

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

March 31, 1961

Press Communiqué

International Trade Union Commission of Action for Social Security formed.

The Secretariat of the WFTU has called a meeting of an International Trade Union Commission of Action for Social Security. It met in Prague from March 27 to 30, 1961 and was attended by representatives of trade unions from the following countries some of which are affiliated to the WFTU, others not: Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Brazil, Chile, China, India, Japan, Lebanon, Finland, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

After an extensive discussion of the report presented by Elena TEODORESCU on behalf of the WFTU Secretariat on "the position and growth of struggles for the achievements, protection, widening and improvement of social security in the various countries of the world", the Commission decided to function on a permanent basis.

Its purpose will be to promote greater united action and international solidarity by all workers and all trade unions, irrespective of affiliation, in order to ensure the protection, widening and improvement of social security and social insurance.

The Commission has drawn up a draft Charter on Social Security which will be a valuable weapon for working class campaigns for the achievement, defense and extension of social security. After being discussed by the workers and ^{trade} unions in all countries, it will be submitted to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress which will meet in Moscow from December 4 to 16, 1961.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

April 6, 1961.

W.F.T.U. STATEMENT ON ANGOLA

To exploit the riches of its colonies the SALAZAR dictatorship has created and is maintaining in Angola a slave system that is legal and official: 250,000 men and women workers are annually subject to forced labour. More than 80,000 of them are annually sold as slaves to the mining companies of South Africa. So the hateful regime of SALAZAR based on the exploitation and suppression of the Portuguese people is imposing the most barbarous regime of slavery on the workers of Angola and the other Portuguese colonies for the greatest profit of the monopolies.

The workers and the people of Angola inspired and encouraged by the example of its brother peoples who have already freed themselves from colonial exploitation and have won their national independence are redoubling their efforts in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and all the imperialist forces who support it and for national independence despite the tortures and the bloody repression carried out by the Portuguese colonialists.

In their brave struggle the workers and people of Angola can depend on the unshakeable and powerful solidarity of the international working class, the progressive trade unions and all the democratic forces who are struggling throughout the world for the right of the peoples to independence and for their free determination.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is trying to show the workers and people of Angola the unswerving support and solidarity of its 107 million members. By denouncing the persecutions, the violations of the Rights of Man and the fundamental freedoms, the collective murderers and the bloody repressive methods practised by the Portuguese colonialists, it pays homage to the countless victims of this colonialist repression. It appeals to the workers and trade unions throughout the world to support even more firmly the rightful struggle of the workers and people of Angola for complete and immediate independence.

W.F.T.U. Secretariat



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

Prague, 19th April, 1961.

All-India Trade Union Congress,
4, Ashoka Road,
NEW DELHI

India

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Adresser la correspondance au :
Toda comunicacion ha de ser dirigida a:
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AES/AB/No. 7.39.....

MOSCOW
December 4 to 16, 1961
3rd World Trade Union Congress

Dear Brothers,

We are very sorry that your representative was not able to attend the first meeting of the International Trade Union and Legal Commission for the Defence and Extension of Trade Union Rights and for the protection of trade union victims of repression in Prague on March 9 and 10, 1961.

We are sending you the following documents for your information:

- Report on trade union rights in various regions and countries of the world, presented by Sister E. Teodorescu, Secretary of the W.F.T.U. This report provided the basis for the discussion in the Commission.
- Plan of Organisation for the Commission concerning its character, tasks, functioning and composition which was adopted at the first meeting of the Commission in Prague.
- Press Communique on the meeting of the Commission.

A number of concrete measures have been taken to ensure the practical functioning of the Commission.

Since your Centre has agreed in principle to serve on the Commission, we would ask you to confirm whether you are maintaining the representative you appointed for the Commission so that we may keep him informed about the forthcoming activities and invite him to the next meeting of the Commission.

Looking forward to hearing from you, we send you fraternal greetings,

Elena Teodorescu
Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMISSION FOR THE
DEFENCE AND SAFEGUARDING OF VICTIMS OF REPRESSION
AGAINST THE TRADE UNIONS

(Prague, March 9 - 10, 1961)

Report on trade union rights in the different regions and countries of the world, and the prospects for the development of the campaign for the defence of these rights and of the victims of the repression against trade unions.

Presented by: Elena ISODORESCU
Secretary of the
W.F.T.U.

In calling the first meeting of this Commission the W.F.T.U. Secretariat was not only carrying out a decision taken by its leading bodies; it was at the same time continuing its persistent action for the conquest and defence of trade union rights.

