

WORLD PARLIAMENT OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

THE ROUND TABLE OF TRADE UNIONISTS: DETENTE-CONVERSION-DISARMAMENT

Sofia, Bulgaria, September 26, 1980

TOPICS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(1) Continuous intensification of the arms race which began just after the end of World War II has so far swallowed enormous material, human and financial resources urgently needed for the prosperity and development of the whole of mankind: The present level of the world's armaments' drive and expenditures imposes on the working people immense burdens of sacrifices, undermines the foundations of social and economic development and exposes the very existence of mankind to the risk of catastrophe in a third world war. Growing armament expenditures fails to improve the real security of nations. Instead they add to international tension, enhance the threat of armed conflicts and the risk of thermonuclear war.

(2) Huge military spending throughout the world significantly hampers the rate of economic development and of raising living standards. Armaments expenditures absorb enough to double global spending on education or to triple public spending on health protection. Channelling those means to development could markedly accelerate the economic growth of all countries and bring tangible benefits for social security. Moreover, it would be possible to contribute substantially to the solution of the problems of industrial pollution, transport, safety of work and illiteracy, prevention of diseases and their elimination, especially as regards professional and industrial diseases, housing problems and problems of people who today live on the margin of society. More and more people around the world have become aware of the detrimental effect of the arms race on development and prosperity of all nations and of the world at large.

(3) In the developed capitalist countries, the rise in military spending has gone hand in hand with growing unemployment and inflation. The propaganda slogans broadcast by the military - industrial complex say that high military budgets are conducive to higher employment, economic stability and growth. Contrary to this, there is irrefutable evidence that high military

(6) The share of agriculture in national budgets of many developing countries is in fact very small in comparison to that of "defence" spending. Military spending swallows up an important part of their wealth that should be used for the development of agriculture. Rechannelling these funds would be a major contribution to solving problems of food and employment for rural populations in many of these countries.

(7) The socialist countries have so far managed to harmonize a relatively high rate of economic growth with the strengthening of their defence potential. In conditions of a steady and rapid development the conflict between the defence needs and other social needs, particularly the increase in living standards, is not glaringly manifest. This does not mean, however, that such a contradiction does not exist. There is no doubt that a reduction in armaments, based on the principles of reciprocity, equilibrium and mutual security, and even more so, general and complete disarmament, would open up for countries with planned economies the way to faster and fuller development.

(8) Such rare and non-renewable resources as bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, nickel, molybdenum, iron-ore, manganese and oil are used in huge quantities for military purposes. Disarmament would liberate considerable quantities of these raw materials and put them at the disposal of the civilian production. This would increase and lengthen energy capacities and resources of countries. New sources of energy needed for the future of mankind could be developed in a totally safe way including the development and capacity of nuclear powerstations for peaceful purposes.

(9) An important part of labour force is partially or entirely diverted by the arms race. Human energy, professional capacities and experiences of people are put at the service of the arms production which has no suitable utility to society. Using the labour force solely for peaceful purposes would increase the number of available scientific and technical personnel, especially professors, physicians, economists, technicians. These skills are particularly needed by the developing countries that have far less than enough for their needs and who suffer greatly from their deprivation of science and technology.

(10) The priority of the military sector over the civilian one in utilising scientific and technical capacities of people constitutes a serious obstacle to the development of science,

(16) In their race for maximum profits, the military-industrial complexes and their policy of domination over natural and human resources of countries which are less powerful economically but more abundant in raw materials, their control of markets and spheres of influence, represent the chief obstacle to disarmament. This is largely responsible for the present-day deterioration of the international atmosphere. The NATO countries' militarist policy stimulating the arms race places military detente in jeopardy.

(17) While the military-industrial complexes and the most reactionary forces try to reverse international detente and artificially create a political climate for its destruction in East-West relations, peaceful forces continue their efforts to end the arms race and for disarmament. Conversion of war industries must assert itself as a way to disarmament and a reduction of arms and military expenditures.

(18) The conversion of war industries is the only alternative to save mankind from extermination. It is possible to find the most efficient ways of conversion without prejudicing the interests of skilled workers, engineers and research workers currently employed in the arms industry, and to maintain, at the same time, the earning capacity of production in civilian branches necessary to personal and social consumption. This is how State expenditures should be channelled to civilian branches of production instead of to creating ever greater means of destruction as at present.

(19) The stage-by-stage reductions in the arms production will progressively fabricate civilian products in the units designed for conversion, thus creating the establishment of a system of international cooperation in the framework of export and import trade in civilian products. The benefits from conversion would avoid present economic bottlenecks than unfavourably affect and waste human and material resources. Conversion would liberate new forces in both national consumption and international trade as well as husbanding all resources.

(20) Conversion is an alternative which would contribute to the solution of the employment problem. It is well-known that the capital invested in arms industries creates far less jobs than that invested in various sectors of civilian production. Moreover, the conversion of arms production would ensure more jobs because the production of arms is an obstacle to taking advantage of real possibilities which would contribute to the solution of development and the unemployment problem. Studies and analyses have shown that a billion dollars spent on the

- the creation of a system of public credits and subvention to assist the war industry enterprises in restructuring towards civilian production, while maintaining the same level of technology and labour force, i.e. no cutbacks.
- an investigation into the needs of the population in the matter of electric household appliances and other products of personal and family use, as well as into the problem of social capacities: cultural establishments, schools, sport facilities, housing, health establishments, transportation, infrastructure, etc.
- the adjustment of conversion to personal and social needs.
- the creation of professional and re-training schools for training workers in new methods and procedures and assisting them in their new tasks in civilian production.
- the coordination of conversion at the international level in order to avoid imbalances in the international division of labour and investment within the framework of zones of economic integration and development.

(24) Peaceful co-existence and disarmament are the two main conditions for the development of a new system of economic relations at the international level, that will guarantee the liberation and development of under-developed countries. To this end the control, limitation and, finally, elimination of harmful activities of transnational corporations in the under-developed countries are indispensable conditions for safeguarding the sovereignty of peoples over their natural and human resources. Peace, friendship and sense of security between peoples living in societies with different social and political systems will be the result.

(25) Of vital significance are the large peace proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which would stimulate economic and social development of peoples as well as strengthening international security and cooperation. These proposals call on all Non-Governmental Organisations, and especially on trade unions, regardless of their international affiliation and political or ideological orientation, to support these proposals through united actions, for reducing expenditures on arms, conversion of economies, detente and peace.

(26) The World Trade-Union Conference on Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament could give an important impetus to united actions launched by trade unions of all orientations in countries of all continents in favour of disarmament, defence of workers' interests and the well-being of all people.

(Sofia, September 23-27, 1980)

DRAFT

D E C L A R A T I O N

OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ROUND TABLE ON "DETENTE, CONVERSION
AND DISARMAMENT

The Round Table of Trade Unionists of the World, Parliament of Peace, held in Sofia on September 26, 1980, and attended by trade unionists from all the continents examined topics connected with the struggle for detente, the conversion of the war industry and disarmament which are the main prerequisites for the reinforcement of world peace and for the economic and social development of the working people.

In order to solve the problem of crisis the imperialist forces resumed the policy of raising international tension, thus increasing the war danger and the gains in the framework of political detente and raising even more obstacles to military detente.

The economic consequences of the arms build-up includes the wanton waste of human and material resources, spiraling inflation, growing unemployment and cutbacks of social, health, educational and welfare programs in the capitalist and developing countries as well as the curtailment and destruction of trade union rights. In socialist countries the defence requirements are limiting their ability to progress as rapidly as they could in their stated goals of raising the economic, social and cultural standards of their people.

There is a common, all embracing need confronting all trade unions and working people of the world to guarantee world peace, to curtail and reverse the arms race and to convert national economies from the current suicidal course of accelerating arms and military costs to investment and production of commodities and services that

fulfil human needs. Only this will raise living standards and economic, social, health, educational and cultural progress be achieved, including safe and healthy work environments on a universal scale, and at the same time guarantee a future free of the awful prospect of nuclear war.

The widely held and deliberately fostered fallacy in the western capitalist countries, as well as in the developing countries, that greater military expenditures results in economic stability and prosperity has been totally exposed as an falshood by uncontrollable inflation, increasing unemployment, cutbacks all along the line in social, health, educational and welfare programs, and an absolute lowering of living standards, precisely during the period of the greatest and most rapid increases and arms spending in all of history. In addition, the closer such expenditures and arms build-ups push the world toward nuclear confrontation and war, the greater is the diminishment of security for all the countries of the world.

In most developing countries the trade unions and working people are forced to struggle against the harmful effects of the activities of the transnational corporations together with military or para-military dictatorships, while in the home countries of these same coporations the trade unions and workers find themselves in struggles against job lay-offs and plant closures. In these instances, the necessity of forging closer common bonds of trade union solidarity is particularly acute.

The trade unions and the working people of the entire world not only have an enormous and vital concern in this, but potentially have the power to make^{an} immense contribution to put an end to halt and reverse this ghastly trend.

Therefore, the Round Table of Trade Unionists of the World Parliament of Pepples for Peace widely represented by trade unions and working people of all continents unanimously acclaims and appeals to all trade unionists and their organisations everywhere, as follow:

- a) That the trade unions and the working people of all countries of the world, in common with all other people, have an immediate and most urgent need and concern to remove the present extreme war danger and the suicidal trend toward nuclear confrontation and war.
- b) That the trade unions and the working people, in every country have an inalienable and basic human right to a World at Peace and to rising standards for all in every sphere of human activities and endeavour in national and international economies based on the production of goods and services designed for human needs and betterment, full employment and social, economic, educational and health protection and advancement.
- c) That notwithstanding differing and various political, economic, social and ideological systems and outlooks, and while recognizing that in each country, programs and actions of varying characters will be developed, we most urgently urge and appeal for maximum and immediate united programs and actions at every level, whether local, regional, provincial, state, national and international, to remove the present war danger; to curtail and reverse the arms race and expenditures; and for the conversion of industries, resources of all kinds, investment and expenditures, and production to peaceful purposes and a world at peace for all generations to come.
- e) That we strongly support the idea and projection of a special World Trade Union Conference on Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament, and for the convening at the earliest possible date of an initiative group (International Preparatory Committee) for realization of this Conference.

We are convinced that the ideas of this Declaration will be favourably received by the world trade union movement and will thus be a major contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL
ON THE 2nd ITEM ON THE AGENDA

Presented by: Ibrahim ZAKARIA
Deputy General Secretary

I

1.1. This 31st Session of the WFTU General Council coincides with the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Along with the stalwarts of our international trade union movement, we look back over the last three and a half decades - a period which changed the face of the world, a period of unprecedented social achievements, and a period of rapid advances of the world trade union movement.

1.2. When the 272 delegates from 56 nations met in Paris at the First World Trade Union Congress in October 1945, they represented about 64 million organised workers. The trade union membership all over the world is now almost 350 million.

1.3. This has been a period of tremendous progress in science and technology, opening up new vistas for mankind. These achievements have literally reached the skies - we have the cosmonaut members of our affiliate, the AUCCTU, up in space for months now, perhaps at this time watching over their TV, the proceedings of our meeting. We could even say that the slogan of our world trade union movement - international solidarity - is now heard from space itself, thanks to the Intercosmos programme of the socialist countries. Joined in space last week were Soviet cosmonauts and a Cuban cosmonaut - the first Latin American in orbit. Before him an Asian cosmonaut was in orbit - from Vietnam. From this rostrum, we send our warmest congratulations to these heroes of our time. The entire progressive mankind rejoices at these achievements of science - and solidarity.

1.4 This period has seen the great victory of the national liberation movement and the collapse of colonialism. It has seen the consolidation of a new social system - the socialist system - based on the social ownership of the means of production and implementing a policy of genuine equality, fraternity, social justice and solidarity. The trade unions

in the non-socialist countries have achieved important gains through organisation and struggle. The trade unions of the world have reached a new stage of maturity, enhancing their role in social development. International contacts of trade unions have developed over a wide field, raising the consciousness and action in favour of international solidarity.

1.5. We pay tribute on the occasion of our 35th anniversary, to the countless men and women - heroes and heroines of our world trade union movement, who organised, fought struggles, acted in solidarity and built up our movement, as the largest organised force in the world today. We send our greetings to the millions who are in the field of class battles against the capitalist monopolies - in defence of jobs and wages, for trade union and democratic rights - and the right to life itself, which can be guaranteed only if we safeguard world peace. What keeps our movement dynamic and ever alert is our heritage - our heritage of struggle. And it is this struggle that should bring us together - all the trends in the world trade union movement. Acting in defence of the workers, we are acting in defence of social progress.

1.6. The concerted international united action of trade unions is a powerful component of world public opinion at the present time, which exerts a tremendous influence in the positive development of the international situation.

1.7. But we are realists. We cannot shut our eyes to the new challenges which confront our movement. As is well-known, imperialism and state-monopoly capitalism have improvised

✓ [structures to safeguard their economic and political domination and better organise and enforce the international capitalist division of labour. These structures include the fast-growing transnational corporations, which dominate every sector of economic activity in the capitalist world. Their global operations under centralised control appear as world capitalism's response to the growing strength and influence of world socialism and its specific contribution to human progress - public ownership of the means of production and planned development.

1.8. The most important question of economic development and social progress in the world today is: Should this be on the basis of democratic planning and the planned growth of interstate economic cooperation, on a basis of equality and mutual benefit and a new international economic order; OR, should this be left to the so-called market forces, that is, the global planning of the transnational corporations, the continuation of inequality, discrimination and highly unequal and lopsided development?

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→ 1.9. This is a matter of life and death for the world trade union movement. And with the colossal sinister impact of the arms race, the margin between life and death today is, indeed, very little. A computer error recently threatened our complete extinction in a nuclear war and this was not the first such incident. And we all know that the arms race is not self-generating but has an external stimulus. The arms race exists since profits, and huge profits at that, are made by the transnational corporations who make these weapons. The arms

race exists since the home governments of the transnational corporations have a strategy of military pressure on the socialist countries and the developing countries which seek economic independence.

1.10. It is clear that the recent aggravation of international tension, the rekindling of the cold war, the military build-up by the US government in the Indian Ocean region (totally disregarding the UN Declaration of Indian Ocean as a zone of Peace) is not only an attempt to advertise the military glory and destructive power of the US military establishment. These are actions to restore the domination of the transnational oil cartel and other transnational corporations, based in the United States.

1.11. This is clearly not only an ideological confrontation. The arms race is as much an economic weapon as a military strategy of the transnationals. The transnationals are strangers to democracy and social justice. They are the ones who organised military coups as in Chile in 1973 and most recently in Bolivia. They are behind the anti-labour and anti-social economic policies of their home governments - the policies which have created unprecedented unemployment. The OECD forecasts that unemployment will rise by mid-1981 to 23 million in the developed capitalist countries.

1.12. The Apartheid regime in South Africa would not remain a minute longer but for the economic and political support given by the transnational corporations and their home governments. Nor could the Israeli aggression and occupation of Arab

territories be sustained without the massive financial and military support given by the transnational military-industrial complex. US troops continue to occupy South Korea, in contravention of UN resolutions, to safeguard the interests of the transnational corporations.

1.13. We do not, of course, wish to oversimplify the issues and trace the original sin entirely to the transnational corporations. But it is a fact that imperialism and neo-colonialism have modernised their attire. They have had a face-lift but they are now mostly unseen or remain mysterious as the "gnomes" of New York, London, Frankfurt, Paris, Tokyo, Zurich, etc. The management boards of the transnational corporations and the transnational banks which control these corporations are filled with faceless men, who avoid the glare of publicity. But the impact of the activities of these gentlemen embraces every activity in the capitalist world. Few people know that the stalemate in international economic negotiations at the UN is caused by the manipulations of the gnomes of Wall Street and other nests of financial capital, that world inflation is a product of their evil genius, that they operate a parallel economy and parallel finance mechanisms through the so-called "Eurodollar" market and other such funds, outside the control of any government. This parallel fund of the transnationals now totals over a thousand billion dollars. The following facts presented in a recent UN pamphlet, "Towards a World Economy that Works", are very revealing:

+ "Even more impressive than the growth in trade has been the growth in the role of giant transnational corporations in world trade. In 1971, the total value of production controlled internationally by these corporations was \$330 billion, compared to a total of \$310 billion of world exports.

+ "Also, about 25 per cent of the exports of major industrial countries consisted of transactions within companies. What this implies is a reduction of the power of governments to control vital areas of economic policy. It has also meant that transnational corporations have been able to restrict the growth of competition by a variety of monopolistic practices."

1.14. And then the UN publication described its impact on the terms of Trade:

+ "In the 1970s there have been marked changes in price relationships in world trade. These have resulted in a serious deterioration of the terms of trade of developing countries, both oil exporters and others. The loss to them amounted to almost 15 per cent between 1974 and 1978, representing in 1978 a foreign exchange loss of over \$30 billion. This reflects the continuing inflation in prices of the manufactured products of developed countries and the depressing effect on commodity prices of stagnant demand for industrial raw materials."

1.15. In the capitalist and developing countries, the capitalist-controlled mass media never cease their ideological and political attack on the trade union movement. They allege that the trade unions are responsible for the inflation, for the crisis in the economy and for the lack of progress, since the unions make high wage demands. According to them, only the capitalists are patriotic and not the workers. This only adds insult to injury. The workers suffer from loss of jobs, i.e., loss of means of

livelihood, and those who retain their jobs suffer from continuous wage-cuts due to inflation.

1.16. The same line of propaganda is used against the developing countries as a whole, especially the oil-producing developing countries.

1.17. How far has the trade union movement been successful in countering this ideological and political offensive, launched on behalf of the transnational corporations? Obviously, we have not done enough.

1.18. The United Nations and its specialised agencies as well as the non-aligned countries and various inter-governmental organisations now devote special attention to the activities of the transnationals. The United Nations has established a Commission on Transnational Corporations. Thus the trade union actions against the transnational corporations bring the world trade union movement into ^a vast common front of struggle for the democratic restructuring of international economic relations and for democratic development strategies at a national and international level.

1.19. As the meeting of developing countries held in Arusha this year has pointed out, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is actually used by the transnational banks and companies to put pressure on developing countries - and even some developed capitalist countries - to abandon policies of independent economic development and to impose cuts in social services, reduce living standards and increase unemployment. And to impose such anti-people policies, at the dictates of the IMF, in the recent period, governments as in Peru and Sri Lanka had unleashed severe repression on workers and trade unions.

1.20 The windfall profits of the US oil cartel as a result of Carter's pro-monopoly oil policy constitute the greatest scandal of modern times. The big squeeze out of US citizens amounts to over 400 billion dollars. The transnational oil cartel, mainly based in the US, has been the greatest beneficiary of the so-called "energy crisis". It has made more in terms of super-profits than what the oil-producing developing countries received in real terms by fixing a fair price for their natural resources.

1.21. Much of the refining and trade on the capitalist world's oil market is still controlled by the transnational oil cartel. The US Administration, at the behest of the oil cartel, is applying extreme pressure on the oil-producing and other developing countries. The US Administration uses food as a weapon to blackmail the developing countries. They even renege on contracts to supply fuel to nuclear power plants constructed by them in the developing countries as, for example, recently in India. These blackmailing tactics have been strongly denounced by the workers and trade unions in India. Because of the shortages in power generation, most of India's industries are working far below capacity, causing serious reduction in the workers' earnings.

1. 22. These pressure tactics are being applied also on US allies. After the ruinous effects of the policy of militarisation - and of such aggressive wars as in Vietnam - on US economy, which even led to the devaluation of the dollar itself, the US military-industrial complex is now putting pressure on its NATO allies to pursue the same suicidal path. In the recent period, there have been big protest actions in Western Europe in which several thousands of workers took part, responding to calls by trade unions and other progressive forces, against the proposed installation of more sophisticated US-made nuclear missiles. These actions demonstrated the popular anger against the US attempts to

impose its bankrupt and inhuman policies on its NATO partners.

1.23 The brains trust of the transnational corporations and their imperialist home governments is the Trilateral Commission. This Commission was created in 1973, at the instance of transnational bankers and businessmen of the USA, Western Europe and Japan. More than half of its 200 members are directors of the transnational corporations and the rest include intellectuals and politicians from the dominant bourgeois political groupings. Even some trade union leaders mainly of the AFL-CIO orientation are included as members. The Trilateral Commission formulates possible lines of compromise as between the leading capitalist countries, in respect of their main international political and economic activities, including their relations with the socialist and developing countries. The integration of pro-monopoly policies among the governments concerned is sought to be achieved by the top-level meetings of leaders of these governments, as in Venice this year.

1.24. As against these highly organised mechanisms of world capitalist monopolies, how organised are the structures of the world trade union movement? How do the workers and trade unions react to the growing monopoly capitalist offensive on their living standards? We shall attempt a brief review in the subsequent section of this report.

Before we conclude the introductory remarks of this report we must state our greatest anxiety at one of the most tragic events of the present day - the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran. The conflict has already caused tremendous destruction and losses of human lives. These events constitute a tremendous setback to the social development of both Iraq and Iran. The path of the working people of both countries towards social progress must not be obstructed by outbreaks of armed conflicts which benefit only imperialism and the transnational corporations. The WFTU calls for an end to the fighting and the ~~resolution~~ of disputes through peaceful negotiations.

1. 25. This report does not intend to discuss a vast number of issues, since statements and resolutions on these subjects are being proposed. The draft documents which are being circulated highlight the main points for discussion at the General Council on these specific issues. We have therefore avoided duplication of effort and restricted this report to the examination of a most important issue: How effectively can we promote united action and solidarity, based on actual needs and possibilities, carrying forward the policy guidelines adopted by the 9th Congress?

II

2.1. Official OECD forecasts admit that all the symptoms of the crisis of the 1970s will continue to afflict the economies of the capitalist countries well into the 1980s. Efforts of the ruling circles to resolve the crisis at the expense of the workers have, of course, maintained and even improved the super -profits of the monopolies. But these measures have, in fact, worsened the crisis. As we have noted earlier, there is no prospect of any reduction in unemployment; on the other hand, by next year, unemployment in the OECD countries will rise to 23 million. The worst affected are women, young people and migrant workers. Policy statements made by the ruling circles show that they have no intention at all to deal with these social problems. They are actually planning for a further deterioration in the economic and social situation of the working people. This is, indeed, an admission of the bankruptcy of their policies and an admission, as well, that there is no way out of the crisis within the framework of the capitalist system.

2.2 This was seen in the declarations of the Venice Summit of the big capitalist powers. Policy measures outlined in Venice called for more "austerity", cuts in public expenditure and a more massive transfer of resources from the public to the private sector. More public funds will be made available for the re-deployment and re-structuring operations of the big monopolies and transnationals. But their efforts to bring about greater integration of the economies of the main capitalist countries make no progress, because of inherent contradictions, and the growing difficulties for the US ruling circles to maintain a hegemonistic role. The balance of forces in the international arena in its evolution is clearly in favour of the forces of peace, national liberation, economic independence and social progress. This remains so, despite the frenzied attempts of imperialist and reactionary forces to intensify attacks on the working class and trade union movement, the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

→ 2.3. However, the trade union movement must remain vigilant, especially with regard to the social impact of the strategies of economic integration which the imperialist ruling circles and the transnationals seek to promote in the capitalist world.

This strategy is at the centre of the research, elaboration and coordination of activity, sought to be achieved through such institutions as the Trilateral Commission, referred to earlier. And these strategies do have a very wide impact.

→ 2.4. Recent trends confirm that the accentuation of the capitalist crisis accelerates tendencies of greater monopoly concentration. The crisis of the 'seventies in the capitalist world - the worst since the crisis of the 'thirties - has demonstrated this anti-social tendency in its worst aspects. ←

This brought bankruptcy to a number of small and medium undertakings, unable to withstand monopoly competition. The excessively high interest rates further worsen the situation of small and medium enterprises. On the other hand, because of greater monopoly domination, the transnational corporations make larger profits on a smaller volume of production.

2.5. Another tendency has been the flight of capital to the more technologically intensive industries and the transfer of investments by the transnationals from some basic industries in the developed capitalist countries. The transnationals are carrying out a big scheme of re-structuring to realize maximum profits. This has resulted in closures of several production units in the developed capitalist countries. Production has been transferred to low-wage areas, particularly to countries where trade union rights are suppressed by dicatatorial regimes.

2.6. Under pressure of the monopolies, the reactionary ruling circles in some of the developed capitalist countries, are carrying out a programme of de-nationalisation. Public sector units are starved of funds. Without any regard for the contribution made by the public sector enterprises to the development of national economy, some of these units are being forced to close down, while profitable lines are sold to private monopolies. It has even happened that private monopolies were given state support to weaken the positions of the public sector. In the UK, the Tory Government even propose to hand over the postal services and telecommunications to private monopolies. On the other hand,

through bitter struggles, the workers and trade unions have, in several cases, forced governments in capitalist countries to take over and run factories and undertakings closed down by private employers.

2.7. Struggles against factory closures and for the right to work have been accomplished by broad solidarity movements and nationwide actions. The trade unions reject the very framework of the policies of the ruling circles which favour the monopolies. The trade unions have put forward slogans for a democratic alternative, including state take-over of industries shut down by private monopolies and for full guarantees of the right to work.

2.8. An important demand highlighted in these struggles is the demand for a reduction of working hours - for a 35-hour working week. In a limited way, in some sectors, the trade unions have been able to effect a breakthrough on this demand, after bitter struggles.

2.9. Some compensation for the higher living costs caused by the continuous inflation has been obtained by trade unions in various capitalist and developing countries. However, this continues to be a running battle in defence of real wages and no compensation obtained after hard struggles is never adequate to meet the escalating living costs. Therefore, the trade unions in some countries have demanded effective steps to curb monopolies, introduce state trade and public distribution systems to stop the erosion of the purchasing power of wages.

2.10. The serious impact of technological changes on unemployment has been of major concern to the trade union movement. The prospects are worse, with the expected development of micro-electronics and mini-computers. According to a recent study by the British Labour Party, half the population - some 25 million - could be impoverished in the UK, if micro-chip technology is let loose. As it happened today in many capitalist countries, new investments are entirely in the field of higher technology and are entirely labour saving. Thousands of jobs are thus "rationalised away". The social cost of technological change is thus getting bigger. Trade unions point out that these products of the scientific and technological revolution cannot be left as playthings for the profit-hungry monopoly capitalists. Social control over technological change has become essential. Public ownership and planned development only can effectively deal with the negative consequences of technological change. Trade unions, therefore, insist that no change in technological processes should be introduced without advance notice and full consultation with them. This demand is fully recognised in the socialist countries.

2.11. In the OECD countries, the trade unions have called for greater public investments on job-oriented projects. They strongly oppose the cuts in public spending ordered by the reactionary

governments. On the other hand, they have called for cuts in the arms budget and for its use for real needs of social and economic development.

2.12. The WFTU and TUIs have expressed their complete solidarity with and have intervened wherever possible in support of these struggles. The WFTU-TUis Consultative Meeting held on 9-10 September 1980 made a critical review of these solidarity actions. These actions, the meeting noted, require to be raised to a much higher and effective level to meet the real needs of the situation.

2.13 The meeting called for effective coordination with regional and national trade union centres and the various TUIs, the creation of an effective coordination machinery at industry and trade levels, and the development of appropriate forms of solidarity actions. This was stressed as crucially important for the coordination of struggles against the transnational corporations .

2.14. We cannot remain satisfied with the actions so far taken in support of the struggle for trade union rights. In view of the extreme urgency of this issue, the Berlin meeting of the WFTU Bureau had called for the observance of 1980 as an International Year of Intensified Action for Trade Union Rights. Apart from general propaganda in favour of the Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights adopted by the 9th Congress, an effort has been made to provide concrete assistance to the workers and unions most seriously affected by anti-union repression. But these initiatives did not develop in intensity as we had

✓ envisaged. Trade union centres like the COB in Bolivia, DISK in Turkey, have been disbanded by the military rulers who usurped power, evidently with the full support of the transnational corporations and their imperialist home governments. And some reactionary governments advertise their total suppression of trade union rights as an "incentive" for investment by the transnational corporations. Many trade union leaders have been murdered in cold blood in some countries. The situation demands that the entire possibilities of international solidarity be effectively directed to a further intensification of the campaign for the defence of trade union and democratic rights.

