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PROTOKOLY C'ESDOV Y KONFERENCII VKP(b), Moskva, 1933 *In Russian only*

I  
1ST CONGRESS - Mar. 1898 - Manifesto of RSDRP  
1st Conf. of SD abroad 6&10/1901  
Byelostok Conf. 3/22-28/1902

II  
SECOND CONGRESS - July 1903  
Conf. of 22 Bol. 7/1904

III  
THIRD CONGRESS - 4-5/1905  
Conf. 9/1905

Tamerfors Conf. December 1905, reps of 23 orgs., incl. 14 wkra., elected by more than 4,000 org&d. members of party.

IV  
UNITED CONGRESS RSDRP - April 1906

1st All-Rus. Conf. Nov. 1906 (met in Finland' in which the Men. & Bundists (Abramovitch & Martov) voted against Bol. for bloc with cadets in the election.  
1st Conf. of the military organs of the RSDRP in Tamerforce Nov. 1906.

V  
LONDON CONGRESS - 4-5/1907, rep'g. 150,000 members of party.

2nd All-Russ. Conf. 7/21-25/1907  
3rd All Russ. Conf. 11/1907 All-Rus.

4th All Russ. Conf. was last/in which Bol. & Men. participated, 12/1908.  
Meeting of the enlarged ed. bd. of "Proletariya" (Bol.) Len., Zin., Kam., Dubrovinsky & Bogdanov.

Plenary session of the CC Jan. 1910 met in Paris, with participation of Tr., ed. of "Pravda", in consultative voice capacity/ Subsidy offered to that paper & delegated Kamenev as member of its ed. bd. (Len., Zin., Martov, Dan & Varsky) were RSDRPers) Decision for a Discussion Sbornik. for all tendencies in Party

All-Rus. Conf. Jan. 1912 (Stalin was then coopted to CC) in Prague. The Conf. revoked decision of plenary session re "Pravda"

Meeting of CC with party wkra., 12/1912

August Meeting of CC with party wkra. 9/25/13

Manifesto of CC on imperialist war, 9/1914

Conference of sections of the RSDRP abroad, March 1915, the Bern Conf. in which res. of Collapse of 2nd Intl. passed.

All-Russian conf., April, 1915, 151/delegates rep'g. 76,577 members. Consultative voices rep. 2,627 members, or total of 79,204 members.

CONGRESS of 8/1917

VI  
BOLSHEVIKS met with participation of Mezhrayontsi.

CC elected: Lenin, Zin., Kam., Tr., Nogin, Kollontai, Stalin, Sverdlov, Rykov, Bukh., Artem (Sergsev) Uritsky, Berzin, Bubnov, Dzerzhinski (Milotin?) Joffe, Krestinski, Murulov, Smilga, Sokolnikov, Shumyan.

VII

7th Congress (Bol) March 1918; new name; RKP (Bol) Commission to work out new program; Lenin, Bukharin, Zin., Tr., St., Sokolnikov & Smirnov.

VIII  
EIGHTH CONGRESS RKP (b), March 1919

1945

New Program:(p.206): "The Rus. rev. starts the era of the general-proletarian communist sov.; the chief characteristic of bourg. soc. is commodity prod. on the basis of cap. prod. rels. under which a small class monopolizes the mp. The great maj. is economically forced to sell its lp."

Point 10: "Replacing prt. prop. in the mp & exchange by social and introducing planned org. of the social-prod. process for the securing of the well-being and all-sided dev. of all members of society, the socialist rev. liquidated the div. of society into classes and thus frees the whole exploited humanity inasmuch as it puts an end to all forms of exploitation of one part of society by another."

Point 27: "Any deprivation of pol. rights and any limiting of freedom are necessary exclusively as a temporary measures of the struggle with attempts of the exploiters to save or reestablish their privileges. To the extent to which the objective possibility of exploitation of man by man will disappear, there will also disappear the necessity of these temporary measures and the party will strive narrowing them down & toward its complete elimination."

Point 29: "The Sov. constitution permits recall, puts its exec., & adm. branches in one & creates wkrs. democracy by having the voting unit not the territorial division but the production division (the factory)"

Point 32: In the struggle against bureaucratism, there will be "gradual inclusion of the whole toiling population to a man in the work of running the state.. This plus simplification of the functions of government will lead to the abolition of state authority."