One of the essential objectives which must govern the fight of the W.F.T.U., an objective that was assigned to it by its Foundation Congress in Paris in 1945, was to organise and to unite all trade union forces without distinction in the campaign for the satisfaction of the economic and social demands of the workers, and for the conquest and defence of trade union freedoms and democratic rights.

If, 15 years later, we compare this general direction with the realities of the class struggle, we can state that our international trade union organisation has made an important contribution to the development of the organised forces of the trade union movement throughout the world.

In 1945 the W.F.T.U. had 64 million members. Today despite the split and the many obstacles it has encountered on its way, it has 167 million members out of a total figure of 170 million

organised workers in the world. This progress in the forces organised in the trade unions is due to a large extent to the efforts and the constant struggle of the W.F.T.U. for social progress and for the defence of the workers' rights.

The history of the past 15 years has proved that, in the process of industrial development in the capitalist countries, and thus in the process of the deepening of class antagonisms and conflicts, a dynamic, fighting trade union movement is in full growth.

This higher stage of organisation is the result of countless struggles waged by the working class for more than a century, it is the qualitative accumulation of the experience gained in these struggles.

Is it not true moreover that European supremacy in the trade union movement, which has been maintained for a long period, has come to an end and the trade union movement has crossed the frontiers of the old continent? At present it has acquired a quicker ~~system~~ rhythm in Africa, in South East Asia and in the Latin American countries.

Because of the swakening trade union life, the development of this mass movement, the employers and governments in the capitalist countries demonstrate their opposition to the trade unions more and more, while these organisations are becoming true mass movements and their democratic function and their plans of campaign are stimulating the fighting spirit of the working people.

To maintain their class privileges and to increase their profits unceasingly the employers and governments attack the rights acquired by the workers and resort to repression, deceit and corruption. From hatred of socialism and from fear before the growing power of the world socialist system, which in our age ~~has~~ become the decisive factor in the evolution of human society, they are trying in every possible way imaginable to stifle the functioning of the mass organisations of the working class.

In his report presented to the 22nd session of the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee which took place at the beginning of February in Berlin, Brother Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. said:

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"In the economic and social field the recent period has been marked by an increased class struggle throughout the capitalist world. We find above all that the economic and social achievements of the socialist camp have had such an effect on the mass of the workers that the monopolies and the bourgeoisie have had to seek, if possible, an answer to the successes obtained by the socialist countries. They are trying to find this answer, at times by persecuting the trade unions, at other times by resorting to the notorious practice of class collaboration.

The workers in the capitalist world realise each day a little more clearly that their struggles for the defence of trade union rights, even the most elementary ones, appear more and more among the indispensable conditions for the successful defence of their economic and social claims, for wage increases, for opposing work speed-up, preventing dismissals and reducing unemployment.

The defence of these rights also appears as an indispensable condition in the workers' struggle for peace, disarmament, peaceful co-existence and national independence.

Many and varied are the violations of democratic freedoms and trade union rights, freedoms and rights which have been won by the workers after long struggles with the employers and governments.

In certain developed countries, where the right to organise and the right to strike do exist and are even legally recognised, in countries where the bourgeoisie has been forced to maintain certain democratic freedoms as a result of pressure from the masses, there is such a varied gamut of forms and methods of violation that very often the main activity of the trade union is to defend its existence, as well as defending the victims of discrimination or repression by the employers.

Very often bourgeois Constitutions pompously proclaim: Freedom of association, of assembly, of the press and so on... But how often do trade union organisations find themselves in the position of being unable to fulfil their tasks, how many times do the authorities forbid them to hold a meeting or a demonstration, how many times are progressive papers seized?

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Thus in every possible way the practical application of the workers' rights is obstructed.

Moreover in the conditions of modern capitalist industry, the concept of the exercise of trade union rights as conceived dozens of years ago is no longer valid.

Large modern industry concentrates in one factory thousands and thousands of workers who do not know each other, who cannot take an active part in trade union life, in trade union meetings, because of new forms of work, shift arrangements, the distance of their homes from the factory, and so on. It is not surprising that in such countries millions of workers remain outside the trade union organisations, even if they take part in activities organised by the trade union, in strikes, work stoppages and demonstrations.

At the present time a big campaign is being organised in France by the C.G.T. for the preservation, defence, full use and broadening of existing trade union rights, and for the conquest of new trade union rights. The basic aim of this campaign, valid also for other countries, is to get the employers to accept that the basis of the trade union organisation is no longer just local, but is in the factory itself.

