

Press Communique

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The Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions today published the following Declaration :

THE W.F.T.U. CONDEMNS THE CRIMES OF INDONESIAN REACTION
AND APPEALS FOR SOLIDARITY

The World Federation of Trade Unions, as well as workers all over the world, is following with deep anxiety the development of events in Indonesia.

Under the pretext of liquidating the "Movement of September 30", the reactionary forces have been carrying on for several months a fierce campaign of repression against progressive and democratic forces, their organisations and all those who sympathise with them.

This white terror, led by Indonesian reaction in an atmosphere of anti-communism, is weighing heavily on the whole population of Indonesia.

Every day brings news about fresh crimes, massacres and mass arrests, the victims of which are communists and democrats, about illegal "purges" in the army, in the administration and in enterprises. According to official figures, 87,000 persons have been killed in Indonesia since October 1st. All this is going on in arbitrary conditions with an unleashing of reactionary forces.

The main blow of the Indonesian reaction is aimed at those who have been most ardent fighters for national independence and for social progress, those who have waged an untiring battle against all the enemies of the Indonesian Republic, defending the development of the national and democratic revolution against imperialist interference, particularly by US imperialism, and against Indonesian reaction.

This applies especially to SORSI, the largest trade union organisation in the country, which has also always fought for national independence, democracy and social progress

in Indonesia, for the strengthening of the unity of the workers and the people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The headquarters of the National Council, of SOBSI, a national centre affiliated to the W.F.T.U., and those of its unions in different regions of Indonesia have been ransacked and destroyed by wild gangs of mercenaries protected by reactionary military forces. In many regions of Indonesia the activities of SOBSI and its unions have been banned.

A great number of leaders and militant members of SOBSI and its unions, thousands of innocent workers, numerous patriots and progressive persons have been arrested. The tortures they were subjected to recall those the fascists inflicted on their victims. Workers who refuse to submit to forced labour are publicly executed.

The W.F.T.U. resolutely condemns these criminal and arbitrary acts of the Indonesian reaction directed against the workers, the trade unions and all democratic forces in the country.

The W.F.T.U. expresses once more its firm solidarity with the workers, democrats and patriots of Indonesia in their struggle against violence and reactionary oppression and it is convinced that the workers and democratic forces in Indonesia shall defeat the barbarous acts of the reaction and obtain victory. Therefore, it demands urgently :

- the immediate cessation of the bloody terror unleashed against the trade unionists, the workers, the progressive intellectuals and all the patriots, whose only "crime" consists in an unconditional defence of the Indonesian revolution, national independence and social progress of their motherland;
- the immediate release of all detained unionists, democrats and patriots and the restoration of democratic liberties and trade union rights,

The W.F.T.U. calls upon the workers and trade union organisations of the world to condemn openly and strongly the crimes perpetrated by the reactionary forces against the peace and freedom-loving people of this country and to express - according to the conditions in their respective countries - their unwavering solidarity with the workers and the people of Indonesia.

Geneva, 15 June 1966

Director General
of the International Labour Office,
Geneva, Switzerland.

Sir,

In accordance with a mandate from its General Council, which met in Caracas in March, the United Centre of Venezuelan Workers (CUTV), a trade union organisation constituted in conformity with the legal norms in force in our country, and grouping many thousands of industrial, office and agricultural workers, wishes to place before the International Labour Office, in the person of its Director General, the following memorandum exposing the violations of the right of trade union organisation, and the brutal repression, persecution and attacks to which the non-official workers' movement - that is, the movement not under government control - is being subjected in Venezuela.

The divisions in the Venezuelan trade union movement are the result of deep differences that have arisen both on policy and in relation to the class-based independence that every workers' movement should have. These differences have given birth to two basic trends within the Venezuelan working class: one of these has become an instrument of the government, while the other, as represented by our Centre, maintains a consistent class approach, independent of state, employers, political parties, the Church, and any other factors interfering in the specific activity of a workers' organisation which is fighting for better living and working conditions, and for a society free of the prevailing fetters of exploitation where there will be a fairer share of material and spiritual benefits for all.

Venezuela is a country of barely 9 million inhabitants, and its active working population exceeds 2½ million, of whom

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at least 500,000 are at present unemployed. This unemployment was caused by dismissals, which in themselves came about because of the serious crisis which our country is undergoing. This is due to our character as a producer of raw materials, such as oil and iron - mineral products - while at the same time our industry is still in its infancy and under the domination of powerful international trusts. The result of all this has been to throw this great mass of workers into the misery of unemployment, and into conditions unworthy of human beings. No protection is afforded to the unemployed worker, and he receives no compensation from the state.

To give some idea of the employment situation in Venezuela, we need only point to the fact that the country's basic industry, oil, only employs some 30,000 workers at the present time. In 1948, at a time when production was only half of what it is today, there were more than 60,000 employed in this industry, which has since that period sacked more than 50% of its staff. Increases in production and the stepping up of productivity, far from increasing employment capacity, have simply contributed to unemployment and the poverty of the people of Venezuela.

The cost of living is also very high in Venezuela, and it is continually rising. Wages, on average, are insufficient to cover the basic necessities of the worker and his family. Rent alone amounts to 35%, or often more, of the average worker's wage.

The system of collective agreements is also losing ground, on account of the categorical opposition of the employers and the government, supported by the leaders of the government-controlled unions.

The agrarian reform that the government has boasted of in its propaganda abroad, is nothing more or less than a fraud. The land has not been distributed in the proportion announced by the government, and in most cases, when the peasants have taken over land, they have not been able to work it, or have often had to abandon it because of its low yield and the lack of technical assistance and indispensable credits provided. The great mass of peasants are as poor and backward as ever, and have been compelled to emigrate to the industrial centres of the country, thereby adding to the number of the city unemployed.

The policy of persecution, against the trade union and popular movements expresses itself in many and various forms, ranging from the brutal use of police coercion to the systematic violation of the Constitution, legal norms and the Rights of Man.