Point 40: necessity of a single natl. plan.

Point 42: "The organizing apparatus of socialized ind. must be based in the first instance on the t.u. which should more & more free themselves from SEOP narrowness & become important production units, embracing the majority & gradually all to a man of the given branch of prod."

"The t.u. should move toward actual concentration into their hands of the national eco., thus assuring an uninterrupted connection between the central state direction of natl. economy & wide masses of the wkrs, the t.u. must in ever greater nos. attract the wkrs. into the direct work in the direction of economy. The participation of the t. u. in the direction of economy is at the same time the chief means of struggle against bureaucratism of eco. apparatus of the Sov. power & creates the possibility of the real peoples control over the results of production."

In the eco. sphere the t.u. should approach a factual concentration in their hands of the full direction of the whole natl. eco.. Assuring thus an indissoluble tie between the central state direction of the natl. economy and the wide masses of toilers, the t.u. must in ever wider measures attract the latter into direct immediate work in conducting economy. The participation of the t.u. in the conduct of the economy & the drawing in through them of the broad masses is the chief method of fighting against bureaucratism of the eco. apparatus of the Sov. power and creates the possibility of actual peoples control over the results of prod."

- IN THE ORG. SPHERE: (1) party takes special measures re those who joined after Oct
- (2) wkr-communists who do purely sov. wk. for more than 6 mos. must return to work in factory for one mo.
  - (3) Dist. conf. every 2 mos. CC sends out written acct. of its work (once a month) local orgs. must give acct. of their wk. once every mos.
  - (4) CC consists of Polbureau, Orgbureau, Sect. G gives acct of their work every 2 weeks.

Re Soviets, "Party executes its decisions thru sov. organs within the limits

1946

of the Sov. Constitution the party tries to lead the activity of the soviets but not to replace it."

8TH CONGRESS STENOG. REPORT (3/18/-23/1919)

LENIN: "We could not have held out without the support of the t.u. for a single month."

All-Russ. Party Conf., Dec. 1919, p.255: The Statutes of party; congresses are convened annually.

NINTH CONGRESS. 3/29-4/1/1920 : IX

T.U. carry on not only production propaganda re production but also so that "each wkr. should tomorrow know the role & place of his undertaking in the general system of soc. economy."; (b) conduct classes in ind. administration - those that pass these should be appointed assts. to directors & those who have this practical experience should be appointed dir.

Org. of Glavpolitput in order to better condition of transport. Electrification.

Re t.u.: "Inasmuch as the sov. powers is the broader organ, concentrating within it the full social power of the prol., it is clear that the t.u., to the extent of the dev. of communist consciousness & the creative rule of the masses, should gradually be transformed into auxiliary organs of the prol. state, and not the opposite."

STENOG. REPORT: L: "Our t.u. displayed gigantic help in the bldg. of the prol. state. They were the link which bound the party with millions of backward masses. Let us not play hide-and-seek; the t.u. carried on their shoulder the whole problem of struggle with our misfortunes when it was necessary to help the state in its work of provisions."

p.79: LT in Speech on Eco. planning:

"If we are seriously talking about planned economy which is planned from the center with a single thought (when manpower is distributed in accordance with an eco. plan on a given stage of development, then the wkg. masses cannot be wandering Russians. It must be transferred (moved about) appointed, commanded, exactly like soldiers."

p.81: "This militarization is inconceivable without the militarization of the t.u. as such, without the establish of such a regime under which each wkr. feels himself to be a soldiers of labor who cannot freely dispose of himself; if he is ordered transferred, he must execute that order, if he does not do so, he will be a deserter who should be punished. Who will execute this? The t.u. It will create a new regime. That is the militarization of the wkg. class."

TOMSKY, p.140: "On one hand it is they love the t.u. - each one according to his own character. Com. L. ~~is so much in love with them~~ from love pushes them so their head shakes; Com. T. embraces them by the ~~neck~~ neck so that their eyes pop out. Com. Rykov almost squeezed out their kidneys." He is for rulling by collegium & against one-man mgmt. except as an extraordinary practice.