2.15. The struggles of working peasants and agricultural workers in the developing countries have been increasing in the recent period. While some degree of solidarity on the part of industrial workers has developed, it is clear that without a more intensive campaign and supporting actions by the working class as a whole, the struggle for an agrarian reform will largely remain unrealised. The Algiers Committee on the Agrarian Reform which has brought together all major international and regional trade union organisations (except the ICFTU) has taken an important initiative to accelerate this solidarity campaign.

2.16. At its last two sessions, since the 30th Session of the WFTU General Council, the Bureau of the WFTU discussed and adopted reports on two important current issues - actions against unemployment, and solidarity for development. These reports have put forward integrated platforms for the development of solidarity actions at different levels. These reports have been widely distributed. The World Trade Union Conference held in Belgrade

in April 1980, unanimously adopted a document, recommending united international trade union action on development issues.

2.17. However, we have to recognize the reality that the international economic negotiations at the level of the UN, at the recent special session of the UN General Assembly, have failed to make any headway. The transnationals and their home governments have prevented any reasonable agreement on the genuine demands of the developing countries.

2.18. During the Second UN Development Decade (1971-80), the low-income developing countries registered a rate of growth in per capita income only to a miserable 0.6 per cent, as against the target of 3.5 per cent. Two thousand million people continue to be classified as "poor" and 800 million of them as "destitute". In 1978, more than 12 million children under the age of five died of hunger.

2.19. And during this Second Development Decade with its most unimpressive social achievement, the assets of the 50 largest transnational banks increased from 603,000 million dollars in 1971 to 2,310,700 million dollars in 1978.

2.20 The rise of 1,707,700 million dollars in seven years is certainly an impressive record for the transnational banks. But this money did not multiply by itself. It came by cutting the purchasing power of wages of workers through inflation, by increasing the exploitation of the workers, and by looting the resources of the developing countries.

2.21. It was stated at the recent British TUC Congress that the effect of the Tory government policies in terms of unemployment, higher prices and cuts in state benefits and services is to reduce

living standards by over £15,000 million a year.. According to estimates of US economists, the loss of real spendable income of US working class over the past 24 months amounts to, about 150,000 million dollars a year.

2.22. According to a recent UN publication, a developing country exporting cocoa gets only 8 per cent of the retail price of the product in the FRG. And on a larger group of commodities, while the exporting developing countries got only 30,000 million dollars, the value realised in the retail end amounted to 200,000 million dollars.

2.23. This is, indeed, a colossal price to pay by the working people the world over, to keep the transnational corporations in business. A colossal price the working people pay dearly through low living standards, extreme poverty and starvation of millions!

2.24. But there is another reality in our planet - the reality of the socialist world. One third of the world's industry is in the CMEA countries - under public ownership and democratic control. This high growth rate was achieved through planned socialist economy in which the workers and trade unions have the constitutional right to participate in the formulation and implementation of economic plans. During the 1970s, when the capitalist world had its worst crisis since 1930s, the planned socialist economies maintained a steady growth. Half the increase in the world industrial output during the 1970s was accounted for by the socialist countries.

2.25. The trade unions in the socialist countries, as active participants in the planning process, are now confronting new tasks. The policy of discrimination and boycotts organised by the imperialist powers has created difficulties in the

planned development of trade and economic relations with the developed capitalist countries, which could be mutually advantageous. President Carter thought that by putting an embargo on the sale of grain to the Soviet Union, he would force the government of the USSR to bow to his dictate. He can have his daydreams. However, none can deny that this practice of discrimination in international trade has caused and will continue to cause difficulties in the future for the planned economies of the socialist countries. These difficulties could be reflected in one way or another, to this or that degree on the lives of the workers. But these are difficulties which can be overcome. They are not of such a character that they could even remotely affect the basic foundations of a socialist society.

2.26. We have always maintained and we repeat now that not only are normal trade relations between all countries of the world advantageous for all but their influence has direct effects on our daily lives as workers. It is sufficient to mention that some two million jobs are maintained in Western Europe by trade with the socialist countries and that this has all the potential for further planned development.

2.27. Experiences show, as the report to the 22nd session of the WFTU Bureau noted, that "through inter-state agreements established on a basis of full equality and mutual benefit, desirable structural changes in the world economy and international trade can be brought about, contributing to a balanced, all-round development and the raising of the living standards of workers and peoples in all countries." They also show that there is great scope for the full utilisation of the opportunities offered by the possibilities for a division of labour, on the basis of comparative

advantage and specialisation, involving countries with different social and economic systems - between socialist and developed capitalist countries, as well as between socialist and developing countries.

2.28. For some weeks now, issues connected with the situation in Poland have been a centre of public attention.

2.29. As with many of its affiliated and friendly organisations, the WFTU was most concerned with these events. The WFTU Secretariat promptly sent a fact-finding mission in agreement with the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions. A press communique was published after the visit of the mission.

2.30. Serious measures are now being taken to remove the causes of discontent among the workers, by correcting the mistakes in economic management and the functioning of trade unions. We are sure that we will listen to precise information on these measures from our Polish comrades present here.

2.31. However, the events in Poland have also shown beyond any doubt that anti-socialist forces and their propaganda centres have done and are still doing all they can to take advantage of the situation, to disrupt the unity of the Polish trade unions and thus weaken their efforts to build socialism in Poland as a whole. These destabilising activities must be openly condemned by the entire international trade union movement. The interest of the Polish workers lies in retaining their unity and their determination to defend their own interests, which are in no way in contradiction with the interests of socialist society as a whole.

III.

3.1. Attention is now focused on what can be the democratic alternative to the development models imposed by the transnational corporations. It is up to the workers of all countries to put not only their heads together but roll up their sleeves and put forward this democratic alternative.

3.2. What kind of a democratic alternative do we need?

- We need a democratic alternative to unemployment, we need the guarantee of the right to work;
- We need a democratic alternative to the policy of "austerity" and wage freeze, high taxation, inflation, attacks on trade union rights and the hardwon gains of workers' struggles;
- We need a democratic alternative to the policy of the arms race and the spending of a million dollar every minute on armaments;
- We need a democratic alternative to the plunder of the resources of the developing countries by the transnational corporations, an alternative to end the misery and hunger of millions of working people;
- We need a democratic alternative to the growth of fascism and dictatorship and the suppression of elementary human rights and trade union rights.

3.3. Can we present this alternative and work for its realisation? The answer is definitely - YES - provided that we put our forces together and work together.

3.4. Who gets harmed by our unity of action? Only the monopolies, the regimes the monopolies keep in power to foster their interests, and those who want to fatten themselves out of the poverty and destitution of their fellow-beings.

3.5 Who stands to benefit by this unity? All the workers and all the working people. All our fellow human beings who want to satisfy their basic material and spiritual needs.

3.6. Practically, all trade union organisations without exception have spoken out in favour of the democratic alternatives we listed above. But what is lacking so far is the desired level of unity of action - because some intentionally hinder the development of the unity of action on these crucial issues.

3.7. When we say this, regrettably enough, we have in mind the 12th Congress of the ICFTU, held during the period under review. That Congress, we realize, was an important gathering of trade union organisations. It expressed itself on several important problems including development, peace, disarmament, job security and trade union perspectives for the 1980s. But unfortunately, it stopped there. We believe that everyone, including the members of the ICFTU, would have been greatly relieved if these sentiments expressed at the Congress were followed by practical steps - steps towards joint action by the entire international trade union movement. After all, not only the 70 million members of the ICFTU are affected by those issues and problems.

3.8. When we say this again, we have in mind the 3rd Congress of the ETUC held in May 1979 which had, at its focal point, the struggle for the guarantee of the right to work - a demand which became most pressing in the background of the steep rise in unemployment all over Western Europe. But, how can the ETUC and the West European trade unions fight effectively on this burning issue when the ETUC closes its doors to some major trade union organisations in Western Europe? Can the workers of Western Europe remain satisfied with just a walk-out staged by the leaders of the ETUC when even their modest demands for a reduction of working hours and for active employment policies were turned down by the EEC ministers and employers?

3.9. Happily enough, not everything is negative in this aspect of unity and united action by trade union organisations of different tendencies and affiliations. The members of the General Council can find many examples in the theses of this report sent in advance and the Report of Activities of the WFTU since the last session of the General Council, which is before you.

3.10. Nevertheless, we can speak about what we consider to be a very positive example of how the trade union movement can come to agree on a common platform of action. We have in mind here the World Trade Union Conference on Development held in Belgrade in April this year. At this Conference, organisations of all affiliations and from all parts of the world came to participate. The participation was at a high level. They sat together and came out with a document which constitutes the platform of action by trade union organisations on development. Nobody

was obliged to accept something that did not correspond to his line or outlook. In short, nobody lost his identity. And still we all found a common platform.

3.11. This experience in Belgrade showed clearly that we can come together if we wish. And it is our conviction that is the wish of the workers the world over that we come together.

3.12. We have another very recent example:

Many trade union leaders found themselves last week in Sofia to participate in the People's Parliament for Peace. They took this opportunity to discuss - at a round table - the aspects of disarmament which directly affect the workers. It was clear to everybody that disarmament, far from creating more unemployment, as some advocate, will not only ease the present unemployment but will create millions of new jobs. If the huge sums of money spent on arms today are diverted to the production of goods for people's needs - or, in other words, are invested in peace, then the misery and squalor existing on our planet, involving millions in the developing countries can be ended for ever.

3.13. The participants in the Round Table agreed that it is high time now for the entire world trade union movement to come together and to press for disarmament - and to divert the sums spent on arms to meet the economic and social demands of the workers.

3.14. Again, nobody in Sofia was asked to change his ideas on the whole issue of war and peace. Nobody had to renounce his affiliation to this or that organisation, in the course of working together for the realisation of this noble task.

3.15. Here we can see that the road is wide open for the joint action by trade union organisations. But to make this opening still wider, we have to struggle resolutely against two aspects. Firstly, there are the remnants of the cold war in the international trade union movement. Secondly, and this concerns us, some of our own old habits are out of tune with the conditions in the present-day international trade union movement.

3.16. As far as the first aspect is concerned, as you can see, not everything depends on us. However, it is clear that by tackling the second aspect, we can influence, may be indirectly, the first aspect as well.

3.17. The 9th World Trade Union Congress, in the presence of numerous non-affiliated organisations, called for the renewal of the world trade union movement. And, to achieve this, it called for the renewal of the WFTU itself. The Congress asked us: Make the WFTU - with its proclaimed character as a class, mass and democratic organisation - a place where all can find accommodation. The Congress asked us to adapt our style of work and our approach to the realities of the trade union movement of today. Now we are approaching the 10th World Trade Union Congress and, we believe, it is high time to stop and ask ourselves: How far have we gone to realise what the 9th Congress asked us to do concerning the WFTU?

3.18. Here we want to speak in a very frank manner. We appeal to you all, including our guests at this session, to devote some of your time to a frank exchange of views on this matter.

3.19. We have achieved some progress since the 9th Congress. This was recognised at the last session of our General Council and the 22nd session of the Bureau. This progress must be taken forward much further.

3.20. Some of our affiliates and some friends as well criticise us that the WFTU is more a political rather than a trade union organisation, judging by its actions. Well, though it is sometimes difficult to divorce political work from trade union work, this criticism has in certain respects some grounds. Maybe, sometimes, the language we use creates an impression that we are more of a political organisation. But we could humbly state that all our previous actions were guided by our deep desire to serve the interests of the workers and we have always tried, despite shortcomings and weaknesses, to pay adequate attention to the economic and social problems of day-to-day concern to the workers.

3.21. It is true that we have advanced much in our work in support of the struggles against unemployment, against the consequences of the crisis in the capitalist countries, against the transnational corporations, for the respect of trade union rights, on such matters as the problems of working women and young workers, etc. However, our response to the trade unions in the developing countries, for specific help in their activities, is not yet adequate.

3.22. This has been of constant concern to us: How to improve our methods of work, how to adapt ourselves more and more to the reality of today. We want to proceed as far as to make substantial amendments to the Constitution of our organisation. You will be acquainted with these amendments during this session. Wide-ranging

consultations are under way, both within our ranks and with our friendly organisations.

3.23. Those of you who will discuss and adopt the Budget of our organisation for the year 1981, will notice that, this time, we are allocating substantial sums for our activities in the economic and social field.

3.24. We have already referred to the very constructive meeting between the Secretariat of the WFTU and the Secretariats of the TUIs and how that meeting unanimously stressed the need to concentrate our activities more and more on economic and social questions.

3.25. For this process to continue and to have results, the active cooperation of all of us is essential.

3.26. This being said, it is clear that the WFTU, because of its class character, has to meet the ideological offensive of the enemies of the trade union movement and also take political actions. We cannot, as an international trade union organisation, close our eyes to the aggressive plans and actions of imperialism. We cannot remain unconcerned about the aggravation of international tension, the slide-back on the policy of détente, the turning of Western Europe into a dense forest of nuclear missiles or the building of military bases on foreign lands. The Helsinki Agreements on European Security and Cooperation are the products of a sustained struggle of the workers and people of Europe and how can we be unconcerned about the forthcoming Madrid Conference? We cannot remain aloof when democratic rights are trampled under foot and martial law imposed by military dictatorships as in Bolivia and Turkey. We must remain in active solidarity with the Palestinian people who are deprived of their most elementary right to have a land to live and a state to direct their affairs.

3.27. We are an international trade union organisation with 35 years of experience behind it and also benefiting from the vast wealth of experience of our affiliates and friends. We know that the interests of the workers can best be defended in conditions of detente, relaxation in international tension and normalisation of relations between states of different social systems. We know that those interests could best be served when trade union rights and democratic liberties are respected.

3.28. The discussion at this session of the General Council is intended to help the realisation of the deep desire of the 9th World Trade Union Congress to make out of the WFTU, an organisation in which all those who strive for progress can find a place. Not only to say that we are the largest world trade union organisation - which, in fact, we are - we want to be able to defend the common cause of the workers more effectively and more energetically. Can we conduct such fruitful discussions? This is what we sincerely hope. We are sure that all the participants, and especially our guests from non-affiliated organisations, will live up to our expectations.

Brothers and Sisters,

3.29. We are approaching the 10th World Trade Union Congress, where we will give an account of what the WFTU has achieved, following the discussions and decisions of the 9th Congress, and what new tasks lie ahead of us and for the entire international trade union movement.

3.30. We realise that it would be too difficult for this session of the WFTU General Council to decide on all matters connected with the preparations for the Congress. In any case, it would be too early to do all that, since we want the Congress

to be more connected with the reality of its time. That is why we propose that the present session of the General Council appoint a Commission of its members to start these preparations. We propose further that the General Council give a mandate to the Bureau to examine and decide on the work of the Commission and to take any measures necessary for the holding of a successful 10th World Trade Union Congress.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA
TÜSTAV

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

STATEMENT

on European Security and
Disarmament

No other continent on our planet has offered as much as Europe. Nowhere has mankind shed as much blood as between the Atlantic and the Ural. No country in that region was able to avoid war, none of their generations were able to escape its horrors. After the salutary breath of détente which only yesterday filled the workers and people of Europe with optimism and hope, now come the cold currents of tension. They were not started by a "mythical" Soviet "threat", neither were they provoked by the revolution in Iran or the "Afghan problem", far from it. Their source is in the chancelleries of the White House, the Pentagon and NATO, eager to deal blows to détente wherever it appears, especially in Europe, and everywhere it has taken root and is beginning to bear fruit.

The decision taken by Washington in 1978 and intended to "complete the armament" of NATO, another one imposed by the Carter administration about the basing in Western Europe of new American missiles, the "new nuclear strategy" promoted by the White House, are not all these the source which introduces a cold political climate in the world?

The policy from the other side of the Atlantic dictated to Western Europe is opposed to the interests of the peoples on the European continent. It is intended to change Western Europe into an American arsenal of nuclear missiles, a potential battlefield and as such to guarantee the security of the territory of the United States.

The workers who in the past had more than once to bear the heavy burden of militarism and the arms race are once more made to pay for this policy which is being forced on them.

Such a policy goes against the interests of the workers. It brings new hardships and suffering, a reduction of the standard of living, new price increases and continuing inflation. This policy threatens the right to work and helps increase the army of unemployed by hundreds of thousands and millions of people.

This policy brings with it a threat to the sacred right of every man, the right to life. It is opposed to the aspirations of the people devoted to peace and cooperation.

This policy serves the interests of imperialists and aggressive circles and, above all, the military industrial complex and the monopolies related to it.

These very circles realize fabulous profits which grow in direct proportion to increasing international tension and the exacerbation of the arms race. They spread the fear of a "threat from the East", a pure invention intended to help launch an offensive against the workers' rights and vital interests, against democratic and trade-union freedoms. The "anti-detente" course is only an attempt to prevent a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, to stop and reverse anti-imperialist processes going on in the world.

This policy is, of course doomed to failure. It is impossible to stop the march of history, as it is impossible to reverse its course. The objective premisses which are the basis of détente have not changed in the least.

The trade unions in the European countries function in different social regimes. On many issues their stands differ. Yet they must be identical as far as the safeguarding of peace and détente is concerned, in line with the identical interests of those whom the trade unions represent and defend. All the European workers, all the peoples of the world need peace, détente and disarmament. It is a duty of the trade unions to actively act together in order to achieve these noble objectives.

The WFTU General Council addresses all the workers and trade unions in Europe:

- 1) Let us prevent the implementation of the NATO plan to base new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The workers' interests demand that the milliards of dollars intended for this purpose be used to satisfy the social and economic demands of the trade unions intended to:

- create new jobs and reduce unemployment in the countries of Western Europe;
- reduce taxes, launch a struggle against inflation and price increases;
- raise pensions, unemployment benefits and other social benefits and allocations;
- raise wages of working women;
- ensure access to training for young workers;
- improve educational and public health services;
- carry out, in the interest of the workers, other social reforms.

2) Let us act together to oppose the worsening of international tension and an escalation of the arms race to seek together ways which can save peace and consolidate détente in Europe and the whole world.

Let us, in the interest of European workers and peoples and of the labouring masses of the whole world, exert active efforts in the trade unions:

- in favour of proposals opening the road for negotiations about the systems of medium-range missiles in Europe;
- in favour of the Madrid meeting of representatives of States participating in the European Conference in Helsinki;
- for the convening of a big international trade-union forum to discuss the socio-economic consequences of the arms race and elaborate a trade union programme for using the resources invested in the war industries for peaceful ends including the conversion of these industries for peaceful purposes!

Workers and trade unions of Europe! Let us act together in each country and in the whole of Europe in the name of present and future peace!

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL
(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

DRAFT

S T A T E M E N T

JOINT INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ACTION ON PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

1. All countries have the right to free economic development without external interference. The use of the harvest of such development by the citizens of these countries is one of the basic human rights.

2. In its unceasing drive for profit, monopoly capital completely ignores the vital economic interests of whole states, the interests of the working people, and deprives millions of men, women and children of this basic right. It even deprives them of the right to live. According to UN experts, 12 million children died of hunger in 1978 - the International Year of the Child. Two billion people are classified as poor, and 800 million as destitute. Experts estimate that, unless immediate action is taken, 200 million people will die of hunger before we enter the 21st century.

3. The working people and the trade unions totally reject the view that this disastrous state of affairs is inevitable. Poverty and hunger result from imperialist domination and exploitation by the transnational corporations. These can and must be ended. The workers' and peoples' heroic struggle has stamped out colonialism and has assured countries of national independence in political terms. But these countries are deprived of the right to economic independence - development of their national resources for the benefit of their own peoples, free from economic coercion by transnational corporations and private banks. These countries are now faced with attempts to impose a collective neo-colonialism on them through their involvement in capitalist regional associations and alliances for the purpose of making them dependent on the capitalist economy. This is exemplified by the Lome-I and Lome-II Conventions, which were imposed on the developing countries by the western capitalist states for the purpose of continuing their uninterrupted supplies of cheap raw materials, while failing to deal with the problem of labour protection and conditions of employment for the working people in the newly liberated countries.

4. The 31st Session of the General Council of the WFTU declares its unchanging and complete solidarity with the workers' and peoples' struggle for the economic independence of all countries:

.../...

9. The General Council of the WFTU approves the final document unanimously adopted at the World Trade Union Conference on Development, held in Belgrade in April 1980, as a basis for possible joint actions by trade unions at various levels.

10. The Report and the Resolution of the WFTU Bureau (Cotonou, May 1980) on the problems of struggle for development and for a new international economic order reflect the priority tasks of the world trade union movement on these vital issues. The General Council of the WFTU urges the working people and trade unions of all countries to jointly hold national and regional trade union conferences on development issues, to explain to the world public the true nature of the problem of development and to promote concrete forms of unity and solidarity in the trade unions of developing, capitalist and socialist countries.

Active participation by the various groups of the international trade union movement in working out and controlling the application in practice of the codes of conduct for transnational corporations in developing countries, notably through the involvement in this work of the WFTU Commission on Transnational Corporations and the other similar specialised institutions of other international trade union federations, should become one of the demonstrations of cooperation among these contingents.

11. The experience of the socialist countries, which have put an end to unemployment and poverty, and which have travelled the great road from backwardness to progress through planning, with the participation of the working people and trade unions and on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, proves that the struggle for social development is the best strategy for economic growth.

12. International solidarity in this struggle - such is the working people's response to the crisis of the capitalist system and all its consequences - recession, unemployment, poverty and hunger. The world has enough means to finance development. The important thing is that these means should serve the purpose of actual economic development for all the countries of the world, instead of the symphonizing off of profits and superprofits through neglect of the interests of the newly liberated countries.

It is important that these means should help to raise the working people's living standards, instead of providing resources for subsidising the arms race. Only then will we be able to win the battle against hunger and poverty. We can and we must win through by unity and solidarity.

of the developing countries in particular. The General Council supports the developing countries' collective actions against transnational corporations, and for the establishment of absolute control over national resources and their development. The major victory scored in the struggle against the transnational oil cartel needs to be consolidated.

5. The General Council of the WFTU supports the call issued by a number of developing countries for the establishment of a democratic and just international monetary system and for the elimination of institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF is being manipulated by the transnational corporations and the governments of the countries in which they are based, in order to impose an anti-labour, anti-people's economic policy on the developing countries as a condition for the rendering of aid.

6. Monopoly domination by the transnational corporations and their financial production and trade in the capitalist world increases the burden of inflation. The working people's wages depreciate, while the price of goods continues to escalate (with the situation being especially difficult in countries which are completely dependent on the export of raw materials) due to a deliberate inflationary policy, and this mechanism is being utilised for a radical re-distribution of income in favour of transnational corporations and banks.

7. For the purpose of effectively countering the growing inflation, the transnational corporations and banks must be replaced by democratic structures formed as a result of international cooperation and taking fully into account national sovereignty and the economic independence of states. The establishment of a new international economic order, as proposed by the United Nations, is the first essential step in this direction.

8. The General Council of the WFTU is convinced that the unity of the working people and the trade unions in alliance with all the progressive forces can ensure serious successes in the struggle against transnational corporations, and for economic independence. This is the most beneficial way out of the current deepening crisis. Unity and joint action in the struggle, ensure a democratic development strategy that alone can put an end to the massive increase in unemployment and under-employment, increase wages and improve living conditions, end poverty and deprivation, and propel the world economy along the road of crisis-free development.

This unity must be expressed in the fraternal support and solidarity of the working people and trade unions of developing, capitalist and socialist countries, because a new international economic order serves the supreme interests of the workers of all countries.

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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2 DRAFT

S T A T E M E N T

JOINT INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ACTION ON PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

1. All countries have the right to free economic development without external interference. The use of the harvest of such development by the citizens of these countries is one of the basic human rights.

2. In its relentless drive for profit, monopoly capital completely ignores the vital economic interests of entire states and the interests of the working people, and deprives millions of men, women and children of this basic right. It even deprives them of the right to live. According to UN experts, 12 million children died of hunger in 1978 - the International Year of the Child. Two thousand million people are classified as poor, and 800 million as destitute. Experts estimate that, unless immediate action is taken, 200 million people will die of hunger before we enter the 21st century.

3. The working people and the trade unions totally reject the view that this disastrous state of affairs is inevitable. Poverty and hunger result from imperialist domination and exploitation by the transnational corporations. These can and must be ended. The workers' and peoples' heroic struggle has stamped out colonialism and has assured countries of national independence in political terms. But these countries are deprived of the right to economic independence - development of their national resources for the benefit of their own peoples, free from economic coercion by transnational corporations and private banks. These countries are now faced with attempts to impose a collective neo-colonialism on them through their involvement in capitalist regional associations and alliances for the purpose of making them dependent on the capitalist economy. This is exemplified by the Lomé-I and Lomé-II Conventions, which were imposed on the developing countries by the western capitalist states for the purpose of continuing their uninterrupted

supplies of cheap raw materials, while failing to deal with the problem of labour protection and conditions of employment for the working people in the newly liberated countries.

4. The 31st Session of the General Council of the WFTU declares its unchanging and complete solidarity with the struggle of the workers and peoples for the economic independence of all countries and of the developing countries in particular. The General Council supports the developing countries' collective actions against the transnational corporations, and for the establishment of absolute control over national resources and their development. The major victory scored in the struggle against the transnational oil cartel needs to be consolidated.

5. The General Council of the WFTU supports the call issued by a number of developing countries for the establishment of a democratic and just international monetary system and for the elimination of institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF is being manipulated by the transnational corporations and the governments of the countries in which they are based, in order to impose an anti-labour, anti-people's economic policy on the developing countries as a condition for the rendering of aid.

6. Monopoly domination by the transnational corporations and their financial institutions on production and trade in the capitalist world increases the burden of inflation. The value of the working people's wages depreciates, while the price of goods continues to escalate (with the situation being especially difficult in countries which are completely dependent on the export of raw materials) due to a deliberate inflationary policy, and this mechanism is being utilised for a radical re-distribution of income in favour of transnational corporations and banks.

7. To effectively counter growing inflation, the transnational corporations and banks must be replaced by democratic structures formed as a result of international cooperation and taking fully into account national sovereignty and the economic independence of states. The establishment of a new international economic order, as proposed by the United Nations, is the first essential step in this direction.

8. The General Council of the WFTU is convinced that the unity of the working people and the trade unions in alliance with all the progressive forces can ensure important successes in the struggle against transnational corporations, and for economic independence. This is the most effective way out of the current deepening crisis. Unity and joint action in the fight to ensure a democratic development strategy can alone put an end to the massive increase in unemployment and underemployment, can increase wages and improve living conditions, end poverty and deprivation, and propel the world economy along the road of crisis-free development. This unity must be expressed in the fraternal support and solidarity of the working people and trade unions of developing, capitalist and socialist countries, because a new international economic order serves the supreme interests of the workers of all countries.

9. The General Council of the WFTU approves the final document unanimously adopted at the World Trade Union Conference on Development, held in Belgrade in April 1980, as a basis for possible joint actions by trade unions at various levels.

10. The Report and the Resolution of the WFTU Bureau (Cotonou, May 1980) on the problems of the struggle for development and for a new international economic order reflect the priority tasks of the world trade union movement on these vital issues. The General Council of the WFTU urges the working people and trade unions of all countries to jointly hold national and regional trade union conferences on development issues, to explain to the world public the true nature of the problem of development and to promote concrete forms of unity and solidarity in the trade unions of developing, capitalist and socialist countries.

Active participation by the various groups of the international trade union movement in drawing up and controlling the application in practice of the codes of conduct for transnational corporations in developing countries, notably through the involvement in this work of the WFTU Commission on Transnational Corporations and the other similar specialised institutions of other international trade union federations, should become one of the demonstrations of cooperation among these contingents.