There is no doubt that this campaign will not only have important repercussions for the French trade union movement but will open new horizons in other countries; the international trade union movement will greatly profit from it.

This campaign by the C.G.T. takes its place in the general continuous action of the A.F.T.U. for the strengthening and development of the trade unions, and constitutes for our organisation a further opportunity to relate our activities to those of an affiliated national centre.

For the A.F.T.U. needs in all its activities and particularly when it takes action on a specific subject, to verify continuously that the steps it takes correspond to the real needs of the workers, to verify whether they can give rise to new campaigns throughout the world, whether they can help to strengthen the bonds

between the W.F.T.U. and the trade unions of each country.

The fact that you are here, that you have answered the appeal of the W.F.T.U., so that we can find together the best forms and methods of action for the defence of trade union rights and particularly for the defence and safeguarding of the victims of repression against the trade unions, shows that this step has aroused your interest, and corresponds to a need of the masses in all parts of the world.

The trade union situation has different features in the different areas and countries of the world. It is in constant evolution, and is determined by the economic situation in each country, by the class structure and the relative strength of the classes, as well as by the political maturity and the degree of class consciousness of the proletariat.

Therefore even the attacks on trade union rights take different forms according to the concrete conditions in the country in question.

Still, repression against the trade unions is carried on in all capitalist countries in one form or another, directly or indirectly, in a more or less brutal manner, and the workers' rights are subject to attacks by the employers or the authorities.

- Very often trade union rights established in Constitutions, in laws, statutes or conventions, are not actually applied.
- The texts of some laws introduce political discrimination in employment in public Institutions, and others are passed against the free exercise of the right to strike.
- Very often so-called trade union organisations are formed or used by the government or the employers in place of those which actually represent the workers.
- In certain countries those trade union organisations not recognised by the government are prevented from functioning and are denied any possibility of legal public expression.

- The governments forbid trade union meetings and the trade union press is seized by the police.
- Sometimes the trade union headquarters and branch offices, the property of the representative trade union organisations, are occupied by government officials and their records, documents and letters are seized by the authorities.
- The governments or the employers forbid the collection of trade union dues for the funds of the genuine trade unions. On the contrary the dues for trade union organisations under government influence are taken directly from wages.
- In many countries trade union budgets must be submitted to the public authorities for prior approval and for periodic control by them.
- There are many cases where the workers are obliged to state their trade union affiliation to the employers and public authorities.
- In many countries the formation of a National Trade Union Centre is forbidden by order of the government, and laws or decrees obstruct international trade union affiliation.
- Sometimes the election of trade union leaders and shop stewards is annulled by the public authorities, and people subservient to them are imposed in the leadership of the trade unions as representatives of the workers.
- The governments prevent active workers suspected of activities or opinions of which they do not approve from being candidates for trade union posts.
- Workers are deprived of their jobs and thrown out of work because of their trade union affiliation or their position as elected shop steward, or because they are militant trade unionists.
- The right to strike is deprived and workers who stop work collectively are punished.

- Workers faithful to progressive trade union organisations are arrested, imprisoned, put in concentration camps under the pretext that they have undertaken subversive activities.
- Trade union leaders are assassinated during their imprisonment, others are tried before courts of special jurisdiction without respect for the normal legitimate rights to assure their defence.

Workers and active trade unionists are killed or wounded when police forces open fire on workers' demonstrations during strikes organised by the trade unions.

The list is perhaps rather long. It is long because the stock of weapons of repression against trade unions which the exploiters have at their disposal is extremely varied and complex.

All the same, I think that this list falls far short of reflecting the situation in all its breadth and gravity.

In December 1960 the W.F.I.U. Review "The World Trade Union Movement" began publishing an enquiry into trade union rights. I am taking at random some questions brought up in this column and in certain other documents, which illustrate the daily fight that the working class must wage for respect of its freedom, against attacks and repression.

A trade union journal in Argentina "El Trabajador Gastronomico", in its issue of May-June 1960, gives an account of the workers' struggles and of the repression. It states that the building workers had still not won the wage increase they had been demanding for 8 months, and to which they had the right according to the collective agreement in force: the trade union is under government control. "Interference in trade union affairs, imprisonments, deportations, torture, the destitution of various personalities in the trade union and workers' movement, seizures, orders for arrest the suppression of meetings and ceremonies and so on..." This is how the journal depicts the situation in Argentina.

