, in forming a mighty national united front against them. In the first place, it united with the board peasant masses in forming a firm alliance of workers and peasants. The Chinese working class realised that in a semi-feudalistic, backward country, the peasantry was its chief and most reliable ally, and firmly supported the peasantry’s demand for land reform and brought forward a revolutionary agrarian programme. It won the support the board peasant masses and organised agrarian revolution struggles in which the board peasant masses really participated.

Had the Chinese working class not united closely with the peasants who constitute 80 per cent of the population, had it not put forward its revolutionary land programme to lead the peasants' agrarian revolution and had it not secured the firm support of the whole peasantry, it would not have been able to emerge victorious in the war and the revolution.

In the second place, it united with the board masses of the petty-bourgeoisie in the cities, especially the revolutionary intelligentsia. In countries which suffer from imperialist and feudal oppression and which are culturally backward like China, the intelligentsia frequently plays an important role. It is not only the initiator and propagandist of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal ideology but is also frequently vanguards of the revolutionary movement. The working class should pay special attention to uniting this revolutionary force though attention should be paid to taking precautions against the tendencies of hastiness, flightiness, running to extremes and adventurism etc., inherent in its class so that it cannot affect the whole revolutionary movement.

Finally, the Chinese working class could build up the mighty national united front and establish its leadership in the national united front because it found the correct policy in dealing with the Chinese national bourgeoisie differentiating the national bourgeoisie which opposed imperialism from the compradore bourgeoisie which has capitulated to imperialism not opposing the national bourgeoisie as a national enemy but treating it as an ally in the national liberation movement, and adopting the policy of both uniting and struggling but mainly uniting with it. This is because, generally speaking, although the national bourgeoisie in a country like China has many connections with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, it has the same time suffered by fettering, exclusion and restriction. That is why, although the national bourgeoisie is prone to wavering and compromising in the national liberation movement, it has been possible to unite with it and win it over to the side of the revolutionary masses of the people while the struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism were going on. In this connection, it is required of the working class on the one hand to be skilful in using tactics of winning it over and uniting with it, while on the other hand, to be skilful at all times in exposing and opposing its wavering, compromising and even designs of betrayal by a certain part of it. The working class must firmly oppose national capitulationism in the national united front, and the same time oppose class capitulationism in its own ranks. Only thus can it establish its firm

leadership in the national liberation movement. This is the first reason why the Chinese working class has led the revolution and won victory.

The second reason why the Chinese working class has led the revolution to victory is due to its grasp of the teaching of Comrade Stalin that “the characteristic and merit of the Chinese revolution is that it is an armed revolution against armed counter-revolution.” After the failure of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, many activists of the Chinese working class left the cities under the white terror for the countryside to set in motion the struggle of agrarian revolution of the board peasant masses against the landlords. In doing so they built up numerous small armed forces and set up guerilla bases which were developed and consolidated in the long period of guerilla warfare lasting for about 20 years until they grew into the powerful People’s Liberation Army of today, with the highest political consciousness and the best discipline, and finally attained victory in overthrowing the reactionary regime and liberating the whole country. Since that time, the Chinese working class has taken special care in building the armed troops under its leadership and in supporting these troops and the guerilla warfare.

In the areas where the revolutionary regime was set up, the workers strove to develop production movements, especially military production, to support the armed struggle at the front. In the enemy-occupied cities, the workers preserved and accumulated their strength while secretly, absolutely secretly, managing to support the revolutionary troops, for instance, by sending their outstanding elements, particularly the activists who were exposed and could no longer stay in the cities, to join the revolutionary troops in the guerilla areas. In this way, the leadership of the working class in the revolutionary troops was strengthened while the revolutionary cadres were preserved. It was later borne out by facts that the great majority who were sent to the guerilla areas were preserved while the great majority of those who should not have remained but inadvisably remained behind in the cities under the white terror were sacrificed. The great majority of cadres, who were preserved in the cities, came up during the past 15 years.