11. The experience of the socialist countries, which have put an end to unemployment and poverty, and which have travelled the great road from backwardness to progress through planning, with the participation of the working people and trade unions and on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, proves that the struggle for social development is the best strategy for economic growth.

12. International solidarity in this struggle - such is the working people's response to the crisis of the capitalist system and all its consequences - recession, unemployment, poverty and hunger. The world has enough means to finance development. The important thing is that these means should serve the purpose of actual economic development for all the countries of the world, instead of the syphoning off of profits and superprofits through neglect of the interests of the newly liberated countries.

It is important that these means should help to raise the working people's living standards, instead of providing resources for subsidising the arms race. Only then will we be able to win the battle against hunger and poverty. We can and we must win through by unity and solidarity.

Moscow, 5th October 1980

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

Speech of Henri KRASUCKI,
National Secretary of the CGT
of France

Many sensible things have been said here with which we agree - in Brother Zakaria's Report and in the contributions made by speakers from several trade union centres of the Socialist, capitalist and from the so-called "Third-world" countries.

In our opinion, this session of the General Council is important; it has and will have a favourable impact on the WFTU as a whole, and therefore will be to the advantage of each of our affiliated centres, of the workers all over the world; it will help the international trade union movement advance on a militant basis.

This importance is a consequence of the situation that we are facing and of questions arising and which we are going to be able - hopefully - to tackle.

It is well known that the CGT has expressed on various occasions criticisms and proposals as to the role and the specific activity of the WFTU. We do not think it necessary to repeat what has already been said.

Today, through a common effort, the conditions exist to go forward together, drawing from the experiences and our collective assessment of the realities of the class struggle at the international level ideas and the determination to steps to face up to the situation with our forces in the interests of the workers.

Much has been said here about the situation in the world today and the resulting consequences for the workers and there are going to be even more opportunities to discuss them together.

We are living in the eighties and the situation today is entirely different from that of the fifties, the sixties and even the seventies.

Indeed, the world is still a complex one, a world of difficult struggles with many new problems, but the various forces involved in the fight are no longer in the same positions with the same means at their disposal.

The forces of capital, reaction and imperialism are still strong and can still do a lot of harm, but they can no longer purely and simply impose their will. The forces of progress of which we are a key component, are today the strongest. They are, in any case, strong enough to fight for the interests of the workers and people with success, maintain peace, make it possible for oppressed peoples to become free from the yoke of imperialism and capitalist exploitation through their own struggle. They are strong enough, as long as they wage the fight which corresponds to this situation.

Often, we think of the following aspect of the situation: Capitalism is going through a crisis which is unprecedented in breadth, length and nature. Inflation has been spiralling for years and there are millions upon millions of unemployed.

Previously, imperialism sought to get out of its crises through world war for a new share-out of the world. It destroyed countless human lives, factories, towns, things created by the working people. And after this bloody purge its cycle began all over again.

Now, imperialism can no longer do what it wants and, even though it remains dangerous and, as we correctly say, we need to maintain a steadfast and consistent attitude in the fight for peace and for arms reductions.

Imperialism can no longer do what it wants because of the weight that the socialist countries have acquired through their achievements and their strength, because of their commitment to détente, because of the arrival of the third-world -former colonial - countries on the international scene and because of the influence of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries.

But this phenomenon creates unheard-of conditions for all the aspects of the class struggle, for the development of all kinds of international relations and for the solution of the key problems of society in every country and of mankind as a whole.

Of course, we must not underestimate an enemy which is still powerful and capable of doing anything. We should neither cherish illusions nor be absent or weak in any aspect of the battle. The contrary is, in fact, the case.

What is important at the present time is, in our view, that the workers be fully aware of their strength and that we, their organisations of struggle, are able to assess the meaning of events and be up to tackling the consequences.

Is there anything new? The world is full of problems that are new or that are appearing in new forms, and above all, problems of workers' trade union actions and the activities of the trade unions.

I should like to give a typical example of what is happening in the capitalist countries and briefly speak about some aspects of the struggle in our country.

I cannot describe here the exact conditions of these struggles. But let us reflect on the fact that there are nearly 2 million unemployed and an annual inflation rate between 10 and 14%. In the past, in periods of major crises, the workers tended to bristle up. Today, in contrast, we have strong, big struggles, hard, long, but militant struggles. We suffer blows but manage to maintain purchasing power, make advance and stem the serious efforts to take away elementary rights won through hard struggle over decades such as advantageous collective agreements and the right to good health care.

We manage to prevent the closing down of factories, to save jobs and resist plans for the dismantling of the country's industries - result of the crisis and the requirements of the Common Market - in favour of West German capital.

The continuing measuring of strength determines our methods of struggle, our propaganda means - which even include broadcasts - and the dimensions of our initiatives: all these would have been unthinkable and impossible in the past.

The adversary hits hard, he tries to intimidate - and when he succeeds in discouraging, he moves on. When he comes up against sufficiently strong resistance, he is forced to come to terms, to retreat.

Such is, today, the line-up of forces in trade union action. As a result, workers are able to win respect and successfully defend themselves, on condition that they carry on fierce battles and have the necessary resources.

In a crisis, as the present one, this tells us something about the spirit of the working people.

We are under continuous ideological pressure, whose intensity is given by all the modern communication and information media at the disposal of the Government and the bosses.

The conditions of the struggle for unity are most difficult. The bosses and the Government want to get a better grip on the workers. They resort to reformism and trends of political and trade union class collaboration. In fact, habitually complacent organisations are not enough for them. This is why they are trying to get the support of the CFDT, the second largest centre in our country after the CGT. For several years this centre carried out with us a unitary and militant trade union policy, although it never was simple. It so happens that for two years now this organisation has been moving towards an acceptance of austerity and, in actual fact, tends to give up the struggle.

We are thus obliged to frankly put the problems to the workers, without aggressivity but firmly, to enable them to take the cause of unity and of their claims and demands into their own hands and to define themselves, together with the CGT, their objectives and decide what actions should be taken. This means that we must all the time clearly explain the need for unity of action, first of all in the enterprises, and put forward clear proposals and express our readiness to proceed in unity at all levels: these are the rules of our activity.

These are the conditions in which the struggle goes on in our country; on the trade union level it is lead only by CGT, but because it is so dynamic, the other organisations are quite often forced to take into account, at least to a certain degree, the will of the workers.

Such are then the conditions of our struggle today for changes in society, which are now more topical than ever before. We have learned from the breakup of the alliance of the left in 1977, which could have been victorious.

The lesson we have learned is not that we should give up unity, but that we should conceive it differently. As trade unions we put more emphasis on the autonomous nature of our programme and our action for bringing the workers together. We are independent, but not neutral; the criteria for our relations and alliance with the various trade unions or political grouping are our class trade union objectives and the acts of our partners.

Above all, we have learned from the history of our struggle for unity; and this at a time when everything calls for transformations of capitalist society; at a time when nothing can be done without the clearheadedness of the mass of the workers, without their direct participation in all decisions and their continual intervening - we need all this not only to establish unity, but to maintain it and to prevent its disrupting by political machinations and the return to class collaboration by one or another of our partners. In our opinion, since it is impossible to ensure a nation's well-being without its co-operation, it should be provided with all the information and knowledge necessary for its intervention. We stake on truth and frankness to enable as many working people as possible to feel responsible for their fate and for the outcome of their struggles. As we see it, this is true not only of our struggle for claims and demands and for a change in society, but also of our concept of the socialist society we want for France, its democratic life, the management of enterprises and economy, the role which will then fall to the trade unions and the workers.

I cannot go into other important aspects of the way in which the crisis creates new conditions for the struggle in the capitalist countries. It may be useful to point out that while the crisis breeds various negative phenomena, even among the working people, it also brings with it many questions which help raise our perceptiveness.

At a time when the extent of human knowledge could help create an easier, pleasant and interesting life, what sort of society is it that destroys factories and does not know what to do with its youth which is unemployed before even having had a chance to work? What sort of society is it, in which injustice prevails, where there is a revolting inequality between the want and even poverty of most people and the unbelievable riches of the exploiters?

What sort of society is it that destroys the fruit of man's labour and huge quantities of food, while millions of human beings not only go hungry but die of hunger?

These conditions in the world today create considerable opportunities for the workers and unions in the capitalist countries to fight unemployment by demanding greater international co-operation, especially with the socialist countries.

Carter speaks of a boycott, yet the capitalists need markets: and the workers together with their unions could, at one and the same time, fight for jobs and help the struggle for détente and peace.

A recent good example was the action of our metal workers' federation and the workers concerned to push through the signing of a contract with the Soviet Union which will provide a year's work for 5,000 workers at the Creusot-Loire factories. The French Government was holding back this contract at Carter's behest. The two metal workers' federations - the Soviet one and the one belonging to the CGT - co-operated very well.

I have, so far, spoken chiefly about problems which concern the capitalist countries - that is about our direct experience.

But here we are examining our joint international activity.

The present international line-up of forces and its development also create new and more favourable conditions for the struggle of the workers and trade unions in the Third World countries to overcome under-development and get rid of economic dependence and bring their countries to progressive paths.

The issue of the new international economic order is now being put with greater urgency and in conditions which strengthen the positions of these countries. To continue, in new forms, neo-colonial exploitation is becoming more and more difficult.

The capitalists, above all the transnational corporations, try to create an enmity between workers in the capitalist and the under-developed countries by putting the blame for unemployment on the latter.

In actual fact, the interests of all the workers converge - and all would profit by the establishment of juster and more equal economic relations. We even maintain that the trade unions in the advanced capitalist countries are called upon to play a special role in this field. In this matter, which is one of the major problems of our time, we are concerned not only with solidarity but with common interests.

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A violent campaign slandering the socialist countries has been unleashed to weaken the struggles of the workers and to turn them away from actions to change the old society. Behind the unceasing onslaught we find a coalition of the forces of capital, social conservatism and class collaboration.

It is not a question of criticism and discussions, normal in a democratic debate, but of flagrant and systematic lies. They bespeak anxiety in the face of the advances and strengthening of countries which have eliminated capitalist exploitation.

As far as we are concerned, we question, differ from and sometimes disagree with certain ways of looking at things and with some methods of this or that socialist country, when they do not correspond to our notion of a socialist society. But that is a matter of discussion in the international labour movement.

We are not impressed by the ideological pressure of the bourgeoisie and of reformism, which under this bourgeois influence tends to lose all class feeling in the struggle on an international scale.

Since we are meeting in Moscow, let us not forget that it was in this country that the workers opened the era of socialist revolutions and of national liberation.

We know how much has been achieved here and we know the role and responsibilities of the workers, peoples and the Soviet Union and such, together with all the socialist countries, in the maintaining of peace and the support given to the peoples and workers of the world.

We appreciate all trade union achievements and freely discuss, as comrades, existing problems.

The problems lived, to varying degrees, by the socialist countries are given by the development of society and objective needs which call for the deepening of socialist democracy in all spheres. This is good, it leads to progress on a higher level.

The role of the trade unions ranks high among these spheres which call for a deepening of socialist democracy. Some real problems crop up here. There was a time when it was not very easy to discuss such matters in public. We appreciate the fact that several comrades from organisations in the socialist countries have in their contributions frankly spoken about their concerns, discussions, about their plans. In actual fact, several socialist countries having a different experience are giving this matter much thought and are carefully studying it. It is, in our view, important that attention is being given to the real role of trade unions in society and to the use of their rights as defenders of the workers' interests. At the same time we understand that they are called upon to play a constructive role in the building of a socialist society.

We hope that there will be frank and friendly exchange of opinions on this subject. We are convinced that there will be more and more progress in this field.

For our part, we do not want to hand out advice. We are brothers in arms who respect the work and responsibilities of their comrades, who rejoice in their successes and who want to discuss - frankly and with a deep sense of responsibility - questions of criticism which are not, measured by the experiences of life, unfounded. This, of course, works both ways, and we accept it.

We have heard our brothers from Poland. We understand the reasons of the serious crisis which occurred in their country. We thought that we had understood them already some time ago. Of course, it is a pity that such situation arise. We appreciate the frankness and seriousness of our brothers. Such language we understand. We are confident that along that road they will find, together with the workers, the means for overcoming their problems. It is a task incumbent on the Polish people and on them alone. They should not forget that socialist Poland and its workers do not lack real friends.

These events taken together and especially the problem of the trade unions give food for thought to everybody. This is very healthy.

But to those who think they can get arguments against socialism from this, we say, show us other governments which settle a social crisis as serious as this so democratically. Show us ministers who go into the factories to negotiate with striking workers and settle questions at the same time as unhesitatingly recognizing their errors. Show us administrations which undertake to correct faults with the workers' aid. And this, not to be less socialist, but more so!

Even in difficult conditions socialism has shown us the means at its disposal to find within its system, the ways and means of overcoming difficulties and ensuring its democratic development with and for the workers - which is the antithesis of capitalism.

It is therefore in this constantly changing planet in which imperialism is on the defensive and the world of labour and forces of social change and national liberation on the offensive, that we are considering what the role, action and the methods of the WFTU should be.

The question before us is how, with the strength of 35 years of experience behind us - an event which we celebrated yesterday - are we going to get into a position to make a contribution to the struggles of our times and be the international trade union movement of the eighties.

A critical look on past experiences is always useful but the most important thing today is to assess together what needs to be done, decide really to do it and take the necessary steps to carry it out.

The Moscow General Council could be the impetus for a positive process of deep-seated changes conducive to bringing about such a result in a reasonable period of time. In this case it would be to its credit as a collective organisation.

In fact we represent a force which is still underestimated and of which we do not make full use.

At a time when trade union action is attaining the level we are seeing today, we should seek to haul ourselves to that level and take stock of the problems confronting us and of the adversary in order to properly tackle the problems in all the fields in which the trade unions are competent to act.

Trade union struggle is being intensively waged in many countries. The workers and their trade unions need to be informed and to draw the lessons of experiences. They need solidarity. Let us take then the necessary steps to reply to this need.

Each multinational company has a nerve centre and an entire ancillary apparatus to carry out its anti-social activities against the workers and the trade unions.

We are able to create, in opposition, a corresponding trade union force and concretely ensure the exchanges and coordination to take place which will enable the workers exploited

by each multinational company throughout the world to more effectively defend their interests.

The multinational companies are not invincible, providing that one goes beyond analyses and condemnations - as justified as they may be - and undertake specific, effective and united trade union work. With other trade union forces we have reserves of strength to undertake such work and to begin to create a really new situation to put an end to the intolerable imbalance between the possibilities of the multinational companies and the absence of trade union rights and strength to match it.

What is happening on the different continents calls for a well-adapted and continued presence, open and active co-operation and activities linked with the problems and the real needs of the workers and the trade unions. There agains, we could give incomparable effectiveness to our common efforts.

I am only speaking of these problems as examples of the most important subjects.

Style, structure and methods have never been unchangeable entities. It is not so difficult to learn together to adapt and to change them because it is necessary to do so.

What dictates this is not subjective wishes but events themselves and the needs of our epoch.

It is obvious that we cannot work today as we did in the past. It goes without saying that the relations between national centres and life together within an international organisation cannot be today what they were not so long ago. Everyone has matured, everyone is jealous of keeping his independence, wishes to take part in discussion and making and carrying out decisions. It is a sign of maturity of the whole movement.

Let us decide to really go along this road and to learn together to do it effectively. We will all gain thereby.

The WFTU can be the privileged centre for mustaring the immense forces of the trade union movement and a place of exchange of experiences and discussion in today's conditions.

The CGT wishes to be able to actively contribute to the life of a WFTU which will undertake, as we hope, to adapt itself in this direction. It is likely that the conditions will be more favourable to associate in one way or another, other trade union forces, especially from the capitalist countries.

The forces of reformist trade unionism, plunged in complacency with the policies of the employers, are taking the wrong direction. They are wrong to refuse unity because what in fact they are doing is refusing action. But they are going in a different direction to the trend of our times.

We are far more tolerant and understanding. We are for the discussion of ideas without complacency and without insults and we are at the same time for effective joint action in all its possible forms, without preconditions or ideological/other discrimination.

The CGT wishes to participate in all international organisations in which it is possible to work towards unity of action.

In Western Europe this means within the European Trade Union Confederation or otherwise without worrying about the fact that many trade union organisations in the region are on reformist positions. In the final analysis, it is the workers of Europe which, in developing their struggle, will create the conditions conducive to bring about this necessary cooperation in spite of the sectarian obstacles set up by the partisans of inaction.

This applies, too, to other places in which its presence may be felt.

The WFTU of the eighties, such as we undertake to make it, can be a centre of unity, a flourishing centre of class-based trade unionism expressing the interests of the workers and in the front line of the fight for social emancipation and peace. We have reason for hope in the decisions to be taken and subsequently carried out by the General Council.

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31st Session of the WFTU General Council

Speech by Comrade A.I. Shibayev,
President of the AUCCTU,
at the 31st session of the WFTU General Council,
October 1, 1980

Dear comrades,

May I, on behalf of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, greet the participants of the 31st Session of the WFTU General Council and wish you success in carrying out the tasks set.

I should like to stress from the very beginning that we attach special importance to this session. In view of the fact that the trade union movement today has to shoulder great and ever increasing responsibility we think it is necessary to hold an open comradely discussion of the most important tasks of the World Federation of Trade Unions, resulting from the present situation, and to make maximum efforts for radically enhancing the effectiveness of its class actions.

In his report Comrade Ibrahim Zakaria

- extensively characterised the present international situation and the specific features of the development of class struggle,

- raised important questions concerning the development of a strategy of trade union actions for the 80s and the further intensification of the WFTU's work.

The trade union movement is faced today with complicated problems. All this requires on the part of trade unions

- united actions,
- an ability to assess correctly, from class positions, the obtaining situation,
- to use in full measure the anti-monopoly potential of the broad working masses,
- to concentrate efforts on the key areas of struggle.

In these conditions it is very important for the Federation to fight consistently to achieve aims set by the 9th World Trade Union Congress and to look on an increasingly broader front for the most effective forms of activity.

There is no task more pressing today for all working people than that of preserving peace on earth and curbing the arms race. As a result of intensification of war preparations the working people have to carry ever new burdens and the basic human right--the right to live without cannons, atomic bombs and cruise missiles -- is called in question.

It is a duty of the WFTU to devote its efforts with still greater energy to raising the effectiveness of anti-war actions; drawing new sections of the population into such actions and searching for a concrete approach to the problems of struggle against the war danger.

The main meaning of this approach is

- to show to the masses that the further arms manufacture represents a real danger to all mankind, forces down the living standards of people, increases unemployment and whips up inflation.

We should work in such a way as to show to every worker what part of his wages are consumed by the arms race, to

cultivate in them irreconcilability toward the forces of aggression and war, to expose before the peoples the tycoons of the military industrial complex, all those who are interested in the arms race;

- to show by concrete facts that the conversion of the war industry to peacetime production, though a complicated process, is quite feasible and fully meets the interests of the working people;

- to actively influence the development of international economic cooperation without any discrimination and thus bring about greater employment and the solution of other social problems in the interests of the working people;

- to give a strong rebuff to the striving of the aggressive forces of imperialism to increase military budgets, inflated as they are without that;

- to arrange concrete anti-war actions with the participation of trade unions of different affiliations.

The international situation today is a very alarming one. Aggressive imperialist circles are stepping up their attempts to hold back the objective process of renovation of the world by whipping up the arms race. Washington, declaring arbitrarily this or other region of the world a "sphere of its vital interests", resorts to all kinds of provocations, boycott and blackmail in an effort to break the will of the peoples to peace and to torpedo the process of detente and peaceful international cooperation.

The ratification of the SALT-2 treaty has been postponed indefinitely.

The USA and other NATO countries have taken a decision on making Europe a nuclear testing range. The danger of war has increased as a result of the proclamation of the so-called "new nuclear strategy" by the White House.

The opponents of detente are taking their aggressive actions behind a smokescreen of lies about "the Soviet menace". But what menace can there be if the Soviet Union has already submitted more than a hundred proposals aimed at ending the material preparation of war, and has taken a number of concrete unilateral steps to lower the level of military confrontation.

At the same time the United States establishes ever new military bases which cover the whole world and which are spearheaded directly against the Soviet Union.

The class trade union movement and its vanguard section -- the World Federation of Trade Unions -- are consistently upholding the ideals of peace, friendship, independence and independent development of the peoples. During the period since the 9th World Trade Union Congress, the Federation came up with many major initiatives for stepping up the struggle of the working people against aggression and war. It has considerably broadened cooperation in this field with other democratic public organisations.

The central direction of the anti-war struggle has been and remains facilitation of efforts to translate the Helsinki accords into life, accords expressing the will of the peoples to develop friendly inter-state relations. The realisation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference has made it possible in recent years to change the situation for the better not only on the European continent but also throughout the world.

The AUCCTU delegation supports the draft Declaration on European Security and Disarmament that was submitted to the present session for consideration. The draft shows that the trade unions are deeply interested in the success of the Madrid meeting, in the materialisation of the principles of detente.

In the ranks of the international trade union movement there is growing understanding of the need for joint actions in defence of peace.

But experience teaches us and demands that we should not only raise questions but also find ways of practically solving them.

The national trade union centres and industrial trade unions, including those affiliated with the ICFTU, come up more and more often with concrete proposals. The appeals of the Labour Congress of Mexico and the New Zealand Federation of Labour to the WFTU, ICFTU and WCL for holding a conference on disarmament met with a broad response. Also noteworthy is the initiative of the National Miners' Union of Britain for calling an international industrial conference on the same problem.

All this indicates that the growth of anti-war sentiments among working masses represents an important basis for the WFTU to appeal again to the ICFTU and WCL to join efforts in the struggle against militarism, and, what is especially important, to take part in an international conference on social consequences of disarmament.

The trade unions have many potential allies among other public movements which come for detente. This was confirmed by the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace, held in Sofia. The WFTU can make an important contribution toward the pooling of efforts of all those who stand for dependable international security.

Therefore it is our common duty to see to it that numerous, though often disunited, anti-war actions merge into a single powerful stream, a stream barring the way to war.

The trade unions are in the forefront of this common struggle. This requires of the WFTU in its organising and mobilising actions to be up to the historic role which the world army of working people is called upon to play in averting a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Comrades,

The struggle for better living conditions of working people and defence of their social and economic interests has always been and remains the basis of labour solidarity. This problem appears to be especially acute in present-day conditions.

The growing aggressiveness of the exploiter policy of transnational corporations and the military industrial complex, which are the main bodies to blame for mass unemployment, inflation and other crisis phenomena in present-day capitalist society, poses in a different way the question of intensifying struggle in this direction.

It was stressed in the resolutions of the 9th Congress that anti-monopoly struggle is the key task for the WFTU. TUI's, which directly deal with concrete TNC's, may be used as bases in this struggle.

The holding in 1981 of an international conference on the problems of pharmaceutical transnational corporations appears to be very important from the point of view of gaining experience of practical actions against domination by TNC's.

A preparatory committee has been set up on a rather broad basis as a result of multilateral consultations. The subject of the conference, in our opinion, makes it possible to draw in its work trade unions of different orientation and international affiliation, professional associations as well as non-governmental organisations and specialised institutions of the UN system.

If this conference succeeds in working out joint demands of working people against the TNC's in pharmaceutical industry and helps establish a coordinating committee of working people's struggle within a number of TNC's, this would be a good beginning and a good example for other industrial trade unions, too.

The Soviet trade unions will give all the necessary assistance for this conference to be held successfully.

It would be correct to orient TUI's to establishing a wider exchange of experience of class actions by working people. TUI's could step up their activity in the International Labour Organisation, and its industrial committees and sponsor conventions and recommendations on problems concerning individual trades.

We support the amendments proposed for the article on the TUI's in the WFTU Constitution, proposals aimed at increasing their independence and enhancing their responsibility for social policy.

The tasks of strengthening opposition to monopoly capital make it necessary to raise to a new level solidarity with the trade unions of industrialised capitalist countries, above all those in Europe. Operating here are big class sections of the world trade union movement with their/long-^{own} established traditions, such as the CGT of France, Inter-sindical of Portugal, CGIL, the Workers' Commissions of Spain, and others.

Businesslike cooperation with them in organising anti-monopoly struggle and in holding joint militant actions will be an expression of practical solidarity on the part of the WFTU and will help enhance its prestige in all European trade unions.

What we have in view is to look more persistently for opportunities to work with trade unions of the social-democratic trend. The WFTU and its Secretariat should evidently display greater flexibility in its approach to the European

Trade Union Confederation and support its concrete initiatives on which parallel, if not joint, actions are possible in defence of working class interests.

Comrades,

There is intensive struggle going on today for the trade union movement of the developing countries.

This is the struggle of both external and internal forces for the political rise and orientation of the young workers' movement.

During the anti-imperialist struggle the trade unions of the continents display staunchness and courage, strengthen the progressive wing of the world trade union movement, actively participate in the WFTU's activities and, naturally, need its support and assistance.

The Federation has done a great deal for the development of militant class solidarity with the national liberation movement.

This found concrete expression in the active support of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea against the machinations of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism, in the organisation of international campaigns in defence of the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, the working people in Southern Africa, the courageous struggle of the patriots of Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, and El Salvadore, in increased cooperation with the working people and trade unions of Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan who are upholding their revolutionary gains.

The trade union movement of developing countries is becoming a big and increasingly influential social force. Imperialism and its agents know this well. They make incessant ideological attacks on the trade unions of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in an effort to bring them under their influence.

Our task, as we see it, is to give effective help to the trade union movement of these continents, especially in the training of cadres devoted to the cause of the working class, and this help should further increase in scale. Alongside the increased practice of holding WFTU seminars on the continents, it is evidently time to consider the question of setting up a permanently functioning school for training trade union cadres attached to the Federation.

The establishment of Liaison Offices in Hanoi and Brazzaville marks an important step in the intensification of WFTU's activities in Asia and Africa. One would wish the WFTU to step up its efforts to strengthen their material base.

To give the WFTU's work on the continents a greater sense of purpose it is perhaps necessary to consider drawing up a long-term regional action programme that would incorporate the experience and recommendations of member trade union centres and indicate the most important directions of struggle in their concrete situation.

In complicated conditions marked by increased struggle between the forces coming out for peace, respect for the rights of the peoples and for the relaxation of international tension, on the one hand, and the forces of

oppression, militarism and aggression, on the other, the essence of all our work consists in developing and strengthening workers, proletarian solidarity.

Objectively appraising the WFTU's activities during the period after the 9th Congress it should be stressed that the Federation repeatedly and efficiently organised solidarity actions.

Thus during the period of the Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam the Federation came up with an initiative for holding an emergency conference for solidarity with Vietnam. This conference was held without delay and it made a great contribution toward mobilising world public opinion against Chinese aggression.

The construction of a school for training trade union cadres is being completed in Vietnam with WFTU's money.

The first plane which landed on the soil of free Nicaragua with medicines and food on board was sent there at the WFTU's initiative.

Simultaneously, WFTU delegations were sent to Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and Bolivia to give solidarity help, moral and material, to the working people and trade unions of these countries.

It is not only the working people of capitalist, developing countries that need support. No less important for us is support from the international trade union movement in the struggle against anti-communism and attempts by imperialism to discredit the ideas of socialism. A massive attack is now under way against the trade unions of socialist countries, as is shown by the events in Poland, and the trade unions' role and place in society are distorted.

We stand for the improvement of trade unions work, for an all-round development of trade union democracy, for the trade unions to exercise more fully their rights and opportunities for defending the interests of the working people, for combatting bureaucratic distortions which we still encounter in our work.

But we have given and will continue to give a strong rebuff to any attempts to counterpose our trade unions to parties and the state and to do harm to real socialism.