Below are some of the most characteristic features of this policy.

I

We should mention first of all the continual police violations of trade union premises, without warrant, such as for instance the violent and completely arbitrary occupation of the CUTV headquarters in 1964, when the police requisitioned offices, records, typewriters and other property of the organization. Similar acts have taken place at the regional offices in the States of Lara, Zulia, Monagas, Carabobo and at various other unions in different parts of the country, so many indeed that it would take too long to list them all.

The illegal arrest of union leaders, militant workers and peasants, or people from other sections of the community, has become a daily practice, and is clearly symptomatic of the repressive policies conducted by the regime against the trade union, democratic and independent movement in our country. It is the aim of this policy to spread terror among the workers, undermine their fighting capacity and weaken their means of economic defense, i.e. the unions. It often happens, for example, that a person is arrested and imprisoned for several months, then released, only to be re-arrested after a certain time.

At the present time, more than 1000 people are in prison, in different parts of the country, as political prisoners. Most of them are industrial and office workers, students and peasants. Among the many national and regional leaders of the CUTV who are in prison are Eloy Torres, Luis Felipe Ojeda, Julio Cabello, Eleazar Diza Rangel, Efraim Vianco, Samuel Guidon, Aura Gamboa, Gustavo Villaparedes, Leoncio Granda, Humberto Arrietti and Justo Rafael Calindes.

Other national and regional leaders of the CUTV have also been persecuted, such as Horacio Scott Power, President of the CUTV, who was imprisoned for 2 months in 1965 without the least accusation ever being made. This year, again, his home was violated by the police and he was arrested in front of one of his daughters, who was pregnant at the time. Then there is Carlos Arturo Pardo, a member of the CUTV Executive Committee, who was arrested on his return from the 6th World Trade Union Congress in Warsaw, and sent to the concentration camp of Cachipo, in the State of Monagas, where he received the most brutal treatment. Jose Marcanc, a member of the CUTV National Secretariat and President of the National Office Workers Union of Venezuela, has been jailed 10 times without charge under both the previous government of Betancourt, and the present one of Raul Leoni.

Others who can be mentioned are Maximo Gutierrez, Johnny Bidu, Carlos Farinas, Marco Aurelio Alegria, Manuel Luchert, Jesus Marquez, Fidas Marcanc, Hector Landaez, Julio Casique, Eli Saul Puchi, Nicolas Colorado, Vladimir Acosta, Luis Marcanc and others.

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The case of Juan Pablo Grespo, a member of the CUTV national leadership, will give some idea of government persecution of the trade union movement. Grespo was seriously ill, after devoting long years of service to the Venezuelan workers' movement. He made arrangements to undergo a course of medical treatment abroad, but was arrested by the police at the airport itself, and was thrown into the underground cells at Digapol in Caracas. Some time afterwards he was released, but his condition had worsened. He died shortly afterwards in Moscow.

Eloy Torres, a former leader of the Venezuelan Workers' Confederation, one of the founders of the CUTV and a member of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, was brought before the military tribunal in May 1962, and after a summary trial of little more than a few hours, he was sentenced to more than 8 years confinement. At present he is in the prison on Racarigua Island, in the Laguna de Valencia. In this prison the political detainees are treated with the utmost brutality, to such an extent, indeed, that they have to stage hunger strikes to halt the outrages committed by their prison warders. The CUTV and the Venezuelan and international democratic movement have launched a great campaign to free Eloy Torres from prison.

Government persecution even extends to the place of work. The workers are under constant surveillance and threats, from police agents planted among the staff with the agreement of the employers and the authorities. This is especially the case in American owned firms. Members of unions affiliated to the CUTV suffer discrimination in these companies; in fact, if they are discovered they are generally fired.

II

The National Constitution and Labour Code recognise the right to strike in Venezuela. For all practical purposes, however, this just does not exist, as the government will not allow unions affiliated to the CUTV, or even those affiliated to the government-sponsored centre itself, to exercise this legitimate right when they feel obliged to do so.

Similarly with trade union rights, and the guarantee against dismissal, which was established in labour law and by collective agreements to protect the leading members of national union executives, local unions and works committees, from summary and unjust dismissal. Many are the cases where not only the employers have sacked union officials who were protected under trade union rights, in open infringement of the law, but the authorities, too, have given their sanctions to these practices by taking decisions after the events which have nearly always been unfavourable to the particular worker.

The Labour Inspectorates and similar bodies, which are established in law to arbitrate in disputes between workers and employers, to guarantee the correct application of the law and the Labour Regulations and to ensure that the rights and interests of the workers are safeguarded, do not fulfil this function but instead harrass the non-governmental unions in their activities, adopt a partisan attitude and take sides with the employers against the workers.

III

As far as the sanctity of life is concerned, and in spite of the fact that this principle is written into the Venezuelan Constitution, on which depends the very moral authority of the government, we must protest that it has been systematically violated by government officials. In appendix A to this report, we attach a copy of the document referring to this question which was submitted to the National Council for the Defense of Political Prisoners. This document draws the commission's attention to the disappearance and deaths of a number of people, including: - Jose Gregorio Rodriguez, General Jesus Maria Castro Leon, Luis Emiro Arrieta, Victor Ramon Soto Rojas, Trino Barrios, Heriberto Cartagena, Benjamin Montilla, Tinoteo Colina, Jose de los Santo Ferrer, Teodosio Arcaya, Tomas Manuel Marrere Ceballos, Manuel Sanchez, Juan Antonio Devides, Bernardo Soto, Juan Soto, Cipriano Guanche, Juan and Agustin Ollarves, Juan Pedro Rogas and others.