When in its victorious development the People’s Liberation Army was about to take a city, the workers fought to protect their factories against the enemy’s designs to remove or

destroy them and used all means to help and support the attack of the People's Liberation Army. And as soon as the Liberation Army entered a city, the workers exerted efforts in resuming production and restoring all the communications and water and electricity supplies to support the further advance of the Liberation Army.

Through protracted struggles, the Chinese working class has acquired, from its experiences and lessons learned through bloodshed, the knowledge that in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, the working class definitely cannot fundamentally better its status and livelihood, not to speak of winning a revolutionary victory like that of today, without building a revolutionary army under its own leadership and waging a revolutionary war against the rule of imperialism and its lackeys, without the support of broad masses of the people.

But on the other hand, in the areas where the ruling forces of imperialism and lackeys were concentrated, especially in the cities where the enemy was strong and where armed struggles could not be conducted and when the revolutionary movement was at its low ebb, the policy of lying low with a compact organisation and accumulating strength was adopted by the labour movement so as to wait for the ripe moment. This was the policy against the then existing tendency of desperatism and adventurism in order to avoid fighting pitched battles with the enemy under unfavourable conditions. Work was then carried on by making use of the smallest possibilities of legal and open activity, by secretly joining the yellow trade unions, including even the Kuomintang reactionary trade union organisations, and all other legal organisations, and by making use of every minute contradiction in the enemy ranks to organise and educate the working masses to lead them in the day by day minor struggles for the improvement of their living conditions, no matter how small the improvement might be, so as to gain the leadership of these legal organisations, and finally, when the suitable opportunities present themselves, to organise movements of a broad mass character by making use of these legal organisations with great vigilance and resourcefulness to further the high tide of the revolutionary struggle.

All these legal activities and open struggles, of course, had to be conducted in various forms and through various contacts, so that they might be carried out under an absolutely secret Communist organisation. In this way, legal struggles were combined with revolutionary secret

work, thus accumulating revolutionary strength for the ripe movement when the workers would be called upon to collaborate with the People's Liberation Army in occupying the city. This was the main direction of work in the cities before the victory of the revolution.

For quite a long time, because we did not realise the fact that, under the rule of fascist white terror in a semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic country like China, revolutionary trade union organisations and revolutionary struggles had no legal protection whatever, we did not know how to organise proper defence and retreat on the occasions when the movement met with setback; on the contrary, we adventurously organised offensives and openly organised workers' strikes and demonstrations and even armed struggle. As a result, the revolutionary organisations and revolutionary forces in the cities suffered severe damage and destruction, resulting in terrific losses and at one time even leading to the destruction of practically all organisations of the Party and revolutionary mass organisations by the enemy. I myself have committed serious mistake on this question and therefore feel deeply about this historical lesson.

Later on, owing to the correct leadership of Comrade Mao-Tse-tung and Comrade Liu Shao-chi, who sternly criticised this mistake of "Left" adventurism, we found the correct direction and the correct method of combining open and secret work, and, after 15 years of strenuous efforts, attained great achievements in the work in the cities; thus enabling our army to obtain strong support from the broad masses of workers in liberating the cities as they do today. In experiences in China, Right opportunism was also opposed and this occurred during the two periods of united front with the Kuomintang. The tendencies of legalism and liquidationism were also opposed and they occurred during the early period after the failure of the first Great Revolution. But this mistake of Right deviation did not exist long as an ideological trend and was soon overcome. But just after this Right deviation was overcome there occurred a Left adventuristic deviation which endangered the Party for long time, causing greater losses to the Party. It was only after this Left adventuristic deviation was completely overcome that the movement took the correct track and advanced smoothly to attain final victory.

