

**WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS**

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*Documents for*

**6th WORLD  
TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

*(Warsaw, October 8-22, 1965)*

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SIXTH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
Warsaw, October 8-22, 1965

DRAFT AGENDA

presented by the Executive Committee of the WFTU

1. Examination of the application of the Programme of Trade Union Action and steps taken by the WFTU to promote unity, the present evolution and development of the world trade union movement, the new opportunities for unity, solidarity and international trade union relations.

Speaker: Louis SAILLANT  
General Secretary of the WFTU

2. Report on the development of international trade union solidarity with the struggle of the workers and peoples in colonial and newly-independent countries for the achievement and consolidation of their national independence, for an independent economic and social development, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Speaker: Luis PADILLA  
Secretary of the WFTU

3. Report of the Commission to Revise the WFTU Constitution.
4. Report of the Financial Control Commission
5. Adoption of the documents presented by the Congress Commissions.
6. Election of the General Council.
7. Results of the election of the leading bodies of the WFTU.
8. A.O.B.

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The opening ceremony of the Congress will take place in the afternoon of October 8; it will be a rally to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the WFTU, held at the Palace of Culture in Warsaw, attended by outstanding Polish workers and the participants of the 6th Congress. The Congress sessions will start on Oct. 9.

The following Committees will work during the Congress: (1) Committee on social security; (2) World Trade Union Committee for Consultation on the economic and social problems of the workers; (3) Committee on workers' travel; (4) Committee on the first item on the agenda; (5) Committee on the 2nd item on the agenda; (6) Committee on the Constitution (7) Standing Order Committee (8) Credentials Committee (9) Nominations Committee.

SIXTH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
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OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

presented by the Executive Committee of the WFTU  
EXAMINATION OF THE APPLICATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF TRADE UNION  
ACTION AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE WFTU TO PROMOTE UNITY, THE PRESENT  
EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT~~x~~,  
THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR UNITY, SOLIDARITY AND INTERNATIONAL  
TRADE UNION RELATIONS.

(1st Item on the Agenda of the 6th World Trade Union Congress)

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- I. PREAMBLE
- II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE
- III. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN THE CAPITALIST  
WORLD
- IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE ERADICATION OF COLONIALISM  
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERATED COUNTRIES
- V. THE WORKERS IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, BUILDERS OF  
A NEW WORLD
- VI. ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY, CONDITIONS  
FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE WORKING CLASS
- VII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND  
THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE WFTU

## I. PREAMBLE

1. The events of the past few years have confirmed in all spheres the value of the assessments made by the 5th World Trade Union Congress and the value of the line set forth in its Programme of Action, applying to the fight for peace and its prospects, the strengthening of the socialist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and of the trend towards workers' unity.

During the past four years, new facts and problems have emerged in all fields. They must be assessed and conclusions must be drawn for international trade union activity in general and that of the WFTU in particular. The essential task of the 6th World Trade Union Congress is to deal with these new problems in order to assist the struggle of the international working class.

The 6th World Trade Union Congress will meet in the year of the 20th anniversary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It can use this opportunity to review the activity during the past twenty years which proves that our world trade union organisation was closely connected with all the major international events which have taken place and with the greatest struggles of the international working class since the end of the second world war.

On the basis of the experiences it has accumulated during these twenty years and the capacity it has revealed in facing up to its responsibilities towards the workers and trade unions of the whole world, the WFTU is today in a position to prepare for the 6th World Trade Union Congress and for the accomplishment of its new tasks.

The experiences accumulated by the WFTU make us affirm its character, since the orientation of its activities closely depends on it.

The WFTU is a democratic international trade union organisation with a class character. Its members are trade unions, which on a voluntary basis and without any discrimination, decide to act together for their common aims and objectives.

Trade union organisations with different orientations in all countries of the world, whatever the political, philosophical and religious beliefs and race of their members, and whatever the social and economic system in their respective countries, can join the WFTU. The latter shall respect their rights and shall not interfere in their internal affairs.

The World Federation of Trade Unions enjoys complete sovereignty under all circumstances. It shall decide its programme and actions to be undertaken in defence of the workers' vital interests independently and free from any outside interference. While maintaining its independence of political parties and governments, the World Federation of Trade Unions

is ready to cooperate with all progressive forces in the world which are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for social progress, national independence and peace.

That is the character of a mass organisation such as the World Federation of Trade Unions.

## II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

2. The forces acting for peace have grown stronger throughout the world and have won fresh successes. They have proved their greater strength; they are capable of preventing a world war and of frustrating imperialist intrigues.

3. However, imperialism does not abandon its aims of domination. The aggressive nature of imperialism does not change. It is the greatest danger of war. American imperialism, the most powerful and most aggressive of all, is waging a war of savage aggression in Vietnam. This war and its fierce intervention in the Dominican Republic, like its role in the Congo, illustrate its determination to retain its position by force and to act as international gendarme against the liberation movement and the forces of progress.

4. This policy is doomed to failure because it completely ignores the reality of our time. It is nevertheless extremely dangerous. American aggression in Vietnam has increased the danger of a world war in the recent period. The defeat of this policy is an urgent necessity for the security of the peoples; it calls for vigorous action by all peace-loving forces, especially by the workers of the whole world.

5. More generally speaking, world imperialism headed by the reactionary circles in the United States, is maintaining its aggressive system everywhere, especially the Atlantic Pact and SEATO.

The stock-piling of nuclear weapons of mass destruction and the recent declarations by the most responsible American leaders using again the policy of the cold war, give rise to a particularly dangerous situation.

6. The ruling circles in Federal Germany, in addition to their annexationist policy towards the GDR, are openly putting forward territorial demands against countries which were victims of Hitler's aggression. The re-establishment of a powerful army in that country is a threat to the security of the peoples, and the plans to equip this army with atomic weapons, either directly or indirectly, as part of a multilateral or European nuclear force, are a serious threat to world peace.

The determination of the West German monopolies to make the German Federal Republic a nuclear power tallies with the policy of revenge and conquest they pursue. This policy is all the more dangerous since it is openly supported by the Government of the USA.

The ruling circles of Federal Germany who are the staunchest supporter of the American monopolies' aggressive policy, have proposed emergency laws whose form and essence, are reminiscent of the infamous emergency laws of Hitler's Third Reich. These laws helped to oppress the German working class and its trade unions as well as to prepare the 2nd world war.

. . . The fact that

The fact that the West German working class, in response to a call from its trade unions, has prevented the adoption of these most dangerous emergency laws, has not yet finally eliminated the danger these bills of law represent.

The WFTU has condemned the attempts to worsen the militarisation of the political, economic and social life in the GFR which the proposed emergency laws make for.

The WFTU maintains that these bills constitute a danger not only for the West German workers but also for peace between the peoples and security in Europe.

This demands a stronger opposition and resistance so as to foil once and for all, this reactionary policy. In this connection, unity of action of all trade union organisations, national and international, must be established.

It is essential that now, more than twenty years after the end of the second world war, a German Peace Treaty should be signed which would take into account the existence of the two German States and help to create a sound political atmosphere in Europe and in the world.

One of these States is the German Democratic Republic, a peaceful State where the desire for peace is a tenet of State policy. The GDR is a powerful obstacle to the plans of the West German military circles. Here the role and activity of the FDGB are of major importance.

In the German Federal Republic, within the ranks of the working class and in wide intellectual circles, there are also peace forces which must be supported. The unions of the DGB can become an even stronger peace force in the near future.

7. The recent Japan-South Korean treaty is a type of anti-democratic and militaristic alliance which is being formed in the Far East under the leadership of American imperialism.

Such treaties safeguard and serve neither the interests of the workers and people of Japan, nor those of the workers and people of South Korea.

This treaty tends to be an obstacle to the unification of Korea by the Korean people. Trade union organisations such as SOHYO of Japan, in opposing the treaty, are making a significant contribution to the struggle of the Asian workers for the preservation of peace. The WFTU associates itself with all who are pressing for the annulment of the treaty.

8. Under these conditions, today more than ever, the fight for peace remains the major task of the workers and trade unions throughout the world in alliance with all peace-loving forces.

9. A vast movement of protest against American aggression and in solidarity with Vietnam is growing throughout the world.