Appendix B is an official document on the deaths of Victor Ramon Soto Rojas, Trino Barrios and Heriberto Cartagena, a report by the Public Prosecutor General to the National Congress (pp. 203 and 204). According to this document, Victor Ramon Soto Rojas and Trino Barrios were arrested on 28 July 1964 in the vicinity of Altigracia de Cirituco in Guarico State by men of the Armed Co-operation Forces and transferred to San Juan de los Morros, then to the headquarters of the Commander of the National Guard at El Paraiso in Caracas, then to Caracas Police Headquarters (DIGLIPOL), and from there to the Oriente road, together with Heriberto Cartagena, between El Guapo and Cupira, where they were handed over to the armed forces stationed there and killed. The same report states that the enquiry was hindered by the fact that Army personnel who had been summoned to appear before the Public Prosecutor, had refused to do so on the pretext that they required the President of the Republic's authorisation before making the statements demanded by the enquiry commission.

In connection with further facts of this nature, we attach in appendix C a collection of press cuttings relevant to the death or disappearance of the following: - Professor Alberto Lovera,

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brothers Juan and Agustin Ollarves, Donato Carmona Natera, Cesar Burguillos, Ramon Pasquier, Rafael Vanancio Alvarez, Ruben Leon Rodriguez, Roger Zapata, Octavio Romero, Jose Antonio Perdomo, Manuel Maria Escalona, Manuel Garcia, Antonio Garcia, Jesus Fajardo, Juan Lezama Manuel Estrada, Gabriel Andarcia, Fidel Campos, Juan Centeno, Aniceto Lepez, J. Morocoima, Arturo Rodriguez, R. Castelino, Carlos Guillen Rodriguez, Jesus Eleazar Barrios Mendoza, Pedro Ramon Colina, Salvador Castellin Arrieta, Jose Inocencio Gonzalez, Mario Alvarez Colmenarez, Rafael Rosendo Pacheco and others.

The death of Alberto Lovera had a profound impact in Venezuela. Arrested in October 1965 by DIGEPOL, he was murdered and his body later found floating near the shore at Barcelona, in the eastern region of Venezuela. A pick was attached to the body by a chain. It was not until 3 months later that the identity of the body was made public, following numerous applications by Lovera's widow, by a deputy, Dr Jose Vicente Rangel, and the National Council for the Defense of Political Prisoners. The police denied that Lovera had been arrested, but incontestable evidence placed before the Chamber of Deputies proved that he was in fact arrested by Digepol. The knowledge of this crime inspired a broad campaign under the leadership of various political and sectional organisations (political parties, trade unions and student organisations), which demanded the disbanding of the repressive police corps which had committed the crime (Digepol), and sanctions against those who were materially or morally implicated in the murder.

The General Police Directorate (Digepol) and the Armed Forces Information Service (SIFA) are the two police organisations responsible for the deaths or disappearance of large numbers of Venezuelan citizens, in addition to torture and arbitrary interference in matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunals, so as to be able to make summary judgements without possessing the necessary legal powers. In appendix D, we attach a pamphlet entitled "Policia Instructora y de Seguridad en la Legislacion Venezolana", by the jurist Reinaldo Escala Zerpa.

It is stated in the Venezuelan Constitution that ".... personal liberty and safety are inviolable...." (art.60) and "... no-one shall be secretly confined or subjected to torture or any other practice causing physical or mental suffering. Any physical or mental harm caused to anyone while under detention shall be punishable by law." (art.30, item 3). And yet it is common practice for the police to place detainees in secret confinement, which is itself only the prelude to "disappearances" and torture. We wish to expose here too the tortures practised by the police, and we offer as evidence the press reports which we enclose in appendix E, and which represent only a minute fraction of the exposures that have appeared in Venezuela and abroad. We shall confine ourselves to quoting a number of the many statements

that were made to the Parliamentary Commission formed to conduct the enquiry:-

Gilberto Enrique Valera, a 21 year old student, identity card no. 1909704, stated: "I was arrested on 29 June 1965 at Alcabala de Urica. From there I was taken to the local police commandant's office. Three hours later, they began to interrogate me and torture me in a most savage manner. I was beaten with sticks, rifles and chains. I was forced to strip and lie on a sheet of heated zinc. They were still beating me, especially with rifle butts. I was burned on the neck with cigarette ends. They carried on beating me until I had no further resistance, and I fainted. These tortures were inflicted on me by members of the municipal police, the Security Police and Dige-pol, lead by a Dige-pol Inspector named Gonzalez. After this, still naked, we were taken in front of some Americans who took photos and films of us.... On 7 July we were taken to Cachipo concentration camp. From the time we arrived, Edgar Matute Martinez and I were brutally beaten with sticks and specially manufactured American truncheons".

Cesar Augusto Guzman, trader, identity card no. 353385, said: "I was arrested on 17 December 1965 in the Avenida Andres Bello in Caracas, while travelling in a bus. I was taken to the 'Palacio Blanco' where I was subjected to a series of interrogations, together with kicks and threats to kill me. All my clothes were removed as well as my watch, pencils and wallet. The last three items were never returned to me. I accuse the police organisation concerned (SEPA) of unlawful confiscation. The individual police officer involved was called Alexis Martinez (Tito). On December 22, 1965 I was transferred directly to Cachipo from Maiguatia.... I was taken to the 'truth tent', which is concealed behind some bushes on the right of the camp entrance. There they tied me to the central pole of the tent, with my hands behind my back. Two policemen under Corporal Alitis Fuenmayor (he uses another name)... beat me in a brutal fashion. From 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. squads of police took turns in beating me, without a single pause. I was especially beaten about the chest and abdomen with truncheons and rifle butts. When I collapsed they kicked me in the ribs with their boots. Following this treatment, I had a fractured rib and dislocated rib-cage."

The practice of confinement in secluded camps, which are described in official documents as "anti-guerrilleros", such as Cabure, Urica and Cachipo - nothing less than concentration camps for political prisoners - has made it possible to violate with complete impunity the rights of man, as enshrined in the Constitution and the United Nations Declaration. In appendix F we enclose a collection of press reports exposing the terrorist regime prevailing in these camps. In addition to this material, we would draw attention to the fact that these camps, situated as

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they are in peasant-populated areas, are a permanent source of indiscriminate persecution against the local people, and cause serious harm to the economic development of the surrounding countryside.