Comrades,

You know that the work of drafting a new Constitution of the WFTU is being completed now. A great amount of important work has been done. I am commenting with satisfaction on the commission's work as an example of a constructive approach to the solution of complicated problems. Experience has shown once more that in the process of businesslike, unbiased cooperation it is possible to bring different points of view closer together and to work out optimum decisions in the interests of the common cause.

We should like this session to approve and adopt agreed amendments to the Constitution. After the commission finalizes the remaining questions the draft Constitution as a whole could be submitted to the 10th World Trade Union Congress for consideration.

Comrades,

At this session we are giving much attention to the activities of the WFTU and the TUI's. The Federation's

functionaries should maintain constant ties with member organisations, know well the direction and contents of their activities, their needs and requirements and, on this basis, pursue more actively the WFTU's line in the UN, ILO, Unesco and FAO.

Using its representations in these organisations the Federation could raise more insistently and solve more successfully problems affecting the working people, look for ways for working out joint social platforms together with the trade unions of other trends.

It is also worthwhile to think about reinforcing the Federation's apparatus with skilled cadres and to change its internal structure in line with the requirements of the day.

I should like to dwell particularly on the idea of adopting a special declaration concerning ways of the further development of the Federation, of which Comrade Gaspar spoke in his opening address.

In our opinion, it is possible in principle to agree with the idea of the World Federation of Trade Unions adopting such a document that would reflect a new stage in its work and stress a course toward enhancing its efficiency and renewing forms and methods of work. It goes without saying that the drafting of such a document should be done in a democratic manner by the trade union centres--WFTU members--themselves.

As to its general direction, it is important that this should be a document of positive content, one recognising the shortcomings and weaknesses of the WFTU, and at the same time a document putting emphasis on its tasks in the present situation and ways of accomplishing these tasks with account taken of the experience gained and the decisions of the 9th World Trade Union Congress.

Comrades,

The preparation and holding of the 10th World Trade Union Congress will be an important stage in the WFTU's life, a stage which should help further consolidate the progressive forces in the international trade union movement.

There is practically one year left before the congress. The time of intensive preparatory work has come. We support the proposal for setting up an editorial commission. Trade unions of organisations not affiliated with the WFTU could also be included among its members. The preparation of documents on such a broad basis will help find new points of contact in the further development of international trade union cooperation.

We sincerely regret that comrade Enrique Pastorino could not attend this session because of illness. We all greatly appreciate his important personal contribution to the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Let us wish him a speedy recovery.

Comrades,

Our country is now preparing for the 26th Congress of CPSU. The forthcoming congress will demonstrate once more

the inexhaustible potentialities of socialism, its profound democracy and will emphasize the great role which is being played by the trade unions in the conditions of developed socialism. This is the role of builders and masters of their country, an influential force of Soviet society.

Our trade unions have always been loyal to the traditions of working-class unity, working-class solidarity. The Soviet trade unions will continue to work tirelessly for the ideals of peace and socialism, will contribute in every way to the further growth of the prestige of the World Federation of Trade Unions which has been consistently defending the interests of the working people for 35 years.

Thank you.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL TO THE 31st SESSION
OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL AFTER THE DEBATES OF THE RESOLU-
TIONS COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL

1. Resolution on trade union rights and democratic freedoms
2. The right to work and employment
3. Joint international trade union action on problems of economic development and for a new international economic order
4. In the defence of the rights of migrant workers
5. Declaration on European security and disarmament
6. Against US militarism - for an Indian Ocean and Pacific peace zone
7. Solidarity with the workers and peoples of Namibia and South Africa
8. Resolution on Latin America
9. Resolution on solidarity with Palestine and the struggle of the Arab peoples
10. Resolution on world solidarity with the workers and people of El Salvador fighting against the repressive regime and American intervention
11. Solidarity with the workers and people of Korea
12. Message to the 35th session of the UN General Assembly - Kampuchea
13. Message to the 35th session of the UN General Assembly - Cyprus

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2nd DRAFT

STATEMENT

on European Security and

Disarmament

Europe was the scene of two world wars and this is why the problems of European security are of great significance. After the welcome breath of détente which only recently was still filling the workers and people of Europe with optimism and hope, the cold currents of tension are here once more. They were not started by a "mythical" Soviet "threat", neither were they provoked by the revolution in Iran nor the "Afghan problem". Far from it. Their source is in the White House, the Pentagon and NATO, eager to deal blows to détente wherever it appears, especially in Europe, where it was born, and everywhere it has taken root and is beginning to bear fruit.

In an attempt to resolve the crisis of the capitalist system, imperialism is relaunching the arms race and reviving a policy of tension.

The decision taken by Washington in 1978 to "complete the arming" of NATO and another imposed by the Carter administration to base new American missiles in western Europe - the "new nuclear strategy" promoted by the White House - are not all these the source which introduces a cold political climate in the world ?

The policy from the other side of the Atlantic dictated to western Europe is opposed to the interests of the peoples on the European continent. It seeks to change western Europe into an American arsenal of nuclear missiles - a potential battlefield - and, as such, to guarantee the security of the territory of the United States.

The workers who in the past have more than once had to bear the heavy burden of militarism and the arms race, are once more made to pay for this policy which is being forced on them.

Such a policy goes against the interests of the workers. It brings new hardships and suffering, reductions in living standards, further price increases and continuing inflation. This policy threatens the right to work and helps increase the army of unemployed by hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of people.

This policy brings with it a threat to the sacred right of every man, the right to life. It is contrary to the aspirations of the peoples devoted to peace and cooperation.

This policy serves the interests of the imperialists and aggressive circles and, above all, the military-industrial complex and the monopolies related to it.

These very circles realize fabulous profits which grow in direct proportion to increasing international tension and the exacerbation of the arms race. They spread the fear of a "threat from the East", a pure invention intended to help launch an offensive against the workers' rights and vital interests, against democratic and trade union freedoms.

This policy is, of course, doomed to failure. It is impossible to stop the march of history, as it is impossible to reverse its course. The objective premises which are the basis of détente have not changed in the least.

The trade unions in the European countries function in different social regimes. On many issues their stands differ. Yet they must be identical as far as the safeguarding of peace and détente is concerned, in line with the identical interests of those whom the trade unions represent and defend. All the European workers, all the peoples of the world need peace, détente and disarmament. It is the duty of the trade unions to actively act together in order to achieve these noble objectives.

The WFTU General Council makes the following appeal to all the workers and trade unions in Europe:

- 1) Let us prevent the implementation of the NATO plan to base new American nuclear missiles in western Europe.

The workers' interests demand that the billions of dollars intended for this purpose be used to satisfy the social and economic demands of the trade unions to:

- create new jobs and reduce unemployment in the countries of western Europe;
- reduce taxes, launch a struggle against inflation and price increases;
- raise pensions, unemployment benefits and other social benefits and allowances;
- raise wages and eliminate inequalities;
- ensure access to training for young workers;
- improve educational and public health services;
- carry out, in the interest of the workers, other social reforms.

- 2) Let us act together to oppose the worsening of international tension and an escalation of the arms race, to seek together ways which can save peace and consolidate détente in Europe and the whole world.

Let us, in the interest of European workers and peoples and of working people in the whole world exert active efforts in the trade unions:

- in favour of proposals for negotiations on systems of medium-range missiles in Europe;
- in favour of the Madrid meeting of representatives of States participating in the European Conference in Helsinki;

- for the convening of a big international trade union forum to discuss the socio-economic consequences of the arms race and to draw up a trade union programme for using the resources invested in the war industries for peaceful ends including the conversion of these industries for peaceful purposes.

Workers and trade unions of Europe ! Let us act together in each country and in the whole of Europe in the name of present and future peace !

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, Octobre 1 - 5, 1980)

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

=====

I. MEMBERS OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL AND DELEGATIONS OF MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

- Sandor GASPAR
President
 - Karel HOFFMANN
Vice-President
 - Romain VILON-GUEZO
Vice-President
 - Ibrahim ZAKARIA
Deputy General Secretary
- AFGHANISTAN - Satar PORDELI - President of the Central Bureau of the Trade Unions of Afghanistan
- KADER Mahboub - in charge of international relations - Central Bureau of the T.U. of afghan.
- ANGOLA - Eduardo RIBEIRO - National Secretary of U.N.T.A.
- Fernando SANTOS - Secretary for international relations - U.N.T.A.
- ARGENTINA - Rubens ISCARO - Secretary of the M.U.C.S. (Movimiento de Unidad y Coordinacion Sindical)
- Elsa BERTHELLE - M.U.C.S.
- AUSTRALIA - Ernest BOATSWAIN - National Secretary, Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia
- AUSTRIA - Walter SILBERMAYR - Left Block of O.G.B.
- BANGLADESH - Chowdhury HARUNOR RASHID - President of Bangladesh T.U.Kendra
- Saifuddin MANIK - General Secretary of " " "
- BENIN (People's Rep.) - Barnabé ADETONA - Member of the national leadership of U.N.S.T.B.
- K. Christophe AGUIAR - Member of the Council of U.N.S.T.B.

BOLIVIA	- Nilo ZORUCO	- Central Obrera Boliviana
BRASIL	- Benedicto CERQUEIRA	- Secretary of the Brazilian Trade Union Movement
	- Hercules CORREA	- Secretary of the Brazilian T.U.Mvt.
BULGARIA	- Micho MICHEV	- President of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions
	- Gueorgui EVGUENIEV	- Vice-President of the C.C.B.T.U.
	- Zdravka PEEVA	- Head of the International Dept.
	- Maria TANEVA	- International Dept. of C.C.B.T.U.
CHILE	- Eduardo GONZALEZ	- Member of the Executive Bureau of the C.U.T. de Chile (External Committee)
CYPRUS	- Andreas ZIARTIDES	- General Secretary of the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO)
COLOMBIA	- Roso OSORIO	- General Secretary of the C.S.T.C. (Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Colombia)
CONGO	- Bokamba YANGOUMA	- General Secretary of the C.S.C. (Confédération Syndicale Congolaise)
	- Alphonse ONDONDA	- Secretary for International Relations
	- Didier BOYEMBE	- C.S.C.
	- Jean-Baptiste NDEKE	- International Dept. of the C.S.C.
COSTA RICA	- Luis Carlos MONTERO	- General Secretary of the C.G.T. (Confederación General de Trabajadores)
CUBA	- Jesus ESCANDELL	- Secretary of the C.T.C. (Central de Trabajadores de Cuba)
	- Juan AGUERO	- Head of the International Dept. of the C.T.C.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	- Vaclav BEZEL	- Vice-President of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions
	- Vilian KOZIK	- Secretary of the C.C.C.T.U.
	- Josef HLAVICKA	- Member of the Presidium of the CCCTU
	- Ladislav OPATRYNY	- Head of the International Dept. "
	- Drahomira NEBESKA	- International Dept. of the C.C.C.T.U.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	- José Cristobal DURAN	- Secretary of M.O.S.U.O. (Movimiento Sindical de la Unidad Obrera)

ECUADOR	- Juan VASQUEZ	- President of the C.T.E. (Confederación de Trabajadores del Ecuador)
ETHIOPIA	- Mulugeta YIMER ABEGAZ	- Chairman of All-Ethiopian Trade Union
	- Yohannes TEFERI	- Deputy General Secretary of A.E.T.U.
	- Taye BERHANU	- Member of the presidium of A.E.T.U.
FIJI	- Frederick CAINE	- Secretary of Fiji Council of Trade Unions
FINLAND	- Aarno AITAMURTO	- Chairman of the Building Workers' Union of Finland
FRANCE	- Georges SEGUY	- General Secretary of the C.G.T. (Confédération Générale du Travail)
	- Pierre GENSOUS	- Secretary of the CGT
	- Henri KRASUCKI	- Secretary of the CGT
	- Jeannine MAREST	- Secretary of the CGT
	- Hélène BOUNEAUD	- International Department - CGT
GAMBIA	- Mohammed CEESAY	- General Secretary of the Gambia Labour Congress
G.D.R. (German Dem. Republic)	- Harry TISCH	- President of the National Committee of F.D.G.B.
	- Heinz NEUKRANTZ	- Secretary of F.D.G.B.
	- Heinz FRANKE	- Head of the International Dept. FDGB
GUADELOUPE	- Claude MORVAN	- General Secretary of the C.G.T. of Guadeloupe (Confédération Générale du Travail de la Guadeloupe)
GUYANA	- RAM KARAN	- General Secretary of Guyana Agriculture and General Workers' Union
HUNGARY	- Jozsef TIMMER	- Secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions
	- Karol SZLOVATSIK	- Head of the International Dept. of the C.C.H.T.U.
	- Sandor PAPP	- International Dept. C.C.H.T.U.
	- Ervin KEKI	- International Dept. "
INDIA	- K.G. SRIWASTAVA	- General Secretary of All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)
INDONESIA	- Mera SURYA	- President of SOBSI (All-Indonesia Federation of Trade Unions)

IRAQ	- Khalid Mushin MAHMOOD	- President of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Iraq
	- Salman Alwas HASSAN	- Foreign Relations Secretary of GFTU
	- Salah Eldin ALNAKEEB	- Foreign Relations Department of GFTU
JAMAICA	- Christophe LAWRENCE	- General Secretary of Independent Trade Unions Action Council (ITAC)
	- Kenneth JAMES	- Vice-President of University and Allied Workers' Union (UAWU)
JAPAN	- Goshu NAKANISHI	- President of Zennichijiro (Construction and General Workers' Union)
	- Masuo KATO	- Zennichijiro (Construction and General Workers' Union)
JORDANIA	- Fathi NAJI	- General Secretary of the General Federation of Jordan Trade Unions
	- Mohammed JADALLA	- Assistant General Secretary of the G.F. J.T.U.
KAMPUCHEA	- HENG TEAV	- Vice-President of the Kampuchean Trade Union Federation for National Salvation
	- OUM MEAN	- Head of the International Department
KOREA (People's Dem. Republic)	- KONG U SAM	- Executive Committee member of the Central Com. of General Federation of Korean Trade Unions
	- KANG DAL WON	- International Department " "
	- IM JONG GI	- International Department " "
KUWAIT	- Ali AL-KANDARI	- General Secretary of the Kuwait Trade Union Federation
	- Hussain AL-YOHA	- Member of the Executive Council of K.T.U.F.
LAO. (Democratic People's Republic)	- Sisayang CHANTHEPHA	- Vice-President of Lao Trade Union Federation
	- Vongsavan BOUTSAVAT	- Lao Trade Union Federation
	- Outhay INTTHATHIRAT	- International Dept. of Lao Trade Union Federation
LEBANON	- Elias HABRE	- President of FENASOL (Fédération Nationale des Syndicats des Ouvriers et des Employés du Liban)
	- Dr. Hassan HAMDAN	- Economic and Social Research Dept of FENASOL

- MADAGASCAR - RAZAKANAIVO - General Secretary of FISEMA (Fédération des Syndicats des Travailleurs de Madagascar)
- Laurent RANDRIAMITANTSOA - Executive Committee member of FISEMA
- Paul RABEMANANJARA - General Secretary of FISEMARE (Fédération des Travailleurs Malagasy Révolutionnaires)
- MARTINIQUE - René BRAMBAN - Bureau member of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail de la Martinique)
- MAURITIUS - Laldeo DAUHAJEE - General Secretary of the Mauritius Labour Federation
- MONGOLIA - Gombojavyn OCHIRBAT - President of the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Union Organisation
- Zambyn DEJEE - Head of the International Dept. " "
- NEPAL - Kashi R.UPADHYAYA - Vice-President of the Nepal Beekeepers' Association
- Ishwari C. SHARMA - General Secretary of the N.B.A.
- NEW CALEDONIA - Raymond JOYEUX - General Secretary of the Labour Confederation of New Caledonia (Confédération du Travail de Nouv. Calédonie)
- PAKISTAN - A. HASHMI - Pakistan Trade Union Federation
- PALESTINE - Fathi AL RAGHEB - General Secretary of the Palestine Trade Union Federation
- Mouhamad ABOU-ALLAYL - Secretary of the Pal.Trade Union Feder.
- PANAMA - Domingo BARRIA - Secretary for International Relations, CNTP (Central Nacional de Trabajadores de Panama)
- PAPUA-NEW GUINEA - Philip KUALA - Secretary of the Bougainville Mining Workers' Union
- PERU - Eduardo CASTILLO - General Secretary of the CGTP (Confederación General de Trabajadores del Peru)
- PHILIPPINES - Bonifacio TUPAZ - General Secretary of the Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (T.U.P.A.S.)
- Napoleon MACULADA - President of T.U.P.A.S.)

PHILIPPINES	- Marcelino LONTOK	- President of the National Association of Trade Unions (N.A.T.U.)
POLAND	- Romuald JANKOWSKI	- President of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions
	- Jan PAWLAK	- Secretary of the C.C.P.T.U.
	- Wiclaw SCHOLZ	- Head of the International Dept. " "
	- Andrzej JURGIEL	- International Dept. " "
	- Zbigniew SYCINSKI	- International Dept. " "
PORTO RICO	- Pedro GRANT	- General Secretary of M.O.U. (Movimiento Obrero Unido)
REUNION	- Bruny PAYET	- General Secretary of C.G.T. (Confédération Générale du Travail de la Réunion)
RUMANIA	- Gheorghe PETRESCU	- Vice-President of the General Union of Rumanian Trade Unions
	- Ion TANASOIU	- General Union of Rumanian Trade Unions
	- Ion TICARAU	- International Dept. " "
SALVADOR	- Jorge MENDOZA	- F.U.S.S. (Federación Unitaria Sindical de El Salvador)
SOLOMON ISLANDS	- Joses TAUNGENGA	- General Secretary of the Solomon Island National Union of Workers
SOUTH AFRICA	- Moses Mbheki MABHIDA	- Vice-President of the South African Congress of Trade Unions
	- John GAETSEWE	- General Secretary of S.A.C.T.U.
SRI LANKA	- M.G. MENDIS	- President of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions
	- Abdul AZIZ	- President of the Democratic Workers Congress
	- Alawi MOULANA	- Deputy General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation
ST.VINCENT	- Caspar LONDON	- President of the National Progressive Workers Union
SUDAN	- Abdal Rahim MAHJOUR	- Repres. of the Sudanese Trade Union Front
SYRIA	- Izzedine NASSER	- President of the General Federation of Workers Trade Unions of the R.A.Syria
	- Odeh KASSIS	- General Secretary of the G.F.W.T.U.
	- Antoine RACHID	- Collaborator of the G.F.W.T.U.

- UPPER-VOLTA - Boniface SOMDA - General Secretary of U.S.T.V. (Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Voltaïques)
- URUGUAY - Felix DIAZ - Secretary of the National Convention of Workers (Convención Nacional de Trabajadores)
- U.S.S.R. - Alexei CHIBAIEV - President of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions
- Vassili PROKHOROV - Vice-President of the C.C.S.T.U.
- Kasimir MATZKIARITZOUS - Secretary of the C.C.S.T.U.
- Alexandre SOUBBOTIN - Secretary of the C.C.S.T.U.
- Vsevolod MOJAEV - Head of the International Dept. of the C.C.S.T.U.
- Vladimir SERGUEEV - Head of Department, C.C.S.T.U.
- VENEZUELA - Cruz VILLEGAS - President of C.U.T.V. (Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Venezuela)
- Hemmy CROES - General Secretary of C.U.T.V.
- VIETNAM - Nguyen THUYET - Secretary of the Federation of Vietnam Trade Unions
- Do TRONG HOP - International Dept. " "
- YEMEN (Arab Republic) - Ali Saif MUQBEL - President of the Federation of Yemen Trade Unions
- YEMEN (People's Democratic Republic) - Raweh SAEED - Secretary of the General Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions of the P.D.R. of Yemen
- Abdulla FAISAL - Secretary of International Relations of the G.C.W.T.U.
- Moh. MAHYOUB - Assistant of Secretary of International Affairs, G.C.W.T.U.
- ZIMBABWE - Aaron G.D. NDHLOVU - Executive Secretary for Labour Relations Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions

TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONALS :

- T.U.I. - Agriculture - Andreas KYRIAKOU, President
- Gérard LAUGIER, General Secretary
- T.U.I. - Food Industry - André NOGIER, Président
- T.U.I. - Building Industry - Veikko PORKKALA, General Secretary
- T.U.I. - Chemical Industry - Alain COVET, General Secretary
- T.U.I. - Commerce - Olga REWINSKA, President
- Adam GHERTINISAN, General Secretary
- F.I.S.E. - Rudolf TAGTMEYER, Secretary
- T.U.I. - Public Employees - Raymond BARBERIS, President
- Hans LORENZ, General Secretary
- T.U.I. - Metal Workers - Pierre BAGHI, General Secretary
- Valentin GOCHTCHINSKI, Secretary
- T.U.I. - Miners - Alain SIMON, General Secretary
- T.U.I. - Textile - Jan KRIZ, General Secretary
- T.U.I. - Transport - Jean BRUN, President
- Debkumar GANGULI, General Secretary

AUDITORS :

- BULGARIA - Gueorgui BORGOV
- CYPRUS - Melis LAMBRIAS
- G.D.R. - Harry WEBER
- MONGOLIA - Ia MAMU
- U.S.S.R. - Lydia CHOUVPILO

II. NON-AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES

- | | | |
|------------|---------------------------|--|
| AUSTRALIA | - Maurice Francis KEANE | - Former Secretary of W.O.S. Employees' Union |
| | - David GROVE | - Industrial Officer, Food Preservers' Union of Australia |
| | - Brian HENDERSON | - Printing and Kindred Union (N.S.W.) |
| | - Wilton John BROWN | - Editor - Modern Unionist |
| BAHREIN | - Hussein KASSEM | - Secretary for International Relations, Workers' Trade Unions Federation |
| BANGLADESH | - S.M. KAMRUZZAMAN | - |
| CANADA | - Rodrigue DUBE | - President of the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec |
| | - Martin LAURENT | - Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec |
| | - Clarence S. JACKSON | - Retired President of United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers |
| CAP VERT | - Silva Julio ASCENCAO | - Member of Executive Com. of UNTC-CS (Uniao Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Cabo Verde) |
| CHILE | - Mario NAVARRO | - President of the External Committee of the C.U.T. (Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile) |
| | - Juan HUERTA | - T.U. officer for National Coordination of the Trade Unions |
| CYPRUS | - Hasan SARICA | - President of DEV-IS (Revolutionary Trade Unions' Federation) |
| FINLAND | - Ilkka ERICH | - Secretary for International Affairs of SAK (observer) |
| | - Teuvo HOMPPI | - SAK |
| FRANCE | - Jean BRETEAU | - International Dept. of French CGT and member of WFTU Commission on Transnationals |
| | - Robert CHAMBEIRON | - Member of the European Parliament |
| | - Lucien MOLINO | - Former National Secretary of CGT |
| GHANA | - Ahiabile Clemence KWAKU | - General Secretary of the Teachers and Educational Workers' Union of T.U.C. |
| GREECE | - Emmanuel PITHAROULIS | - President of United Trade Union Anti-dictatorship Movement (ESAK-Associated) |

GUINEA	- Mamadou SAMPIL	- Deputy Secretary General of the National Confederation of Workers (C.N.T.G.)
HAITI	- Ulrich JOLY	- Union Intersyndicale de Haiti
HONDURAS	- Julio ZAVALA	- Executive Secretary of C.U.S. (Comité de Unidad Sindical)
HUNGARY	- Pal FORGACZ	- Former General Secretary of the T.U.I. Chemical
	- Janos LANDOS	- Secretary of the Commission for propaganda of the C.C.H.T.U.
INDIA	- SURYANARAYANA RAO	- President of C.I.T.U. (Centre of Indian Trade Unions)
IRELAND	- Andrew BARR	- Former President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions
	- Ernest McBRIDE	- Northern Ireland District Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union
ITALY	- Umberto SCALIA (guest)	- National Secretary of C.G.I.L.
	- Giacinto MILITELLO (observer)	- National Secretary of C.G.I.L.
	- Adolfo CIVITELLI (observer)	- C.G.I.L. District Secretary
KENYA	- Fred OMIDO, M.P.	- President of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (C.O.T.U.)
LEBANON	- ARISS MOUSTAPHA	- Honorary Member of FENASOL
	- Abdel JAWAD HASSIB	- President of the Fédération des Syndicats des Ouvriers du Liban Sud
	- Jawal ISSAM	- Member of Executive Bureau Fédération des Syndicats du Liban-Nord
	- Issam CHAHAL	- Fédération des Syndicats des Ouvriers et des Employés du Liban-Nord
LESOTHO	- Jacob KENA	- General Secretary Lesotho Mine Labour Workers' Union

LIBYA	- Mouldi MANSOUR	- Administrative Secretary Syndicat de Banques et d' Assurance, Union des Producteurs de Jamahirija
MALI	- Karambé BAKARY	- General Secretary Union des Travailleurs du Mali (U.N.T.M.)
MEXICO	- José DOLORES LOPEZ	- General Secretary Central Independiente de Obreros Agrícolas y Campesinos
	- Luis MONTER VALENZUELA	- General Coordinator Universidad Obrera de México
MOROCCO	- Ahmed El GHARBAOUI	- Secretary of the Executive Committee Union Marocaine du Travail
MOZAMBIQUE	- Samuel ZACARIOS	- Deputy member of the Permanent Executive Secretariat of the National Commission of Implementation of Conseil de Production; Director of the Centre of workers' rest-homes
	- José ALBINO	- Head of the National Department of Production and Emulation of Conseil de Production
NEW ZEALAND	- Morris BASSICK	- National Secretary of the United Mine Workers Union of N.Z.
NICARAGUA	- Olga AVILES LOPEZ	- Responsable for International Relations of the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores
	- Francisco GONZALES	- Central Sandinista de Trabajadores
	- Magdalena ABUNTO MEJIA	- Central Sandinista de Trabajadores
NIGER	- Mainassara BOUREIMA	- General Secretary of the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger (U.S.T.N.)
PHILIPPINES	- Felicisimo JOSON	- Administrator of the Federation of Free Workers - BATU (WCL)
PORTUGAL	- Alvaro RANA	- Member of the Executive Commission of the National Secretariat of C.G.T.P.-I.N. - Intersindical Nacional
	- Mauricio F. CARVALHO	- International Department of the C.G.T.P.-I.N. - Intersindical Nacional

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| SENEGAL | - Moustapha CISSE | - Member of the Executive Secretariat of the Confédération nationale des travailleurs du Sénégal; General Secretary of the Union Régionale de Longa |
| SIERRA LEONE | - James VINCENT | - Executive Member of the Sierra Leone Labour Congress |
| SPAIN | - Iginio Polo CEBOLLADA | - Member of the Executive Commission; responsible for international aff. CC.OO. Catalunya |
| SRI LANKA | - Pieris H. HEMACHANDRA | - Vice President of the Ceylon Federation of Labour |
| ST. LUCIA | - George MAYNARD TYRONE | - President General of the National Workers' Union |
| TANZANIA | - Shabahi NAMPAHDA | - Acting Secretary General of the Organisation of Tanzania Workers |
| TOGO | - Abide Kossi ASSIH | - National Secretary for International Relations of the Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Togo |
| TURKEY | - ZULFU DICLELI | - Assistant General Secretary MADEN-IS |
| UGANDA | - Robinson Wilson KASOZI | - Director of Education of the National Organisation of Trade Unions |
| UNITED KINGDOM- | Frank Dean SWIFT | - Chairman of the National Trade Union Committee, British-Soviet Friendship Society |
| | - Brian PRICE | - National President AUEW-TASS-Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section) |
| | - John Christopher ASHMAN | - Regional Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (T.G.W.U.) |
| | - Robert GILLESPIE | - Area Secretary of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades |
| | - Ken ROBERTS | - Trade Union Organiser of the ACTT |
| | - Dick FOGGIE | - Assistant General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union |

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| URUGUAY | - Alcides LANZA | - Secretary of the C.N.T. (Convencion Nacional de Trabajadores) |
| U.S.A. | - Patrick TOBIN | - Executive Board member of the I.L.W.U. (International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union) |
| | - Raymond SANTIAGO | - Secretary-Treasurer of the F.L.O.C.C. (Farm Labor Organizing Committee) |

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

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| C.P.U.S.T.A.L. | - Roberto PRIETO, Secretary |
| | - Conceicao DE OLIVEIRA, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Trade Union of Belo Horizonte (Brasil) |
| I.C.A.T.U. | - Ahmed JALLOUD, Secretary General |
| International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with Chile | - Mireya BALTRA, Executive Secretary |
| Women's International Democratic Federation | - Freda BROWN, President |
| World Peace Council | - John BENSON, Executive Secretary |
| | - Ray STEVENSON, Secretary |
| International Union of Students | - Ahmed AL WUHAISHI |

Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions :

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| - Boris Averianov, Secretary |
| - Drahomira HANZALOVA, Secretary |
| - Jan NEMOUDRY, Secretary |
| - Juan PONCE, Secretary |
| - Mahendra SEN, Secretary |
| - Luis TURIANSKY, political adviser |
| - Haider HASSANI, political adviser |
| - Mikhail KOLEJNIKOV, head of General Secr.serv. |
| - Oldrich HOUSKA, head of Finance Department |
| - Madhavan ATCHUTHAN, head of the T.U.I. Dept. |

Head of Departments :

- Ibrahim AMMAR, Middle East Department
- José-Manuel ROSQUETE, Latin America Department
- Noel HARRIS, Economic and Social Department
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- Zdenek GREGOR, N.G.O. Department
- Emilio PEREIRA, Documentation Department
- Longin ZAREBA, Press Department

- Sacho IVANOV, Finance Department
- Stanislaw BUKOWSKI, Youth Department
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WFTU Commissions and Working Groups :

- René LE GUEN, President of the ICT Commission
- Marcel PIQUEMAL, Président of the Legal Commis.
- Michel LEVRAY, President of the Youth Commission

WFTU permanent representatives:

- Carlos DE ANGELI, at U.N. and ILO in Geneva
 - Lucien LABRUNE, at U.N. and ILO in Geneva
 - Ernest DE MAIO, at U.N. in New York
 - Anatole KONDHO, in Africa
 - Nguyen VAN TU, in Asia
 - Gerhard WETZEL, at UNESCO
 - Michèle LOMBARDO, at UNESCO
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INFORMATION — II

THE TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

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**THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM
AND THE WORKERS**



September, 1980

TRANSNATIONALS, CRISIS AND WORKERS

Consequences of the power and expansion of transnational corporations

Facing the deepening of the capitalist crisis and its structural and persistent nature, the transnational corporations have launched an intensive operation of the sectorial and geographical re-deployment of their activities throughout the whole capitalist world, in order to safeguard their profits and continue the accumulation of capital under their control. This strategy of the transnational monopolies is supported by their home States and by the supranational institutions under their control.