The WFTU, which initiated the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam, and its affiliated National Centres, took an active part in the two international trade union conferences for solidarity which both met in Hanoi, the first in 1963 and the second quite recently, in June 1965, on the initiative of the WFTU.

Greater impetus must be given to the mass campaign demanding the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and a solution on the basis of the Geneva Agreements, and to the organisation of material help in solidarity with the heroic South Vietnamese fighters led by the NLF.

. . . In this spirit

In this spirit, the WFTU called on the trade union organisations to multiply their efforts in support of the five-point position of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front of March 22, 1965 and that containing the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of April 8, 1965.

These positions today represent the most realistic and logical basis for an end to intervention and to the war waged by the U.S. in Vietnam, and to enable the South Vietnamese people to enjoy their right to decide their own destiny without any outside interference. They would create the conditions for a peaceful solution of the present problems in South East Asia.

10. The vigorous fight against the aggressive moves of imperialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, is the only way to save the peoples from the nightmare of a war of extermination and from the heavy burden which such preparations impose upon them.

11. As the Programme of Action, adopted by the 5th World Trade Union Congress states:

" . . . it is essential to mobilise all forces of the workers and trade unions in the struggle to ensure that the principles of peaceful coexistence between States with different economic and social systems shall triumph. Peaceful coexistence means the elimination of war as a means of settling international disputes. It means the relaxation of international tension and the development of peaceful competition. It creates for the working class the most favourable conditions for improving international trade union relations and developing unity among the workers.

"For the trade union movement, peaceful coexistence does not, of course, mean acceptance of capitalist exploitation, colonial oppression or class collaboration. On the contrary, the struggle for peaceful coexistence creates new possibilities for a great upsurge in the class struggle in capitalist countries and in the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Successes won in these struggles in turn contribute to the achievement of peaceful coexistence."

12. Many decisive factors together make this prospect possible: the strength of the community of socialist countries, the action of the international working class, the continuous growth of the national liberation movement, the increasing number of countries protesting against war, the influence of public opinion in all countries, especially under the impact of the world peace movement.

Present international developments demand the fulfilment of two essential conditions put forward by the WFTU a long time ago to ensure the triumph of peaceful coexistence in the world:

1. systematic adherence to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of each State;
2. full recognition of each nation's free choice of the political system and organisation methods of its society.

13. The contradictions among the imperialist countries as a result of their economic and political interests help to create more favourable conditions for the success of the peace forces. Certain capitalist circles have been led to take a more realistic attitude towards the balance of forces and appreciate the consequences of a nuclear war for the very existence of capitalism.

14. It is therefore possible to bring about concrete steps in favour of peace which are repugnant to imperialism because of its very nature, and to go beyond the initial steps which have <sup>been</sup> taken to reduce international tension and to restrict the nuclear arms drive.

On this subject, the Appeal of the 13th session of the General Council to the Workers of the World specified the position of the WFTU which still applies. The declarations of the WFTU against the economic blockade of socialist Cuba by the U.S. Government must be reiterated in order to stimulate wider protests against such acts by the American imperialists on the part of all trade union organisations, including those of the ICFIU.

Events daily confirm the assessment of the Programme of Action adopted by the 5th World Trade Union Congress, namely that: "war is not inevitable, it can be avoided, peace can be preserved and strengthened."

### III. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN

#### THE CAPITALIST WORLD

15. The most important fact here is the aggravation of all the contradictions of capitalism as a result of the development of the general crisis. Capitalism, even though it holds back the growth of the productive forces, cannot escape from the need for economic development under the pressure of the rapid progress of science and technique, competition with the socialist countries and growing competition in general brought about by the shrinking sphere of imperialism. It cannot escape the need for greater internationalisation of production, the formation of vast industrial and economic units equipped with modern means of production.

16. Capitalism cannot and does not enable the genuine solution of the problems of our time and cannot ensure the fullest possible development of the productive forces and the satisfaction of the needs of the workers and the people as a whole.

The monopolies are concerned only with strengthening their power, their domination and their hegemony.

17. Therefore, the solutions capitalism offers to these problems only worsen all the contradictions of the system and, in the first place, the fundamental contradiction between the increasing social nature of production and the increasingly private nature of appropriation.

In order to achieve their objectives under these conditions, the monopolies have to step up their profit drive to a much higher degree. However, as they attack the people's purchasing power while expanding production capacity, even though in an anarchistic manner, they are creating the conditions for further economic difficulties.

This explains the ups and downs, the recessions and crises appearing in many countries, the inflation brought about by military expenditure and by the anarchistic development of the economy.

The alleged economic miracles attributed to certain countries are followed by a state of stagnation and difficulties and, at the moment, are accompanied by a drop in the purchasing power of the wage-earners.

18. International concentra-



18. International concentration is accompanied by a merciless struggle which sharpens the competition and the antagonisms among the imperialist powers to an extremely high degree and increases the contradictions.

The West European Common Market is one of the battlefields of this struggle. It has resulted in strengthening the position of the West German monopolies, while the American monopolies, by means of huge investments, acquire a preponderant place in it.

As a result, there are serious clashes of interest between the monopolies of the USA - these two moreover trying to make common cause - France and others. The contradictions between the West German and French monopolies have sharpened. These rivalries, the opposition between the Common Market and the Free Trade Association headed by the British monopolies, and the friction within the latter, are all reflected in international policy.

The American monopolies have on a more general scale greatly increased their investments in many capitalist countries. In this way, they put themselves in a position where they control large sections of the economy of these countries and increase the exploitation of the workers.

19. State monopoly capitalism has considerably developed in these past few years. Thus the most powerful monopolies play a predominant role in the State and there is a tendency to merge into a single force the means of action of the State and those of the monopolies.

While the degree and forms of this development vary, the tendency is the same.

As a result, there are new aspects in the policy pursued by the monopolies and the governments concerned. However, contrary to the propaganda of its advocates, State monopoly capitalism cannot overcome the contradictions of capitalism and bring about social harmony. It only sharpens these contradictions.

20. This applies for example to planning under the auspices of the monopolies. It is a fact that the degree reached by the economy and its increasingly social character require a planned proportional development which is only fully possible by liquidating capitalist property.

Furthermore, the modern capitalist State plays an important economic role and has far-reaching means of intervention in the economy.

However, on one hand, attempts at planning are continuously coming up against the economic laws of capitalism whose effects they can neither attenuate nor hold back, and on the other hand, as long as the monopolies retain their dominant position, these plans are applied under their auspices and in their interest, they lead to placing the means of action of the State at the service of their essential common interests.

As a result, State monopoly capitalism increases class antagonisms.

21. To speed up concentration in the interests of the monopolies, it increases its pressure on the middle classes in the town and countryside as well as on all non-monopoly sections of the population.

22. In addition, it reinforces the antagonism which sets it against the working class and all the workers it exploits.

In order to cope with economic problems which it is unable to solve, capitalism greatly increases the exploitation of the

workers and gives a systematic and coordinated character to its policy and methods with this aim.

The monopolies' planning projects are nothing but an attempt to overcome their own contradictions and to increase the exploitation of the workers.

This is the meaning of the so-called stabilisation policies applied to several countries with the aim of making the workers pay for the search for solutions to economic, financial and political difficulties, policies whose only objective is to control wages and, if possible, to freeze them, as well as to restrict the trade unions' freedom of action while measures in favour of capitalist profits are multiplying.

In addition to this policy, there are the effects of the expansion, limited as it is, of automation in advanced capitalist countries.

For many years, the defenders of capitalism have been claiming that automation would do away with unemployment and with crises and that it would eliminate the class contradictions in capitalist society.

In fact, automation under capitalism means for many workers not promotion but demotion to a lower paid job or to unemployment. It is organised to the advantage of the monopolies and under their leadership. In the United States, the AFL-CIO systematically exposes the unprecedented spreading of unemployment which results especially among young people. In other capitalist countries, the same problems exist to varying degrees.

In the USA, this state of affairs is made even worse by racial discrimination. The growing struggle of the Negro workers and people in the United States against racial discrimination in all spheres, especially in the free exercise of civil and political rights, wages and working conditions is a highly significant feature.