The peasant area of Falcon, Lara, Trujillo, Portuguesa, Barinas, Miranda, Sucre and Managas have been subjected on several occasions to intense bombing and machine-gun fire. These incidents have given rise to repeated protests in many different quarters. In the National Congress, particularly, representatives of various different ideological and political trends have spoken out on this question. We can quote senators Vice-Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal, Miguel Acosta Saignes and Rafael Serfaty, and deputies Jose Herrere Cropeza, Jose Vicente Rangel, Jose Manzo Gonzales, Elpidio Larriva Mata, Luis Miquilena and Raimundo Verde.

As far as guarantees of personal liberties are concerned it is out contention that, in spite of the norms explicit in the Constitution, there is prevailing a situation where systematic violations of personal liberties and arbitrary police methods are tolerated by judges and officials responsible for ensuring that justice is fairly carried out.

Thousands of people have been kept in detention for months on end without a charge being proffered. Often a judge has been asked to invoke the guarantees of individual liberty, but when information has been sought from the police authorities who are holding the accused in custody - information, incidently, which must be supplied within 24 hours according to legal requirements - the police generally pay scant respect to such requests, thereby prejudicing both the accused and the dignity of the judiciary. Or on the other hand, when the police have ostensibly put into effect a release order following an acquittal, they merely allow the detainee to leave the prison, and once in the street re-arrest him on the same basis of allegations as before.

Not only has the Chief Judiciary maintained a suspicious inertis in the face of repeated offenses committed by the police organisations (Digepol, Sifa, etc), but also civil and military judges have displayed patent bias and have committed gross violations of the Constitution and the Law. Although, in the words of the Constitution, "...the judges, in the performance of their functions, are autonomous and independent of the other organs of public authority...." in point of fact many judgements have been passed without any consideration for impartiality, and have obviously been inspired by official directives, and political pressure from those forces who sustain American imperialist interests in Venezuela.

An example of this state of affairs was the court action pursued by the Executive in order to annul the official registration of the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). The Political-Administrative Chamber of the Supreme Court heard the case and finally passed a conflicting judgement. On the one hand it rejected the Executive's application, and on the other, although the latter had not sought any judgement on the scope of the Decree depriving the PCV and the MIR of their freedom to operate, the Court in effect confirmed the power of this Decree to annul the registrations that had already been confirmed as valid by the original judgement. It should be noted that this judgement is incompatible with explicit legal norms (art.162 of the Venezuela Civil Procedure Code), and that it received only a small majority of votes (3 out of 5) from the judges who constituted the Chamber. Those who voted in favour of the judgement depriving the PCV and the MIR of their means of operation were Dr Jonas Barrios, the brother of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and a prominent leading member of the Democratic Action Party, Alejandro Ossorio, the Minister of Agriculture, and J.M. Padilla. Those who abstained from voting, thus fulfilling their functions as judges of the Venezuelan State and not merely acting as the mouth-pieces of a particular political trend, were Dr. J.G. Sarmiento and Saul Ron.

Legal guarantees of personal liberty have been systematically flouted in the cases of former deputy Hector Rodriguez Bauza (arrested in April 1963) and the former parliamentarians Jesus Faria, Gustavo Machado, Eduardo Machado, Pompeyo Marquez, Guillermo Garcia Ponce, Domingo Alberto Rangel, Simon Saez Merida, Jesus Maria Casal, Jesus Villavicencio (all imprisoned late 1963).

As regards former deputy Hector Rodriguez Bauza, the Chamber of Deputies took a decision on 29 April 1963 - recorded in the Official Journal - to invoke the special powers provided for in Paragraph 2 of Article 158 of the Constitution, of "confirming its members", declaring that Bauza had full parliamentary immunity. Any member of the Executive or Judiciary failing to respect this decision would be committing rebellion. Despite this decision Hector Rodriguez Bauza has been in detention since April 1963. After a trial, that was conspicuous for the number of abuse that occurred, he and Dr Antonio Garcia Ponce were sentenced to six years imprisonment. In appendix G we attach a pamphlet containing the defense council's plea, refuting the allegations made against Bauza and former deputy leader of the CUTV, Luis Emiro Arrieta, who died in prison. In appendix H, is the french translation of the court sentence, charging Hector Rodriguez Bauza and Antonio Garcia Ponce with conspiracy "in order to alter the Republican form of the Nation". No evidence was forthcoming to substantiate this charge in any

way whatsoever. In order to keep the two in prison, the judge rejected the Public Prosecutor's action, which had sought the minimum sentence of one year's imprisonment for incitement to revolt, since both men had spent three years in prison, thus having retrospectively completed this sentence already.

It should also be noted that neither the judge nor the Public Prosecutor charged Bauza and Ponce with personally having committed the felony in question, but simply that both belonged to a political party whose leadership was, in the view of the State officials, guilty of crimes against the State. In legal quarters the reasoning on which this charge was based would be considered an aberration, since the notion of collective responsibility under law has long been an out-moded conception.

On 30 September 1963, former parliamentarians Jesus Faria, Gustavo and Eduardo Machado, Jesus Maria Casal and Jesus Villavicencio were arrested at their homes by officers of the General Police Directorate, who claimed that they were acting under the orders of Carlos Andres Perez, the Minister of the Interior. The actual legal warrant of arrest was issued 4 days later. All the above named, as well as Pompeyo Marquez, Guillermo Garcia Ponce, Simon Saez Merida and Domingo Alberto Rangel, who were arrested later, were all held in detention in abuse of the Constitution, which lays down the following procedure in the case of the arrest of a member of parliament; -a) the Supreme Court must decide that the notice of prosecution is justified and b) the special Congress Commission must approve the cancellation of parliamentary immunity. We attach in appendix H, a copy of the Constitution for reference (Art.143, 144, 145).