The third and most fundamental reason why the Chinese working class has led the revolution to victory is the fact that the Chinese labour movement has always been under the

leadership of the Communist Party of China. The Chinese labour movement and trade union organisations grew up only after the birth of the Communist Party. Therefore, the Chinese labour movement was from its very beginning under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and accepted the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the Communist Party of China enjoys a great prestige among the Chinese working class and has the support of the broad masses of the people. The Communist Party of China enjoys such a great prestige among the Chinese working class and broad masses because it has after traversing long tortuous paths, grasped and mastered the theory of Marxism-Leninism and become skilful in using this theory to analyse the concrete and objective conditions in every stage, in deciding upon the correct strategy, in dexterously employing tactics, changing the methods of struggle and form of organisation according to the change in the objective situation, so that the greatest successes were achieved by the mass revolutionary movement with the smallest sacrifices.

Within the Chinese Communist Party, a struggle was conducted on two fronts against Right opportunism and Left adventurism. In particular, the dogmatism of mechanically transplanting foreign experiences regardless of the concrete objective conditions was overcome while the empiricism which was reluctant to accept the guidance of the revolutionary theory was rectified. In this way the Party grasped the truth: “Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to revolutionary action,” and thus obtained the leadership of Mao Tse-tung’s ideology which unites Marxist-Leninist theory with practice in China. The banner of Mao Tse-tung thus became the banner of liberation and victory of the Chinese working class and all the Chinese people.

These are the conditions at home leading to the victory of the Chinese revolution. But with simply these conditions there could be no victory, which must also have favourable international conditions. And they are the existence of the Socialist Soviet Union and the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union and the world working class. The victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution pointed out to the Chinese working class the road to liberation and gave them great inspiration and encouragement. The victory of the Anti-Fascist Second World War led by the Soviet Union resulted in the defeat of the German-Italian-Japanese fascist bloc and the establishment of the various New Democracies in East Europe, and inspired the heroic struggles of the working class in the West and of the oppressed nations in the East.

The main attention of the imperialists was drawn to Europe, thereby enabling China to break through the imperialist front in the East, to defeat the reactionary rule of American imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek, and win a complete victory. Just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung said:

“Had there been no Soviet Union, had there been no victory in the anti-fascist Second World War, had Japanese imperialism not been defeated (which is particularly important for us), had there been no People’s Democracies in Europe, had there been no growing struggle of the oppressed countries of the East, had there been no struggle of the masses in the United States, Berlin, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries against the ruling reactionary cliques – had none of these factors existed, then the pressure of the international reactionary forces would of course have been much stronger than it is today. Would we have been able to achieve victory in these circumstances? Of course not. So too it would have been impossible to consolidate victory after it had been achieved.”

Allow us therefore to express here our gratitude and respect to the working class of the Soviet Union! Our gratitude and respect to the working class of the whole world! Our gratitude and respect to the great teacher of the world working class – Stalin!

These are the reasons why the Chinese working class and the Chinese people have won victory in the revolution. A study of these reasons, a study of the experiences and lessons of the Chinese revolution, is of great practical significance not only to the Chinese workers, but also to every worker abroad, particularly to the workers of the Asiatic countries still under imperialist oppression – this is a fact which needs no explanation.

2. THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CHINESE LABOUR MOVEMENT

- a) *Chinese trade union organisations* are rapidly growing. At the time of the convocation of the Sixth All-China Labour Congress in August 1948, there were 2,830,000 trade union members all over the country under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Labour.

During the past year, with the rapid development of the People's War of Liberation throughout the country, trade union organisations developed rapidly. For instance, of the 1,200,000 workers in Shanghai nearly 710,000 have joined trade union organisations and nearly 200,000 of the 400,000 workers in Tientsin have joined trade unions. In all districts and cities, trade unions are also being established and expanded one after another.