This struggle is backed by increasingly wide sections of public opinion in the United States, even though this is a State with the most powerful monopolies in the capitalist world and with a government which pursues the most aggressive imperialist policy.

The scope of the present fight and its mass character make these questions extremely important for the workers in the United States and in the whole world.

23. New conditions exist for an upsurge in the struggles of the working class and of all workers for their basic interests.

The experience of recent years and the results of the monopolies' policy have shown the real value of the glorious promises given by the representatives of capitalism and of the illusions spread by trade union organisations practising class collaboration.

The trends in favour of a consistent attitude in the class struggle are growing stronger in all capitalist countries, even in those where the trade unions have retained a contrary line.

This is also true among the categories of workers whom capitalism has been trying very hard to divorce from the rest of the wage-earners: technicians, engineers and managerial staffs. Here, however, capitalism is encountering increasing difficulties.

. . . These facts of

24. These facts of capitalism, this policy of the monopolies, this growing class consciousness, give rise to a growing struggle of the workers for improvements in their conditions.

Large-scale strikes have been taking place in many capitalist countries. In many cases, they have been successful and have constituted an obstacle to the monopolies' policy.

The powerful and united strikes conducted by millions of workers in France and Italy, especially those of the 200,000 French miners and of the Italian metalworkers, the strike of 400,000 metalworkers in Federal Germany, the big miners' strikes in the Asturias, the strike of more than 5000,000 automobile workers and of the more than 60,000 dockers on the Pacific coast in the United States, the great economic spring campaigns organised by SOHYO of Japan, the united fight of the workers employed by the MT ISA monopoly in Australia, the mass movements in India, the significant strikes in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay are a perfect characterisation of the wide community of demands which exists among the mass of the workers and also of the class nature of the disputes which have broken out in the most important branches of capitalist economy.

In many cases, the workers on strike for the satisfaction of their demands are backed by various sections of the people who too are victims of the monopolies.

The workers in the capitalist countries have many common interests to defend. They are conducting their struggles under the specific conditions of each country and are increasingly feeling the need for greater solidarity, better coordination and stronger international unity.

25. Their immediate basic demands are the same:

- Higher wages and guaranteed wages
- Shorter hours of work
- Protection against unemployment
- Freely negotiated collective agreements to cover all conditions of remuneration and work
- Guarantee and widening of trade union liberties at all levels and primarily, in the workplaces
- elimination of all discriminatory practices based on age, sex and nationality.

26. Similar measures are also imperative if a solution is to be found to the present difficulties of all the workers

Since the causes of these difficulties arise from domination by the monopolies, the major problem to be solved is to attack this domination.

In face of the policy of hegemony and the anti-democratic policy of the monopolies, the working class and its trade union organisations propose a democratic and anti-monopolistic alternative which, based on the present economic and social demands of wide sections of the people, tends to satisfy their requirements while restricting the monopolies' political and economic power.

- Nationalisation of the key industries and their management in a democratic manner as well as the struggle to withdraw existing State sectors from the domination of the monopolies and to place them on a democratic basis.
- Nationalisation of foreign companies and control of foreign investments in national establishments.

. . . extension of trade union

- Extension of trade union rights
- Land reform and assistance to the cooperation of small and middle farmers.
- The establishment of democratic regimes and governments to fight the monopolies and reactionary forces in spite of maintaining a capitalist society and relying on the workers and supporting their legitimate demands.

All these are measures to throw off the economic and political grip of the monopolies effectively. Such measures may make it possible to apply plans for economic, social and cultural development, elaborated democratically to serve the interests of the widest sections of the people and the entire nation.

In the struggle for these objectives, the workers and their organisations find allies among sections of the people which are also victims of the monopolies, especially the working peasantry, as well as among intellectual circles.

The actual conditions of the struggle differ from country to country, but the essence is the same, and the results obtained in each country will be an encouragement to the workers in all the others.

#### IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE ERADICATION OF COLONIALISM AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBERATED COUNTRIES

27. During the four years since the 5th World Trade Union Congress, colonialism has suffered fresh setbacks.

The heroic struggle of the Algerian people has ended in victory, Algeria is independent. It is to be hoped that nothing will turn her away from the socialist road she has chosen democratically.

New States have won independence: Tanganyika, Burundi, Ruanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Zanzibar, Kenya, Kuwait, Malawi (formerly Nyasaland), Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia), Malta and Gambia.

28. The historic victories won by the national liberation movements under the influence of the world socialist system and of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class help in turn to step up the struggle of the forces of peace and socialism against imperialism.

29. However, 40 million human beings are still suffering under colonial slavery and have yet to win their national independence. In Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the patriots are waging a heroic fight to shake off the yoke of the oppressors.

The sinister system of apartheid is still reigning in South Africa.

The working class and the international trade union movement must increase their activity in support of the fight of these peoples for freedom.

The WFTU, in accordance with the decisions of the 5th World Trade Union Congress, has taken many steps in this direction and is participating actively in the united Solidarity Committees which were formed on its initiative.

The 6th Congress will help to reinforce this action.

30. Imperialism, and above all American imperialism, does not resign itself to the movement which is leading the peoples to freedom and progress.

It is stubbornly trying to retain its brutal domination wherever this still exists. It savagely interferes to oppose a free choice by the peoples (South Vietnam, Dominican Republic, Congo) or carries on intrigues as in Cyprus, to set up governments subservient to it.

The imperialist powers spare no means to hinder the progress of liberated countries and to maintain relations of domination and exploitation in the form of neo-colonialism.

31. Nevertheless, the liberated countries are pursuing their efforts to protect their economic independence against all neo-colonialist moves. Some of them are advancing further on the road of non-capitalist development, others have set out on a genuinely socialist road.

32. The workers and trade unions in liberated countries, in alliance with the national forces, are fighting to guarantee economic independence, to develop their economies and culture, to ensure progress and democracy.

The nationalisation of the property owned by imperialist monopolies in young sovereign States is one of the major demands of the trade unions in these countries. Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon are among the countries which have taken firm steps to nationalise establishments and property belonging to foreign monopolies.

33. Trade with the socialist countries and the aid the latter offer them are of utmost importance for the peoples and workers in newly developing countries.

The support of the socialist countries and of the international working class, especially in the imperialist countries, are important factors in helping the workers and peoples in liberated countries to fight and eliminate domination by the monopolies and the roots of neo-colonialism.

34. In the newly independent countries, an increasingly important place is given to the activities of the trade unions. They play a decisive role in the life of the nation for economic development and democratic projects, replacing the former feudal systems and old colonialist methods.

The Second Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation held in Bamako in June 1964, elaborated a programme of action for African trade union organisations with the aim of protecting the African workers' interests and of fighting neo-colonialism, and stepping-up the indispensable struggle against colonialism which still exists in certain African territories.

The Latin American trade union unity conference offered specific solutions of the Latin American trade union organisations whose activities against the hegemony of the American monopolies over the Latin American republic are growing.

These Latin American trade union organisations, in their respective countries, are choosing the most suitable forms of struggle against the monopolies' grip and for the workers' democratic and social demands.

The varied and diverse forms of struggle arise from the degree of oppression and domination by the monopolistic forces.

. . . The WFTU supports the

The WFTU supports the Latin American workers and trade unions who are fighting against imperialism and the American monopolies in a way they themselves decide in their respective countries.

Thus the trade union movement in those parts of the world has become a decisive factor in mustering the mass of the people for economic development, social progress, the defence of independence and national sovereignty.

#### V. THE WORKERS IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, BUILDERS OF A NEW WORLD

35. The community of the socialist countries, with more than one-third of the world's population, is obtaining fresh successes in building socialism and communism.

36. The progress of the socialist countries in economic construction, in raising living standards and promoting culture, their scientific and technical achievements, illustrated by the cosmic feats of the USSR, arouse the admiration of the workers and of all exploited peoples throughout the world.

The workers and trade unions in the socialist countries have found out for themselves that the construction of a new society is no easy matter and that it demands considerable efforts and a great deal of abnegation and manifold experiences in order to achieve the objectives they seek to attain.