The expansion of the transnational corporations, far from being a factor adapted to the genuine needs of modern development of productive forces, of the international division of labour and the cooperation of peoples, as the representatives and spokesmen of monopoly capital would have people believe, leads to the dislocation of the economies of the industrialised capitalist countries, to the destruction of whole industries and to the increased dependence and exploitation of the majority of the under-developed countries.

Moreover, the transnational monopolies and groups which operate in armaments production and which eagerly adhere to the arms trade, constitute a reactionary and warmongering force, completely opposed to the vital interests of peoples: to international détente and disarmament which would liberate huge resources to be utilized for the well-being of people, peaceful coexistence and peace.

The expansion of transnational corporations, encouraged by the policies of austerity and submission to the interests of monopoly capital, which have come in diverse forms into general use in the whole capitalist world, have extremely serious economic and social consequences.

In their race for profits, transnational corporations do not hesitate to abandon - partially or altogether - certain manufacturing industries and activities in favour of others which are more profitable and/or to transfer some industries from one country to another, in order to profit from all the advantages offered by the different degrees of exploitation of the workers and, more generally, by the conditions of the re-valuation of capital in various sectors and countries.

These operations, which - in the international context - take place anarchically, and the restructuring and "rationalisation", which determine and accompany them, contribute a large extent to the disintegration and deterioration of national labour market and are one of the factors affecting growing unemployment and job insecurity everywhere in the capitalist world, making it ever more massive in character. This calamity has already reached catastrophic dimensions in many countries.

In the social sphere, it means not only the disappearance of a vast number of employment opportunities, but also important modifications in the qualification and remuneration of the labour force and, moreover, through the chaos of monopoly competition which tends to set workers of different capitalist countries against one another, a pressure in the sense of a downward adjustment of wages and worsening living and working conditions.

The conditions of wage-earners in small and medium-size enterprises are generally in this situation more difficult than those of salaried workers in larger factories. Transnational corporations, each of them employing tens and even hundreds of thousands of wage-earners in their home countries and abroad, extend their exploitation, especially, by means of subcontracting, far beyond the frontiers of the mother-companies and their affiliates. The growing concentration of production and control of commerce in the capitalist countries is everywhere accompanied by an increasing exploitation by the monopolies of small and medium-size enterprises in which a majority of wage-earners are employed. This has resulted, especially during the recent years of crisis and stagnating production, in a high number of bankruptcies among small and medium-size enterprises or in the recession of their activities, which has very negatively affected the employment, the level of wages and the living and working conditions of their workers.

While the re-deployment of transnational capital and the austerity policies as its corollary in the industrialised capitalist countries bring about a serious deterioration in the living conditions of the large masses of the population, transnational "transfers" of certain industries towards the under-developed countries, far from contributing to solving the enormous problems these countries have to face, due to the colonial and neo-colonial domination, aggravate them still further. Since, the strategy of transnational corporations, backed by their home States, consists in maintaining these countries in a state of permanent economic, financial and technological dependence in order to continue the exploitation of their peoples and the pilfering of their resources, relying in this on the complicity of the local bourgeoisie and reactionary forces.

The transnational corporations, while syphoning off an important part of the national income of the under-developed countries, constitute a serious obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of the historical task of the under-developed countries in the economic field, to create a solid financial basis to embark upon rapid and sustained economic and social progress.

Thus, for example, most of the profits of the U.S. corporations coming from their subsidiaries abroad, which reached more than 24 billions of dollars in 1978, i.e. three times the 1970 level, are the result of the over-exploitation of workers in the "Third world". While the rate of profit of these corporations in the advanced capitalist States amounted to 14%, it reached over 65% in the under-developed countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa. That means a five-fold increase in percentage profit!

The tricks, swindles and machinations brought into play by the transnational corporations, which hold dominant positions in international trade and finance, in order to make maximum profits, on the basis of the over-exploitation of workers and the pillage of the peoples, are as numerous as they are scandalous (unequal exchange, transfer prices, tax evasion, "repatriation" of undeclared profits, ...) A large part of the deficit in the balance of payments and of the very rapidly increasing foreign debt of the under-developed countries (with the exception of certain oil-producing countries) is due to the deficit made in their finances by the establishment and continued domination of transnational corporations. A constant deterioration in the external balance of payments, the responsibility for which rests to a large extent with the transnational corporations, makes the development of the economies of these countries even more precarious as they largely depend on imports and are always forced to accept unjust trade conditions.

According to the documents of the 5th session of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held in Manila (Philippines) in May 1979, the deterioration in the terms of trade between 1974 and 1978, affecting all the under-developed countries including those exporting oil, reached the level of 15%. This, represented in foreign exchange, is a huge loss of more than 30 billion dollars in 1978.

The "Third World" countries, which export raw materials, receive but a small fraction of the final consumer price.

As stated in an estimate published in 1978 in the report of the United Nations Centre on Transnationals "Transnational Corporations and Processing of Raw Materials: the problem of developing countries", primary products (except oil) exported by the under-developed countries cost the final consumers, after further processing, more than 200 billion dollars without taxes, while these developing countries receive only 30 billion dollars. These few startling facts demonstrate not only the unprecedented exploitation as practiced by the transnational corporations, but also their overwhelming responsibility for inflation and its acceleration, and the ensuing grave economic, monetary and social consequences.

The agro-industrial transnational corporations, which exercise growing dominance over lands, crops and the marketing of agricultural and food products, negatively modify - by means of advertising - the dietetic customs of the population and, particularly, modify the social structure of the rural population to the detriment of the most under-privileged sections and are one of the essential factors causing the further aggravation of the problem of food distribution and famine in "Third World" countries.

Hundreds of millions of human beings in the capitalist world suffer from starvation because a small number of multi-millionaires enrich themselves in the "agri-business", the big business of the transnational corporations in the farm products. In 1976, one hundred major food monopolies controlled about 50% of the food production in the capitalist world. The scope of activities of these corporations, which control the capitalist food market, extends from the processing of agricultural raw materials to the production of

fertilizers and pesticides, the transport and marketing of products, including the direct exploitation of large estates in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They obtain the agricultural raw materials at extremely low prices and commercialize their products at monopoly prices which enables them to substantially increase their profits, thus robbing producers and consumers at the same time.

In the "Third World" countries, where the transnational corporations develop their cultivation of crops for export to the detriment of food production, hunger is far from being assuaged, it is seriously deteriorating. More than one billion children, women and men are deprived of the fundamental right of satisfying their hunger. Tens of millions of people die every year from hunger and the effects of malnutrition. That is, undoubtedly, the most tragic aspect of what imperialism and the transnational corporations cost mankind.

The exploitation exercised, in the first place, by the transnational corporations, the victims of which are different under-developed countries, has resulted in the worsening of two facts inherent to under-development: in large-scale unemployment and under-employment and, in general, in a considerable deterioration in the average living standard of a great majority of the world's population, which is expressed in the poverty and destitution.

According to ILO figures, there are one billion two hundred and fifteen million people in the world who are able to work. Two thirds of them live in the under-developed countries where some 455 million people are unemployed or under-employed, and their number continues to increase.

It would be surely difficult to compare the number of work opportunities created by the transnational corporations in the "Third World" countries with the number of jobs which disappear due to the competition of these corporations and the destruction of local manufacturing structures, or to that of the work opportunities which could be created if the sources of accumulation of these developing countries were not wasted by international financial capital. It is not hazardous to re-affirm that the results of the transnationals' activities in the field of employment are extremely negative in spite of everything that has been expressed by the experts defending these corporations.

A fundamental condition for the elimination of under-development in the "Third World" countries is to introduce thorough socio-economic transformations. However, the transnational corporations, backed by their home States and imperialism in general (Trilateral Commission, summits of the "Seven", EEC, IMF, World Bank, OECD, etc.), are totally opposed to such transformations.

Transnational corporations are the mainstay of colonial and racist regimes, of all fascist and ultra-reactionary governments. They largely contribute in organising counter-revolutionary attacks and in financing armed interventions against young progressive States and national liberation movements (this was the case in Angola, Mozambique and Benin), and the fascist military coups d'etat (as in Chile and quite recently in Bolivia).

They develop subversive activities aimed against governments which do not adhere to their profit ideology, and set their face against the progress of the "Third World" countries that follow a non-capitalist path of development.

The participants in the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, held in London at the end of last year with the participation of the United Nations, the movement of non-aligned countries, anti-apartheid movements and trade unions, stated in the final declaration that the main responsibility for maintaining the apartheid system falls upon the transnational corporations which, among others, allow the racist regime to thwart international action.

The re-deployment of transnational monopolies is everywhere contrary to the interests of workers and peoples, whether it concerns the advanced capitalist or under-developed countries. It results in a deeply unequal type of development both between and inside the nations concerned, based on the accumulation and profit of international financial capital and, consequently, is radically anti-national and anti-social.

Transnational corporations, the capitalist answer to the growing internationalisation of economic and social life, shape and use, exclusively to their own profit, the international specialisation of production and the introduction and transfer of new technologies. The motives of profit and the inflationary prices of these corporations are in glaring contradiction to the whole rational internationalisation of production and trade, with an international division which is mutually advantageous to all and to each of the countries constituting the community of people, with the development of the multilateral cooperation of all nations on an equal basis.

For all the reasons briefly mentioned above, the power, strategy and expansion of transnational corporations constitutes the main obstacle in the way of the establishment of a new international economic order as the democratic alternative of relations between all nations, which is exactly opposed to the unjust international division of labour, as perpetuated by these corporations to the detriment of the interests of workers and peoples. Consequently, the establishment of the New International Economic Order is inconceivable without the most determined action of workers and peoples for the limitation and elimination of the disoriented and arbitrary power of the industrial and financial transnational corporations.

Profits against employment and living and working conditions

It is well known that transnational corporations have a fundamentally anti-worker and anti-trade-union character. They continually refuse the generalised implementation of the international standards in the field of employment and labour, as defined by the ILO, and preferably establish themselves in countries with racist, fascist and ultra-reactionary régimes which trample under foot the most elementary fundamental rights of workers and citizens.

During the last years, marked by a profound crisis, transnational capital and its representatives in power have started, in almost all advanced capitalist countries (Western Europe, United States, Japan, Australia, ...) a massive offensive against trade union rights and liberties and the acquisitions of workers and the trade union movement, the fruit of long years of struggle. The repeated acts of violation against trade union rights by transnational corporations have become an everyday occurrence.

The increasing difficulties which the capitalist economy has to cope with do not prevent the transnational corporations, in the midst of crisis, from noting a staggering escalation in their profits. Just the contrary: the more serious the situation, the higher the profits of these corporations. The crisis is managed exclusively for the benefit of big capital profitability: austerity, workers' sacrifices and the poverty of whole populations serves as a source of colossal profit.

It is not true, as the representatives and mass media of the big bourgeoisie expect people believe, that today's profits are tomorrow's investments and the day-after-tomorrow's employment. Since the beginning of the economic crisis in the period of 1974-1975, the profits of transnational corporations but for a few exceptions have been on the increase, while investments have stagnated almost everywhere in the industrialised part of the capitalist world or, in the case of the under-utilisation of manufacturing capacities, have been exclusively oriented towards the intensification of the productivity of labour, which has largely contributed to the increase in unemployment which, in most countries, has already reached very serious proportions. Facing these facts and evolution of the situation, even the Western experts have to admit that the problem of unemployment will tend to steadily escalate in the coming years.

As regards the 24 OECD countries, the experts have forecast a zero or very low growth rate for this year, while the number of unemployed will reach or exceed 20 million, i.e. 6.25% of the active population as compared to 5.1% at the end of 1979. Unemployment, affecting ever larger masses of the population, is accompanied by a rapid increase in the cost of living. In the above 24 countries, this increase will reach on an average 10% in 1980, and that is against the background of inflationary increases in the profits of industrial and banking big capital and of restrictive wage policies.

"Stagflation" -- or simultaneous stagnation and inflation -- is but a name given by technocrats to the evolution resulting from the crisis of capitalist structures and of the austerity policies which scandalously favour the profits of transnational corporations to the detriment of employment and peoples' living and working conditions. The contrast between the evolution of unemployment and the rise in the cost of living on one hand and voracious profits on the other hand speaks for itself ...

According to the figure given by the American review "Fortune", the actual profits of 500 of the biggest industrial enterprises of the capitalist world, most of which are transnationals, increased by ^{about} 27% in 1979 as compared to 1978.

The already ^{about} fabulous profits of the oil transnationals reached new records in the same year. 10 out of the 15 corporations which made the highest clear profits in 1979 -- which are but an acknowledged part of profits, are the oil companies.

From 1972 -- the year preceding the "oil crisis" -- to 1978, the global turnover of "Seven Sisters" (Exxon, Shell, Mobil, Texaco, British Petroleum, Standard Oil and Gulf Oil) passed from 70.0 to 318.4 billion dollars and their clear profits from 4.62 to 21.45 billion dollars. No need to say that, even taking into account the devaluation of dollar, this fact represents an extremely rapid growth of the two above indices in the period concerned.

Although the transnational corporations massively destroy employment, help inflation and the chronic disorder of the capitalist monetary system and exploit and throw national economies into confusion, the big employers and governments in their service still search for the "causes" of the crisis somewhere else.

In the struggle for foreign markets, the representatives and spokesmen of transnational capital and the men in power try to set, on retrograde basis, the wage-earners and peoples of one country against those of another, especially the workers of the industrialised capitalist countries and those of the under-developed countries. As a general rule, it is the oil exporting Arab States and under-developed countries that are held responsible for the difficulties, by these representatives and spokesmen, and are accused of deforming competition by a large influx of imports from the "Third World", and even the socialist States.

The same representatives and spokesmen also declare at every turn that the blame for the difficulties, inflation and "lack of competitiveness" of certain industries lies with the wage-earners and their trade union organisations, for not being ready to accept the sacrifices "required" by the situation: that means unemployment and the austerity policies which allow the monopolies to raise their profits and favour the expansion of the transnational corporations.

In this context and facing such a reality, it is absolutely necessary to stress, as has been done by the M.F.T.U. many times, that confronted with the transnational corporations, it is impossible to effectively defend the interests of workers and peoples without resolutely rejecting the many attempts of the same corporations, governments and their home countries and employers' organisations

to promote them as instruments of economic and social progress. This is in glaring contradiction to the evolution of the situation and day-to-day realities in the capitalist world.

To effectively defend the interests of workers and peoples it is also indispensable to end treating these corporations separately from their home States and passing over governmental responsibilities in silence. We must unmask the close link which exists between the policy and economy of every developed capitalist State and the strategy and activity of these international monopolies.

Indeed, we cannot effectively defend these interests while ignoring the fact that the strategy of the international expansion of the industrial and financial transnational groups, and its central aspect which rests in the race for maximum profits, are based on the full economic and political support given them by their States and by the supranational organisations controlled by the latter.

The austerity policies, the victims of which today are the workers of the industrialised capitalist countries, and the neo-colonial exploitation of the under-developed nations by foreign capital with, in many cases, the complicity or at least willingness of the local oligarchies, are two aspects of the same process: that of capitalist accumulation, the expansion and the race for profits of transnational corporations in the conditions of a deep-rooted, structural crisis of the system, which constitutes the source of a colossal squandering of human and material resources.

Some facts and aspects of the struggle of workers against the transnational corporations

The strategy of transnational corporations for adapting to the new conditions of the crisis of the system and for taking advantage of them, comes up against the growing opposition of workers in various industrial and economic sectors both in the advanced capitalist countries and in the "Third World".

Since the 30th session of the I.F.T.U. General Council, held in April 1979, we have witnessed many struggles and actions launched by workers against the anti-social and anti-trade-union manoeuvres of the transnational corporations and for the satisfaction of their demands. Experience has proved that even if the workers have not always won complete satisfaction in these actions, the struggles did bring some results.

The following concrete examples represent only a small number of industrial actions against the transnational monopolies and corporations since the beginning of this year.

In Western Europe, very important actions were launched by workers against transnational corporations and their States in the iron- and steel-industry, shipbuilding, car and textile industry, as well as in other sectors. This year, we have seen a wave of strikes and other actions by the workers against the consequences of the crisis which are weighing more and more heavily on their shoulders.

More than half million metal workers throughout Italy stopped work for two hours on July 17th in protest against the planned dismissal of 15,000 workers by the FIAT management. In August, almost one million metal workers staged a strike in order to thwart the planned dismissals by this transnational.

In France, 30,000 workers of the transnational corporation Rhône-Poulenc went on strike on June 3rd, in order to stop the further dismantling of the textile sector which had already led to a reduction of 10,000 jobs in the factories of this French chemical industry group, as a result of its re-deployment operations towards countries with ridiculously low wages.

On January 2nd, about 120,000 iron and steel workers from the British Steel Corporation went on strike in Great Britain to improve their wages. This strike, which went on for 13 weeks, was the longest one that had occurred in the country since the Second World War.

At the beginning of this year, the salaried workers of the Spanish subsidiary of Chrysler-Talbot launched a strike in order to demand the re-integration of sacked workers.

In the United States, 60,000 refinery workers came out on strike on January 3rd, for the first time in 11 years, following the refusal by the oil monopolies and transnational corporations to satisfy their just demands, especially with regard to the payment of sickness benefits.

40,000 workers in the North American plants of the copper industry transnationals Kennecott, ARCO, Phelps Dodge and ASARCO also went on strike demanding increases in wages and in defence of the rights of young workers.

The strategy of the monopolies and transnationals operating in Japan, aimed at surmounting the crisis at the expense of wage-earners, also comes up against the growing opposition of the workers in various industrial sectors. We can mention the struggle of workers in the Kanaisha factory belonging to the giant steel transnational, the Nippon Steel Corporation, who started more than two years ago to prevent the blast furnace from being closed down, the actions of workers of the OKI Electric Industry corporation, waged since last year in protest against dismissals, and the strike of workers of the Sasebo Heavy Industries, one of the most important shipbuilding monopolies. In this last case, after more than eight months of conflict with the employers, the shipyard personnel mounted an 11-day strike last February in protest against the enterprise management's decision to refuse the payment for overtime work, freeze wages and the year-end bonus.

South

In/Africa, where the workers employed by the subsidiaries of foreign companies, backed in their intransigence by the racist régime, launched important actions for the satisfaction of their demands. 3,500 workers in the Uitenhage factory near Port-Elizabeth, belonging to the North American tyre company Goodyear, went on strike.

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A 41-day strike/mounted last spring by 150,000 metal workers in Sao-Paulo, Brazil, working mainly in the subsidiaries of the car transnationals Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Saab-Scania, Mercedes-Benz and Volkswagen. The movement, started at the beginning of April, was aimed at supporting wage demands and employment guarantees.

In Costa Rica, the agricultural workers at the banana plantations belonging to the North American transnational corporation Standard fruit came out in a strike, which lasted from December 21 to January 17, in order to demand the implementation of the collective agreement and the reduction of the working day. This strike, in which almost 20,000 workers were involved, was observed also by the agricultural workers of the United Brand transnational corporation and by the Limon port workers.

The struggle of the so-called "Third World" peoples for their full economic and political independence, the important results of this struggle, their demand to receive a more just remuneration for their natural riches, their will to dispose of them in the interest of their countries and populations, their demand to establish a new international economic order, the aspiration of workers in the capitalist countries, industrialised or not, for social progress must have seriously hindered the anti-national and anti-social manoeuvres of the international monopolies in their hectic race for profits.

This struggle of workers and peoples of the capitalist world, this daily struggle which is supported by the existence and power of the socialist countries, by their active solidarity, has transformed itself into a major obstacle to the aspirations and boundless domination of the transnational corporations over the economies and the life of workers and peoples.

Nevertheless, the cohesion and the quick response of all sections of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist movement, of all democratic and progressive forces is not yet sufficiently strong to cope with the enormous and very serious problems confronting the workers in the capitalist countries and the whole mankind in the form of the transnational corporations.

The same can be said, in spite of progress achieved and the new dimension of workers' struggles, of the trade union movement whose role in defence of the vital interests of wage-earners confronted with the international monopolies is irreplaceable. The appeal of the 9th World Trade Union Congress, held in April 1973, to the workers and their trade union organisations, "whatever their international affiliation, to create all the necessary conditions to act in unison by developing at all levels (local, national, regional, international) their initiatives for action, which is the only way to curb the activity of the transnational corporations, the corner-stone on which attempts to save the capitalist system depend", is, at the moment when an offensive is being launched by international monopoly capital and reactionary forces against the acquisitions and demands of workers, against the peoples' aspirations for freedom and justice and against the forces of progress and peace, a document of urgent importance.

In the struggle for ensuring national independence and economic and social progress of peoples, face to face with the reactionary character and strategy of transnational capital, trade unions are bound to play the pre-eminent role, side by side with all forces struggling for social progress, because the strategy of transnational corporations for an unequal and unstable development is in contradiction to the vital interests of the working class and workers of all countries.

As was expressed in the Declaration of the World Trade Union Conference on Development, held in Belgrade last April, in the deliberations of which an important W.F.T.U. delegation actively took part: "From their experience, trade unions are aware of an unbreakable link existing between their own demands for the enhancement of their general position and improvement of the workers' living and working conditions, for full employment and for socio-economic changes at the national level on the one hand, and the demands of the developing countries for a re-organisation of the present international economic relations, on the other. They well know that the present crisis cannot be overcome, nor optimal and harmonized development of both the developing and the industrialised countries and the new international economic order achieved unless there is a perpetual and concerted action of all democratic forces, including trade unions."

The W.F.T.U., which has always most perseveringly acted in favour of cohesion and the unity of action of the trade union movement, pays great attention in its activities to the strengthening of workers' and trade unions' action against the harmful activities of transnational corporations, against the serious economic and social consequences of their strategy in the conditions of the profound crisis of the capitalist system. The Commission on Transnational Corporations, set up on its initiative four years ago, has accomplished valuable work in explaining and putting into concrete

form, the priority objectives defined at the very beginning of its existence: to find forms of joint actions in order to favour and encourage the development and coordination of the struggles of the workers and their trade union organisations against the misdeeds of transnational corporations.

The analysis of the Commission, in the sessions of which the representatives of the W.F.T.U. affiliated and non-affiliated organisations, and of regional and international organisations take part, has among others confirmed that the trade union coordination- or liaison committees, composed of the representatives of wage-earners of the given transnational corporation, can be considered as an effective instrument of unity in launching and extending, within the transnational corporations, the actions on concrete situations and demands both at national, regional and international level. This appreciation is undoubtedly correct: the struggle for the defence of workers' interests must be first of all carried on in the enterprises and units of production, within the transnational groups.

No need to say that this appreciation has nothing to do with the narrow corporatist spirit. The action within the transnational corporations is and must be conceived as part and parcel of the struggle carried on by all workers at various levels for the satisfaction of their immediate demands, against the austerity policies and for finding solutions to the serious economic and social problems raised by the capitalist crisis and the domination of transnational capital over national economies.

Among the coordination committees, established at the level of several countries, one region or the whole world, the following can be mentioned: Kodak, Solvay, Dunlop Pirelli, Philips, Singer, Chrysler, Agache-Millot, D.M.C., ... Others, as for example that of Nestlé in Europe, or that of Rhône-Poulenc (Europe - Latin America) are just being established.

It is envisaged that the 6th session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations, which will be held this year, will put on its agenda a large exchange of experiences and ideas on the problems of the coordination committees, on the functioning of those which already exist, on the strengthening of their capacities for action and the extension of their geographic representation, on the progress achieved in the establishment of new committees and the responsibility of creating others within other transnational corporations. The reports and information which will be presented to the 6th session by its participants should help to make a general survey on this important aspect of workers' and trade unions' struggles against the anti-social and anti-national policies and manoeuvres of the transnational monopolies.

Although, considering the coordination committees as the most important instrument in the organisation and promotion of the workers' struggle against the misdeeds of the monopolies, the Commission on Transnational Corporations has also considered the possibility of contributing to the formulation of other forms of

struggle in conformity with the characteristic features and concrete conditions of diverse industrial enterprises and sectors in the economy, dominated by the big corporations.

In this sense, an agreement was reached by the 4th session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations, held in Lisbon in March 1979, which set out the principles for the definition and launching of a world-wide united campaign on the extremely serious misdeeds of the transnational corporations in the pharmaceutical industry, which, after the establishment of the most representative trade union coordination committee as possible, should culminate in the convening of an international conference in the first half of 1981, open to all trade unions and all other organisations directly concerned.

The aim of this initiative, in addition to exposing and condemning the extremely harmful effects of the activities of the transnational corporations in the pharmaceutical industry, is to determine effective forms of struggle by wage-earners in the respective sectors and to formulate the ways and means of powerful and sustained united action by all forces concerned, strong enough to thwart the pernicious policy of these monopolies who are interested in nothing but their profits, do not worry about the actual effects of their products and of their price policy, which are always grave and sometimes even dramatic.

Moreover, the participants in the 4th session of the Commission considered that the realisation of such an international conference could provide a rich experience for international action in other industries dominated by transnational corporations.

