Speech at the Tianjin Workers' Congress Liu Shaoqi (1949.4.28)

Dear worker representatives: Today, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I extend a warm salute to the Tianjin Workers' Congress. Thank you comrades for assisting the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of China in the reception work during the liberation of Tianjin and working hard to build after liberation. On behalf of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, I would like to express my gratitude to the comrades.

Everyone knows that the Communist Party of China is a political party that represents the Chinese working class. We, the Communist Party of China, are your party. We are planning for the interests of the working class and fighting for the emancipation of the working class. This is what the Chinese Communist Party has never wavered in the twenty-eight years since its founding. But we have made mistakes of different processes, and we have made right and "left" mistakes by Chen Duxiu and Li Lisan. But once we find out, we will correct it. Although we have sacrificed many comrades, no matter whether we make mistakes or not, our basic starting point for fighting for the interests of the working class remains unchanged. Today, I am here to assure the Chinese workers and representatives of this. This was the case in the past, it is now, and it will be the same in the future.

But everyone knows that the interests of the working class are consistent with the interests of the majority of people in China. Therefore, in addition to representing the interests of the working class, the Chinese Communist Party also represents the interests of the majority of people in China. This is because not only the workers, but also the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie are also exploited and oppressed by imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. But who is most oppressed among them? That is the Chinese working class, and he is under pressure. Not only in China, but in the whole world, the Chinese working class is also the most oppressed, so it is the most revolutionary class. In the political arena of the Chinese revolution, the working class is the first, the peasants are the second, the petty bourgeoisie is the third, and the national bourgeoisie is the fourth.

It is not easy for workers to demand their own liberation, and they can only be achieved through long-term struggle and hard work. Because he must liberate all other classes in China, otherwise the working class cannot liberate itself. The working class is suppressed at the lowest level. Workers are not allowed to give up the revolution halfway. If they give up halfway, they will not be liberated themselves. Therefore, the working class must carry the revolution to the end. For the above

reasons, the working class has historically been a naturally impartial and selfless class. If a worker is selfish, it will first violate the interests of his own class.

The Communist Party has to rely on the working class, in the cities it has to rely on you, and in the countryside it has to rely on the workers and the semi-proletariat (employed, poor peasants). The Communist Party can realize its ideals only by relying on you, and the only thing it can do is to rely on you. Without the working class, the Communist Party will have no support. This is one aspect.

On the other hand, if the working class only relies on itself and does not find friends or allies, can it defeat the enemy and make the revolution triumph? That is impossible. Because the revolution requires a team, just like the People's Liberation Army fighting, the team must be organized, must be united, must obey the command, and must have discipline, otherwise it will be a team with no combat effectiveness. The same is true for political warfare. The team must be large, united, and disciplined so that they can liberate themselves politically, economically, and in all aspects.

Now, we have to check, how big is our working class team? Among the 475 million people of the country, there are only less than three million industrial workers, and there is not a single worker among a hundred people. This number is very small. As for other wage earners and wage earners, there are handicraft workers, coolies, farm laborers in the countryside, and a large number of vocational educators. There are only more than 10 million people. This is the entire Chinese working class. This number is still a minority among the entire Chinese people, so the ranks of the working class are not large. Which team is the biggest? The peasants are the largest class in China, with more than 300 million people, and 80 out of 100 are peasants, so the main force of the Chinese revolution is peasants, not workers. If the Chinese working class wants to revolutionize and liberate itself, the working class must organize the peasants and unite with the peasants. If they break away from the peasants, then the workers' cause must fail. Therefore, the peasants are the first friend of the Chinese working class. Allied forces. But is there only one friend? Also, the petty bourgeoisie is the second friend of the Chinese working class. And is the national bourgeoisie an enemy or a friend? They are also our friends, the third friend. When these four classes unite to carry out the revolution, this team will be bigger. The commander of this team is the working class, and the working class serves as the squad leader and the company commander in this team...As the commander, organize and lead the team, and you can win the war.