The USSR and the community of the socialist countries, by their power, their peace policy and their social achievements, constitute the major guarantee for the maintenance of peace, the spearhead of the labour movement and the decisive prop of the workers throughout the world and of the national liberation movement.

The trade unions in the socialist countries represent the trade, economic and social interests of the workers. They take an active share in the running of the State, in the elaboration of the economic, social and cultural policy in the planning of the national economy, and in the promotion of labour legislation.

The trade unions, anxious to see a steady improvement in the living and working conditions, help to popularise the most rational working methods, to encourage technical progress, to increase the economic efficiency of factories and to raise the national revenue.

37. In their advance the socialist countries are endeavouring continuously to improve their methods of economic management, the democratic life of their country, the active and responsible participation of the mass of the people. A technical revolution, and particularly the application of automation, are taking place under conditions which as a result of the social ownership of the means of production, place them in the service of the workers and the people with the active participation of the trade unions.

As distinct from capitalism, socialism is using automation and the improvement of technology to lighten the work of human beings, to reduce their hours of work, and to improve their qualifications, not to drive them out of their jobs and increase exploitation.

. . . Research, experiments

Research, experiments and new processes are underway in order to organise the economy and the proportions of its various branches on a more rational and profitable basis, taking greater account of the laws of economic development, so as to improve the quality and variety of production and to give greater impetus to the workers' spirit of initiative.

38. Economic and trade relations between all the socialist countries are based on the principles of respect for national sovereignty, equal rights and mutual advantage. These principles also guide the activity of the Council for Economic Aid (COMECON). It has set itself the aim of taking maximum advantage of the economic possibilities created by the appearance and development of the socialist system, and to promote the economic growth of each member country.

39. Economic development is accompanied by systematic efforts to raise the workers' living standards, purchasing power, social facilities, access to culture, housing, etc.

40. The role and influence of the trade unions are growing steadily as socialist society expands.

The activities of the trade unions under socialism are a new page in the history of the world labour movement. The trade union organisations of the socialist countries are keen to promote democracy and the spirit of initiative of the people further, to improve their all-round activity continuously. They are consistently making efforts to increase exchanges of experiences with the trade unions in other socialist countries, which will help to improve their work.

41. The trade unions in the socialist community are members of the WFTU. It will be good if the trade unions of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and the WFTU were to consolidate their friendly cooperation even further.

Consequently, the WFTU has to live up to exceptional responsibilities and duties. Its major responsibility in this respect is to make known the actual economic and social projects in which the trade unions of these countries have a share. Its principal duty is to tell the truth, as always, about those achievements without exaggerating or underrating them.

#### VI. ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY, CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE WORKING CLASS

42. Present developments show to what extent capitalism has become a stumbling block to the progress of mankind and its productive forces. In spite of the campaigns of lies and delusions, the workers are feeling the effects of this contradiction, the consequences of the domination and the policy of the monopolies with increasing force.

43. In face of the concerted attacks of the capitalists, the working class in all countries is becoming increasingly aware of the imperative need for unity and solidarity in each country and on an international scale to defend its vital interests and assure its future.

44. The real causes of the division do not lie in the existing ideological differences among the working class. The major factor of the division is the policy of class collaboration. Ideological differences are used as a pretext to justify the division by those who want to impose class collaboration.

The basis of unity is the workers' community of interests, and the progress of unity depends on their awareness of this fact.

45. It is indeed awareness of this community of interests which is growing as a result of the need to defend the workers' interests and thanks to the efforts of the WFTU and its organisations.

This is the reason for the growth of unity and this is why the trade union organisations fighting for unity must back all moves towards unity by a consistent effort to combat all ideas and practices of class collaboration and promote class consciousness.

46. This applies within each country. All major mass struggles have been united, with the participation of organisations of all trends. In all capitalist countries, the desire of the workers for unity is asserting itself more strongly and their support to the efforts of the organisations which are working to achieve it is growing.

47. This also applies on an international scale. The new feature is the vigour and reinforcement even within organisations not affiliated to the WFTU, of the trend towards international unity, to overcome obstacles and repudiate paralysing anti-communism, and to put an end to the efforts to exclude relations with the WFTU and its organisations.

Naturally this trend expresses a militant orientation against the monopolies, on the basis of the genuine defence of the workers' common interests.

48. It is a fact that the ICFTU policy is in contradiction with this development. Its leading circles, particularly those in the USA, continue to apply a policy turned towards collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the monopolies. That is why they continue their fierce opposition to unity in action. This is the major obstacle to unity.

However, developments favouring a more militant position and a rapprochement with the WFTU and its organisations are appearing in various organisations of the ICFTU, since they correspond to the real needs of the defence of the workers' interests and to their state of mind.

The present internal troubles of the ICFTU are to a large extent due to the fact that those who are most opposed to unity are finding it increasingly difficult to hinder the profound tendency which causes a number of their organisations to adopt a more realistic attitude and especially to increase their friendly relations with the trade unions in the socialist countries and the other large centres affiliated to the WFTU.

49. The confidence and fraternal cooperation of the WFTU with a large number of autonomous centres and organisations, such as the All-African Trade Union Federation and the Permanent Congress for Trade Union Unity of the Latin American Workers, is growing stronger all the time.

The moves towards unity initiated by the WFTU have met with a wide support and have marked this progress.

This has been so in the case of the Second International Trade Union Conference on the Problems of Working Women and the various solidarity committees set up on the initiative of the WFTU.

The World TU Committee for Consultation and United Action against the Monopolies, formed after the 5th World Trade Union Congress, has begun to function.

It is seeking to find the most suitable forms of action of the working class in alliance with other sections which are victims of the monopolies' policies and have been  
in 1966 a World



and to Oppose the Monopolies' Discriminatory Practices in this Field.

The Committee includes a number of organisations affiliated to the ICFTU or autonomous; this participation and that of organisations affiliated to the ICFTU should be increased as the Committee develops.

In the international organisations (ILO and Industry Committees of the International Labour Office), trade union organisations of all affiliations are increasingly adopting analogous positions and are engaging in joint action.

50. The progress of international unity is reflected and justified in the trade activity of the TUIs. The total number of workers organised in the TUIs has gone up from 87 million in 1960 to 118 million in 1964.

Many trade union organisations in newly independent countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, belong to the TUIs even though they are members of autonomous centres or of centres with other international affiliations.

The united activities of the TUIs (meetings, gatherings, international trades conferences, discussion of common experiences and demands, study of collective agreements, activity in the ILO industry committees, etc.) have provided for greater contacts and closer cooperation with other trade union organisations on given trade problems. All this work for unity aims at opposing to the concerted action of the monopolies, coordinated struggles by the workers and trade unions in each branch of industry.

The activity of the eleven Trade Unions Internationals shows that a further improvement in trade union work on the trade level and on an international scale can bring to the WFTU and its Trade Departments even better results in establishing new international trade union relations.

51. The trade union centres affiliated to the WFTU are successfully increasing their own international relations favouring unity.

Many national organisations with different affiliations have established friendly contacts with the trade union centres in the socialist countries.

In organisations belonging to the ICFTU and to the IFCTU, especially in Western Europe, there are trends in favour of relations and joint action with the centres affiliated to the WFTU.

52. Thus the CGT and the CGIL have extended their relations with many organisations of all affiliations in neighbouring countries. They have taken an important step by concluding an agreement to give fresh impetus to the unity of the workers and trade unions in the Common Market countries and to speed up the achievement of this unity in factories, in trusts, in the different branches and on a national scale.

53. The organisations of the WFTU, as well as autonomous organisations and those with other affiliations, can do much towards uniting and coordinating their forces on a regional scale on questions of common interest by relying on the significant experiences accumulated in various parts of the world.

The experiences in the work for unity in regional trade union work are a factor in the development and reinforcement of the policy for unity pursued by the WFTU, the National Centres and the TUIs.

54. The WFTU and its organisations are making greater efforts and are stepping up their various moves in all these spheres;

this applies in the case of international centres and major general steps on problems of common interest or of interest to various categories of workers, just as in the case of action on this or that given problem in the varied activity of the trade union movement. To the steps of the WFTU already mentioned, we must add especially the proposal for an International Conference on the Problems of Apprenticeship and Vocational Training. The idea of international regional meetings on trade union activity among technicians, engineers and managerial staff in collaboration with the TUIs, could assist to promote unity. The systematic efforts of the centres affiliated to the WFTU and steps on a regional scale on problems of common interest made by the WFTU or by the TUIs are adding to the current towards unity.