On May 23, 1960, the General Secretary of the A.F.T.U. sent a long letter to Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the I.L.O. Subject: the violations of trade union rights in Greece. Referring to the principles of trade union freedom recognised in I.L.O. conventions, he denounced "the violation of the principle of free election of trade union leaders": the annulment of elections to the trade union councils, the designation of trade union leaders by decision of the Prefecture. The letter quoted the cases of thirteen trade unions which had been victims of these methods. The second principle systematically violated: that of the guarantee of freedom and protection in their functions for trade union leaders and representatives. The letter gives details of thirty-one instances, among so many others, of ~~an~~ arbitrary dismissals, administrative interments, and legal proceedings of which the Greek trade unionists are victim.

Since December 17, 1958, Shafie Ahmad El Sheikh, General Secretary of the Sudaneese Federation of Trade Unions, and Vice-President of the A.F.T.U., has been imprisoned in Khartoum and trade union activities there are still "suspended".

In the Congo formerly under French domination, the accession to independence within the "French Community" was celebrated by the arrest, because of a strike, of 24 trade union leaders of the CGAT including Julien Bokambou of the A.F.T.U. General Council.

The Congress of the great Indonesian centre, SUSSI, was held in August 1960. One week before the opening of the Congress the authorities forbade the publication of the official trade union journal Bendera Buruh. One small thing among so many others, which is characteristic of a systematic policy of repression against the trade unions.

In India the uncompromising attitude of the government forced 2 million civil servants and State employees to go on strike. In 5 days, from July 11-16, 1960: 15,000 arrests, 7 killed, many wounded. The government is preparing a bill to prevent strikes in "essential services".

In the German Federal Republic the government is preparing special legislation for "emergency" situations. A strike according to these drafts, will constitute an "emergency" situation. And the

government with them have the right to suppress essential constitutional rights, to requisition workers, and to institute forced labour.

In France the workers are struggling to get better wages. When last year the railway workers, and this year the Paris transport workers and the technicians in civil aviation went on strike, the government did not hesitate to issue illegal orders conscripting personnel to break the strike. Between the freedom to struggle for better living conditions and the freedom to exploit the workers, a class government knows how to choose "its" freedom.

The situation in the colonial countries is known to all and there is no need to explain how the colonial war in Algeria goes in conjunction with the repression against the working class.

In the countries under Portuguese domination the immense majority of the workers come in the "uncivilised" class and are excluded from all trade union organisations or associations for protection in their employment. The right to strike is considered a crime; it is repressed by means of massacres.

In the Union of South Africa the policy of racial discrimination weighs very heavily on the workers. The coloured workers experience discrimination in their employment and in pay. Orders given by the Minister of Justice to the forces of repression are: "Shoot first and ask questions afterwards".

In Morocco it is the great working class organisation, U.M.T., the Moroccan Union of Labour, which is the object of continuous attacks. Thus at the end of October 1960 the editions of their trade union weekly in both the Arab language (At Talisa) and the French language (L'Avant Garde) were seized, while a break-away puppet organisation was recognised by the government merely in order to weaken the unity of the Moroccan workers.

In the Ivory Coast on October 7, 1959, there was an attack against the UGIAN trade unions through the arrest of their leader Yao N'Go Blaise, who was taken and put down at the frontier with Guinea, and expelled from his native country. A 72-hour protest

strike was brutally repressed, while dozens of militants, including the local President of the African Confederation of Believing Workers, were imprisoned.

In Dahomey at the beginning of September 1960 the government presented a Bill seriously attacking the right to strike, and it was only after a unanimous and powerful 24-hour strike organised by the National Union of Dahomey that the Bill was withdrawn.

In Southern Rhodesia the African trade union leaders are carrying on with their duties at the risk of losing their jobs, of being imprisoned, or confined to restricted residence because of the many repressive laws that the government has passed. The Southern Rhodesia T.U.C. was growing and becoming stronger, but the government arrested practically all its leaders, and that immediately crippled the African trade union movement in the country. At present 20 or more trade union leaders are still in prison or confined to restricted residence without trial almost two years after their arrest.

So, in the course of the last two years, dominated by the powerful movement for national liberation, a wave of anti-working class and anti-democratic repression has swept over the continent. This arbitrary repression, exercised in the first place against the working class, is an expression of the desire of the colonialist and imperialist trusts to continue their policy of domination and exploitation of the wealth of Africa.

In a statement adopted at its last session, the Executive Committee of the A.F.T.U. condemned these grave attacks on the freedom of the African workers, as much in the countries still under the colonial yoke as in those which have acquired their independence. The statement emphasized that, with the winning of their independence by certain countries and the coming to power of people who are pursuing an anti-democratic policy, these people are trying in every way to stifle the growth of the authentic trade union organisations, to create their own organisations, under their direct patronage and obedient to their policy, and so to stop the growth of militant trade unionism in the country. This statement followed a declaration that the A.F.T.U. delegation submitted to the Regional Conference of African countries organised by the I.L.O. last December.