Who is our enemy? There are three enemies: imperialism, feudalism (represented by the landlord class), and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the Kuomintang is the centralized representative. Imperialism is rampant in the world, feudalism is rampant in the countryside, and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie still has a lot of power, and the economic lifeline of the country is in their hands. These three classes united to oppress the workers, as well as the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie, thus forming three enemies and four revolutionary classes.

What has the CCP done in the twenty-eight years since its establishment? The first is to organize the ranks of the revolutionary class, organize the political ranks and then produce the military ranks.

This ranks is not organized all at once, but is organized through continuous struggles for decades. . Who do you think says imperialism is good? Who is against the downfall of landlords? Who said the Kuomintang is good? The people all over the country say that Chairman Mao is good. This is the commander who has recognized himself. We fight in the countryside on your behalf, unite and organize the peasants, and then meet you in the city with the peasants. We need to discuss with each other how the entire work should be done, and how to do it in Tianjin and rural areas. For more than two decades, the enemy did not unite us and cut us off. We rarely met with the working class, and we were a little stranger, but we were all concerned about each other. We knew that the working class cared about the Communist Party in the countryside, and so did we. On the mountain, I care about how you are doing under the oppression of the Kuomintang. In the past, the Communist Party of China accepted the orders of the working class to go up the mountain to fight guerrillas. Today, after completing the task, it is ordered to go down the mountain and return to its own ranks. Therefore, the Communist Party of China is a part of the working class. This part is not afraid of death, can fight guerrillas, fight wars, and is the bravest and most conscious part. The vanguard of the working class is the Chinese Communist Party.

Therefore, we must distinguish between enemy and friend. Distinguish who is the enemy of the working class and who is the friend of the working class. We believe that the Communist Party is your best and most loyal friend, faithfully representing the interests of the working class, representing the interests of the most people in the country, and serving wholeheartedly to the death of old people. We recognize this kind of understanding and this kind of request. It's up to you to admit it. If it doesn't represent you, you don't have to admit it. Secondly, the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie are also your friends, and the enemy is imperialism and feudalism. , The bureaucratic capitalist class. We must not confuse our enemies and friends. Marx said a hundred years ago that "the proletariat of the world should unite." Whether it is the Soviet Union, the United States, or Japan, the working class must unite. No matter if Japanese workers have beaten, robbed, or raped when Japanese imperialists invaded China, it was because they were unconscious and confused for a while, but once they became aware, they would unite with us. The German workers under Hitler's power also fought the Soviet Union, and today the Soviet Union will unite them because it is their own camp. In old China, workers also had many gangs. The workers' gang in Shanghai and the workers' gang in Guangdong opposed each other and did not unite. There were also non-united workers in this factory and the workers in that factory, and they also did not unite with the employees. How about that? not good. Not only must there be unity within the working class, but also the peasants, the bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. It is said that some factory workers increase their wages so that the prices of industrial products are even more expensive, while farmers come to the city to buy things, such as hand towels, socks, shoes, etc., which are very expensive, and they will be unhappy. The peasant said: "We are fighting guerrillas and wars with the Communist Party, giving public grains, paying 2zi, and we are the most burdened, but your workers are not soldiers, and you don't pay 12 and don't pay for public food. Why are things expensive? The question of "reasonable burden" will also be raised. Therefore, increasing wages is also related to farmers. We have to take into account the opinions of our friends and listen to them, otherwise the relationship between friends will not work well. In principle, there is no problem in uniting farmers. In addition to the peasants, it also unites the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. This is a bit problematic. Workers think that intellectuals do not know how to work, they just speak beautifully... Intellectuals have their shortcomings, but we still have to cooperate with them. The most easily messed up is the issue of uniting the national bourgeoisie. Why put the national bourgeoisie among our friends? Because imperialism, feudalism, and the bureaucratic capitalist class also oppress the