Economic and Social Department

August 1980

INFORMATION — I

EMPLOYMENT, WAGES AND PEACE

* * *

**TRADE UNIONS AGAINST
THE ARMS RACE AND FOR
DISARMAMENT**



September, 1980

TO BOMB - OR TO BUILD ?

In April 1980, building workers from several European countries and from USA gathered at a seminar in Vienna, organised by the Building TUI to discuss the way out of the crisis in the building industry. Their discussions revealed some stunning facts.

- + The world is now short of roughly 300 million flats.
- + In recent years, as a result of the capitalist crisis, building industry has gone into severe recession; there are over one million unemployed building workers in USA and 1.5 million in western and southern Europe. The situation is worse in developing countries.
- + With the money now wasted on the arms race, in one year, 60 million flats can be built.
- + One job in building trade can provide 4 to 8 jobs in allied trades.

Addressing a Conference organised at the UN in June this year, on the theme "THE ARMS RACE AND THE HUMAN RACE", Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General, said:

"The issues of war and peace involve every individual because failure to involve them constructively would be disastrous for all strategic theories foster the belief that the issues involved are too complex for the average person to understand. Public interest is thereby weakened, and the problem is relegated to those engaged in negotiations or special study. In the process, the conception of the problem is distorted because the consequences of the arms race are obscured ... The world's combined weapons of mass destruction suffice to kill every man, woman and child ten times over"

The world has enough destructive power in terms of stockpiled nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction to kill all of us ten times over. But we are faced with the ugly reality - a shortage of 300 million flats, which means over 1200 million people denied a basic right to housing. And millions of building workers are unemployed, and if these building workers are at work, they help create several million more jobs.

Do we need a better illustration of the link between jobs and peace, wages and peace, and the destruction of both jobs and wages by the arms race ?

.../...

WHO FINANCES THE ARMS RACE ?

The working people have to pay for the arms race. In the capitalist countries and in the socialist countries.

In the capitalist countries, the workers are forced to pay by the ruling circles.

In the socialist countries, the state has to allocate larger allocation for defence because of the arms race stimulated by the military-industrial complex in the developed capitalist countries.

This money could be better spent for the welfare of the workers in all countries. Only the transnational military industrial complex - a tiny group of millionaires - draw any benefit from the arms race through high profits.

As the report to the 22nd session of the WFTU Bureau (in 1980 in Cotonou) pointed out, the existing unjust international economic order and monetary system are used by the transnational military-industrial complex to finance the arms race.

"It is said that the US Administration financed its aggressive war of intervention against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea by printing billions of dollars and dumping these dollars on its allies. That means the "allies" of the US (by buying up these dollars) were made to pay for this military adventure.

"Since then the almighty US dollar has not recovered from its continuing crisis and the monetary disorder in the capitalist world was its direct sequel.

"However, it has to be remembered that the domination of the US-based transnational banks on the capitalist world economy is such that they can finance the arms race by robbing the workers' wages through inflation and by intensifying the plunder of the developing countries.

"For the workers and trade unions, therefore, the struggle against the arms race is directly linked with the struggle to safeguard the purchasing power of wages and the struggle to end the outflow of real resources from developing countries."

President Carter said in April 1977 that "big deficits during the Vietnam war have resulted in excessive demand and overheating of the economy. The war was partially financed at the expense of a hidden tax in the form of inflation." That is some frank admission, indeed.

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The West Europeans are now surprised to find that the US transnational corporations bought up "our industries" with "our own money". That is how the transnational military-industrial complex can and does make all of us pay to finance the arms race, so that all of us can be killed 10 times over, with "our own money".

GROWING PROTEST ACTIONS

The rank and file trade union members are not economists, like the capitalist bosses. But they have begun to feel the pinch. It is impossible to have Guns and Butter at the same time. Just because guns will give greater profits to the bosses, workers cannot give up their eating habits.

On 22 June 1980, despite pouring rain, 27,000 people marched in London to stop the Tory Government turn the British Isles into an unsinkable carrier for US nuclear missiles. A week later, on June 29, over a thousand marched to an airbase where a US base for cruise missiles will be developed. The same kind of actions took place in other spots in Great Britain where the US missiles are to be stationed.

As a result of the protest actions of the workers, trade unions and other democratic forces, the governments of Norway, Netherlands and Belgium - three member countries of the NATO - to decline or put off decisions on having Cruise missiles on their soil.

In June 1980, mass demonstrations were held in France by 14 organisations including the CGT, to protest against the new US missiles in Europe and the French neutron bomb. Delegations went to Brussels, where the NATO has its headquarters, to make their protests heard.

The joint meeting of CGT of France and FDGB held in June 1980 at Limoges stressed that workers and peoples of the European continent should not relax their vigilance in the face of the dangers threatening world peace.

Workers and trade unions in India and other Indian ocean countries have held demonstrations in the recent period to protest against the US arms build up and the creation of bases of aggression, especially the nuclear base in Diego Garcia.

The Trade Union Congress held in Brighton in September 1980, in a resolution, expressed its alarm at the introduction and stockpiling of new generations of nuclear weapons. The resolution condemned the British government's "part in the regeneration of the cold war atmosphere" and congratulated the General Council of the TUC for their stand against the siting of cruise missiles in Britain. The resolution further stated:

.../...

"It (the Trade Union Congress) deplores the decision of the Government to purchase Trident missiles at a cost of five billion pounds and calls on the next Labour Government to cancel the order. It demands an immediate cut in arms expenditure and the use of funds saved to ease the disaster of youth unemployment.

"Congress is firmly opposed to any defence policy based upon the use, or threatened use, of nuclear weapons including the neutron bomb, and believes that the safety and security of the people of Europe, both East and West, and the preservation of world peace, would be assured by disarmament both in the nuclear and conventional fields. Congress calls for the ratification of the SALT II Treaty, for negotiations for a SALT III Treaty, and for the dismantling of all military blocks.

"Congress, in welcoming the initiative taken by the National Union of Mineworkers to organise an international conference of mineworkers on peace and disarmament, calls on the General Council to take a new initiative to alert the trade union movement and the public at large to the need for the abolition of nuclear weapons and for the reduction of expenditure on armaments in general."

The National Conference on Trade Union Action held at Gary (Indiana), on 20-22 June 1980, under the auspices of the rank and file action groups mobilised under the banner of the "Trade Union Action and Democracy", strongly denounced the arms race. The Conference denounced the military-industrial complex and the scare of the so-called "Soviet threat" which the reactionaries use as an excuse to boost the arms expenditure. The Mayor of Gary said that the US treasury claimed it has no funds for jobs, food stamps, social security and education and health care but it has billions to spare for the arms race.

On June 21, 1980, the first day of draft registration ordered by President Carter, thousands of US citizens - young and old, men and women - came out to demonstrate against the draft and for peace. Demonstrations were held in Washington, D.C., at the Selective Service national headquarters, and at post offices across the country. Hundreds of anti-draft protesters demonstrated in front of the US General Post Office in New York. Close to 250 people blocked the draft registration area inside the post office. The action attracted close to 500 people of all ages who chanted "No draft for men and women" and "Hell no, we won't die for Texaco" (oil cartel).

ACTIONS FOR PEACE BRING RESULTS

The World Federation of Trade Unions, since its inception, has stood in the front ranks of the fighters for peace. The WFTU was among the organisations which launched the first Stockholm Appeal for Peace in 1950 - and also sponsored the second one in 1975.

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At all World Trade Union Congresses and meetings of the General Council and Bureau, the struggle for peace and disarmament has been a centre of constant attention, review and a focal point for new initiatives. The WFTU has always stressed the close links between the struggle for jobs, wages, social security and other working conditions and the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The 9th World Trade Union Congress (Prague, 1978) in which 210 million trade union members from all continents were represented, made peace and disarmament, the central theme of an "Appeal to the Workers and Trade Unions of the Whole World". The Appeal stated:

"The arms race- nuclear and conventional - which costs one thousand million dollars a day, is a disaster for the working people of our planet. It is a waste of financial, human and technical resources, expenditure in non-productive sectors, and in the capitalist countries is feeding inflation and unemployment.

"The arms race is particularly hard to bear for the developing countries. It is slowing down their social and economic progress, reducing development aid from the industrial countries and causing serious difficulties in the elimination of the scourges inherited from the colonial past - malnutrition, illiteracy and disease.

"For workers in the socialist countries, the expenditure necessary for defence also represents a heavy burden. It diverts substantial resources which could be used to accelerate the completion of the tasks of socialist construction and to meet the needs of the working people.

"Hence, all the workers of the world without exception have a vital interest in ending the arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race, and in disarmament."

The 9th Congress called upon all trade union organisations to participate wholeheartedly in the preparation and realisation of a world trade union conference devoted to the socio-economic aspects of disarmament.

Since then several trade union organisations have endorsed this appeal to convene a world trade union conference on social and economic aspects of disarmament. Joint efforts of trade union organisations of various affiliations and orientation are now under way to develop the preparatory work for the Conference.

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In 1980, the WFTU addressed an Open Letter to European trade union organisations on the escalation of the arms race in Europe, following the NATO decision to instal more sophisticated nuclear missiles. The appeal called for united action by trade unions in Europe to stop this arms race, work for the ratification of the SALT II Treaty, secure the full implementation of Helsinki Agreements, and to demand effective measures to achieve military detente, to consolidate peace and security in the European continent. A similar letter was sent to all members of Parliaments of European countries.

The struggle of workers and trade unions, at the national, regional and international level, has achieved important results. These achievements of struggle provide a basis for the further development of the international campaign against the arms race and for disarmament.

The United Nations declared the 1970s as the Second Development Decade. And simultaneously the UN also declared this decade as the First Disarmament Decade. It was clear enough, and the workers' struggles made it abundantly clear, that without disarmament, there can be no real development.

And what did the movement for peace achieve ?

International treaties were concluded which banned the emplacement of mass destruction weapons on the sea-bed and ocean floor, prohibited bacteriological weapons and banned the use of the natural environment for hostile purposes. Treaties were signed on strategic arms limitation and prevention of nuclear war. Some confidence-building measures were implemented in Europe. A framework was created for multilateral and bilateral disarmament negotiations. The first Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament was held and some useful decisions were taken. As the experts have pointed out, the results of disarmament negotiations in the 1970s confirm that real measures in this field are possible. The gains of the past decade have formed a workable basis for further steps towards arms reduction and disarmament.

The Helsinki Agreements on European Security and Cooperation of 1975 constituted an important achievement of the struggle of the workers and people of Europe for the consolidation of detente and peaceful coexistence as well as for mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION ACTIONS

Actions against the Arms Race are growing. But we are far from exploiting the full potentialities of trade union intervention on these vital questions.

.../...

There is still a feeling among many trade unionists that questions of peace and disarmament are not so related to their daily lives and we can leave them to the politicians and diplomats to handle the problem. This complacency should end.

The recent accident at a missile site in the United States which resulted in a US nuclear warhead being thrown at the United States itself, threatening the lives of millions, should alert people everywhere to demand immediate steps to begin talks on nuclear disarmament. The risks of the nuclear arms race are becoming more and more dangerously apparent. We must act before it is too late.

We have already had a number of computer errors in USA which almost plunged the world into a nuclear catastrophe. We must realise that there are more mad men in the Pentagon than mad electronic computers.

The dividends from disarmament are really enormous.

Speaking at the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly, Cuban President Fidel Castro, demanded on behalf of the Non-Aligned Countries for real international assistance for the development of the developing countries. He estimated such assistance at 300 billion dollars (at 1977 prices) for the entire decade of the 1980s, at the rate of at least 25 billion dollars a year. This estimate for a whole decade is just three-fifths of the presentday annual expenditure on the arms race.

The annual volume of military expenditure in the world is equivalent to two-thirds of the GNPs of the countries which constitute the poorest half of the world's population. In recent years, these expenditures were about 14 times greater than the economic aid furnished by advanced countries to the developing countries.

The money earmarked for the development and design of the US airforce fighter F-16 would be enough to finance eight major programmes similar to the World Health Organisation programme to stamp out smallpox in the world. The cost of one Trident submarine would finance the schooling of 16 million children in developing countries for a year. One modern tank costs 500,000 dollars, which is equal to the cost of equipping 520 classrooms. The building of one modern destroyer costs 100 million dollars, which is enough to bring electricity to towns and rural areas with a population of 9 million people.

According to UN experts, a sum equal to 8 to 10 per cent of the world military expenditure would be enough to eradicate hunger, disease and illiteracy. As the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has stated, some types of aid to

.../...

developing countries could be doubled if the major industrialised countries cut their military expenditure by 5 per cent. The implementation of the Soviet proposal for a cut in the military budgets of the states which are permanent members of the UN Security Council could go a long way to increasing that aid.

Disarmament would greatly alleviate the tax burden on the working people and help raise their living standards. The arms budget takes a big bite of the tax income of governments and taxes are raised to finance the arms budget. Taxation accounted for 26 per cent of the national income of the USA in 1944, 28 per cent in 1954, 31 per cent in 1964 and 37 per cent in 1974. In recent years, Americans have been paying an average of 37 cents out of every income dollar in federal and local taxes. If this goes on at the present rate, 50 per cent of wages would end up as tax before this century is out.

According to estimates of US economists, military expenditures create less jobs than any other area of government expenditure, with the exception of space exploration. One billion dollars invested in military programmes could create an average of 45,000 jobs in industry or 58,000 jobs in the civil service, while the same money spent for civilian purposes could create 59,000 and 88,000 jobs respectively. It was estimated that a 30-billion-dollar cut in the US military budget and the use of the money for peaceful purposes could create 718,000 new jobs.

Disarmament, of course, could result in temporary employment problems. The switching of material and manpower resources from military to peaceful purposes is not a simple mechanical process. It would require well-considered measures, time and some outlays. A national programme of conversion will have to be developed and new jobs provided. Workers will have to be given subsidies and assistance in finding employment and in retraining. Manpower released will have to be redistributed geographically and among sectors. These are not difficult to achieve. The experience of postwar conversions and modern studies on the problem show that there exist objective conditions for solving the employment problem in the event of disarmament.

There is a good deal of agreement within the world trade union movement on the need to campaign effectively for disarmament. This agreement should be turned into concrete action programmes. Multifaceted programmes should be developed, to carry forward these action programmes, on the basis of unity, united action and international solidarity.

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31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Add to the list of non-affiliated and international organisations :

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

- Fernando de la ROSA - Secretary for International Relations of C.G.T. (Central General de Trabajadores)

MEXICO

- Lorenzo VALDEPENAS MACHUCA - Representative of the Labour Congress (Congreso del Trabajo de Mexico)

O.A.T.U.U.

(Organisation of African Trade Union Unity)

- Abdoulaye Lelouma DIALLO, Deputy Secretary General

W.F.D.Y.

(World Federation of Democratic Youth)

- Ranjit GUHA, Vice-President

Amendments :

BANGLADESH - S.M. KAMRUZZAMAN - Publicity Secretary, Jatio Sramik League

ST.VINCENT - Caspar BROWN - President of the National Progressive Workers Union

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

DRAFT

MESSAGE TO THE 35TH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

To the Chairman of the 35th Session
of the United Nations General Assembly

Meeting in Moscow from 1st - 5th October 1980, the W.F.T.U. General Council expresses the support of hundreds of millions of workers the world over to the workers and people of Kampuchea and demands the immediate withdrawal of the representatives of the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique from the seat illegally occupied at the United Nations. This is a demand of the broadest spectrum of public opinion and of progressive mankind.

The General Council demands that this seat be rendered to the only legal and authentic representative of the people of Kampuchea which is the People's Republic of Kampuchea under the direction of the People's Revolutionary Council, presided over by Heng Samrin, which has been in actual and total control over the entire country since 7 January 1979, and which is leading the people of Kampuchea in its rebirth and national reconstruction following the disastrous consequences of the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique.

Moscow, 5th October 1980

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st Session of the WFTU General Council

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

C Y P R U S

MESSAGE TO THE 35th SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Meeting in Moscow from the 1st to the 5th October 1980, the 31st session of the WFTU General Council greets the resumption of the intercommunal talks in Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations and expresses the hope and the belief that these talks will lead to a peaceful, just and democratic solution of the Cyprus problem taking into consideration the interests and the rights of the two Cypriot communities.

The WFTU which has always supported the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem appeals to the UNO to exert its influence and make every effort for the sustained continuation of the Cyprus intercommunal talks and for their successful completion.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1 - 5, 1980)

DRAFT

A G E N D A

1. Ratification of decisions on affiliation and changes in the composition of the statutory bodies.
2. Report to the General Council.
Presented by:
Ibrahim ZAKARIA
Deputy General Secretary
3. Changes to the WFTU Constitution:
Draft by the Constitution Commission
and Report.
Presented by:
Ibrahim ZAKARIA
Deputy General Secretary
4. Auditors' Report
Statement of Accounts
Presented by:
Georgui BORGOV
Chief Auditor
5. Plan of Work and Budgets for 1981.

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JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The trade unions ESAK-Associates (Greece), PEO (Cyprus) and DISK/MADEN-IS, which met during the 31st WFTU General Council, after the September 12 military coup in Turkey discussed the latest developments and agreed to release this joint communique:

The working class and trade union movement of the three neighbouring countries condemn the pro-NATO, pro-American military coup in Turkey and the brutal offensive of the military junta against the trade unions and workers, against all the progressive and antiimperialist forces. They demand that the arrests and tortures by the junta should be stopped at once, that all the arrested and imprisoned trade unionists and workers should be set free and that the trade union and political rights and freedoms should be restored in full in Turkey.

ESAK-Associates, PEO and DISK/MADEN-IS announce that they will continue the friendship and solidarity among them with a growing strength and that they will fight together against the common enemy, the US imperialism and NATO, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the three countries for a just and democratic solution of the Cyprus problem.

ESAK-Associates and PEO want to assure the working class and trade union movement of Turkey, that they will support with all their means the just struggle for a democratic and independent Turkey.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TİPİ



**FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ**

Prague, October 10, 1980

MADEN-IS

I s t a n b u l

Czechoslovakia, 121 47 Praga 2, Vinohradská 10
Teléfono 243741-9, Telex 121525 WFTU C
Dirección telegráfica: FESYMOND PRAGUE

Dear Brothers,

We would like to thank you most sincerely for having sent a representative to celebrate with us the 35th anniversary of the World Federation of Trade Unions and to attend the 31st session of our General Council held in Moscow. The presence of your representative among us was not only an encouragement for us but we consider it as a sign of deep desire that different partners of the international trade union movement should engage in a more constructive dialogue so as to work together on common issues. We hope that such occasions would occur in future when we found ourselves together.

We hope that your representative was satisfied with arrangements during the session and we apologise for any shortcomings that may have occurred.

We are now preparing the documents of the session in their final form and we will be sending them to you as soon as they are ready.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Ibrahim Zakaria,
Acting General Secretary

1980 — YEAR OF INTENSIFIED ACTION FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS

Appeal of the WFTU Secretariat for a new upsurge in united actions to safeguard trade union rights and democratic liberties

Basic trade union rights won after years and decades of bitter struggles are now under renewed attack in many capitalist and developing countries. This attack is spearheaded by Big Business groups, transnational corporations and the governments they influence.

Military dictatorships in countries such as Chile, Uruguay, Sudan, Pakistan, etc. have totally banned or severely restricted all trade union activities. Many trade union leaders are in jail. In Indonesia, leaders of the WFTU affiliate SOBSI have been in jail for over 15 years. Trade union rights for the majority of workers do not exist in apartheid South Africa, and in the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

Trade unions are suppressed by some governments to make it more congenial for transnational corporations to invest. The unholy alliance between the transnational corporations and reactionary governments completely ignores international labour standards laid down in the ILO Conventions.

As a consequence of the sharpening capitalist crisis, millions are unemployed and denied the right to work.

Workers are agitating to safeguard their jobs, against the reduction in real wage level and for better working and living conditions. To weaken the trade unions and to prevent workers from organising united action, new anti-trade union laws are being arbitrarily pushed through. Strikes are banned. Workers are arrested and jailed for going on strike. Workers and trade unions are harassed through criminal prosecution and prolonged legal proceedings.

Workers are dismissed from jobs if they become trade union activists. Workers are dismissed just because they criticise management policies. For instance, for daring to suggest a scheme for the better management of the enterprise, a shop steward was dismissed in British Leyland. That is the bosses' answer to the trade union demand for joint consultation and participation in management.

All these repressive attacks increase as the crisis of the capitalist social system intensifies and attempts are made to resolve the crisis through the greater exploitation of the working people, through militarisation and preparation of war.

The attacks on trade union rights and the suppression of trade unions are part of the anti-democratic and anti-social policies, being put forward solely to defend Big Business profits at the risk of the peace of the world and the well-being of the working people.

The struggle for trade union rights is therefore not only a question for workers and trade unions but involve all democratic and progressive forces. It is a struggle for a democratic alternative, real democratisation of all aspects of economic and political life from democratisation of the enterprise management to popular participation in policy-making at national level and, in the developing countries, democratic participation in the development process in all its aspects. In many countries, such a broad front of struggle is already in the making.

The 21st session of the WFTU Bureau, along with the Trade Unions Internationals, appealed for the observance of 1980 as a YEAR OF INTENSIFIED ACTION FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS, to work for the realisation of the Universal Declaration on Trade Union Rights (adopted by the 9th World Trade Union Congress), to organise more concrete efforts to strengthen the growing united actions and to reinforce international solidarity on this vital question.

We won these rights through solidarity and united action. We can only ensure that these rights are implemented if the trade union movement is strong. This is why we launch a pressing call to workers who are not union members to join trade unions.

The WFTU invites workers and trade unions in all countries to participate in joint efforts to promote solidarity actions in defence of trade union rights, to mobilise world public opinion to denounce the violation of trade union rights and to press for the expansions of the rights of workers and trade unions, to participate on all questions of social and economic development.

Let us join forces and demand that all imprisoned trade unionists be released immediately!

Let us join forces and demand that human rights and international labour standards be fully respected, that all restrictions on trade union activities be immediately lifted, and that all anti-trade union law be abrogated!

Let us join forces and assert our rights, organise the unorganised, promote solidarity and unity, and act together to defend our rights, notably the right to live in peace!

Together we shall work for the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights!

les 6.12.80

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2nd

DRAFT

R E S O L U T I O N

on Trade Union Rights and Democratic Freedoms

1. The 31st Session of the WFTU General Council points out that with the deterioration of the general crisis of capitalism the monopolies and reactionary governments are increasing their attacks on trade union rights, and on the workers' basic collective and individual freedoms.

2. Recently, arbitrary acts and repression against the workers and the trade unions have reached unprecedented proportions, while racist and fascist acts have greatly increased. In addition to repressive measures such as bans on strikes, arrests, imprisonment, administrative sanctions and the passing of anti-trade union laws, reaction and its arm - big monopoly capital - resort to bloody atrocities and the murder of trade union activists and leaders. Thus, brother Kemal Türkler, former Chairman of the Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions (DISK) and the Turkish Metal Workers' Union (Maden-Is) has been savagely killed in Istanbul, while in Bolivia brother Simon Reyes, a miners' leader and Secretary of the Bolivian Workers' Centre (COB), has been seriously wounded and arrested. The mass acts of violence in El Salvador, Uruguay, South Korea, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, South Africa, in several Arab countries and in the Arab-occupied territories are further proof of the aggressive attacks against the workers.

The WFTU General council condemns, in particular, the recent mass repression of over 100.000 workers by the employers and the Government of Sri Lanka, simply because they went on strike in support of their rightful claims and demands.

In the European capitalist countries and in the United States police brutality against the strikers has become a rule rather than an exception.

3. Capitalist monopolies and the Governments acting on their behalf seek to break down and weaken the class-based trade union organisations, promote reformism and set up docile trade unions to keep the workers in submission and to make them accept the consequences of the crisis, the so-called austerity policies, the arbitrary acts of the employers and pressures exercised by such financial monopoly centres as the I.M.F.

4. Yet the workers do not lay down their arms, they continue the struggle. The trade unions reject class collaboration. In the light of this, and in order to provide the workers and their trade unions with an effective instrument of united struggle in the fight for their vital rights and interests, the 9th World Trade Union Congress adopted a fundamental document, namely the Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights. It is precisely in this context that the 21st Session of the WFTU Bureau, together with the TUIs proclaimed 1980 a Year of intensified action in defence of trade union rights.

5. The General Council reaffirms that this is a vital matter calling for the broadest solidarity of the trade union movement in order to make the capitalist governments and employers stop their onslaught on trade union rights and freedoms of the working people and provide them with employment, safe working conditions and social guarantees. The General Council welcomes the resolute united action by the working people and their trade unions and urges them to step up this fight, in order to achieve:

- strict observance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- complete observance of ILO conventions on trade union rights, especially convention Nos. 87 and 98 on freedom of association and collective bargaining and the immediate reinstatement of all victimised workers;
- implementation of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights.

6. Only continuous mobilization, increased action and trade union struggle in the broadest unity, can lead to the satisfaction of the working people's legitimate demands and end the arbitrary acts and anti-trade union repression practiced by the capitalist monopolies and the Governments under their control.

Moscow, 5 October 1980

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

(29) DRAFT

R E S O L U T I O N

In Defence of the Rights of Migrant Workers

1. The 31st Session of the WFTU General Council expresses its preoccupation concerning the ever increasing problems facing migrant workers in capitalist countries.

Campaigns of racist and xenophobic nature implying that immigrants are responsible for the crisis and unemployment bring about police violence and unpunished racial crimes.

In several countries foreign workers are forced to return back to their countries of origin en masse.

2. The General Council of the WFTU believes that trade union organisations should launch broad united actions to resist all discriminatory measures and practices as these are contrary to the basic rights of migrant workers. Every day, hundreds of thousands of migrants face the threat of arbitrary dismissal, without there being any guarantee of their rights. Urgent measures need to be taken to put an end to this deteriorating situation.

3. The 31st Session of the WFTU General Council reaffirms the basic right of working people to work in their country of origin. In order to implement this right, states should formulate their policy for social and economic development with emphasis on achieving full employment through structural reforms ensuring the rational use of manpower and material resources. This is the most radical and promising way of solving the problems of migrant workers.

4. However, the proportions assured today by large-scale immigration call for other, more urgent, measures, including fulfilment of obligations by countries using migrant labour, in order to eradicate the unfavourable and discriminatory conditions in which migrant workers find themselves. While insisting on the full equality of rights for these working people in every sphere of life, the WFTU demands that migrant workers and their families be given protection at national and international level by agreements ensuring the same guarantees for all working.

people without exception, in particular:

- an end to all kinds of discrimination in jobs and in society in general;
- the guarantee of full trade union rights under the same conditions as workers of the country, in line with the Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights, adopted by the 9th World Trade Union Congress;
- the elaboration of a policy on migrant labour on the basis of agreements between governments and with the participation of the respective trade unions;
- a solution to the problem of the workers unlawfully in the country and of the illegal trade in immigrant labour;
- the strict implementation of international standards and the formulation of new ones in accordance with the real situation and present needs.

The General Council instructs the WFTU Secretariat to prepare a study on these problems resulting in a document to be presented to the 10th World Trade Union Congress and also a WFTU action programme on the rights of migrant workers.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2nd DRAFT

R E S O L U T I O N

against US militarism

for an Indian Ocean and Pacific peace zone

1. The installation of US military bases in the region of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific is but one aspect of the full-scale counter-offensive by US imperialism, which the WFTU denounced at the outset some years ago. The military bases and facilities made available to the United States by Egypt, Bahrein, Oman and, just recently, by Kenya and Somalia are important links in the sprawling US military deployment.

2. At the same time, with the consent of British imperialism, the Americans have converted the island of Diego Garcia into a formidable air and naval base equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, including nuclear weapons. With the assistance of French imperialism, the United States now has vast military facilities at its disposal on Reunion island, above all the Omega base for nuclear submarine forces.