According to the terms of Article 60 of the Constitution, "legal prosecution shall not extend beyond the maximum period laid down by the law..."; and the Code of Military Justice stipulates that the period of legal notice of prosecution must not under any circumstances exceed 30 days. In spite of these explicit legal provisions, notice of trial in the case of the former members of parliament extended from 4 November 1963 to 24 December 1965 (over 2 years). The defense lawyers protested against this blatant abuse of the law and the Constitution on numerous occasions, since it was being used to swell the accuseds' files in a totally arbitrary manner, and to keep in prison all the persons implicated in this trial by making charges which had nothing to do with the central issue of the trial itself. National and international public opinion took up these protests and expressed its indignation at the imprisonment of the former members of parliament in many different ways. The Prosecutor-General of the Republic, the supreme representative of the Venezuelan Public Ministry, pronounced on the situation on 14 May 1965. Through the Minister of Justice, he made known to the President of the Republic, the serious contravention of

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legality that was involved in the constant adjournments of the ex-parliamentarians trial. In appendix I is the Prosecutor General's report of activity to the National Congress for the year 1965 (vide pp. 220 - 221)

Also in blatant violation of the law were the trials, before the Military Tribunals, of Freddy Munoz, ex-President of the Central Universities Federation; Teodoro Petkoff, who has been given successive terms of imprisonment on the same repeated charge; Miguel Najul, a leader of the Nationalist Peoples Vanguard Party; university professor Jose Rafael Nunez Tenorio, under detention in the La Pica prison, and Doctor Jose Vicente Scorza, a foremost Venezuelan scientist who is in the Caracas Model Prison. The ill-treatment and humiliation to which the latter has been subjected have been exposed in the Venezuelan press.

V

Article 50 of the Venezuelan Constitution states, "... the rights and guarantees laid down in this Constitution must not be interpreted to cancel other rights and guarantees which, although not explicit in this Constitution, are nevertheless basic to the individual..." But this assertion, and the rest of the formal stipulations regarding, social and economic rights, are simply not recognised in reality. Whenever these rights have been invoked to secure the guarantees of the legal authorities, they have always been systematically ignored, under the pretext of the absence of a legal ruling, or through some loop-hole in the law. Such was the case with regard to the actual date of the death imprisonment of Luis Emiro Arrieta, a leader of the CUTV.

His death was the outcome of a serious illness which he had contracted, and which had not been properly treated during his two years' imprisonment in the Caracas prison. Moreover, after his death, the police burst in among the mourners and humiliated family friends and comrades by confiscating the urn containing the dead man's ashes, with the intention of depositing it at the Caracas cemetery, in the section where the remains of police officers were laid to rest. Arrieta's defense council drew the primary court judge's attention to these acts of gross irreverence and requested that a reversal of the seizure order be issued, so that the remains of the dead workers' leader could be placed in his family crypt. The judge acknowledged that this was a right implicit in the Constitution but, according to him, since there was no explicit ruling, he would not agree to the request. The amazement and deep indignation that were aroused by the behaviour of these government officials prompted a great campaign that won the support of the most varied social, religious and political sections - to such a

degree indeed that the Arrietas' wishes were respected, and the remains of the workers' leader were restored to the family. Public indignation reached such a pitch that even his Eminence Cardinal Jose Humberto Quintero, the supreme representative of the Catholic Church in Venezuela, was moved to make a public criticism of what amounted to the desecration of a dead man.

VI

Nowadays Venezuela abounds with prisons. Some of the more important ones are as follows:- the Model Prison, the San Carlos barracks, the headquarters of Digerpol and Sifa, La Planta prison, the municipal police barracks at Cortiza, the basement of the Planchart Building, the miners' prisons at Carapa, Puente Monedano and Los Chorros, all of which are in Caracas; Tacarigua Island, in the Laguna de Valencia, and Tocuyito prison, both in Carabobo State; La Pica in Maturin (Monagas State); the women's prisons at Los Teques (Miranda) and Trujillo (Trujillo State); the Model Prison of Maracaibo (Zulia); San Cristobal prison (Fachira); Ciudad Bolivar and "Colonias Moviles" at El Dorado (both in Bolivar State); San Fernando de Apure (Apure State); Barinas (Barinas); the Venezuelan General Penitentiary at San Juan de los Morros (Guarico); the so-called anti-guerrilla camps - in fact concentration camps - at Urica (Lara), Cabure (Falcon) and Cachipo (Monagas).

When the prisons are full of political prisoners, the government uses the countless local administration offices and police stations that can be found all over the country.

Mention has been made of the women and miners who are to be found among the political prisoners in Venezuela. Over recent years, hundreds of women, young people and even children have been the victims of persecution. Whole families have been broken up, and different members sent to various prisons throughout the country. For the first time in our country, women and miners have been subjected to torture and the most scandalous of treatment. In the so-called 'Observation Homes' of the Venezuelan Childrens' Council, young daughters of miners are being held in detention - students in most cases - charged with having taken part in underground political activities, and kept in the company of the worst sort of common-law offenders, such as drug addicts and prostitutes.

Overcrowding, constant humiliation, inadequate food, insufficient medicine and medical care, restrictions on family visits, a ban on social and political literature, dangerous pieces of provocation when prisoners are taken before the Tribunals or to other establishments, confinement with common law criminals - these are the general conditions prevailing in the penal system which Venezuelan political prisoners are forced to experience at first hand.

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VII

In our opinion, respect for workers' rights and the trade unions' integrity and freedom to operate is closely linked with the necessity of releasing all trade union and democratic leaders from prison, putting an end to persecution, allowing the unrestricted functioning of political activity and introducing effective progressive structures which will guarantee the principles that are enshrined in the Rights of Man. We are fully conscious of the obstacles that will have to be overcome if we are to achieve these democratic objectives, but we are confident that with the support of the workers, the people and the progressive organisations and sections of the nation, as well as with international solidarity, we shall defeat the anti-popular repressive policies of the present government, which are dictated by the interests of American imperialism.

It is our belief that an opportune intervention from the International Labour Office could and must secure the Venezuelan government's respect for international undertakings made in the sphere of trade union liberties, etc. It must be morally and legally bound to respect such obligations.