national bourgeoisie, they must also oppose it. Then in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, they can be our friends instead of treating them as enemy. If you regard them as enemies and defeat the capitalists, it is against the interests of the working class. If the Communist Party allows you to do so, the Communist Party will make mistakes. We have made such mistakes in the past. Although they did not put forward the slogan to bring down the bourgeoisie, they actually split their factories and shops, causing very bad consequences. If they and us unanimously defeat all reactionary forces and classes, they can also develop and help build a new China. They can set up factories, mine mines, and produce daily necessities, which is beneficial to the working class. At the same time they made money themselves. Is this good? that is good. If you don't understand this and have the idea of "keep them down first, then talk", this will make mistakes. This means that you don't understand politics and political awareness is not enough. I hope everyone will discuss this issue carefully.

But is there any contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie? some. So there is a struggle between workers and capitalists, and it cannot be avoided. This struggle is not a question of whether or not it is necessary, but a natural one, and one cannot avoid fighting. Therefore, there is a side of struggle against the national bourgeoisie and a side of unity. We must unite them politically and fight against imperialism, feudalism, and the bureaucratic capitalist class. Economically, we must unite them to develop production, but there must be struggle in the unity. Therefore, it is wrong to fight without uniting, and it is wrong to unite without fighting. But which one is the main one? Today, the point is that unity is not struggle. Therefore, we must engage in the necessary and appropriate struggle with the national bourgeoisie, but we must not destroy the unity. If the struggle is to eliminate the bourgeoisie, the number of factories will decrease, production will decline, and workers will become unemployed, which will be detrimental to the workers, the country, and the people. Today, China is not about too many capitalists and too much development, but too few and too little development. Because capitalism does not develop, workers will suffer. If we want to bring down the national bourgeoisie, we will lose one friend and one more enemy. So we must unite with them, and at the same time we must have a proper and appropriate struggle.

But some of you will say: "Okay! Your members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party are here today, telling us not to fight against the capitalists. If there are too many fights, you do not agree, do you let the capitalists exploit us and not let us talk..." Comrades! The Communist Party of China will always stand on the position of the working class and will not be bought off by capitalists. The working class must be emancipated, but the question is how to emancipate? Are you still being exploited? If objectively not allowed, there is still exploitation. But can't you talk? no. Now the liberation of workers is the first step. And he can only take the first step. It's not that you don't do it, but you can't. In the future, the second and third steps will be taken...until the final complete liberation. It's like giving birth to a lesbian. It takes nine months, but six or seven months to give birth. This is called premature birth and will not grow up after birth. Today's liberation is only political liberation, and it cannot be free from exploitation. You have the freedom of speech, assembly, and association, as well as the freedom to strike, but you can solve the problem without a strike. With political liberation and freedom, you can protect your own interests. Whether today's liberation can go further and no exploitation is allowed, it is still impossible to do. Capitalists must still be allowed to exist now, so they must be profitable, and the policy of "both labor and capital" is not a benefit. The Kuomintang always benefited only the capitalists and disadvantaged the workers. And now, it is not right to only benefit the workers and disadvantage the capitalists. The right policy is two benefits,