3. The General Council of the WFTU emphasises that a further aspect of the imperialist counter-offensive is manifested in the strengthening of regimes loyal to the United States, like those of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Pakistan, Thailand, Japan and South Korea, which are abundantly supplied with highly sophisticated military equipment. This US military presence, together with the military arsenal of Israel and the racists of South Africa is being ceaselessly primed by means of a "task force" or "rapid deployment forces" with hundreds of thousands of men prepared to intervene at a moment's notice in Asia, the Pacific, Africa, and the Middle East under the pretext of defending the vital interests of the United States, which are, in effect, the interests of the multinational monopolies. Aware of the designs of American imperialism to stem the tide and stop the advance of the national liberation movement and the forces of social progress by threats, blackmail and direct intervention, the General Council of the WFTU vigorously condemns the military agreements concluded between the United States and Somalia, in particular, and which are a direct threat to Socialist Ethiopia and demands their repeal.

4. In this context, the WFTU General Council expresses its disquiet over the joint military manoeuvres by the United States and Japan and the conversion of defence forces into combat forces, and their participation in landing operations by US "marines" in Okinawa and in the joint manoeuvres known as RIMPAC alongside the forces of the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada with the main aim of bolstering the military alliance among these countries and the expansion of US bases in Australia.

5. The convergence between US imperialism and the Chinese leaders poses an additional threat to peace throughout this region. Supported by the American imperialists and the reactionary Japanese forces, the Peking authorities are currently pursuing hostile and expansionist policies towards Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, dragging the ASEAN countries - and above all Thailand - into plots against the countries of Indochina. Such policies create a hostile and dangerous situation for Indochina and are vehemently condemned by world public opinion.

6. The General Council of the WFTU condemns this policy of force of US imperialism, its allies and whipping boys, a policy which is, in fact, aimed at safeguarding the interests of the multinational monopolies and perpetuating their plunder of the world's resources, at destabilising the progressive regimes in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen, Madagascar and others, putting pressure on the national-liberation movement as a whole, preventing the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, and, above all, stepping up the arms race and jeopardising the policy of international detente and world peace.

7. The General Council reiterates the demands of the WFTU in conformity with the requests made by many countries in the region and with the UN Declaration to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It believes that this peace zone should extend to cover the region of the Pacific. Such a vast zone of peace can and must be a zone of regional cooperation, economic independence and social development and of the promotion of peace and security for all the countries of the region of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

8. It will do everything within its power for action to be taken in this direction by the trade unions of the region.

Moscow, 5 October 1980

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2nd DRAFT

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES OF NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Dramatic developments in Southern Africa have focused international attention on the struggle of the Namibian people for national liberation. As this struggle advances, the efforts of the South African fascist regime and its allies to frustrate the will of the Namibian people are being intensified. This requires an increase in international solidarity with the Namibian people through their liberation movement SWAPO and through the National Union of Namibian Workers.

Concerning Namibia, the General Council of the WFTU considers that the struggle of the people of that country for self-determination is a struggle for the overthrowing of racism and apartheid.

The legitimacy of such a struggle is quite obvious. It results from the nullification of the 1966 Mandate by the U.N. on South Africa's administration of Namibia by the International Court of Justice in 1971.

The General Council of the WFTU rejects any negotiations by the five western so-called Contact states as a weakening of the UN position as the recognised authority of Namibia, and a trick to protect the interests of the multinational corporations.

In South Africa itself, the fascist regime has acquired all the features of a militarist state, where the military and economic forces work closely together for maintenance of white supremacy.

The struggle in South Africa has assumed greater significance.

The combination of a defiant mass working class, students and the military and political operations of the African National Congress of South Africa and its allies are challenging the regime within the citadel of racism itself.

The Pretoria regime's response has been to continue arresting, brutalizing and shooting down of unarmed workers and students who are demanding recognition of their trade unions, higher wages, better working conditions, an end to pass laws and the interior education designed for the Black people.

The recent waves of strikes by the African workers which started at the beginning of this year and continue upto the present day are almost unprecedented in the country's history.

The General Council condemns the migrant labour system as practised in South Africa, which has brought about the breaking up of family life. We demand the abolition of the hostel and compound system used for the accomodation of male and female workers separate from each other.

The General Council calls on International and Regional trade union centres, and support groups to focus attention on Namibia and South Africa, and to:

1. intensify the campaign for a comprehensive total boycott of racist South Africa and to ensure the complete termination of all contact with racist South Africa especially by imperialist powers as the U.S., Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, etc.;
2. mobilise world public opinion concerning the terrible danger of the further development of nuclear capability by South Africa, recognising that it is a threat not only to the peoples of southern Africa but to mankind as a whole;
3. call upon all oil producing countries and other countries exporting petroleum products to take unilateral action to impose an embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa;
4. organise campaigns demanding that South Africa treat freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1940 and Protocol 1 of 1977;
5. increase political, moral and material support for the South African Congress of Trade Unions;
6. the national and international campaigns having resulted in the annulment of James Mange's death sentence, it is necessary to carry on the struggle and to join the nationwide and international campaigns for the release of Nelson Mandela and all the other political and trade union prisoners.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2nd DRAFT

R E S O L U T I O N

on Latin America

1. Taking into consideration the situation in Latin America, where there is a general intensification of the workers' struggle for their rights and freedoms, their economic and social demands and for freedom from imperialist domination and the transnational companies in face of a counter-offensive started by the latter and by the regimes catering for them, in particular, fascist and military regimes, the 31st Session of the WFTU General Council

2. hails the united actions undertaken by the workers and their trade unions involving organisations having the broadest regional and international affiliation through united committees and bilateral and multilateral rallies in order to formulate united platforms for the workers' demands for freedom and against exploitation by the transnational corporations, the monopolies and imperialism, and for disarmament, detente, peace and freedom;

3. reiterates its solidarity with the fighters of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the other popular forces in Nicaragua - and above all the trade union movement under the leadership of the Sandinist union centre - which have scored a historic victory that opens up fresh perspectives to consolidate its revolutionary process in face of imperialist intrigues in the current struggles of the workers and peoples of the Continent.

4. Notes the successes achieved by socialist Cuba in its 21 years of building a new society, which is an eloquent example of the perspectives of development in conditions of economic independence and stresses Cuba's important role in international solidarity. Calls for solidarity with revolutionary Cuba to be stepped up in face of every kind of provocation by US imperialism and particularly demands an end to the blockade, the violation of air space, the dismantling of the naval base at Guantanamo and its return to the Republic of Cuba. It also resolutely condemns the decision of the Venezuela Military Court which freed the people responsible for the sabotage of a Cuban aircraft in Barbados, which cost 73 lives. It demands that the Venezuelan government punishes those responsible for this crime.

5. Hails the achievements of the people of Grenada in the revolutionary process aimed at safeguarding the national independence and maintaining its own path of development.

6. Voices its solidarity with the Brazilian workers and trade unions and with all the forces in society which are preparing the ground for a return to democracy after many years of fascist dictatorship, and calls for vigilance against the machinations of reaction in the service of imperialism and the transnational companies;

7. ascertains that, confronted by a rise of the peoples' fight for a democratic solution to the crisis of capitalism, imperialism and the fascist regimes are trying hard to halt the process of liberation by stepping up repression, seeking to "legalize" the suppression of human rights and freedoms in preparing further military coups which, as in Bolivia, are plunging the country into chaos and repressive violence and attacking the trade union movement represented by the militant COB, arresting its leaders. Calls for solidarity action to save the life of Juan Lechín, President of the COB, of Simón Reyes, National Secretary and also the lives of other activists who have been detained and brutally tortured. Urges the trade union movement to take action to condemn and isolate internationally the military junta of General García Meza.

8. Condemns the so-called "plebiscite" staged by Pinochet in Chile which is an electoral and diversionary tactics for international public opinion organised in defiance of the will of the vast majority of the Chilean people. Demands the full re-establishment of trade union rights and freedoms, the removal of the fascist junta and the establishment of a government in conformity with the will of the Chilean people. Voices its solidarity with the struggle of the workers and their united trade union centre designed to overthrow fascism.

9. Calls for the rejection by every means of the so-called "chronogram" of the Uruguayan dictatorship, which includes a similar "plebiscite" on October 31 - a new farce seeking to prolong a regime which is responsible for abolishing all trade union rights and freedoms. Calls for greater solidarity with the workers of Uruguay and their trade union centre CNT for freedom, for an end to tortures and arbitrary arrests, for a general amnesty and re-establishment of democracy.

10. Urges the trade union movement to organise actions of solidarity with the workers and people of El Salvador and Guatemala, where repression has reached the proportion of genocide against assassinations and terrorism, kidnappings and disappearances, like those which have taken place in Argentina; for solidarity with the workers of Peru in their fight to free imprisoned trade unionists; in the defence of the workers and active trade unionists who are victims of the brutal repression prevailing in Paraguay, Haiti and other countries where the workers are victims of unemployment, cruel repression and brutal methods of slave-like exploitation, as also in defence of the rights of the national minorities in the United States, which are victims of racial discrimination and repression.

11. Demands respect for the UN Resolution on Decolonisation and its application to those countries remaining under colonialism in Latin America and particularly the right to self-determination for Puerto Rico, Belize, French Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Aruba and Curacao.

12. Expresses its solidarity with the people and workers of Colombia in their fight for human and trade union rights, for an end to torture, to councils of war and repression against agricultural workers and urges support for the struggle of the people of Panama including condemnation of the violations by American imperialism of the international treaty with regard to the Canal.

13. Condemns the intrigues, military attacks and new plans for intervention formulated by the United States government in the Caribbean designed at intimidating the peoples of the continent whilst seeking to stem the tide of the peoples' struggles against exploitation and the monopolies.

14. Declares that the fight for trade union rights and democratic freedoms in Latin America is now the priority task for international solidarity with this continent in order to protect jobs and wages against unbridled exploitation by the transnationals, for better living and working conditions, for well-being, for growth and for economic and social progress. For the peoples of Latin America the fight for peace is also a priority in view of the situation prevailing on that Continent.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİHİ

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

2nd Draft

R E S O L U T I O N

on Solidarity with Palestine and the Struggle of the Arab Peoples

1. The WFTU General Council, meeting at its 31st session in Moscow from October 1-5 1980, having studied the tense situation in the Middle East after the Camp David plots, states that this situation is characterized by Israel's growing arrogance, its aggressivity and territorial expansionism against the peoples of the region. This is chiefly borne out by:
 - the annexation of Jerusalem and its proclamation as Israel's "eternal capital" and the plans to annex other Arab territories in the Syrian Golan Heights;
 - the bloody repression of the Palestinian masses on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip;
 - the continuing confiscation of land, establishment of Zionist settlements and expulsions of the inhabitants;
 - the stepping up of acts of aggression and repeated criminal bombing of southern Lebanon.
2. In defiance of the United Nations resolutions and of world opinion, Israel carries on its aggressive and expansionist policy, supported in all spheres by American imperialism, especially through its military bases in the region. This support has become a matter of outbidding in the presidential election campaign in the US.
3. The General Council notes with concern that, in addition, the situation in the region is marked by a fierce imperialist Zionist and reactionary campaign waged against the entire Arab liberation movement.
4. In Egypt, Sadat's regime carries on its policy of submission to the United States and to Zionist plans. Anti-labour and anti-popular repression is gaining in intensity, especially

because of the presence of American military bases, troop concentrations and threats of aggression against Libya.

5. In Lebanon, acts of aggression against the southern part of the country are being stepped up, while the imperialists, Zionists and fascists are further hatching their plots to divide the country, establish there a confessional entity, threaten the security of its people and undermine its unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, democratic aspirations and membership of the Arab community.
6. In Syria, the masses face the Camp David plot and all schemes of imperialism, Zionism and reaction intended to destabilize and weaken the progressive regime and hamper its development. Imperialism makes use of its agents and tools, in particular the organisation the Moslem Brotherhood, to reduce Syria's capacity to play its role as a bastion of steadfastness and resistance in the face of the Israeli aggressor.
7. In the Gulf, the imperialist offensive has become more aggressive; it threatens the security and interests of the peoples in that region, especially the progressive regime of democratic Yemen and the national and progressive forces of the Peninsula and the Gulf.

In this context, the WFTU General Council expresses its deep concern about the outbreak of an armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, which helps imperialism carry out its aggressive plans and directly militarily intervene to gain control of the oil resources in the service of the multi-nationals' interests. The General Council insists that it is absolutely necessary to stop the fighting as soon as possible and insists that the conflict be settled by peaceful means to re-establish peace in the area.

8. In the Western Sahara, the war forced on the people continues to threaten the peace, security and interests of the peoples in that region. This is accompanied by an excessive military strengthening of the Moroccan regime, provided by French and American imperialism, which directly threatens the progressive regime in Algeria.

9. Because of this situation in the Middle East, the WFTU General Council is convinced that all the labour, popular, democratic and national forces should be brought together in a broad front of struggle that could mobilize Arab masses against their adversaries and welcomes all efforts in this direction.
10. The General Council holds that the full application of the Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights and democratic freedoms of Arab workers and masses is an essential condition of their development and mobilisation for the great battles to be fought in order to find a general solution and establish a just peace in the region.

The General Council condemns the trampling under foot of trade union and civil rights and freedoms in the Arab territories occupied by Israel, in Bahrein, in Sudan, in North Yemen and Jordan.
11. To achieve this just, lasting and much desired peace, it is necessary for the Israeli troops to immediately withdraw from all the Arab occupied territories and to implement the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State under the leadership of the PLO, as stipulated in a recent UN decision.

The General Council urgently calls on the workers and trade unions of the whole world to redouble their active support to the Arab national liberation movement and to demand:

- the application of the recent UN resolution on Palestine within the stipulated period;
- a firmer exercise by the United Nations of its powers, by imposing the necessary sanctions against Israel to ensure its implementation of its resolutions. A strengthening of international solidarity with the struggle of the workers and people of Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, which is their only legitimate representative;

- the immediate release of all political prisoners from Israeli jails and an end to the repression against the Palestinian people and workers on the West Bank and in the other occupied Arab territories;
- an immediate end to the acts of aggression and criminal bombing in southern Lebanon and the implementation of the UN resolution demanding the Israel's withdrawal from the territories it is occupying in Lebanon and the establishment of Lebanon's sovereignty over these territories;
- increased solidarity with Syria in its resistance to the Camp David plot and to help it continue its independent economic, social and political development;
- the implementation of UN and OAU resolutions to end the conflict in the Western Sahara, in respecting the national rights of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the Polisario Front, and the establishment of peace in this part of the Arab world and of Africa;
- the closure of all American bases in the region, especially those in Oman, Egypt, Bahrain and Somalia, and resistance to threats of direct American intervention in the Gulf region.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5 1980)

2nd Draft

RESOLUTION ON WORLD SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REPRESSIVE REGIME AND AMERICAN INTERVENTION

The 31 st session of the WFTU General Council
AFFIRMS its active solidarity with the people of El Salvador and in
particular with its working class fighting for the respect of their
rights and the establishment of a genuine democracy despite repression
and the daily massacres perpetuated by the military junta supported
by American imperialism;
CONDEMNS the intervention of American imperialism which supplies arms
and provides assistance to the El Salvador reactionary government
and makes use of the pro-fascist sections in the armies of Guatemala
and Honduras to oppress poor peasants; forced to face the fierce violence
unleashed by the government and the para-military right-wing bands;
WELCOMES the united struggle of the labour movement lead by the
Committee of Trade Union Unity - CUS;
CALLS upon trade union centres throughout the world to step up various
forms of solidarity actions with the workers and people of El Salvador,
above all with the fighters of the united revolutionary leadership
and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, to enable them to overthrow
as soon as possible a regime which has brought much bloodshed to this
people of Latin America.

MOSCOW, 5 October 1980

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

DRAFT 29

RESOLUTION ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF KOREA

The 31st Session of the WFTU General Council held from October 1 to 5, 1980, in Moscow recognizes that due to the occupation of south Korea by US troops and the policy of the United States and its stooges seeking to perpetuate the division of Korea, the reunification of Korea has not yet taken place - 35 years after this division.

Special attention should be paid to the fact that the danger of a new war is imminent in Korea today due to the reinforcement of US armed forces and equipment, including nuclear weapons, and the frequent staging of military provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by the US imperialists and the south Korean military clique. In addition, the fascist military clique of Chon Du Hwan is continuing its brutal repression of the workers and people. Furthermore, the transnational corporations benefit from this situation and increase their profits by the super-exploitation of the working people who are fighting firmly for their demands, rights and freedoms, and for social progress.

The General Council bitterly denounces the action of the United States and the south Korean military clique against the reunification of the country, action which threatens peace in Korea and Asia and means further brutal oppression to the workers and people in the interests of the transnational corporations operating there.

For all these reasons, the General Council resolutely demands:

- that the US give up their "two Koreas" policy, stop supporting the fascist military regime of Chon Du Hwan, withdraw all its troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea and accept the rightful proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to negotiate to replace the armistice agreement by a peace treaty;

- that the Chon Du Hwan clique lift the emergency martial law, immediately disband the "Special National Security Committee", guarantee the democratization of south Korean society and release workers, students and other democrats who have been arrested and imprisoned, including Kim Dae Jung who is in danger of execution following the death sentence passed on him.

The General Council supports the principles in three points and the five-point policy for an independent and peaceful reunification of the country, as proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It extends its solidarity to the just struggle of the south Korean workers and people against fascism and for democracy.

The General Council calls upon workers and trade unions the world over to step up their solidarity campaign and take vigorous action in support of the struggle of the Korean workers and people for the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea and for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Moscow, October 5, 1980

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA
TÜSTAV

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL
(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

STATEMENT OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL

DRAFT

After an extensive discussion of the international situation, the scope and content of present workers' struggles, the possibilities of new unitary advances, the state of the international trade union movement and, in particular, the situation of the WFTU, the General Council, turning to account all the experiences of recent years, has decided to undertake a profound adaptation of the WFTU to new, present day realities, so as to bring it fully into line with the needs of workers and trade unions the world over.

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The world has deeply changed in recent decades, and it is still changing.

In the confrontation that, on a planetary scale, brings face to face imperialism and the forces of progress and peace, the latter have the odds in their favour, thus forcing imperialism onto the defensive. This assessment is confirmed by all the events of the most recent period. Imperialism, of course, reacts - and often violently, putting international detente into difficulties. It defends its positions foot by foot and tries to win them back whenever possible. This confrontation, though fiercer than ever before, is by no means new. What is new, is the size of the stake.

Changes are on the agenda. Democratic changes inside the capitalist countries; changes in the relations between countries to break relations of domination; aspirations of the peoples to live in freedom and independence; changes to bring about a new international economic, social and political order.

Under the circumstances, to perpetuate capitalism, to put it in a position in which it can overcome the crisis - as it strives to do by making the workers and peoples pay for it - to maintain imperialist domination and to settle problems by war, as capitalism used to do in the past, is a highly arduous, if not impossible undertaking.

This explains the content and forms of imperialist reactions today.

First of all, the arms race which imposes heavy sacrifices on the peoples and provides the monopolies with substantial profits, is being driven on at a gallop in the mad hope that war could still be the last resource.

Then comes the merciless repression, whenever the workers and peoples fight for their liberation and emancipation.

Another reaction is the fierce ideological aggression intended to discredit socialism, countries wishing to build their independence and the labour movement.

Finally, we find the large-scale attempts to direct the trade union movement towards class collaboration. This is done in various forms, depending on the countries, yet

always as part of a general strategy formulated in bodies which bring together leaders of big capitalist countries of the transnationals, ideologists of reformism and, unfortunately, trade unionists too.

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In this changing world the trade union movement develops and it, too, changes.

We are witnessing a general growth of the trade union movement in all its diversity. There is practically no country without some form of trade union activity.

The role, as well as the social and political influence of trade unions have increased everywhere, sometime substantially. Their activities cover a great many and often fairly complex fields.

The last few years, those following the downfall of colonialism, have forcefully confirmed the role and the place of the trade union movements of the "Third World" countries both in society as well as at the international level.

Today, the trade unions in these countries see the decisive question as the responsibility of uniting the fight for the workers' rights with the national struggle for independence and development. They are called upon to solve numerous problems tied up with the total liquidation of the heritage of colonialism, with the strengthening of economic independence, to sovereignty over their natural resources

and to the ending of famine, poverty and illiteracy. In countries with progressive regimes the trade unions participate in their own specific way in the development of the economy, in society and in the country as a whole on an anti-imperialist basis.

This action of the trade unions of the developing countries is a contribution to the general fight of the workers and people for their emancipation. It is the duty of the trade union movement as a whole to foster constant and effective solidarity with the workers and trade unions of these countries.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the policies of austerity of the employers and most governments are reducing purchasing power and living standards, bringing about an ever-increasing and permanent rise in unemployment and are attacking the collective rights and guarantees won by trade union struggle over decades.

These same policies bring about an unprecedented rise in profits, scandalously enriching the capitalists and causing intolerable social inequality. But the meaningful feature is the considerable growth of struggle to stem these attacks. Through their struggle the class-based trade union movement is working to unite broad sections of the working people to obtain immediate improvements. By its fight it contributes to winning a democratic solution to the crisis, to reforms in the structure of society and changes commensurate to the workers' interests against the grip of the transnational companies and anti-working class and trade union policies. Wherever trade union movements based on the class struggle undertake dynamic action to give impetus to and lead these struggles, such

action is more effective and contributes to advancing unity. In this fact there is a source of experiences and reflection on the present conditions of the fight for the workers' interests, unity and the conquest of democratic changes in society.

In the socialist countries where the means of production are public property and where the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, the trade unions are acquiring qualitatively new functions and are solving new tasks. They are constantly seeking to solve their problems - with undeniable success - but also with difficulties which spring forth during the development of socialist society. Out of the highly varied experiences the General Council wishes to point out that trade unions should be seen as among the most important elements of expression of socialist democracy, as the sovereign and effective bearers of the workers' interests at the workplace, in the economy and society and as a force which contributes to the development of the economy and to the country as a whole.

The WFTU and the entire trade union movement should be able to enrich themselves with the discussions and ideas of the socialist countries themselves, especially those connected with the role and activities of the trade unions in a socialist society. The WFTU is doing this with an open mind, in the respect for the sovereignty of individual trade union centres and bearing in mind all the discussions, efforts and solutions going on or taking place in different ways in each socialist country.

In this connection, the recent events in Poland - which took place in conditions which are specific to that country - and the democratic way in which they took place are contributing to this idea and are, at one and the same time showing the possibilities that socialism has of solving positively the problems of its development in conditions of the specificity and independence of each country.

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This rise of the trade unions in the contemporary world is the outcome of the cautiousness of large sections of workers and their desire to fully participate in the development and orientation of society. It thus introduces, more strongly than ever before, the notions of liberation, independence, freedom and democracy into modern life.

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This notwithstanding, the trade union movement could play an even greater role were it united. The fact that some forces in the trade union movement promote the abandoning of the struggle is most certainly an obstacle, but does not create an irreversible situation.

There exists a wide field of convergence on many crucial problems of our time. These include:

- the satisfaction of economic and social demands;
- the establishment of a new international economic order;
- the elimination of colonialism, fascism and racism;
- the growth of democracy and expansion of the workers' rights;
- peace and disarmament.

In addition, forms of co-operation, relations, actions and other diversified and effective initiatives should be found to advance towards the achievement of these aims.

The WFTU is ready to become associated with the initiatives of all its trade union partners without distinction as long as such initiatives are in conformity with the interests of the working people. It is ready to examine and discuss all possibilities and to seek new, more supple and effective ways of organising cooperation, action and unity with all organisations so desiring it, without discrimination.

Such cooperation could also be fruitful within the international bodies in which trade unions are represented.

The General Council once more firmly expresses its agreement with such a course.

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This new and still developing situation calls for new possibilities in the field of trade union actions and for new forms of solidarity.

This is true of the struggle against the absolute power of the transnational corporations. To achieve their hegemony and make their monstrous profits they want to make workers from different countries and systems compete against each other. This is an old game of the monopolies on a national scale - and it has time and again been checked by the struggle of the workers in individual countries.

Today, such tactics are being used on an international

scale. Once more, the workers can prevent them by adequate and effective forms of solidarity based on a very close international community of interests in the face of a common exploiter.

In this context it would be desirable also to extend the field of activity as well as the autonomy of the Trade Union Internationals which have particularly important tasks to assume.

This is also true of actions for the establishment of a new international order and to overcome under-development. In this matter, the interests of the workers in the under-developed, advanced capitalist and socialist countries are not contradictory. The New Order can only be devised for the satisfaction of the needs, of all the needs, of the workers and peoples. This is why its establishment meets such fierce resistance on the part of monopolistic forces. This community of interests of the workers and peoples from all countries brings with it a new solidarity.

The duration and depth of the crisis clearly demonstrates the absurdity and harmfulness of setting barriers to the free development of trade and cooperation, on the basis of independence and mutual benefit between all countries and, above all, with the socialist countries.

The growth of economic cooperation and exchanges would create new jobs. This is a new and vast field that should be examined from the point of view of trade union activities

and intervention by the workers; moreover, this is an original contribution of the trade union movement to a rapprochement of the peoples. It is also a contribution to the struggle for détente and peace which are threatened by the arms race, calls for a greater commitment of the workers and their unions.

As the most representative movement in society, the trade union movement is called upon to make a vigorous contribution to the fight for the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world, to prevent war and to a reduction of the arms race. Spending on war represents a heavy burden for the working people, even in peacetime.

The use of military budgets for peaceful purposes would mean a considerable advance for the social development of the peoples. Mass action for peace and against the arms race is a necessary part of the responsibilities of the trade union movement.

In our time the fight for freedom, human rights and democracy is a significant dimension of the class struggle on a world scale. The trade union movement should be and is able to play an essential role in this field and to make use of far more effective forms of solidarity and expression than os far.

Working-class solidarity has always been a distinguishing feature of the trade union movement. Indispensable to the practical application of this solidarity is a much closer coordination of solidarity actions by the organisations affiliated to the WFTU as well as the quest for cooperation with trade union organisations of different outlooks.

Trade unions functioning under more favourable conditions - as well as the WFTU itself - can make an effective contribution in different ways to the development of trade unionism in those countries in which unions are encountering difficulties. In our time, this too, is a necessary expression of solidarity

x x x

The WFTU should adapt itself to this changed world, which carries with it new possibilities, but also new demands.

This calls for a far-reaching renewal of the WFTU, of its concepts, methods and style of activities.

What we need, and what the trade union movement needs, is a more flexible, more active WFTU, nearer to contemporary realities and trade union struggles.

A WFTU able to take into account the diversity of all the components of the militant world trade union movement, in order to help advance, in a fighting spirit, all the communities of interests of the workers and trade unions the world over.

A WFTU capable of assessing and analysing the new economic, social and political phenomena taking place throughout the world as well/^{as} the new phenomena of the trade union movement.

A WFTU constantly determining its policies and aims in a trade union way in conformity with its specific, original role.

A WFTU that would be a centre of debate, open-minded and tolerant and based on mutual respect, and which would formulate its policies and activities in all independence, while fully respecting the responsibility of individual national

centres.

A WFTU that would dynamically help the pursuit and advance of all processes towards unity and all forms of trade union cooperation.

A WFTU that would be a centre of ideas, of stimulation and support of the workers' struggles and would continuously organise solidarity in all its forms.

On its 35th anniversary the WFTU is presenting a historical balance-sheet of doubtless importance. It has strength, experience and the ability to tackle the conditions in which the workers' trade union struggles take place today.

x x x

New tasks are facing the entire international trade union movement as a result of the complex processes and changes taking place in the world today. The WFTU General Council resolves to foster a far-reaching reformation of the international trade union movement.