BUKHARIN, p.224: "The peculiarity of the present epoch, the epoch of prol. dict., one of its major peculiarities, from the viewpoint of org. form consist precisely in the fact that economics merges with politics & that state power, formerly exclusively a pol. organ now becomes a most important eco. organ."

LOZOVSKY: p.263: "But it is not true that the t.u./subordinated & always must under all conditions be subordinate to the soviets. Soviets are transient & change depending upon his. conditions." When

sov. wks Men. ~~controlled we did not hold that the t.u. should subordinated to them.~~ When you speak of the stratification of the t.u. it is as if you immortalize the state which ~~which~~ withers away in the process of movement to socialism." "The t.u. are occupied with the org. of labor in the process of prod. T.u. should see that the all the masses, members of the t.u. should be connected with both prod. and labor problems."

All-Rus. Conf. 9/22-25/1920 - re war with Poland.

TENTH CONGRESS - Mar. 8-16/1921

RESOLUTION ON THE ROLE & TASKS OF THE T.U.

1) The Role of the t.u. in the epoch of the dict. of the prol.

Parallelism of state org, & t.u. in eco. administration.

"It is necessary that the t.u. as such took a considerably more intimate participation in the org. of prod. & ~~in its~~ direction."

T.U. as school of communism; there are 6,970,000 t.u. members & only ~~2~~ mln. party members.

Tsektran showed tendency of breaking from the masses which brought about a deviation from normal t.u. democracy. The 10th congress approves the elimination of the Glavpolitput & approves the order of the Tsektran to return to democ. methods"

*Yerepan*

*Swif*

The congress considers necessary the realization of the following org. measures: (1) participation of the t.u. in the working out of a single eco. plan & prod. program & equal participation in the practical leadership by the realization and execution of these programs. (2) the formations of eco. organs. The org. of the dir. of ind. is formed by agreement between the trade union & corresponding eco. organs on the basis of proposals from the t.u.

No factious but a Discussion Sheet was approved.

STENOGR. REPORT \*\*When a mistake is made, it is necessary to correct it. But when you begin to defend the mistake, then it becomes source of pol. danger... Before anything we should convince, ~~convince~~ then force. We must no matter what convince at the beginning, then use force. We did not succeed in convincing wide masses & injured the correct relationship of the vanguard with the masses."

Lsp. 582

Resolution of Workers Oppositions state: "The org. of the dir. of nat. eco. belongs to the all-rus. congress of producers, united in the t.u. who elect a central org. which will direct the whole natl. eco." "Every year each member of party must do 3 mos. of manual labor."

At the time IT asked for 50% t.u. rep. in management of ind., there was 57% of t.u.ists already in the most import organs of the S.U., Presidium, Supreme Soviets & provincial sov. of natl. econom. Among administrators of most important industries 72 out of 140 people had been wkr's; in the factories & mills 63% of directors were wkr's.

All-Russ. Conf. 5.26-6/1 1921 - RES. ABOUT NEP

" " " 12/1921 - Tasks of the party in connection with the establishment of NEP "A more decisive drawing in of the t.u. & the masses of the masses to the resolving of the problems of org. & direc. of prod., org. of trade, etc."

December Conference Resolution continued: "The defining of undertakings given in concessionary agreements should be discussed together with t.u. In particular, one of the basic tasks of the t.u. during the NEP should be putting forward of war.-organizers on responsible posts of leaders of state enterprises."

LT<sup>7</sup> p.352, "A yr. ago before the 9th congress of the party...I introduced into the C.C. Feb. of last yr., a written proposal - which almost ~~word for word~~ word for word coincides with the proposition as the replacing distribution by production tax which you are now considering and will accept."

2: (in response to LT who complimented him that he was super-~~cautious~~)  
"I wish to thank him for that compliment and express the regret that I cannot return the compliment. On the contrary, I am constrained to speak to ~~him~~ talk about my incautious friend." When Tsaktran made a mistake it ought to have been corrected. "But when one begins to defend a mistake, then it becomes the source of pol. danger."

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-5a-11th CONGRESS T.U. RES. "Contradiction in the very situation of the t.u. under the dic. of prol.:  
The chief ~~method~~ is -conviction;  
chief ~~problem~~ is defense of the interests of the wcrs. On the other hand, they cannot renounce, as participants in state power, force. The link with the masses is the condition of work of any kind in the.t.u.