Therefore, Sir, we would request that an ILO commission be sent to Venezuela to confirm the authenticity of the facts that we have put before you, and act accordingly.

With the assurance of our respectful consideration.

For the Executive Committee of the
VENEZUELAN UNITED WORKERS CENTRE (CUTV)

Horacio SCOTT POWER
President

Jose MARCANO
National Secretary



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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

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PRAGUE, January 2, 1966

SECRETARIAT DE LA
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
PRAGUE 1, NÁM. CURIEOVÝCH 1
TÉLÉPHONE 67.856
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: FESYMOND PRAGUE

Ref: SG/Nº

Dear Brothers,

We received from the leaders of SOBSI the demand that the enclosed document, which is an Appeal from that organisation should be forwarded to you. In the spirit of solidarity of the Vith World Trade Union Congress we fraternally agree with this demand.

With our best syndicalist regards

Louis SAILLANT

General Secretary

Amplified F

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A. I. T. U. C.
 Received 593 11/2/66
 Replied.....

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
 FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
 FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
 ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
 ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

Prague, February 4, 1966

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 SECRETARIAT DE LA
 FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
 PRAGUE 1, NÁM. CURIEOVÝCH 1
 TÉLÉPHONE 67.656
 ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: FESYMOND PRAGUE

- to affiliated national centers
- to the T.U.I.s (P.D. of the WFTU)

Circ. : 30/Nº 4/66

Dear Brothers,

Kindly find attached the text of the Declaration
 by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat on events in Indonesia.

Yours fraternally



SECRETARIAT OF THE W.F.T.U.

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DECLARATION OF THE WFTU SECRETARIAT ON THE EVENTS IN INDONESIA

The World Federation of Trade Unions, as well as workers all over the world, is following with deep anxiety the development of events in Indonesia.

Under the pretext of liquidating the "Movement of September 30", the reactionary forces have been carrying on for several months a fierce campaign of repression against progressive and democratic forces, their organisations and all those who sympathise with them.

This white terror, led by Indonesian reaction in an atmosphere of anti-communism, is weighing heavily on the whole population of Indonesia.

Every day brings news about fresh crimes, massacres and mass arrests, the victims of which are communists and democrats, about illegal "purges" in the army, in the administration and in enterprises. According to official figures, 87,000 persons have been killed in Indonesia since October 1st. All this is going on in arbitrary conditions with an unleashing of reactionary forces.

The main blow of the Indonesian reaction is aimed at those who have been most ardent fighters for national independence and for social progress, those who have waged an untiring battle against all the enemies of the Indonesian Republic, defending the development of the national and democratic revolution against imperialist interference, particularly by US imperialism, and against Indonesian reaction.

This applies especially to SOBSI, the largest trade union organisation in the country, which has also always fought for national independence, democracy and social progress in Indonesia, for the strengthening of the unity of the workers and the people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The headquarters of the National Council, of SOBSI, a national centre affiliated to the WFTU, and those of its unions in different regions of Indonesia have been ransacked and destroyed by wild gangs of mercenaries protected by reactionary military forces. In many regions of Indonesia the activities of SOBSI and its unions have been banned.

A great number of leaders and militant members of SOBSI and its unions, thousands of innocent workers, numerous patriots and progressive persons have been arrested. The tortures they were subjected to recall those the fascists inflicted on their victims. Workers who refuse to submit to forced labour are publicly executed.

The WFTU resolutely condemns these criminal and arbitrary acts of the Indonesian reaction directed against the workers, the

trade unions and all democratic forces in the country.

The WFTU expresses once more its firm solidarity with the workers, democrats and patriots of Indonesia in their struggle against violence and reactionary oppression and it is convinced that the workers and democratic forces in Indonesia shall defeat the barbarous acts of the reaction and obtain victory. Therefore it demands urgently:

- the immediate cessation of the bloody terror unleashed against the trade unionists, the workers, the progressive intellectuals and all the patriots, whose only "crime" consists in an unconditional defence of the Indonesian revolution, national independence and social progress of their motherland;

- the immediate release of all detained unionists, democrats and patriots and the restoration of democratic liberties and trade union rights.

The WFTU calls upon the workers and trade union organisations of the world to condemn openly and strongly the crimes perpetrated by the reactionary forces against the peace and freedom-loving people of this country and to express - according to the conditions in their respective countries - their unwavering solidarity with the workers and the people of Indonesia.



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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
 FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
 FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
 ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
 ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

Prague, 27 June 1966

Received 3220 9/7/66
 Replied

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SECRETARIAT DE LA
 FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
 PRAGUE 1, NÁM. CURIEOVÝCH 1
 TÉLÉPHONE 67.656
 ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: FESYMOND PRAGUE

To affiliated and friendly National Centres

Circ. SG/No 26/1966

Dear Brothers,

Please find enclosed the memorandum on the violations of trade union rights and democratic liberties in Venezuela, which was submitted to the I.L.O. in Geneva by a delegation comprising Luis Padilla, WFTU Secretary, Horatio Scott Power, member of the WFTU Executive Committee and President of the Venezuelan United Workers Centre, and Jose Marciano, Secretary of the same Centre.

The delegation requested that the I.L.O. make representations to the Venezuelan government, so as to secure respect for workers' rights, unhampered trade union activities and the release of imprisoned trade union and democratic leaders. The delegation also requested that an I.L.O. commission of enquiry be sent to Venezuela.

We are sending you this memorandum, so that the facts that are laid bare therein may be profitably put to use in organising a campaign of solidarity with the trade union and democratic movement in Venezuela. The aim of such a campaign will be to put an end to persecution and secure the release of the trade union and political prisoners, who are at this moment in serious danger of losing their lives, as evidence the dispicable murder, while in prison, of the popular leader, Fabricio Ojeda.

Yours faithfully,



Pierre GENSOUS
 Assistant General Secretary, WFTU.