As the value of the trade union experiences of the socialist camp adds to the achievements of the entire international trade union movement, the trade unions of other countries in turn enrich the achievements of the international trade union movement by their original achievements and by their specific struggles in each country.

These achievements and struggles have their roots in the specific national situations and take place on the basis of trade union programmes, drawn up on a national scale,

55. It is imperative to give a fresh stimulus to international unity of action and to work actively towards uniting trade union forces throughout the world. New steps in this direction can be made. The responsibilities of the working class and of the international trade union movement do not stem only from the need to face up to the monopolies' attacks and the policy of imperialism. They arise also from the nature of our time, since the working class is the force of the future, since it must play a decisive role in preserving peace and eliminating the threat of war for all time, in supporting the liberation movement and assuring the progress of mankind.

As the Programme of Action of the 5th World Trade Union Congress states: the working class, united with all progressive forces, can solve all problems of mankind.

## VII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE WFTU

56. On all the continents the working class is becoming an essential force which must be reckoned with. Proof of this is given by the growing economic struggles and strikes, the fight against imperialism and colonialism, the greater maturity and organisation of the working class and the strengthening of working class unity.

The trade union movement is playing an increasingly significant role in the service of the workers in modern society by increasing its membership and by raising the quality of its activity and improving its structure. On the five continents, there are today some 205 million organised workers as against 65 million in 1945. They belong to dozens of unions in many countries, of which 15 have won independence since the 5th Congress.

Facts prove that the international trade union movement is playing an irreplaceable role in the promotion of the class struggle, in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the protection of democracy, peace and the workers' vital interests.

The joint struggles by the workers for their common interests are the essential and major condition for the growth of unity of action and trade union unity at all levels.

In seeking the conditions for the speediest development and more systematic cohesion of the international trade union movement, international trade union activities have to be adapted further to given conditions. This applies to worldwide steps of general

interest, to activity by the various trade categories, to regional trade union activities, by supporting them and helping them to advance towards their objective.

Starting from the Programme of Action adopted by the 5th World Trade Union Congress, the world trade union movement must cope with new tasks which bring out the difference between 1945 when the WFTU was formed, and today, when its programme and each of its activities must be specified more clearly.

57. The existence and development of the socialist countries, the new problems which arise in the capitalist countries, the successes of the liberation movement and the emergence of many developing countries, are creating new and specific tasks for the trade unions in these countries as well as for the entire trade union movement.

a) In the socialist countries, the trade unions are playing an increasingly important role in the development of socialist democracy and in economic and social progress. They are taking new steps to overcome difficulties which arise in their constructive work and development. They speak of this publicly and associate and involve all their members in the solution of these problems. Under these conditions, they obtain further possibilities and higher social and economic responsibilities.

b) In Developed capitalist countries, where class antagonism is growing, the role of the trade unions is becoming greater and is being applied under conditions of increasingly marked concentration in each country and on an international scale. International concentration takes on various forms; they are increasingly marked, with international organisations and their institutions, of which the most typical is the European Economic Community. The permanent and organised alliance of the monopolies on an international scale must be countered by an alliance of all trade union organisations to make the workers' struggles fully effective.

Engineers, technicians, and managerial staff are increasingly anxious to organise; they are becoming more militant. They have many demands in common with the workers in fighting for their rights. Their participation in the trade unions and in the fight against the monopolies and the bases of capitalist exploitation is growing.

Besides, the technical revolution which is taking place through more extensive automation and mechanisation is producing profound changes in the productive forces and is accentuating the social character of production. This creates new conditions in the content and the distribution of employment. Consequently the trade union organisations have to take new steps in organising the front of the wage earners.

c) In newly developing countries, the trade unions have the essential task of fighting against neo-colonialist moves and for better living standards for the people. The contribution of the trade unions to the industrialisation and technical equipment of the country and to the expansion of agriculture are among the new tasks they have to fulfil.

Land reforms are carried out under conditions inherited from colonialism. Their success is closely linked with the consolidation of political and economic independence, and the progress of industrialisation and technique.

58. From this analysis, it follows that period full of great opportunities for useful activities is opening before the international trade union movement. It is essential for the WFTU to give its support to the trade unions of the whole world, in the appropriate forms.

. . It supports the

It supports the proposal for an Afro-European Trade Union Conference on the basis of the joint fight of the trade unions on the two continents against the monopolies and neo-colonialism.

It also supports the proposal put forward by the World Trade Union Committee for United Action against the Monopolies for a world trade union conference to promote foreign trade and to oppose the monopolies' discriminatory practices.

It shall do everything possible to promote action in favour of the application of the Charter of Rights of Working Women, adopted by the 2nd International Conference on this theme, by ensuring in particular the functioning of the International Consultative Committee which the above-mentioned Conference proposed to form.

It proposes to prepare a world trade union conference on social security, to be preceded by consultative, regional conferences.

It should plan an international conference on the problems of apprenticeship and vocational training, organised in collaboration with the TUIs which are particularly concerned.

It is planning an international meeting of the trade unions covering engineers, technicians and managerial staffs, to discuss their common problems and the ways in which they can best participate and cooperate in the international activities of the trade unions.

It is planning to extend its activities in the Economic and Social Council of the U.N., the International Labour Conference, the International Labour Office and its committees and in UNESCO.

In order to fulfil these special tasks within the bodies where the WFTU holds consultative status as a non-governmental organisation, the WFTU will promote closer cooperation with the national Centres as well as with the Trade Unions Internationals covering various trade categories.

In pursuing these activities, the WFTU shall create new conditions favouring stronger international trade union relations without discrimination, and will work for new steps to be made towards international unity of action.

59. The trade unions operating on the basis of their specific conditions, are linking their activities and measures to the general fight of the international working class.

Nothing is more important than to ensure the cohesion and solidarity of the workers of the whole world. All trade unions whatever the social and political system in which they operate, have the same responsibilities in the fight for peace, against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms, and for the emancipation of the workers all over the world.

International solidarity, the continuous duty of the labour movement, is an even more urgent necessity in view of the greater responsibilities of the working class and the international trade union movement.

60. This is what gives the WFTU its importance and its irreplaceable role.

The WFTU, which unites more than 120 million workers on all continents, includes trade unions in all countries of all economic and social systems. It is the only truly universal,

. . . . democratic,

democratic, independent and free international centre. Its action is based entirely on the common class interests of the workers throughout the world against the monopolies and imperialism.

61. The force and influence of the WFTU are decisive for the defence of the workers' interests and for the achievement of international unity. The WFTU is the unshakeable prop of all the trade union forces fighting throughout the world for unity, social progress and peace.

The reinforcement of the WFTU, of its unity, its organised forces and its influence, is essential and a guarantee for the progress of unity and the fulfilment of the mission of the international working class.

62. The 6th World Trade Union Congress, a powerful demonstration of the strengthening of the trade union movement and of international working class solidarity, will make an effective contribution to the unity of the workers and trade unions throughout the world, for social progress, democracy and peace.

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OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

presented by the Executive Committee of the WFTU

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES OF THE COLONIAL AND NEWLY LIBERATED COUNTRIES FOR THE WINNING AND CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, FOR INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

( 2nd item on the agenda of the 6th World Trade Union Congress )

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- I. PREAMBLE
  - II. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES AGAINST COLONIAL DOMINATION
  - III. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM
  - IV. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES FOR THE COMPLETION OF NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS
  - V. THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT
  - VI. SOLIDARITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WITH THE FIGHT OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

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PREAMBLE

1. Since its creation, exactly 20 years ago - the anniversary will be commemorated on October 8, on the day of the opening of the 6th World Trade Union Congress - the WFTU, in its capacity of class organisation, was mainly concerned to contribute to the struggle of the workers and peoples against colonial oppression, and to support the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples. It again emphasises this concern by putting on the agenda of the 6th Congress one of the problems which constitute one of the most important tasks facing the international trade union movement, i.e., the struggle against colonialism, against new forms of colonial oppression, for the consolidation of the independence of the newly liberated countries and peoples, in its struggle for the unity and reinforcement of working class organisations. The 5th World Trade Union Congress defined our policy in the third chapter of the Programme of Trade Union Action entitled "Colonialism must be Completely Eradicated".