The All-China Federation of Labour plans to organize fundamentally the workers, first the industrial workers of the whole country in about one year's time. Before May next year national industrial unions will be established in the ten industrial departments of railway, seamen, postal services, tele-communications, metal, textile, fuel, food, publication, and culture and education, in order to lead the workers of the whole country more effectively to take an active part in the great tasks of building up the New China.

b) *The labour movement in various large cities after liberation:* The special feature of the Chinese revolution is not the occupation of the cities through the uprising of the urban workers, but the seizure of the cities after the extermination of enemy forces by the People's Liberation Army. Therefore, whenever a city is liberated and the working class has changed from its former brutally oppresses position as a slave into the master of society and the State enjoying all free and democratic rights, the primary task of the trade unions is to educate the workers, arouse their class consciousness, and organise them to cooperate in taking over the enterprises originally in the hands of bureaucratic capital.

First and foremost, it must be explained to the working masses that the working class, after liberation, is the master of the State and society and the master of State enterprises. They must be called on to organise at once their shop stewards' councils, elect representatives to participate, together with the taking-over personnel of the People's Government, in the tasks of taking over and examining inventories, and further carry out the work of organising trade unions. In this way, the work of the taking over of bureaucratic capitalist enterprises can be quickly and systematically fulfilled in a planned and organised manner. The workers also devise many ways to overcome difficulties and speedily resume production.

State enterprises are the property of the People's State. For the purpose of enhancing the sense of responsibility among the workers as masters of the State and publicly-owned enterprises, we have adopted the system of democratic factory administration within these enterprises, applying the policy of depending on all the workers and employees to run the factories and enterprises officially, absorbing workers to take part in the control of production and establishing the organisation of factory administration committees headed by the factory manager and participated in by representatives elected from the workers and the staff – thus transforming former bureaucratic capitalist enterprises into new democratic enterprises.

With the new attitude of masters, the workers are happily and consciously labouring, thereby greatly increasing the efficiency of production. For instance, the output of 42 of the publicly-owned factories taken over by the People's Government in Tientsin, up to June this year, was 50 to 85 per cent more than that in the reactionary Kuomintang period. After the workers participated in factory administration, large numbers of capable workers have been promoted to be cadres for the control of production.

In private enterprises, after the liberation of each city, waves of workers' struggles immediately ensued. As the capitalist lost the support of the reactionary regime, they could not but make concessions to the demands of the masses. As a result, the former feudal oppression suffered by workers has, in general been obliterated, while the position of the workers has been greatly raised and their livelihood generally improved.

However, the demands of the workers were sometimes too high. Their actions and forms of struggle were in some cases inordinate. This resulted in the closing down of some enterprises, stoppage of production, and the passive running away of the capitalist these are detrimental to the paramount interests of the resumption and development of production.

Therefore, right from the beginning, we carried out education on the policy of developing production and benefiting both labour and capital among the working masses in the private enterprises, so as to correct the "Left" deviation of excess which is detrimental to the long range

interests of the working class. Our policy of benefiting both labour and capital is fundamentally different from the policy of cooperation between labour and capital of the social-reformists in Western Europe. Labour-capital cooperation of the Social-Democratic parties is a reformist policy adopted under the bourgeois Governments for the purpose of deceiving the workers and maintaining the rule of these bourgeois Governments.

Our present policy of benefiting both labour and capital is adopted under the New Democratic Government for the purpose of rehabilitating and developing production to consolidate the regime which is led by the working class. The principal method to realise this policy is the signing of collective contracts between labour and capital in various trades containing provisions on working conditions and the rights and obligations of both labour and capital, etc. This changes the former relation in which labour was completely under the slavish oppression of capital into a relation in which contracts are signed on an equal footing.

When disputes occur even after the signing of such collective contracts, they have first to go through negotiations on a footing of equality based on the contract. If the negotiations then fail, the Labour Bureau of the People's Government solves the disputes through mediation or arbitration.

In the process of drawing up collective contracts between labour and capital, labour unions in private enterprises are also rapidly developing and being strengthened.

c) *The present wage system:* Under the New Democratic Government, the wage system in State enterprises is based on the principles of "pay according to work done", and "more work, more pay". We oppose "equalitarianism" and adopt various methods and system of awards to encourage technical progress and labour initiative. At the same time, we guarantee the workers minimum living standards, and couple the improvement of workers' livelihood with the development of production.