that is, it also allows capitalists to exploit us, and exploitation cannot be completely eliminated. Exploitation is not good, but for now, it also has some advantages. Many unemployed workers today want to find a job. I went to the East Asian woolen factory and the workers talked to me. I asked: "Do you have any questions". The workers said: "We don't have a job, East Asia doesn't want us, what do you say?" So the pain of East Asian workers is unemployment, that is, they are afraid that no one will be exploited. So it is better for someone to exploit than no one. And it is easy for us to prevent capitalists from exploiting. There are several types of exploitation that must be distinguished: the slave exploitation system has been abolished, and we have also abolished the feudal exploitation system, but capitalist exploitation cannot be abolished today. In countries such as Britain, the United States, and France, where capitalism is already well developed It can be abolished under the leadership of the proletariat, but because the teams in these countries have not been organized, they have not abolished capitalist exploitation. The Communist Party of China has the power to abolish the exploitation of capitalists anytime and anywhere, but it cannot do so, because capitalism in other countries has been developed for hundreds of years, and we have only been in a few decades, so in New Democracy Under the economic conditions of both labor and capital, the return Let capitalists exist and develop for decades. Doing so will bring more benefits to the working class and less harm. Therefore, he has a certain degree of progress in history. That is, he is more advanced than the small peasant economy and the small handicraft economy. Ninety percent of the Chinese economy is a backward small peasant economy and a small handicraft economy, and only 10% is a progressive industry. Some of them are state-owned and some are capitalists. Because of this ten percent of industry, the proletariat was created. Therefore, the development of capitalism to a certain extent is progressive. In the future, both state-owned and private companies will develop, increasing from 10% to 20%, 30%, and not until 60% before turning an agricultural country into an industrial country. This originally took more than a hundred years, but now we can do it in just a few decades, and we are doing very well. In other words, capitalists have a role to play in turning a city of consumption into a city of production. The final emancipation of the working class can only be achieved after turning China into an industrial country and thus transitioning to socialism (we can enter peacefully without bloodshed). Therefore, in private factories today, the principle of mutual benefit between labor and capital must be strictly observed and the struggle must not be excessive. I heard that some private factories now require workers to increase their wages from one, two to five times, excessive dividends from capitalists, retired workers forcing capitalists to allow them to work, temporary workers becoming permanent workers, or non-compliance with factory regulations. It makes the capitalists unprofitable, the capitalists dare not manage the workers, and some panic, which hinders production. Today I say to you responsibly and affirmatively: Workers must correct these left-handed and unreasonable mistakes. Failure to do so will surely cause serious consequences, such as closing the factory, closing down, reducing production, losing workers, or Workers are isolated, and farmers and employees say you are wrong. At that time, you were in pain. At that time, the government would have no power to ask for government relief. You captured the capitalists and shot them to death, let alone run factories. Some people say: "Capitalists don't open, we open and organize cooperative factories." Have you opened cooperative factories? I opened a lot, but none of them worked well. This is a fact of the past, and many such mistakes have been made in the past. If I do not tell you these things, it is untrue and irresponsible. There was nothing to regret later. level. Therefore, the development of capitalism to a certain extent has its progress. In the future, both state-owned and private companies will develop, increasing from 10% to 20%, 30%, and not until 60% before turning an agricultural country into an industrial country. This originally took more than a hundred years, but now we can do it in just a few decades, and we are doing very well. In other words, capitalists have a role to play in turning a city of consumption into a city of production. The final emancipation of the working class can only be achieved after turning China into