In addition, the 5th World Trade Union Congress adopted a special report on "The Abolition of Colonialism".

Proceeding from the significant changes which have taken place over the past four years, we must discuss the present essential tasks facing the international trade union movement in showing solidarity with the struggles of the workers and peoples in colonial and newly liberated countries in accordance with the general line of the WFTU established in the third chapter of the Report on the first item of the agenda of the 6th World Trade Union Congress.

2) Since the end of the Second World War, peoples of more than 50 countries have won independence. The break-up of colonialism is the outcome of the establishment of the socialist camp, the reinforcement of the international labour movement and the growing struggles of the peoples in the colonies for national independence.

3. The present stage of eradicating colonialism is marked by a general accentuation in the national liberation struggle in its various forms. This fight of the peoples is being conducted on the various continents. The example of the nations which have won their independence is a great encouragement to the fight of those countries still suffering under colonialism.

The yoke against which the national revolutions are fighting is one of the forms of oppression used by monopoly capitalism. They are therefore up against the stubborn resistance of the imperialist powers, particularly of American imperialism. The peoples' national liberation struggles undermine the foundations of imperialism and weaken its position. Thus they make an important contribution to the struggle of the workers and peoples of other countries in the world against the monopolies and for the safeguard of world peace.

4. The struggle of the national liberation movement has taken on different forms depending on the conditions in each country:

- the fight for the complete eradication of colonialism in countries which have not yet obtained political independence;

- the fight against attempts to restore colonialism and against neo-colonialism in countries which have won political independence;

- the fight for the completion of national revolutions in politically independent countries in order to win economic independence and do away with the remnants of colonialism once and for all.

## II.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES AGAINST COLONIAL DOMINATION

5. Since the 5th World Trade Union Congress, the struggles of the oppressed peoples for national independence continued to grow. More countries freed themselves from colonial slavery: Tanganyika, Algeria, Burundi, Ruanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Zanzibar, Kenya, Kuwait, Malawi (formerly Nyasaland), Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia), Malta and Gambia.

As our Programme of Action states, this great success is due to the victories and heroism of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; to the shining example, the active support and the peace policy of the socialist camp and the powerful blows it delivers daily against imperialism and colonialism, and to the solidarity shown by the workers and trade unions of all countries.

However, in Africa, Asia and Latin America there are still large territories under colonial domination.

6. In these countries the workers and peoples are fighting courageously for their independence. Everyone knows that the colonialists never grant independence of their own free will. It must be won at the cost of a bitter and hard struggle.

The workers and their trade union organisations stand in the front ranks of this struggle. It takes an extremely varied forms, methods and processes ranging from strikes and mass demonstrations to armed uprisings.

In Aden, the workers belonging to the Aden Trade Union Congress have consistently organised strikes and campaigns against British domination. Despite terror unleashed by the racials in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), the liberation movement is growing. Progressive trade union organisations in British Guiana are taking active part in the struggle for political independence. The barbarity of the racist government of South Africa, its hateful apartheid and the brutal ban on the most elementary human rights, have not been able to hinder the growth of the struggle of the South African people and workers for their liberties. The movement for independence of the workers and peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea has become a far-reaching liberation war,

7. The imperialists in NATO support and aid fascism in South Africa and the domination of the Portuguese colonies. It is obvious that Portugal would never have been able to retain its domination on African territories with an area 23 times greater than Portugal and with a population  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times greater, had it not been able to count on help from NATO. Despite the decisions of the U.N. on this question, the NATO powers continue to send war material to the henchman Salazar and to finance his military operations.

8. The international trade union movement must firmly condemn the colonialist policy of imperialism and help the peoples who are victims of this colonial slavery so as to eradicate this shameful system all over the world.

The WFTU has expressed its active solidarity with the workers and people still under colonial domination and is focussing its activities to eliminate the remnants of colonialism once and for all.

The WFTU took the initiative of forming the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa which held two conferences in Accra, in August 1962 and in March 1964. The WFTU is a member and offers its active support to the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Aden which was formed in January 1964 at the Conference in Cairo and which met for the second time in May in Varna, Bulgaria.

9. As our Programme of Trade Union Action says, colonialism must be completely eradicated. The patience of the peoples has its limits. Despite the great difficulties which the national liberation forces are encountering, their ultimate victory is not far off thanks to the fight of the peoples in the colonial countries, the support of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the workers of the world and of all peoples who cherish peace, freedom and progress.

### III.

#### THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM

10. Following the decomposition of the colonial system, neo-colonialism has become the predominant feature of the imperialist powers' colonial policy.

The imperialists, forced to abandon direct political



domination, are seeking to maintain their domination under new forms.

Neo-colonialism is not only practiced by former colonialist powers. Other imperialist powers, particularly the United States and Western Germany, are trying to benefit by the situation created by the collapse of colonialism to enforce their policy of domination and exploitation in the newly independent States.

U.S. Imperialism has become the foremost imperialist power. U.S. monopolies are increasingly penetrating into the newly liberated countries' economy. They are using all available means to set up governments which will serve them; they are using their troops and arms in the fight against the national liberation movement. There are facts to prove that "American imperialism is the worst enemy of those who are fighting to achieve or consolidate their independence. It is the mainstay of colonialism," as stated in our Programme of Trade Union Action.

West German imperialism, pretending to have voluntarily renounced its colonialist aspirations, is also intensifying its efforts to penetrate into the newly independent States by investments.

11. Neo-colonialism manifests itself in the political, military, economic, social, cultural and other spheres.

The imperialists are anxious to make use of their economic and political position in former colonies in order to maintain them under their political and economic control (this applies to the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community, the currency areas, etc.). They are using bilateral agreements between the colonial powers, the former mother country and their colonies which are concluded on an unequal basis.

The imperialist powers are doing their utmost to preserve their key positions in the economy of the liberated countries. They are making maximum efforts to maintain these countries in their state of inferiority, as suppliers of agricultural products and raw materials.

12. The majority of Latin American countries have won political independence more than a century and a half ago. However, they are still dominated and exploited by imperialism especially American imperialism, with the exception of Cuba which has carried out a liberating revolution and has set out on the road of socialist construction. On the Latin American continent the class struggles for the achievement of the demands and rights of the workers and peasants and the fight for the economic, political and social emancipation of these countries are mounting tempestuously. These struggles are conducted under various forms, from strike actions for economic and social demands and for respect for democratic rights to armed struggle when the monopolies and reactionary forces make the struggle impossible, as for instance in Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, etc.

13. So-called "economic, technical and military aid" is an important form of imperialist penetration in young independent States. The major aim of this aid is to support certain political regimes which are most likely to defend the Western powers' economic interests and investments. Examples: Israel, South Africa, atomic agreement between the South

African Republic and the GFR. Congo-Leopoldville is used as a base of aggression directed against the neighbouring countries (Congo-Brazzaville and Uganda).

14. Neo-colonialism makes wide use of the so-called aid from the imperialist countries and the international financial bodies they control. A characterisation of the policy of BIRD, the IMF, the OCDE, the AID and the International Financial Union towards newly developing countries. With regard to the European Economic Community and its financial bodies FED and BED, characterise the Common Market and its effect on emerging industries.

The burden of foreign debts has become one of the major factors hindering the development of newly developing countries.

15. The foreign monopolies, exploiting the wealth of newly liberated countries, are the major obstacle to the peoples' advance towards progress and a better life.

The foreign monopolies are doing their utmost to reinforce their domination of the newly independent countries' economy. The total sum of the American monopolies' direct investments in newly developing countries has gone up from \$ 6,000 million in 1950 to \$ 15,000 million in 1963.

British, French and West German investments in these countries amount to \$ 10,000 million (report presented at the last Leipzig Conference, December 1964).

Exorbitant privileges and profits of the capitalist monopolies. The oil cartel ("eight sisters") today draws 2.5 thousand million dollars per annum from the exploitation of the natural wealth of under-developed countries.