It was decided by the Sixth Labour Congress that the minimum wage of an ordinary worker should be sufficient for him to maintain the living of two persons, including himself.

Wages were calculated in kind so as to ensure that the real income of the workers would not be affected by the fluctuation of the commodity prices. The principle of equal pay for equal work is applied to women and juvenile workers.

In the newly liberated cities at present, the method of fundamentally maintaining “former position, former pay” is adopted temporarily in order to guarantee the systematic and complete taking over of State and public enterprises. As to the unreasonable wage system under the Kuomintang rule, only initial adjustments are made. Therefore, generally speaking, the present wage system is still very confusing and unreasonable. The Committee of Finance and Economics of the Central People’s Government and the All-China Federation of Labour are jointly studying the drawing up of a national unified wage system in order to facilitate the development of Production.

d) *Labour insurance and welfare work*: Under the oppression of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, the Chinese working class had not the least protection. China never had any national labour insurance system whatever and workers never received the slightest relief from the State in the event of disability injury, sickness or death.

After the establishment of the present People’s Government, the adoption of a proper labour law for protection of workers has become a very pressing task. The general principle for the realisation of national labour insurance was passed among the resolutions of the Sixth Labour Congress.

In accordance with this principle, the “Wartime Labour Insurance Regulations” promulgated by the Administrative Committee of North-east China in December 1948, provide that all public enterprises are to pay a monthly labour insurance fund contribution equivalent to three per cent of the total amount of wages. In addition, medical treatment of workers, and wages during the period when they are injured or sick are to be paid by the enterprises concerned and not from the insurance fund.

Statistics for July this year showed that in the seven big industrial departments, railways, mines, arsenal, military supplies, postal and tele-communications, electricity and textiles, in North-east China alone, the number of workers and their relatives who benefited by labour insurance reached over one million. There were besides 333 workers' hospitals and sanatoria with 2,316 doctors and nurses. Twenty-one nurseries, child welfare institutions, homes for the disabled, etc., were under construction. Certain enterprises in other liberated areas have also made plans modeled on such lines and are beginning to carry them out. For instance, in Tientsin alone, 230,000 workers and employees are benefiting from the welfare establishments of the trade unions.

Labour protection and welfare work in New China were gradually instituted under difficult conditions of war and rehabilitating production. They will be carried out and expanded step by step on a national scale with the complete victory of the war of liberation and the development of reconstruction work.

e) *Political, cultural and educational work*: As the cultural standard of the broad masses of the Chinese people is generally very low, over 50 per cent of the working masses are illiterate. Furthermore, they were for quite a long period under the deceitful propaganda of imperialism and Kuomintang reaction. Therefore, the carrying out of general political, cultural and technical education among the working masses and the close linking up of this education with the raising of production have become important day-by-day tasks of our trade unions.

In the initial stage after the liberation of a city, we employ the method of holding big classes and organising short-term training classes to conduct wide-spread education on policy and class consciousness among the working masses. This has brought about great results in raising the consciousness of the working class.

To ensure that workers can receive education in their spare time, the People's Government has stipulated that the administration in every enterprises and factory should earmark a sum equivalent to 1.5 per cent of the total wage for the trade unions as the cultural and

educational funds of the workers, and should provide the trade unions with various facilities for educational work.

Trade unions and Governments in different places are setting up all kinds of workers' schools and training courses according to plan. According to incomplete data in July this year, there were in Manchuria alone at that time 998 schools and training courses with an enrolment of 325,957 workers. In addition, there were workers' political colleges, and workers' cadre schools for advanced education. Technical schools for various important industries such as railways, mines, postal and tele-communications, electricity and textiles were run by the Government with subsidies for students who are workers. The technical personnel thus brought up will play a great part in the construction of New China.