Following the road taken by the 9th World Trade Union Congress in the decisions it has taken and in the spirit of open-mindedness that it has shown, the present statement is advancing important points for discussion in the perspective of the 10th World Trade Union Congress which is called upon to make an original contribution in the quest for ways and means of bringing about the aims common to workers the world over.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

31st SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL
(Moscow, October 1-5, 1980)

DRAFT

WFTU WORK PLAN FOR 1981
(Essential Priorities)

- I. Introduction
- II. Statutory Meetings
- III. International Activities
- IV. Regional Activities
- V. Activities concerning Cooperation with UN Agencies. ILO.
- VI. Economic and Social Department
- VII. Trade Union Education
- VIII. Activities for Working Women
- IX. Activities for Young Workers
- X. Press and Propaganda Activities
- XI. Commissions and Working Groups
- XII. TUIs Department

I. Introduction

In 1981, the main activities of the WFTU are to be devoted to the preparation and realisation of the 10th World Trade-Union Congress, which is destined to be an important mile-stone in the development, consolidation and renovation of the international trade union movement.

Particular importance is attributed to this Congress, for it will be convened for the first time outside Europe.

The WFTU, with the hope of holding the 10th Congress among new successes in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for the workers' socio-economic demands, for trade-union rights and freedoms, and for a New International Economic Order, will do its best to increase the efficiency and be more on the offensive in its activities with the aim of substantially improving the general work of the WFTU Staff.

In conformity with the decisions of the 9th World Trade Union Congress and the indications of other Statutory Bodies of the WFTU, the Secretariat considers that its main task will be, in 1981, the preparation and holding of an International Unity-oriented Trade Union Conference on the Socio-Economic Aspects of Disarmament. In this sense, the activities of the various departments of the WFTU will be devoted to the fulfilment of the work priorities of the Federation.

II. STATUTORY MEETINGS

In 1981, the meetings of the statutory bodies of the WFTU are to be devoted to preparations for the 10th World Trade-Union Congress:

- a) 24th meeting of the Bureau (.....April 1981)
It is to approve the documents before they are submitted for discussion by the Congress.
- b) 25th meeting of the Bureau and the 32nd session of the General Council:
these are to be held at Havan on the eve of the 10th WTUC.
- c) Meetings of the Finance Control Commission:
Before the 24th meeting of the Bureau, in Prague, in April 1981, and before the Congress, in Havan, in
- d) WFTU-TUI Consultative Conference (Prague, May 1981).
Its purpose will be to put an end to the work relating to the application of the draft of the new Constitution in WFTU-TUI relations and to discuss the participation of the TUIs and of their organisations in the Congress, in the light of the discussion at the 24th meeting of the Bureau.

III. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The World Trade-Union Conference on the Socio-Economic Aspects of Disarmament

The Preparatory Committee is being formed on the initiative of the participants in the Trade-Union Round-Table of the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace (Sofia, September). The first meeting of the newly-formed sponsor group is expected to be held in London in the first half of January. The dates and venue of the Preparatory Committee meeting will be decided at the meeting to be held in London.

The Peace Department, the Economic and Social Department, and the Documentation Centre are to work on the elaboration of the document and realisation of the various preparatory activities. The continental departments are to contribute to the realisation of regional support initiatives, such as:

- a European seminar on the influence of disarmament in the solution of the problems of employment, inflation and other

urgent problems facing the workers (in cooperation with the CGT, the AUCCTU and the British sponsor group) in a West European country (Austria, Switzerland);

- a joint action between the WFTU and the TUIs in Chemistry and Agriculture; round-table on the conversion of chemical and bacteriological weapons production into an industry turning out insecticides and fertilizers, and on its significance for the eventual development of agriculture and the solution of the problems of hunger in the world (Budapest, second quarter) jointly with the Hungarian trade-union centre;
- a common action between the Public Employees' TUI and FISE: a colloquium on the impact of disarmament in improving sanitary and education services and the guarantee of decent housing jointly with the FDGB (Berlin, first quarter);
- consultations on the holding of the Latin American meeting on the socio-economic aspects of disarmament.

Another great initiative of an international character to be held by the WFTU during this period will be the International Trade Union Conference on the transnational corporations in the pharmaceutical sector, which is scheduled to be held in May in Moscow. A large representation of organisations not affiliated to the WFTU is expected to participate in the Conference, which is being organised by the International Preparatory Committee.

IV. REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

ASIA AND OCEANIA

The central task for this period is support for a Trade-Union Unity Conference of Asia and Oceania in September 1981. This conference, apart from being a contribution to joint action by trade unions of the region, is equally a major contribution to the preparation for the 18th World Trade-Union Congress.

Some missions are to have the two-fold purpose of helping the preparation of the Conference and publicising the 10th WFTUC (Malaysia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Burma, Hong Kong, Indonesia).

The great objectives of solidarity are:

- a) trade-union rights,
- b) the socio-economic consequences of disarmament,
- c) the transnational corporations,
- d) the problems of development and socio-economic demands, notably wages, jobs and the specific demands of working women and young people.

Other activities:

- Participation in an International Conference or Seminar on the problems of the transition of pre-capitalist societies to non-capitalist forms of development, organised by the trade unions of Mongolia (Ulan Bator).

- Consultative meetings with member organisations, in particular, on the occasion of statutory meetings.

- Actions of solidarity with Afghanistan, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Korea. The WFTU will send a delegation to Afghanistan to express support to the workers and trade unions in the country.

- Cooperation in the press and propaganda activities, notably, through the medium of the "Asian Worker" Bulletin.

AFRICA

The priorities of the WFTU's work in relation to the problems of this continent bear on the following:

- solidarity with the national liberation struggle, and the struggle against apartheid, imperialism and neo-colonialism;
- problems of development and of a New International Economic Order, the transnational corporations, the Lomé II Convention, and agrarian reform;
- the consolidation and enlargement of relations with African trade-union centres (with the help of the Liaison Office in Brazzaville);
- trade-union rights and freedoms;
- support for the efforts aimed at unity in countries where many centres co-exist;

- support for the activities of the TUIs on the African continent.

The principal activities during this period are the following:

- a trade-union meeting for the purpose of elaborating a coordinated platform for struggle against international imperialism and reaction in Africa.

Activities within the framework of cooperation with the OATUU;

- Participation in the African trade-union conference on agrarian reform (in cooperation with the Agriculture TUI) - Accra.
- Examine the possibilities of holding a 2nd conference of African trade unions on the problems created by the activities of the transnationals in this continent (with assistance from the trade-union centres of Congo and Benin, the Commission on TNCs and a number of TUIs).

In press and propaganda matters, the necessary various measures will be taken to make it possible to give a better reflection of the African situation in the publications of the WFTU and to become operative in the publication of the "Opinions" bulletin.

The Secretariat is to study measures to be taken to improve the activity of the Brazzaville Bureau.

AMERICAS

WFTU activities in these regions will be carried out in close cooperation with the CPUSTAL in conformity with the evolution of the situation on this continent, characterized by the effects of the victory of the Nicaraguan Revolution on the balance of forces in the struggle against the dictatorships and for the freedoms, together with the democratic opening for freedom, and the bitter battles of the people of El Salvador for freedom, in face of the threats of intervention by imperialism in Central America and the Caribbean.

The following initiatives will be carried out:

- A Meeting of existing Trade-Union Unity Committees with the participation of unity-oriented centres (CUT, CNT, COB, TUC) and

the three regional centres, for the purpose of discussing experience in joint action in the various countries and the prospects for the re-unification of the Latin American trade-union movement, in the light of the preparations for the 10th Congress (first quarter).

- A Unity-Oriented Meeting of Solidarity concerning solidarity with Nicaragua, Salvador and Bolivia, and the defence of national sovereignty and trade-union rights (first quarter).

As a continuation of the activities in the direction of North America, there are to be arranged two seminars in the United States, on a Code of Conduct for transnationals (with the help of the WFTU Representative in New York, second quarter).

- The Department will take steps to consolidate ties with the trade union organisations in Quebec.
- Various missions are planned within the framework of May Day celebrations, on the occasion of the congresses of national centres, and for the purpose of providing information on the preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress and special missions to countries in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and other countries in South America.
- The WFTU, in cooperation with the CTC, will support the initiative of the 3rd Trade Union Conference of the Caribbean (Grenada).

MIDDLE EAST

The work priorities are as follows:

- Continue strengthening relations with the ICATU on the basis of existing agreements between the two organisations.
- Develop contacts with organisations now affiliated with the WFTU like those of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, the Persian Gulf, etc.
- Give particular attention to the problems of the development of the trade union movement in Iran. Send a mission in the period agreed upon with the trade unions in that country.
- Encourage the development of relations between the TUIs and the respective trade federations in the region.
- Strengthen relations with the Arab Labour Organisation, a protocol on cooperation (first quarter).

- Continue to develop in different forms solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine by supporting and taking an active part in the initiatives of the International Secretariat of Solidarity with the Arab peoples and their main cause (two sessions during the year, the dates and venues to be decided by the Secretariat).
- Continue to develop solidarity with the progressive forces and workers' organisations of Lebanon; a WFTU mission will visit the country.
- Continue to promote active solidarity with the workers and peoples of other Arab countries in their anti-imperialist struggle and for safeguarding their independence.
- Control the problem of respect for trade-union rights in the region and, with the ICATU, organise solidarity campaigns with special attention to the condition of the workers and trade-union movement in the West Bank, in Tunisia, Bahrain, Sudan, Jordan, the Persian Gulf, North Yemen, etc.
- Hold, in cooperation with ICATU, OATUU and national trade union centres international actions on the problem of migrant workers (with assistance from the CGT of France).

EUROPE

The WFTU's work in the direction of Europe is determined by the recommendations and proposals of the members of the WFTU Working Group for Europe, which will meet twice during 1981.

With the aid of the respective Working Group, it is also planned to organise a series of European Trade Union Forums on such highly topical issues as:

- the socio-economic consequences of the introduction of new technology (in cooperation with CGT, AUCCTU, FDGB, International Printing Trades Consultative Committee, Public Service TUI, Commission on Engineers, Managerial Staffs and Technicians, first quarter).
- the defence of the rights of the migrant workers.

Non-affiliated organisations from Great Britain, Portugal, Belgium, Finland, Italy and other countries will be involved in these actions on a large scale.

The European Department will participate in a seminar on the

topic "Industrial Democracy" to be held in Hungary (first quarter).

A seminar on energy problems, including the uses of nuclear energy and safe working conditions in nuclear power stations, will be held (in cooperation with Miners TUI and National Union of Miners of Britain, third quarter).

In cooperation with Transport TUI a European Seminar on Transport Policy will be held (Vienna, second quarter).

V. ACTIVITIES CONCERNING COOPERATION WITH UN AGENCIES. ILO

The main attention is to be concentrated on the questions of disarmament, the problems of employment, the right to work, and the establishment of work norms meeting the interests of the workers of the whole world. Most particular attention is to be given to the elections to the Governing Body, which are to be held in the course of the 67th session of the ILO.

In addition, the WFTU and its organisations should adopt a clear stand and defend it in the framework of the discussion on the structure of the ILO, on the subject of which the Working Group is to meet twice in 1981.

The WFTU together with the TUIs, will pay closer attention to the activities of the industrial committees (iron and steel, workers in education).

UNESCO

- The WFTU's participation in the 38th session of the International Conference on Education.
- The 7th UNESCO-trade unions consultative meeting (Paris, April or June).
- Regional conferences.

FAO

- The 21st general conference of the FAO (Rome, October or November).
- Participation together with the Agriculture TUI in FAO's Umbrella Programme designed to involve the population in rural development.
- Measures for the holding of the FAO-trade union consultative meetings.

UNIDO

- Realisation in practice of the accords reached at the summit meeting in Vienna in December 1979.
- The 15th session of the Industrial Development Board.
- the 15th and the 16th sessions of the Permanent Board of the UNIDO.

UNCTAD

- The stand of the WFTU on these questions is to be set forth in the course of meetings of the Working Group on the basis of a medium-term plan and in the course of the sessions of the trade and development board.
- On the occasion of the 4th session of the United Nations Conference on an International Code of conduct for technological transfer, the WFTU should set forth, in a critical spirit, its stand on the insignificant results obtained to this day.

VI. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEPARTMENT

The priority tasks and the activity of the Economic and Social Department are to be centred on the elaboration of material for the International Trade-Union Conference on the Socio-Economic Aspects of Disarmament and for the 10th World Trade Union Congress.

At the same time, the Department will participate in the preparation of all the WFTU documents on the socio-economic problems, the same as in the elaboration of the WFTU stand on the various present day problems. The department is confronted in relation to this with the question of cooperating to the deepening of trade union action on the WFTU in connection with present day problems.

The Department will participate in the following initiatives:

- A meeting of the Scientific Council of the WFTU (Prague, January)
- a seminar on the quality of life (Budapest, March)
- a seminar on industrial democracy, in cooperation with the Hungarian Trade Unions
- a seminar on the transnationals and the New International Economic Order (Bucharest, second quarter)

- the Department will publish two numbers of the WFTU Economic and Social Bulletin,

VII. TRADE UNION EDUCATION

The necessary measures will be taken in 1981 to reinforce the WFTU activities in this direction. It is particularly necessary to continue studying the possibility of creating trade union school annexed to the WFTU in Prague (in cooperation with trade unions of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the USSR, the GDR, Romania and CGT-France).

- Continue to implement the Plan of Action (1979-1981) on work in WFTU education by means of seminars in various countries: Angola, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Cuba, etc.

- Elaborate and publish various educational material taking into account the orientations of the WFTU and the concrete tasks and needs of the national centres of Africa, Asia and Latin America (curricula, schemes of conferences, study matter for different level; a programme of slides on the subject of "35 Years in the Service of the Workers of the World" prepared by the WFTU in cooperation with the FDGB of the GDR).

- Develop cooperation with the I.L.O., U.N.E.S.C.O and the T.U.I.s as well as with trade union schools belonging to affiliated and friendly organisations.

VIII. ACTIVITIES FOR WORKING WOMEN

Within the framework of the preparation for the 10th World Trade Union Congress efforts will also be oriented upon the application of the decisions of the 4th World Trade Union Conference on the problems of working women.

Diverse orientation material is to be prepared as a methodological manual for trade union women, a booklet on the condition of women in the world.

Arrangements will be made for a seminar for training women trade union officers in Madagascar, and study the possibilities of organising other seminars in Asia and Latin America.

Efforts will be made to strengthen cooperation with the Women's International Democratic Federation.

There will be continued activity within the United Nations and its specialised agencies for the purpose of safeguarding the rights, promoting the interests of workers and coordinating this activity with that of other international democratic organisations.

IX. ACTIVITIES FOR YOUNG WORKERS

In the application of the directives adopted by the WFTU's leading bodies, the Charter of Young Workers, and also the cooperation agreements with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the WFTU will carry on the activities in connection to priority problems such as the defence of the interests of young workers affected by unemployment and the wage discriminations in the capitalist countries and by the absence in these countries of a democratic policy in the matter of vocational training.

Measures will be taken to develop cooperation with the youth committees of member and friendly organisations for the purpose of realising precise common action. In addition, active cooperation with the youth organisations of the world will also continue in the struggle against imperialism, fascism, racism and oppression, and for peace, disarmament, the freedoms and social progress.

During this period, the Department will develop the following activities:

- A European initiative in cooperation with the European Youth Centre (Strassbourg), on the problems of labour safety, protection of the health of young people and cooperation among the trade unions' youth committees (February).

A meeting of European rural youth in cooperation with the Agriculture TUI (Portugal, March.).

- The opening of a solidarity school in Vietnam.
- Participation in the preparations for the World Youth Forum and Students for Peace, Detente and Disarmament (Helsinki, January).

The activities of the trade unions' youth committees should be more broadly reflected in the publications of the WFTU. Consultations on specific problems of young people employed in different branches will be carried out with the TUIs.

X. PRESS AND PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

The fundamental task of this Department in 1981 will be the most active propaganda of the preparation of the 10th World Trade Union Congress, the clarifying and popularisation of its ideas, the development of a wide democratic dialogue about the future of the world trade union movement, the exposure of the vices and diseases of bourgeois society and the demonstration of the evident successes of the socialist countries and, at the same time, an analysis of the existing problems in these countries and pointing out how they are being solved.

The Editors of the Review, "World Trade Union Movement" will continue to publish material denouncing the campaign of slander started by the reactionary circles so as to make known the stand of the WFTU and to strengthen and extend contacts, dialogue, cooperation and joint action between trade unions with different orientations and affiliations, material which reflects the most marked trends in the current development of the international trade-union movement and provides an analysis of the problems which now preoccupy the broadest strata of the workers.

Produce 12 issues of the World Trade Union Movement review according to the topic plan centred in particular round the problems connected with the preparations for the 10th Trade Union Congress.

At organisational level the editors must improve the circulation of the review by securing the cooperation of a larger number of authors; they must enlarge its personnel with the necessary cadres, improve contacts and control on the activity of the offices abroad, to ensure a larger number of on-the-spot reports, both of events and trade-union interviews.

In addition, the Department is to fulfil the following tasks:

- continue to study the possibility of publishing the review in Finnish and in Swedish in the USSR. **(in cooperation with AUCCTU).**

- Produce 50 issues of the Information Bulletin Flashes in five languages. This bulletin, which provides information on the activity of the WFTU and the events taking place in international trade union life, should also lay special emphasis

on such problems as the struggle of the workers and trade unions against the socio-economic consequences of the crisis of capitalism and against the transnationals, the struggle for democratic freedoms and trade-union rights, the socio-economic aspects of disarmament and struggle for detente and peace, the struggle for real development and a New International Economic Order.

- Produce six issues each of the Bulletins "Opinions", "Dialogo Sindical", "Asian Worker", and "Chile", which are to reflect in their columns the major issues in the activity of the WFTU and the specific problems of a regional character.

- Produce four issues each of the bulletins "Solidarity with Korea", and "Working Youth".

- Publish the following issue of the bulletin of the Socio-Economic Department of the WFTU devoted to the problems of employment and the struggle against unemployment.

- On the basis of an exposition of posters, prepare and publish a wall calendar for 1981.

- Prepare and publish in 1981 five or six booklets in several languages on topics to be determined by the WFTU Secretariat.

The Radio Service should engage in effective cooperation with the foreign broadcasting networks of various countries. By agreement with these radio services, material should be regularly dispatched from Prague for these programmes: interviews, commentaries, statements on current problems, important aspects of the activity of the WFTU.

The press and propaganda department of the WFTU will continue providing assistance to the TUIs in putting out their regular publication and others, and to make sure that radio propaganda gives a good account of the activity of the TUIs.

XI. COMMISSIONS AND WORKING GROUPS

Legal Commission:

The principal objective of this Commission is to mobilise the trade unions and the workers for the application of the Universal Declaration of Trade-Union Rights. An important aspect of the

Commission's work is solidarity activity and legal assistance to workers falling victim to repression and violation of human and trade-union rights.

On this basis, the Commission intends to carry out in 1981 the following activities:

- Joint initiatives in defence of trade union rights, in cooperation with the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (particularly in such countries as Turkey, Bolivia, El Salvador).
- Dispatch of missions of lawyers to various countries where there are violations of trade union rights, in cooperation with national and international organisations.

- Commission on Transnational Corporations

The Commission will devote in 1981 its main activities to offering practical aid to the International Coordination Committees which work in the framework of one or several transnational corporations. Two sessions will be held: in January (Budapest) and in September (Helsinki).

The Commission will study in its meetings the experience in the anti-monopolist struggle of different centres, national trade organisations and the TUIs in order to find the best ways of providing them a multilateral practical aid, including the utilisation of the special fund created for this committee (This applies in particular to CGT, TUI's of Food, Textile and Oil Workers and others if necessity arises).

Commission on the Environment

The principal task of this Commission will consist in preparing and holding an international symposium on the topic "The Trade Unions, the Workers and the Environment" (in cooperation with the Czechoslovak trade unions - second quarter, Prague).

On the basis of the results of this symposium a document will be elaborated and submitted to the 4th European Regional Conference of the ILO.

Working Group on Social Security

The Group will work on basic documentation for updating the Charter adopted at the 5th World Trade Union Congress, as a contribution to the discussion at the 10th World Trade Union Congress (in cooperation with CGT, FDGB and AUCCTU).

Commission on Engineers, Managerial Staff and Technicians

In the course of its two sessions to be held in 1981, this Commission will deal, among other things with the following problems:

- Engineers, managerial staff and technicians and a 3rd UN Development Decade,
- The conversion of the arms industry for peaceful ends, and the responsibilities of this category of workers,
- The recognition of higher education diplomas,
- Publication of the Turin Charter of Demands.
- To study the possibility of holding sessions in Italy (second quarter) and in Bucharest (fourth quarter).

International Trade Union Committee of Social Tourism and Leisure

In 1981 the ITUCSTL will work on:

- 1) Continuing to study the cultural and ecological aspects of social tourism with the aim of working out a unity-oriented trade union concept of leisure policy;
- 2) "Regionalising its activity, concentrating its attention on leisure in developing countries and also contributing to exchanges of experience on the question of social tourism in the socialist countries;
- 3) Expanding information on the reciprocal influence of social tourism and peaceful coexistence at international level;
- 4) Further developing the fruitful cooperation with the International Bureau of Social Tourism and the ILO, and establishing new contacts with UNESCO and the World Tourism Organisation.

These policies will be examined during the meetings of the ITUCSTL which are held twice a year.

XII. TUIs DEPARTMENT

The main task of the TUIs Department is to continue improving coordination in the WFTU's and TUIs' activities, to give any necessary aid to the TUIs' work and to make joint preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress.

With this aim in view and on the basis of the 1980 WFTU-TUIs Consultative Meeting, bilateral meetings and consultations will be organised between the WFTU Secretariat and the Secretariats of various TUIs on strengthening the trade-based nature of the TUIs and stepping up their activities in specific spheres of struggle, especially against the transnationals.

The next WFTU-TUIs Consultative Meeting, to be held during the first quarter of 1981, will examine issues connected with the preparation of the 10th Congress.

The WFTU will take part in the International Trade Conferences of the Transport TUI (October 1981), FISE (Budapest, 25-30 May 1981) and the Standing Committee of Graphic Arts (Budapest, 12-14 May 1981).

The WFTU will also be represented in the TUIs' statutory meetings (Administrative Committees, Bureaux).

S T A T E M E N T

of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
on the General Declaration of Trade Union Rights

The Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic welcomes the General Declaration of Trade Union Rights, adopted by the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions, as a significant document summing up the aims for the struggle, joint activities and solidarity of the trade unions of the whole world in such a way as to allow them free and creative expansion of their mission in continuous establishing of a world order, in which social insecurity and any form of exploitation of man by man shall not exist, in which the working people will have achieved full realization of their rights, including the right to work and a happy life in peace.

The Federal Assembly while following the basic principles of this document has again considered the guarancies of trade union rights, the methods of their protection and realization by internal Czechoslovak legislature.

It takes note of the fact that in Czechoslovakia the supreme human right - the right to work, valid for everybody with respect to his health and abilities - is ensured to the full. Unemployment, whether in open or hidden form, has been, for the last 35 years of peaceful development in Czechoslovakia, an unknown phenomenon. The working people are ensured to be rewarded for the work done according to its quantity, quality, and social significance without any discrimination at all; the same counts for the right to security and health protection

at work, leisure and recreation after work; for costless medical and hospital treatment.

The united trade union movement as a volunteer organization of the ruling workers' class and of the other working people assumes a significant position in our socialist political system. The Federal Assembly underlines with full responsibility that the decisive rights and freedoms of the trade unions are secured by the socialist system and ensured by the code of law.

In a series of stipulations by the basic law - The Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, notably in article 5 and chapter II - the right of the trade unions and the working people to comprehensive and active participation in the life of the society and the state, the right to freedom of expression, speech and the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of street parades processions, and manifestations, the right to the integrity of one's person and dwelling, secrecy of mail and transmissions of reports, the right to a free stay, have been established within.

The principles included in the Constitution of the ČSSR are elaborated in a series of further legal regulations. The law number 74/1973 Sb. has confirmed the principle that the trade unions in the ČSSR develop their activity freely without ingerence and control by the organs of the state. Establishing of organizations and organs of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, its rules and acts based on these, are not subject to control or approval by the state.

The law number 37/1959 Sb., which has given a legal expression to the important resolution of the IVth All Trade Union Congress concerning the Factory Committees of the trade

unions, constitutes a significant seal on the political and legal standing of trade union organs in relation to economic organs and to those of the state, and has thus become the basis for the development of mutual cooperation and coordination between them, and for decisions made by the Factory Committees in matters of interest of the working people stipulated by law.

The Labour Code as the basic code of the working people, drafted due to the initiative of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has -among the basic principles - stipulated the participation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in labour - law relations, and this principle is projected into its various rulings that guarantee the mission of the trade unions to act on behalf of the collectives of the working people, to defend their interests and care for their economic, social and cultural development.

On the basis of legal rights the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and its organs are a party to setting, realization, and control of application of economic plans at all levels of management in the context of the whole society, in every branch, individual enterprises and factories. Freedom of collective bargaining and negotiating collective contracts is ensured to the full. In all decisive problems concerning the interests of the working people, the trade union organs have a right - in harmony with socialist democracy - to express their stands and recommendations. Within many a problem concerning vital and legal securities of the working people, the trade unions are equipped with rights to coordinated decisions, and the measures that have been taken by the economic management without their consent are not valid legally. The Trade unions exercise social supervision over security and health protection at work and over adherence to the

stipulations of laws covering work, including wage regulations, and those covering the numbers of employed hands. They administer the sickness insurance funds and have broad powers in the ~~subject~~ sphere of social security, stipulated notably by the law on sickness insurance number 54/1956 Sb., in the formulations of further executive regulations and in the law number 121/1975 Sb. on social security.

The participation of trade unions in setting, applying and controlling labour code regulations and other norms concerning important interests of the working people in economy, production, work, wages, medical services, culture, and social conditions is thus fully ensured. The trade union organs deal with cases of controversies in work. All measures mentioned above are evidence to the fact that the powers and social influence of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement are broader than the basic demands set by the General Declaration of the World Federation of Trade Unions on the trade unions' rights.

For the application of these broad powers, necessary material prerequisites have also been ensured. Their realization is guaranteed by cooperation with the organs of the state, which - in their activities - respect the status of the trade unions and support their activity, which is made possible by the fact that in a socialist society and in a country where power rests in the hands of the working people associated in a broad National Front respecting the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, antagonistic contradictions between the trade unions and the state simply do not exist.

The trade union movement in the ČSSR is, in this way, equipped with all legal, material and other essential prerequisites comprised in the General Declaration of Trade Union Rights.

The Federal Assembly lays great emphasis on legislative ensuring and real application of the principles of the General Declaration of Trade Union Rights. It has taken significant care to have them enclosed in the codes of law in the ČSSR, and in its control and initiative activity cares for their comprehensive and consistent application. On this occasion it calls on all executives of the economic management at all level to deepen active cooperation with the organs of the trade unions stipulated by law, because this is the way leading to consistent realization of economic and social aims, to increasing the effectiveness of production, to further broadening of socialist democracy.

In the same spirit which brings it to care for ensuring the rights of the working people and trade unions in the ČSSR, the Federal Assembly appeals to parliaments and legislative bodies in the whole world to create real conditions for application of the noble aims of this Declaration of the WFTU in such a way that the possibility of restriction or suppression of trade union rights be excluded, that the trade unions be sheltered from pressure of power organs, and that their aims and rights be respected.

The basic prerequisite to ensure and further develop the trade union rights has been the preservation and strengthening of world peace. The Federal Assembly, therefore, gives expression to its conviction that the just struggle of the working people of the whole world, the peaceful perspective of this struggle being presented and forwarded by the Soviet Union, the Socialist Community, and other peaceloving forces, will bring positive results, that progressive trade unions in the whole world will play a significant part in the fight against the efforts of the

most reactionary forces of imperialism to undermine peaceful coexistence and to sharpen international relations, and that they will actively support peaceful proposals for decreasing international tensions, for disarmament and for peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

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