16. The monopolies are taking advantage of unequal trade relations to increase the exploitation of newly developing countries. More than two-thirds of the trade of newly developing countries is taking place with capitalist countries, less than one quarter among the under-developed countries themselves, and less than 10 per cent with the socialist countries.

Fluctuations in the prices of tropical products and raw materials in the interests of capitalist countries.

Here we should stress the importance of the decision taken by the 2nd Conference of the World Trade Union Committee for Consultation and United Action against the Monopolies (December 1964) to hold an International Trade Union Conference on the expansion of foreign trade among all countries next year.

17. The imperialist powers are using every form of economic and political pressure, blackmail and corruption to bar the road to the genuine independence of the once dependent and colonial countries. They are hampering proper industrialisation, land reform and go so far as cancelling promised aid.

Examples: USA and the UAR, Ghana, Ceylon, etc. The latest example of Federal Germany and UAR, Tanzania and others.

18. Neo-colonialism furthermore relies on the military blocs created by the imperialists. Justifying them as "defensive" blocs, they are extremely anxious to attract the newly liberated countries so as to place them under their political influence. Examples: NATO, CENTO, SEATO. The military bases of the imperialist powers in the young States are part of their colonial apparatus.

In addition to such more or less subtle methods and forms of domination, imperialism does not hesitate to resort to force, armed intervention (U.S. intervention in the Congo, landing of French paratroops in Gabon, the events in Yemen, British attempts in Malaysia directed against Indonesia), U.S. imperialism is manoeuvring to use British military bases in Cyprus, trying to include the country in the bellicose plans of NATO; invasion of the Dominican Republic by American troops. The American imperialists' acts of aggression in Vietnam and South-East Asia. The U.S. war in Vietnam is a crime against international law, the principles of the U.N. Charter, a challenge launched by the American aggressive circles against all peace-loving peoples.

19. Neo-colonialism and colonialism today uses all ways and means of the imperialist policy (colonial wars, military blocs, plots, terror, subversion, economic pressure, corruption) to maintain the liberated countries under the domination of the monopolies and to grant them but formal independence.

20. The policy of neo-colonialism which seeks to maintain newly independent countries in a state of dependence on big business, accentuates the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed peoples.

A detailed account of the living and working conditions of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people, the rising cost of living, wage freeze, racial discrimination, absence or violation of democratic rights.

21. Under these conditions life itself gives the workers and peoples in newly independent States the essential task of fighting neo-colonialism in all its forms, for complete political and economic independence.

Having fought heroically for their liberation, the peoples are not content with the mere proclamation of independence. They are pressing for a radical re-organisation of life in their country in order to eradicate the roots of colonialism, to improve the material conditions of the population and to create human living conditions for all.

Trade union organisations in many countries are heading the popular movement. The trade unions are carrying on the struggle against the exploitation of the working people, for higher wages, social security, collective labour agreements, against unemployment, etc., as well as for the strengthening and extension of trade union and democratic liberties. At the same time, they participate, alongside other patriotic and national forces, in the fight to limit the activities of the imperialist monopolies and for the nationalisation of the latter, for the eradication of feudalism and complete economic and political independence.

Some of the varied forms of working class struggle are general and political strikes, meetings, mass rallies, the occupation by the workers of enterprises owned by foreign monopolies etc. (Morocco, Ceylon, Malaysia, India). The workers' general strikes have made a decisive contribution to the collapse of pro-colonialist, reactionary regimes such as in Congo-Brazzaville and Sudan. In other cases, for instance in Congo-Leopoldville, the masses have risen in arms for the restoration of political independence, trampled under foot by the joint intervention of the imperialist powers.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE FOR THE COMPLETION OF  
NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS

22. Once political independence is won, the peoples have to cope with a host of complex problems produced by exploitation (poverty, unemployment, sickness, inadequate or non-existent industries) by the colonialists.

The peoples must make a systematic effort to do away with the backwardness into which the country was placed by the colonial system.

23. To put an end to the colonial structure of economy, reduced by the colonialists to a state of extreme weakness and to create an independent, solid and stable economy based on the export of raw materials and mono-production, a growing number of newly liberated countries are in particular taking the steps to achieve the following:

- nationalisation of the imperialists' property; land banks, factories, mines, etc., to put an end to domination by the monopolies and their agents;
- if nationalisation is not possible, introduce a control over all concessions granted to foreign capitalists monopolies in order to utilise the rough products inside the country and prevent their looting and exporting;
- adjust land reform to put an end to the economic and political reign of feudal lords and big landowners;
- the consolidation of the State sector and its democratic management;
- nationalisation of trade, in particular foreign trade, to put an end to mass exploitation and anti-national activities of the big pro-imperialist bourgeoisie;
- the creation of the foundations needed for a modern industry and agriculture and the expansion of an independent economy;
- efforts to train the cadres needed for industry and agriculture and to increase their number (experiences in Algeria, after independence and in Egypt, especially these last few years).

These measures are necessary for the settlement of the problems which arise in order to put an end to economic backwardness, poverty, sickness, and to raise the living standards of the masses. Until these problems are settled in a radical manner and until an independent national economy is created, political independence will only be formal and the newly independent countries will have to face further dangers.

24. The success of the anti-imperialist fight, assistance of the world socialist camp, international solidarity of the labour movement with the national liberation movement have all created conditions permitting newly independent countries to get out on the road of non-capitalist development.

The experience of a large number of newly liberated countries demonstrates that the non-capitalist road suits the interests of

the mass of the workers and peasants and of the entire people.

It helps to achieve the following:

- a) improve the living and working conditions of the working class;
- b) satisfy the peasantry which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population in under-developed countries;
- c) satisfy to a large extent the petty bourgeoisie in the towns as well as other anti-colonialist sections;
- d) to put an end to all vestiges of colonialism and under-development: illiteracy, sickness, corruption, etc.;
- e) cope with imperialist plots under better conditions (for example, the sabotage of the French in Guiana and in Algeria; the brutal suppression of credits, evasion of capital, departure of technicians, etc.) and guarantee the consolidation of independence.

25. Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Indonesia and others are countries which are making ample use of domestic resources and forces in the struggle against neocolonialism, for national independence and social progress.

Some of these countries have already reached a stage of social transformation. This corresponds to the wishes of the people for speedy economic development, higher living standards, the consolidation of independence and true all-round progress.

26. In order to secure a rapid economic expansion, these countries which have only a limited economic basis, generally appeal for foreign help. This aid must have no strings attached, without any political commitments from the country receiving it, such as that granted by the countries of the socialist camp. It can take the following forms:

- a) machinery, credits, technicians, etc.;
- b) the training of specialists. The shortage of technicians is a real problem for all young States.

The magnificent example of the Aswan Dam fully corresponds to these characteristics. Further examples and figures on aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to newly independent countries in Africa and in Asia.

27. The under-developed countries, especially in Africa and in the Arab countries, offer each other economic aid (capital, specialists), they support each other and offer each other political solidarity:

- preliminary steps towards the establishment of an African Bank and an African Common Market;
- the establishment of the organisation of African unity which is a united body promoting economic and political consolidation of independence as part of African unity.

28. These anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist steps and measures are supported by many trade union organisations. The African trade unions, and in particular the All-African Trade Union Federation, have always supported, and still support, the

idea of land reform, State control on foreign trade, an African Common Market (which the WFTU publicly endorsed at the Anti-Monopoly Trade Union Conference in Leipzig in 1962), etc. The trade unions in the Arab countries and the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions have also taken active measures aimed at ensuring an independent political and economic development of their countries, for social progress and against the domination and exploitation by imperialist monopolies.

- V -

THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS  
IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

29. Political independence is of great importance for the working class. The liquidation of colonialism does not mean the immediate disappearance of the exploitation of man by man, but provides prospects for a transition from inhuman colonial oppression to democracy and social progress and to the gradual elimination of poverty and hunger among the workers.

30. The working class has become a force in the national liberation movement. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the working class has increased almost four times over since the second world war. In these countries there are now more than 130 million industrial and office workers, i.e., roughly 40 per cent of all wage-earners in the non-socialist world.