In addition, spare time study for workers is universally carried out in the form of broadcasts, evening schools, lectures, discussions, study groups, libraries, classes for the liquidation of illiteracy, blackboard newspapers, and by organising all kinds of cultural and recreational activities to carry out mass education among the workers. For example, according to incomplete data for July this year, in 99 State and public-owned factories and seven private factories in Mukden, there were 69 radio programmes for the workers, 564 literary and correspondence groups, 213 theatrical and Yangko groups with 16,979 participants, 181 basketball teams, and 47 clubs. Of five industrial unions in Tientsin, more than 20,000 workers are participating in cultural and recreational activities.

The working class after liberation is enjoying a cultural life which formerly completely denied to it by the ruling class.

3. CHINA'S LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Chinese working class has not only always struggled for the independence and democracy of the Chinese nation, but always upheld the principle of solidarity and unity with the workers of the whole world. It has taken part in the founding of the World Federation of Trade

Unions, and resolutely supported all its decisions and proposals and firmly opposed the blacklegs who undermine the world labour movement.

The Chinese working class, uniting with the people of the whole country, resolutely supports the sacred struggles in defence of world peace and People's Democracy headed by the Soviet Union; it resolutely opposes the policy of aggression headed by American imperialism, opposes racial discrimination and oppression of nations, as well as the intrigues of the remnant fascist elements plotting for a new war.

On October 2, the International Days of Struggle for Peace this year, that is, the following the birth of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic, our whole nation held huge demonstrations with unprecedented enthusiasm in defence of world peace and democracy. In Shanghai, the masses participating in the demonstration numbered one million, while in Tientsin they numbered 300,000. Gigantic demonstrations and parades were also held in other large cities. This indicated that the Chinese working class and the Chinese people wholeheartedly support the common cause of the working class and peoples of the world.

The Chinese working class cherishes boundless sympathy and concern for their fellow workers of Asia and Australasia who are still under the brutal oppression of imperialism and will render them all possible fraternal assistance. The Chinese working class has always been educated by the Communist Party of China in internationalism and will certainly always remain true to internationalism and fulfil all its duties.

4. TASKS OF THE CHINESE LABOUR MOVEMENT

After attaining victory in the people's revolution, the Chinese working class has become the leading class of the State power; its responsibilities have become heavier than ever before. If the working class is to play the central and leading role in political, economic and cultural reconstruction, it must first and foremost organise itself, raise its own class consciousness, and become the most conscious, best organised and best disciplined force. It must turn the trade union organisations into schools of New Democracy in which the workers learn to administer the

State and factory in order to struggle for the construction of an independent, democratic, unified, peaceful, prosperous and strong New China.

In view of this, the central tasks of the Chinese labour movement in the future should be based on the following.

(1) Organising and leading the workers in striving for the rehabilitation and development of production is the highest task of the working class. It is also the most fundamental task of the Chinese trade unions. In public enterprises, trade unions should do their utmost to enhance the sense of responsibility of the working class in production emulations, give full play to workers' enthusiasm, educate the workers to observe labour discipline, to take care of public property and strictly carry out an economy movement, in order to raise the productivity of labour, improve products and lower the costs of production, so that the State may accumulate more capital to develop production.

In private enterprises, they must also correctly carry out the policy of benefiting both labour and capital in order to attain the goal of developing production. In this way, the national wealth will be increased and the industrialisation of the country stepped up so as to prepare the material conditions for passing into Socialism.

(2) Trade unions must be the pillars of the People's Democratic regime. Now that the Central People's Government led by the working class has been established, the trade unions should organise and educate the masses through concrete actions and set an example in abiding by the law so as to reform and exercise supervision over those who do not faithfully carry out the laws of the State; oppose the sabotage and disturbances caused by Kuomintang agents; and ensure "implementing of every order issued" through the support of the broad masses for the State.

At the same time they should gradually select and send the best worker cadres to participate in the work of government organs at all levels so as to consolidate the leadership of

the government by the working class and to overcome gradually the bureaucratic working style in the government organs.

