

opportunity state my position clearly to the party membership for discussion.

My differences of opinion may be characterized as not in opposition to the trades union theses of the Congress but supplementary to them.

I feel this matter of the criticism very keenly. I was not in touch with the

party; in Moscow I had to determine my position by what I thought would be the party position on the various questions; and the report will show that throughout I did not misrepresent the party on any question, and could not, since I am a Communist and our's is a Communist Party.

ation of all fundamental questions and the principle of elections to all positions from the bottom to the top, etc. At the same time the resolution asserts that these points, without altering the functions of the trade unions in the labor state, cannot solve the fundamental questions of Socialist construction.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

THE QUESTION OF TRADE UNIONISM AT THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

Resolution of the "Eighteen"

The draft of a resolution on the question of the functions of the trade unions to be submitted to the forthcoming 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party has been published over the signature of eighteen comrades—hence the name by which this resolution is known. These comrades are: Trotsky, Bucharin, Andreiev, Djirjinsky, Krestinsky, Preobrazhensky, Rakovsky, Serebriakov, Larin, Sokolnikov, Akovleva, Holsmann, Ivanov, Kasior, Piatokov, Kohn, Averin, and Kin. This draft resolution is a combination of the platforms of what are known as the buffer group and that of comrade Trotsky.

The general features of this resolution can be summed up as follows: Not only the growth of labor democracy in the unions is necessary, but also a growth of the influence of the unions in industry; the school of Communism lies mainly in the industrial training of the masses and their representatives; it is necessary that there should be an organizational combination and merging of the unions with the economic organs and the subordination of the economic organs and the subordination of the economic apparatus to the growing functions of the unions as mass organizations. The draft resolution contains an explanation of the views of this group of comrades as to the origin of the internal crisis in the trade union movement which caused this question of the functions of the trade unions to be raised at the forthcoming congress of the Party, and also their views on the fundamental tasks of the trade unions.

In point 21 of the resolution, for example, it is proposed that "in order to achieve an internal harmony in the work of the industrial unions and economic organizations" to construct both "on similar economic—territorial lines" i. e. to include in both the organizations the same number of enterprises in accordance with the structure and requirements of the given branch of industry. The resolution continues, "with this aim in view the 10th Congress considers necessary the immediate setting up of a central commission composed of the All-Russian Council of

Trade Unions on the one hand, and the Supreme Council of National Economy, the Commissariat for Agriculture, the Commissariat for Ways and Communications, and others on the other, for establishing the organizational relations between the unions and the economic organs by a corresponding re-grouping of both on the basis of industrial experience."

Considering necessary the calling of simultaneous congresses of the economic organizations and the corresponding trade unions, the resolution declares it necessary that "the compositions of the presidiums of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and the Supreme Council of National Economy should be such that the one third or the half of the members of the presidium of the one organization be the same persons as shall hold those positions in the other, and that the same principle be carried out in the other trade unions and economic organs.

All experience in the establishment of unity of management of industrial enterprises and the organization of national economy must be regarded in the light of the solution of the following tasks: To train and bring forward economic administrators from among trade unionists; to bring about an approachment and organizational combination of the work of the unions and the economic apparatus; to indicate the general sections of their work and create conditions for their joint execution; to strive towards broadening the general section of their work until finally it embraces the whole, i. e. until a complete merging of the unions and the economic organs has been completed."

The draft resolution, which differs from comrade Trotsky's original thesis, includes a number of points on the necessity for equality in the sphere of consumption and the preservation of the principle of concentration (on special enterprises or branches of industry, tr.) in the sphere of production; the extension of the rights of the disciplinary courts and the extension of their jurisdiction over the administrative staff, on the necessity for training and drawing the masses into the consider-

A Summary of the Discussions on Trade Unionism

It is more than a month since the address of comrade Trotsky on the role of the Trade Unions in production, delivered on the 24th of December, 1920, started a general discussion on this subject within the party. During that period the discussion passed beyond the mere analysis of the theses advanced by this or that group, and became a kind of a general expression of party opinion. The question was put on the agendas at the meetings of district committees and district and local meetings, where, following reports of representatives of the different platforms, a preliminary vote was taken. This serves to indicate the trend of thought of the active workers of the Communist Party, showing which point of view on the role of the trade unions was the most popular and was becoming the crystalized party opinion on the matter.

It is therefore of importance to summarize and get a general view of this discussion and define its general trend.

The Petrograd organization of the party was the first to express its decision on the question. Here a general meeting of all the city locals took place on Jan. 3rd, 1921, at which comrade Zinoviev presented his point of view and was followed by comrade Bucharin defending the platform of Trotsky. The meeting, with an overwhelming majority, adopted the text of an address to the party declaring that the Petrograd organization was in favor to the position of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and was in agreement with the point of view expressed by Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev on the role and tasks of the Trade Unions. This address was later approved by a general meeting of all the members of the Petrograd organization at which out of 4,000 comrades only 20 voted against the address.

In the Viborg district out of 354 members present 334 voted for the address of the Petrograd organization and 19 against. In the second city district 1,000 members participated, out of which only 33 voted against. In the Moscow district 262 members were present out of which there was no vote against, 3 abstentions and 259 for.

The voting in the factories gave similar results. At the Alexandrov mill out of 300 Communists present, 299 voted for the