an industrial country and thus transitioning to socialism (we can enter peacefully without bloodshed). Therefore, in private factories today, the principle of mutual benefit between labor and capital must be strictly observed and the struggle must not be excessive. I heard that some private factories now require workers to increase their wages from one, two to five times, excessive dividends from capitalists, retired workers forcing capitalists to allow them to work, temporary workers becoming permanent workers, or non-compliance with factory regulations. It makes the capitalists unprofitable, the capitalists dare not manage the workers, and some panic, which hinders production. Today I say to you responsibly and affirmatively: Workers must correct these left-handed and unreasonable mistakes. Failure to do so will surely cause serious consequences, such as closing the factory, closing down, reducing production, losing workers, or Workers are isolated, and farmers and employees say you are wrong. At that time, you were very painful. At that time, if you want government relief, the government will have no power. You have captured and shot the capitalist, and he can't even run a factory. Some people say: "Capitalists don't open, we open and organize cooperative factories." Have you opened cooperative factories? I opened a lot, but none of them worked well. This is a fact of the past, and many such mistakes have been made in the past. If I do not tell you these things, it is untrue and irresponsible. There was nothing to regret later. level. Therefore, the development of capitalism to a certain extent is progressive. In the future, both stateowned and private companies will develop, increasing from 10% to 20%, 30%, and not until 60% before turning an agricultural country into an industrial country. This originally took more than a hundred years, but now we can do it in just a few decades, and we are doing well. In other words, capitalists have a role to play in turning a city of consumption into a city of production. The final liberation of the working class can only be achieved after turning China into an industrial country and thus transitioning to socialism (we can enter peacefully without bloodshed). Therefore, in private factories today, the principle of mutual benefit between labor and capital must be strictly observed and the struggle must not be excessive. I heard that some private factories now require workers to increase their wages from one, two to five times, excessive dividends from capitalists, retired workers forcing capitalists to allow them to work, temporary workers becoming permanent workers, or non-compliance with factory regulations. It makes the capitalists unprofitable, the capitalists dare not manage the workers, and some panic, which hinders production. Today I say to you responsibly and affirmatively: Workers must correct these left-handed and unreasonable mistakes. Failure to do so will surely cause serious consequences, such as closing the factory, closing down, reducing production, losing workers, or Workers are isolated, and farmers and employees say you are wrong. At that time, you were very painful. At that time, if you want government relief, the government will have no power. You have captured and shot the capitalist, and he can't even run a factory. Some people say: "Capitalists don't open, we open and organize cooperative factories." Have you opened cooperative factories? I opened a lot, but none of them worked well. This is a fact of the past, and many such mistakes have been made in the past. If I do not tell you these things, it is untrue and irresponsible. There was nothing to regret later. Failure to abide by factory regulations will make capitalists unprofitable, and capitalists dare not manage workers and panic a little, which hinders production. Today I say to you responsibly and affirmatively: Workers must correct these left-handed and unreasonable mistakes. Failure to do so will surely cause serious consequences, such as closing the factory, closing down, reducing production, losing workers, or Workers are isolated, and farmers and employees say you are wrong. At that time, you were very painful. At that time, if you want government relief, the government will have no power. You have captured and shot the capitalist, and he can't even run a factory. Some people say: "Capitalists don't open, we open and organize cooperative factories." Have you opened cooperative factories? I opened a lot, but none of them worked well. This is a fact of the past, and many such mistakes have been made in the past. If I do not tell you these things, it is untrue and irresponsible. There was nothing to regret later. Failure to

comply with factory regulations will make capitalists unprofitable, and capitalists will not dare to manage workers, and will panic. This hinders production. Today I say to you responsibly and affirmatively: Workers must correct these left-handed and unreasonable mistakes. Failure to do so will surely cause serious consequences, such as closing the factory, closing down, reducing production, losing workers, or Workers are isolated, and farmers and employees say you are wrong. At that time, you were very painful. At that time, if you want government relief, the government will have no power. You have captured and shot the capitalist, and he can't even run a factory. Some people say: "Capitalists don't open, we open and organize cooperative factories." Have you opened cooperative factories? I opened a lot, but none of them worked well. This is a fact of the past, and many such mistakes have been made in the past. If I do not tell you these things, it is untrue and irresponsible. There was nothing to regret later.