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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

Prague, 2nd June 1966
T.U.S.
2864 13/6/66

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SECRETARIAT DE LA
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
PRAGUE 1, NÁM. CURIEOVÝCH 1
TÉLÉPHONE 67.856
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: FESYMOND PRAGUE

- To the affiliated National Centres
- To the T.U.I.s (Prof. Depts. of the WFTU)

Circ. SG/ no.19 66

Dear Brothers,

Please find attached the following documentation, which was adopted at the 32nd W.F.T.U. Executive Committee session, held in Nicosia from 25th-28th May 1966 :

- 1 - Appeal for a world-wide upsurge in the workers' and trade union solidarity in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.
- 2 - Declaration of the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee on the working class struggle against exploitation and for the furtherance of unity.
- 3 - Motion on the 1st and 2nd items on the agenda, and conclusions.
- 4 - Motion on the Auditors' Report.
- 5 - Motion on the convening of the 16th session of the General Council.
- 6 - Motion on the affiliation of the General Confederation of Labour of Somalia.
- 7 - Motion on the affiliation of the Caledonian Federation of Autonomous Trade Unions.
- 8 - Motion accepting the nomination of brother Miroslav PASTYRIK as vice-president of the W.F.T.U. and titular member of the General Council.

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- 9 - Motion accepting the nomination of brother Antonio ZAVAGNINE as titular member of the Executive Committee and the General Council.
- 10 - Motion accepting the nomination of sister Milada NETUSILOVA as titular member of the Executive Committee and the General Council.

Yours fraternally

Pierre GIBSOUS
Assistant General Secretary



WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

D E C L A R A T I O N

of the Executive Committee of the WFTU on the
struggles of the working class against capitalist
exploitation and for greater unity

The Executive Committee of the WFTU, meeting in Nicosia on May 26, 27 and 28, 1966, greets the men and women workers in the capitalist countries on the different continents who have with growing militancy been fighting for improvement in their conditions, against capitalist exploitation and for social progress.

In the period since the 6th Congress, there has been an upsurge in labour struggles, which have increased in scope and in strength day by day.

As emphasized by the resolution on the first point on the agenda of the 6th Congress, devoted to an examination of the economic and social situation in the capitalist countries.

"The realities of capitalism, the increased domination of the capitalist monopolies and the strengthening of their policy of super-exploitation, as well as the increased organisational strength and consciousness of the working class, are expressed in a development of the struggle between the working class and the capitalist monopolies".

In these labour struggles, a particular feature is the increasing similarity of the main demands put forward even though they may be formulated differently from country to country. These demands concern particularly higher wages, shorter working hours, the negotiation of collective agreements, the abolition of discrimination on grounds of age, sex, nationality or race, improved social security, the guarantee and extension of trade union rights at all levels, above all in the enterprises. These demands constitute a solid basis for the development and strengthening of unity at the national and international levels.

This unity is all the more important since the acceleration and the scope of the process of capitalist concentration

.../

which very often involves groups of companies and monopolies which are already powerful, tends to place the entire production process in the hands of a handful of monopolies, which use the State machinery to serve their own ends. Concentration is increasing not only nationally, but also very often internationally, among the countries of the Common Market and others. European companies are being set up, and above all American investments in Europe are growing. The same trend can be observed in Japan, Great Britain, Latin America, and in fact in almost all capitalist countries.

This process of concentration is stimulated notably by technical progress and automation. Although the application of technical progress and concentration represent an objective trend in the development of the productive forces, they are used by the monopolies to their own benefit and to the detriment of the working class, which must suffer the consequences of the hunt for maximum profit. This process aggravates the contradictions of the capitalist system at the national and international levels and has direct influence on the living and working conditions of the working class in the highly industrialised countries. Thus it gives rise to many problems - mass dismissals, loss of the workers' qualifications, closing down of enterprises and so on.

This offensive of the monopolies against the workers' interests goes beyond national borders; the objectives of the monopolies are becoming more international in character.

Alongside the brutal repression and anti-strike laws employed in several Latin American countries, in India, Greece, Spain and elsewhere to slow down and hinder trade union activities and the workers' struggle, legal measures are being adopted in many countries to restrain wage increases and deprive the trade unions of their right under the sever of planning and incomes policies. This, with variations, is happening in Italy, France, the G.F.R., Great Britain, Holland, the United States and other countries.

The system of capitalist planning, whose main feature is an incomes policy which in fact means control of wages, this confronts the labour movement with urgent problems of a new kind.

Persevering and multiform attempts are being made to convince the trade unions and the working class that they should integrate themselves in this system.

However, the workers by their struggles are showing their determination to oppose repression, to win, defend and extend the right to strike and trade union freedoms wherever they

are lacking or are challenged, as well as their rejection not only of the incomes policy, but also of any interference with the right to free negotiation with the employers on all conditions of employment.

This working class is increasing its action for higher wages despite the incomes policy and the limits which this policy tries to enforce. In this context, these struggles are taking on a political character, challenging the measures drafted by the State within the framework of its plans.

This qualitative development concerns not only the objective but also the forms of struggle. Not only are the trade unions and workers waging broad struggles, but they are also using much more varied forms of action (partial strikes, refusal to work overtime, go-slow strikes by working strictly to trade political pressure, demonstrations, marches, etc.)

All these workers' actions are characterized by great militancy, by the sharpening of the class struggle in the confrontation with the monopolies. In this fight, the workers are linking themselves ever more closely with other strata of the population. Thus the workers are becoming aware of the deep connection between the struggle against the monopolies and the struggle to obtain more lasting changes so as to open up prospects for democratic development under the conditions prevailing in each country. The trade unions are putting forward their own democratic alternatives, which correspond to the workers' interests.

New tasks are confronting the trade unions in the capitalist countries, since the workers must counter the international offensive of the monopolies with their own national and international cooperation and unity so as to make their struggles more effective. A significant step, which has had considerable repercussions in Western Europe, has been taken in this direction. We refer to the agreement reached between the CGT and the CGIL to set up a permanent Committee of Coordination and Initiative for these two great Centres. Its aim is to work to achieve the unity of European labour in face of the Europe of the monopolies.