The struggle of the working class is one of the most important factors of the national liberation movement. In the colonial and newly developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class is not only the chief enemy of all oppression, but also the least affected by the demobilising influence of the feudal and reactionary forces.

31. The trade Unions are playing an irreplaceable role in solving the economic and social problems of their countries.

The role of the trade unions in the revolutionary process through which the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America are now going. The fundamental task of the Labour movement vary according to the conditions in each country, i.e. they depend on whether political independence has been granted or not, whether power is in the hands of democratic or pro-imperialist forces; whether economic and social reforms have been applied or not, etc.

32. It is obvious that in countries still under colonial rule, the labour and trade union movement has the primary task of fighting for immediate political independence. The campaigns of the trade unions in support of the workers' economic and social demands are an important part of this fight.

33. The problems facing the trade union movement in the majority of politically independent African, Asian and Latin American countries are economic and social: economic independence, the elimination of imperialist monopolies, choice of the future road of development.

In these countries the working class is fighting with determination not only for its economic interests, but also to achieve national objectives. Many labour actions organised by the trade unions in recent years for economic demands were generally linked with political demands (strikes in Malaya, Kenya, Nigeria, Malgasy Republic, etc.).

34. In countries which have carried out profound economic and social reforms, the trade unions have close relations with all national patriotic forces in the general struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The experience of the trade union movement in Algeria, Mali, Ghana, Indonesia, etc., shows that the working class takes a most active part in defending the achievements of the revolution.

35. The unity of the working class and peasantry is decisive for the road of the national revolution. The peasants are the largest section of the population in newly developing countries. They have been exploited most cruelly by the colonialists and feudal lords.

The working class, like the peasantry, are vitally interested in the complete liquidation of foreign oppression, in the application of land reform and the development of crops and industrialisation.

36. There are certain common points between the national bourgeoisie and the mass of the workers in the fight against the remnants of colonialism, hence the possibility of united action for the consolidation of political independence and the achievement of economic independence.

But while the workers and peasants are in favour of the complete eradication of colonial domination and of the democratisation of the country, the bourgeoisie, as an exploiting class, seeks to solve the countries' social and economic problems chiefly in its own interests. Therefore, the class struggle in newly liberated countries where the bourgeoisie is in power is growing.

37. The imperialists are fully aware of the leading role played by the working class in newly developing countries. This explains why they are anxious to penetrate into the labour movement and create reformist organisations so as to hinder unity of the workers, nationally and internationally, and to break their determination to fight.

Certain leaders of the ICFTU, especially those of the AFL-CIO, are tools of this imperialist policy. They are advocating corruption and ideologies of class collaboration and anti-communism; they are using political intrigues to undermine the trade union movement and to make the trade unions abandon the fight for the national interests of the workers and peoples.

38. Unity of action and trade union unity of the working class are a problem of major importance to the workers. Recently, workers' unity has made great headway. United trade union centres have been formed in many countries. On a continental scale decisive steps have been taken. The Trade Union Unity Congress of the Workers of Latin America met in Brasilia from January 24 to 28, 1964, and was attended by the representatives of 25 million workers from 18 countries. The 2nd Congress of the AATUF, which met in Bamako from June 10 to 14, 1964, was an important step towards stronger unity of the African trade union movement.

39. An end to the division of the trade union movement and the formation of united trade union centres on the basis of a united and anti-imperialist programme not only guarantee the achievement of the workers' demands, but also the successful

conclusion of their fight for national independence, democracy and social progress.

The WFTU, true to its policy of unity and class position, has always assisted, and will continue to assist, the united endeavours of the workers of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- VI -

SOLIDARITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WITH THE FIGHT OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

40. The WFTU, which has always backed the fight of the workers and people for independence, will continue to offer maximum aid to assist their complete national independence.

The WFTU will make maximum efforts to establish fraternal ties of co-operation between the trade unions in the socialist, capitalist and newly developing countries on the basis of the common fight against the imperialist monopolies and their agents.

41. The WFTU and its national centres have offered their support and active contribution to the expansion of the activities of the international trade union committees for solidarity with Algeria, South Africa, Vietnam and Aden.

The WFTU furthermore decided to form the World Trade Union Committee for Consultation and United Action against the Monopolies in which the trade unions of the socialist, capitalist, newly independent and colonial countries participate side by side.

42. A strong international front of the workers and trade unions in all countries must be put up against imperialist aggression, directed against the life and independence of the peoples.

The just fight of the Vietnamese people for the liberation of South Vietnam and for the reunification of the country is warmly supported by the peoples of the whole world. The workers on all continents insist that the American imperialists put a stop to their barbaric acts of aggression against Vietnam. The WFTU strongly insists on the full adherence to the Geneva Agreements which guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam. The solidarity of the workers was clearly expressed at the two conferences of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam, formed on the initiative of the WFTU.

43. The WFTU expresses its support to Cambodia in its fight against the imperialists who are attacking its independence and sovereignty, and presses for the restoration of peace and national unity in Laos. The WFTU gives its solidarity to the fight of the workers and people of Korea against American military occupation and for the reunification of the country. The WFTU gives its support to the fight of the people of Korea and Japan against the recent Japan-South Korean treaty. It backs the fight of the mass of the peoples of the Congo for the restoration of independence, jeopardised by military intervention of the Western powers, especially the United States.

The WFTU reiterates its fraternal support to the workers and trade union organisations in the Arab countries in their



fight against colonialism, for national independence and against imperialism.

44. The WFTU calls on the workers of the world to increase their solidarity with the people of Cuba, against aggression and boycott by American imperialism. It states its support to the workers and people of Panama, Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic where American imperialism is showing cynical contempt for national liberties.

The WFTU has time and again condemned American imperialism as the worst enemy of the peoples who are fighting to win or to consolidate their independence, and as the mainstay of colonialism.

45. The WFTU and its national centres give their fraternal solidarity to the fight of the workers and peoples in newly liberated countries for the defence and consolidation of their independence, for a prosperous and independent economy free from exploitation by foreign monopolies, for an end to poverty and illiteracy and for human conditions.

46. Our Programme of Trade Union Action mentions the support of the WFTU for the fight of the workers and trade unions in developing countries for their demands: higher wages, establishment and improvement of social security systems, collective agreements, paid holidays, vocational training, creation of new job opportunities, etc.

The Programme of Trade Union Action furthermore stresses the support which the WFTU gives to the national demands of the trade unions in newly developing countries: nationalisation of foreign monopoly establishments, construction and expansion of national industries and a State sector, land reform eliminating colonial ownership and the remnants of feudalism, democratisation of the State, State control on foreign trade, participation of the workers in the elaboration and application of national development programmes. The trade union organisations in many countries are furthermore concerned with the immediate task of finding new outlets for their national production.

47. The increasingly important and complex tasks of the trade unions in newly liberated countries demand the training of a growing number of trade union leaders. The WFTU and its national centres are offering fraternal aid to the trade unions of these countries. Trade union schools are functioning with the aid of the WFTU in Mali, in Guinea and in other countries. Talks are now going on with the AATUF and with the Secretariat of the Latin American Trade Union Unity Congress to increase and extend this type of cooperation in the training of trade union leaders.

48. Another important matter is the training of specialists and qualified workers who are indispensable in overcoming the economic backwardness of newly developing countries. In this respect the trade unions and governments of the socialist countries are offering invaluable assistance. Thousands of workers and students receive technical and vocational training in the socialist countries and in addition hundreds of highly qualified teachers from the socialist countries assist the economic development of newly independent countries.

49. In order to widen and intensify the solidarity

campaigns of the workers and trade unions in Europe with their opposite numbers in Africa, the E.C. of the WFTU which met in Sofia (Bulgaria) in March 1964 proposed an Afro-European Trade Union Solidarity Conference as part of the common fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. In addition to reinforcing Afro-European solidarity in the struggle against imperialist monopolies, this Conference would aim at a development of help granted to the African trade unions in vocational training and other specific tasks linked with their struggle for independent economic development of their countries. This proposal was well received by various African organisations.

At the 6th World Trade Union Congress the trade union organisations concerned will be able to state their opinions on questions concerned with the preparation and holding of this Conference.

The discussion might also give rise to further proposals and suggestions.

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