I am honest and responsible to tell you that I hope you will consider this opinion, automatically reduce the excessively high wages, correct the excessively high requirements, and consider whether the capitalists can sustain it and whether it can be sustained for a long time. Some who do not comply with factory regulations and do not produce well will automatically correct themselves so that capitalists and foremen can manage the factory. For the needs of production, capitalists have the right to hire and dismiss workers, but capitalists should oppose the dismissal of workers without any excuses. If temporary workers become permanent workers, they can be changed to permanent workers. If the conditions are insufficient, they can still be temporary workers. In short, to make capitalists profitable, don't be afraid of capitalists' gains, and don't restrict capitalists from feeling too much money. That is to say, the capitalists are profitable, they become rich, and if more factories are opened, temporary workers can become permanent workers. Today, porridge is not as good as dry rice, but it is better to eat porridge than without. To eat well today, it's impossible to dress well, it's still bitter. If the Communist Party has enough friends, it will not be afraid of your opposition. If it wants to tell the truth, it must tell you the truth anywhere and at any time. I heard that the Military Control Commission and the government are going to promulgate a method that benefits both labor and capital, and I send it to the labor union for discussion. I want to add an article: "If capitalist factories and shops are not opened, workers and shop assistants are not allowed to accept factories and shops to establish cooperatives by themselves. Handed over to the people's government to receive". It is not good for workers to run cooperatives, so workers are not allowed to run cooperatives.

So, is the struggle between workers and trade unions and capitalists gone? The necessary and appropriate struggle is still needed. To implement the benefits of labor and capital, there must be a struggle, otherwise the capitalists must benefit, and I hope private factory workers can discuss this issue.

The Federation of Trade Unions should also pay attention to this matter. If private factories do not do well, public factories will also be affected. Note that the current interests must be subordinate to the long-term interests, and some of the interests must be subordinate to the interests of the whole. If the present interests undermine all the long-term interests, it is what Lenin called economism. It is a political mistake to overthrow the capitalists who should not be overthrown. The capitalists are not the object of struggle, but the object of coalition. After hearing these words, do

capitalists want to be full of air? Therefore, if we do not make political mistakes ourselves, we will not allow capitalists to retaliate, so there must be appropriate and necessary struggles.

But you should be aware that now you are in danger of repeating your mistakes.

Secondly, on the problem of state-owned factories: In the past, it was the management of the bureaucracy, the organization was huge, and the workers were oppressed. These must be improved and rectified step by step. Workers and staff of state-owned factories are asked to assist, but mistakes cannot be corrected all at once. The reform steps can be divided into several steps. If the reform is too hasty, there will be problems. Therefore, the condition for reform is that reform must be good, not bad. If the reform is broken, the country and the people will be sorry, so be very careful and cautious. I think two things can be done now: (I) The factory organization should be streamlined. In the past, some people were superfluous and had no skills. They were brought in by relatives and friends and should be abolished. (2) Obvious deeds (such as reactionaries who have oppressed others) should be removed. Don't regard the factory as a relief agency, it should be a production agency, and the relief agency can be set up separately. But how is this work done? Workers and employees must unite, agree, put forward their opinions, and be led by military representatives and the government to correct the old ones and organize them to facilitate production. In the past, in state-owned factories, workers were not united. Under the rule of the Kuomintang in the past, some of the staff did bad things to workers, beat workers, deducted workers' wages, fired workers, and even raped them. I believe there is. Today, the factory has become the people's, and the workers have to make a point. I think it should be, but it wasn't that you beat me in the past. Today I will also beat you! Comrade workers should have thoughts, think of questions, and analyze these things. Why did employees do this in the past? Should they take full responsibility? Think about it carefully, it is the bureaucratic bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek who is responsible, and it is they who want the staff to do this. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie and war criminals cannot be forgiven. The people under him still have at least half of the responsibility, but they should be forgiven. Whether he is beaten or scolded or convicted today, the problem cannot be solved. I have met some staff members and told them, "If you have done bad things before, you must admit your mistakes, correct your mistakes, and apologize to the workers" and ask them to reflect on their own mistakes. If they have done this, the workers should adopt an attitude of "forgetting the past and seeing the aftereffects" to forgive them, and see if they will correct them in the future. If they do not change, then the workers can still take measures to make them correct their mistakes, but Let's not worry. If it is not good to reflect on today, just wait for him to reflect on it for another month or two.

However, those who have notoriously done so should be investigated and the evidence should be found and submitted to the court for processing. But this must be a minority. If too many punishments are imposed, mistakes will be made and the impact will be great. Those who are not very serious should not be punished, they can be lenient, and they are not allowed to commit the crime again next time.