The TUI's are also making an important contribution to this development by their many steps to promote unity (meetings, discussions, seminars) aimed at deepening knowledge of specific and general occupational problems, and by their specific concern with such matters as collective agreements, with the objective of opening up a broad dialogue between various trade union forces so as to develop unity of action, and international trade union unity.

In relation to the development of unity in activities to defend the workers' interests, much work has been carried out by the WFTU and the TUI's in the inter-governmental organisations, the United Nations and its specialized Agencies, particularly the ILO, UNESCO and FAO. The WFTU undertakes to continue and strengthen its activity along this line in these organisations.

Thanks, to its struggle, the working class has in many cases succeeded in winning certain improvements from the employers and the monopolies. This confirms that united action by the working class can effectively repel the monopolies' offensive against the living standards and rights of the working people. But much still remains to be done to develop the united struggle of the workers and to raise it to the level needed to counter the growing offensive of the monopolies at the international and national levels still more effectively.

The Executive Committee enthusiastically welcomes the great labour struggles which have marked recent months and those which are now in full swing. It calls on all workers and trade unions to strengthen and co-ordinate their campaigns for these activities, deal heavy blows to the international monopolies and limit their power, thus constituting a powerful contribution to the fight of the peoples throughout the world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for democracy and the preservation of world peace.

These powerful campaigns for improvements in their conditions the community of interests of all world's workers and the irreversible process towards closer unity which is at present under way, are once more with exceptional force showing the need to continue to make every effort to achieve greater co-ordination, to strengthen solidarity and international unity, in defence of the workers' vital interests against the monopolies policy of exploitation.

The Executive Committee assures the workers of the world that the WFTU will continue and increase its activity for the development of international solidarity and unity among the workers and trade unions in all countries, the guarantee of further and decisive victories.

Long live the united struggle of the workers throughout the world for economic and social progress, against the monopolies, for trade union rights and freedoms, and for democracy!

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

AGENDA

1. Report of activities of the WFTU and its tasks after the 6th World Trade Union Congress, especially for solidarity with the workers' struggle for their economic and social demands and solidarity with the workers and people of Vietnam.

Speaker: Pierre GENSOUS
Assistant General Secretary
of the WFTU

2. Report of the activities of the TUI's

Speaker: Raul SILVESTRI
Secretary of the WFTU

3. Information on the work of the Commission to review the Constitution.
 4. Auditors' Report and ratification of the 1966 Budget
 5. Convocation of the General Council
 6. Applications for affiliation.
-

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

D E C I S I O N

The Executive Committee approves the Reports on the first and second items on the agenda as well as the conclusions adopted. It instructs the Secretariat to implement the tasks described in these Reports in conformity with the decisions of the 6th World Trade Union Congress.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

D E C I S I O N

In compliance with the application presented by the Trade Union of Autonomous Caledonian Federations, and favourably received by the 51st session of the Executive Bureau, the 32nd Session of the Executive Committee of the WFTU decides to affiliate this organisation to the World Federation of Trade Unions in accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the WFTU Constitution.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

D E C I S I O N

In compliance with the application made by the General Confederation of Labour of Somalia, and favourably examined by the 51st session of the Executive Bureau, the 32nd session of the Executive Committee of the WFTU decides to affiliate this organisation to the World Federation of Trade Unions, in accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the Constitution of the WFTU.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

DECISION

The 32nd session of the Executive Committee approves the Auditors' Report and ratifies the draft Budget for 1966, approved by the Executive Bureau of the WFTU at its 51st session.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 - 28, 1966)

D E C I S I O N

The 32nd Session of the Executive Committee agrees to accept the nomination of Milada NETUSILOVA, General Secretary of the Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers' T.U.I., as member of the Executive Committee of the General Council, in place of Brother Jaroslav MEVALD.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

D E C I S I O N

The 32nd Session of the Executive Committee, in accordance with the proposal of the General Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, decides to accept the nomination of Brother Miroslav PASTYRIK as Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions and full member of the Executive Committee and General Council, replacing Brother Frantisek ZUPKA.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

32nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Nicosia, May 26 to 28, 1966)

DECISION

The 32nd session of the Executive Committee decides to ratify the nomination of Brother Antonio ZAVAGNIN as full member of the Executive Committee and General Council, to hold the seat reserved for the General Secretary of the Metal Workers' TUI.

Nicosia, May 28, 1966.

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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

6th WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS
(Warsaw, October 8-22, 1965)

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, THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR UNITY, SOLIDARITY AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION RELATIONS.

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

- 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 FOR 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 co-operate 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 multi-lateral 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 supported 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 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 of law 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 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 co-existence 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 co-existence between States with different economic and social systems shall triumph. Peaceful co-existence 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 co-existence does not, of course, mean acceptance of capitalist exploitation, colonial oppression or class collaboration. On the contrary, the struggle for peaceful co-existence 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 co-existence".

.../

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 co-existence 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 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

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American imperialists by all trade union organisations, including those of the ICFTU.

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.

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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 peoples' 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 concentration is accompanied by a merciless struggle with 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

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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 co-ordinated 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.

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 500,000 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 co-ordination and stronger international unity.

25. Their immediate basic demands are the same:

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- 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 rights.
- Land reform and assistance to the co-operation of small and middle farmers.

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- 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 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.

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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.

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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 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 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 democracy 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 co-operation 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 co-operation 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 Trade Union 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 has decided to convene in 1966 a World Trade Union Conference to Promote Foreign Trade and to Oppose the Monopolies' Discriminatory Practises 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 co-operation with other trade union organisations on given trade problems. All this work for unity aims at opposing to the concerted action of the monopolies, co-ordinated 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 co-ordinating their forces on a regional scale on questions of common interest by relying on the significant experiences accumulated in various parts of the world.

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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 WORLD 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 world-wide 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 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 practises.

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 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 co-operate 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 co-operation 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, 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.