(3) Trade unions should protect the interests of the working class and struggle for the improvement of the livelihood of the workers. Trade unions should first of all draw up labour protection laws, such as labour insurance laws and factory laws, and submit them for approval by the Central People's Government. Together with the financial and economic departments of the Government, they should jointly draw up a nationwide unified wage system on the basis of "pay according to work done", so as to protect the essential minimum living standard of the workers and stimulate the development of production.

At the same time, they should in the public enterprises oppose the bureaucratic misrepresentation of the State laws, while in private enterprises they should oppose excessive exploitation of the workers by the capitalists in violation of the law. Whenever possible, they should undertake all kinds of welfare work, such as improving medical and sanitary facilities, organising the dependents of the workers for production cooperatives, kindergartens, mutual help savings, in order to alleviate the difficulties of the workers and better their living conditions.

(4) Trade unions should intensify the work of political, cultural and technical education. They should draft measures and request the People's Government to provide the workers with various facilities and priorities of education. Apart from this, they should strive to conduct spare time education and popularise political, cultural and technical classes, and promote workers' cultural, athletic, and recreational activities, so as to raise gradually the political, cultural and technical level of the workers, and bring up all kinds of cadres to participate in government and economic administrative organs; simultaneously, the trade unions should strengthen education on internationalism among the working masses, especially the study of experiences of the workers of the Soviet Union, and also of all the resolutions and directives of the WFTU, so that the Chinese working class may become staunch fighters of internationalism.

(5) In order to fulfil the above-mentioned colossal tasks, the Chinese trade unions should first of all organise, expand and consolidate their own organisations; this requires them to

overcome all forms of closed-door policy, to spare no effort in increasing trade union membership so that they may gradually become true mass organisations comprising all the employed workers of the country.

At present, in conformity with the need for nationwide, unified planning in the fields of political and economic construction, the All-China Federation of Labour should centre its work on the establishment of national industrial unions. At the same time, it should strengthen its leadership over the regional trade unions especially over the trade unions organisations of big cities, because the practical trade union work at the lower levels in factories and enterprises can only be well established through the leadership of these regional trade union organisations.

Moreover, in order to have sound trade union activities, we must absolutely rectify the system of appointments from above and merely issuing orders, by carrying out elections of all trade union cadres and absorbing every trade union member to participate in trade union work voluntarily and consciously, so that the broad masses of members feel that the trade unions are really their own organisations. Only thus can the trade unions enjoy great prestige among the working masses and fulfil the colossal tasks of organising and leading the vast working masses to participate in State, economic and cultural reconstruction.

Comrades! Because the Chinese revolutionary war has not yet ended, because all kinds of reconstruction work are still in their initial stages, and because imperialism and the remnant reactionaries within our country are still putting up their dying struggle, trying to obstruct the progress of the liberation work of the Chinese people by means of blockade and destruction, there are still many difficulties in the way of the advance of the Chinese working class.

Nevertheless, we firmly believe that the Chinese working class, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, will, with the most resolute, heroic and militant spirit, unite with the people of the whole country to surmount all difficulties and advance steadily toward the goal of Socialism.

There still exist serious defects in the trade union work in China. In the first place, the workers organised in the trade unions comprise but a small portion of the working class. Trade union organisations are still not sound enough. All measures for the protection and betterment of the workers' living conditions are still in their initial stages, and in particular systematic measures for participation in the State and economic construction are still lacking. Such grave defects must be overcome before we can advance.

We earnestly hope that our brothers of the working class of all countries, especially the great working class of the Soviet Union that has had 30 years of experience in reconstruction work, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the highest leading organ of workers in the world, the WFTU, will give us fraternal help and instruction, so that we may quickly overcome our weaknesses and fulfil the huge task that we must accomplish: the construction of a strong New Democratic China so that the camp of world peace and democracy will be further reinforced. All the imperialist plots for a new war will then go completely bankrupt, and the lasting peace and People's Democracy of mankind and the victory of the national liberation movement of all the oppressed peoples will then be ensured.

Long live the solidarity of the working class of Asia and Australasia!

Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions!

Proletariat of the world, unite!