Who are the employees? They are also salaried laborers, who sell their labor. In this regard, employees and workers are the same, and they are also proletariat. A part of the proletariat are

manual workers of descent, a basic team. In addition, many employees are mental workers, and mental workers are attached to physical labor. The employees were educated by the bourgeoisie in the past, and many of them were bourgeois views. They couldn't see the power of the masses. For example, they said "If you don't beat or scold, you can't manage well." This is the view of the bourgeoisie. But if we show the facts to them, it would be good without beating and scolding, so their views can also be changed. Therefore, we must unite them and ask them to reflect, but they may find it ugly on the face. Workers can help them and practice self-criticism. If he does not speak, we workers can say: "If you don't speak enough, I will speak." Those who admit their mistakes can be forgiven, and they should be applauded. This can help them correct their mistakes, and it's good for us. Therefore, the policy of "treating the sick and saving people" should be adopted for the staff's problems, and the treatment should be to cure people, not to death.

The working class wants to do great things and has a big mind. In the future, the factory and the country will be under your management. If you have a narrow mind, you can't make a big deal. However, if workers do major things and lead the transformation of the entire country, they must be capable of doing things. As long as they have the skills, workers can be mayors, ministers, governors... Which one of the staff and workers is good? Our Communist Party will be responsible for promoting him.

But the problem now is that the ability is still not great, and doing things may not be good, and it may be worse, but it doesn't matter. If you don't have the ability, you can speed up your studies. Learn Marxism-Leninism, politics, culture, technology, and someday. Okay, someday I will run the factory for you as a leader. Therefore, today we must first organize studies, first study politics, then study culture.

Secondly, it is to organize and form a number of trade unions in an orderly manner:

- I. Industrial trade unions (there are also textile trade unions, railway trade unions, post and telecommunications trade unions, mining trade unions...);
- 2. Handicraft trade union (the following can also be divided by occupation, such as carpenter, barber worker...);
  - 3. Shop staff union (business clerk, hotel tea service, etc.);
  - 4. Coolie transport union (docker, footwork .....);
- 5. Federation of cultural and educational staff (faculty, journalists, drama, university professors, etc.);

## 6. Agency staff union.

In the future, there will be several trade unions organized across the country. The trade union organization will be large, but will have no power. Those who join the trade union must be labor sellers. Artisan owners, farmers, and even poor peasants cannot join trade unions.

Trade unions need funding. Now the government subsidizes them, but in the future they have to pay their own membership fees. The government can subsidize part of it. Those who don't pay dues don't want him to be a member. The trade union is for members to handle affairs and solve problems.

Worker representatives are very good and can discuss any issues, such as opinions on municipal work, and can discuss and raise them. Your representative council is the superior organ of the municipal government, not the lower organ. The resolution you pass can be handed over to the municipal government. Currently, there is no such stipulation in law, but it is in fact. If the city government thinks it is wrong, you can bring it back and ask for discussion. If you make a mistake, it is a mistake made by the Workers' Congress, and you must correct the mistake. Can't it work without changing? The same won't work. Chairman Mao did this, and I did the same. The resolution you pass must be responsible and workable. For example, if the resolution requires the municipal government to build dormitories for workers without money, it will not work. If the resolution is to stop the waste of electricity and stop the stealing of electricity, it will work. If you decide to confiscate all houses and give you points, it is a violation of the policy. If the resolution protects property rights, it is right.

Workers' representative committees must be well organized, hold meetings frequently, and get acquainted with this kind of work. In the future, all walks of life will be organized and then gathered together. This is the People's Congress, which is the government's superior organ. After the People's Congress was established, other trade unions still existed.

There are a lot of talks today, and there may be some that you don't want to hear, but in any case, I will put forward my opinions and ask you to discuss them.