Must we recall also the countless crimes committed by Franco and Salazar in Spain and Portugal? The situation in these two countries - virtual prisons of the people - where the workers have no rights at all, is known to everyone.

Iran, Pakistan, South Viet-Nam, South Korea, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Paraguay - these are countries where the most barbarous repression is exercised daily against the working class and the whole people.

In Venezuela, where serious repression has broken out recently against several trade union organisations, a number of trade union leaders, including Jose Marciano, member of the National Executive Committee of the Venezuelan Workers' Centre, were imprisoned in December, without any stated reason and without trial.

In Chile, Cistario Blest, President of the CUTCh, the United Trade Union Centre of the workers of Chile, having been arrested after a demonstration against trade union repression organised by this Centre, was sentenced to deportation for a period of 541 days to a distant part of his country.

Must we remember also the repression suffered by the Belgian workers during their recent general strike, or by the Italian workers in their July strike; or the acts of violence committed by the police against the Japanese workers during the strikes and struggles in opposition to the aggressive Japanese-American treaty?

There is no shortage of information; on the contrary there is plenty of it.

I should also like to mention the trade union situation in the United States. The latest anti-working class law seriously limits the activities of the trade unions, and the campaigns of the workers. The law gives the employers new weapons with which to limit the trade unions' right to strike, their right to organise, to negotiate, and to express solidarity in their strikes. It interferes directly in the internal affairs of the trade unions,

requires the presentation of reports on their administrative and financial activities, establishes the right to enter trade union headquarters and to exclude certain groups, in particular communists, from trade union posts.

Many penalties and fines have been laid down for infringement of the provisions of this law. And to all this is added the reactionary attitude of the group leading the AFL-CIO, which, by its policy of collaboration with the monopolies, is consciously holding down the actions of the workers and trade unions.

It is practically impossible to give an exact picture of the trade union situation in the so-called "free" world. What is evident is that the attack of the employers against the standard of living of the people, the attacks against the workers' rights and the repression against the trade unions, are phenomena of a more or less general nature. But the workers do not resign themselves to the situation which is created for them. Proof of this can be seen in the workers' struggles which have taken place recently, which have been remarkably broad and strong, and which are continuing throughout the capitalist countries.

The workers and trade unions of the socialist countries, who are in accord and in sympathy with these class struggles, against the monopolies and the imperialists, are continuing their creative work for social progress. The new duties entrusted to the trade unions in the socialist countries, their ever-increasing rights in economic and social life, the conditions and the facilities available to them for carrying out all their activities, are in contrast with the backward policy of the capitalist countries, with their repeated attacks on trade union rights and the freedoms of the workers.

The W.F.T.U. has never ceased to denounce these attacks. It is difficult to recall all the measures taken by the W.F.T.U. in favor of the respect of trade union rights and for the protection of victims of repression.

There is scarcely a case where the W.F.T.U. has not intervened. Its continuous action has brought out the enormous role that international solidarity plays in the workers' struggle for trade union freedoms.

Faithful to the principles of proletarian solidarity which governed its foundation, it has organised big campaigns for the defence of trade union rights and for trade union victims of repression; it has made strong approaches to these governments, had intervened with and made complaints to the international organisations, the United Nations and the I.L.O.; the W.F.T.U. International Solidarity Fund has given material aid and legal assistance to imprisoned trade unionists. The leading bodies of the W.F.T.U. - its Congresses, General Councils, Executive Committees - and also automatically its Secretariat, have adopted resolutions and declarations on violations of trade union rights in different countries, calling on to the workers and trade unions of the world to organise and demonstrate their active solidarity with the workers and trade unionists who are victims of repression. To these actions we must add the vast activity of the T.U.I.'s (trade departments of the W.F.T.U.) which organise steps of solidarity and help for workers and trade unions in their own branches of industry.

Thanks to the energetic activity of the W.F.T.U. and its T.U.I.'s, supported by the vigorous solidarity campaigns of workers and trade unions throughout the world, many trade unionists have been saved and the rights of many organisations reestablished.

The Charter of Trade Union Rights adopted by the W.F.T.U. General Council in 1954 gave fresh impetus to the great struggle for trade union freedoms.

It represents a synthesis of the experience of the Trade union movement especially in the post-war period. It lays down the bases for an international common code, applicable in all countries of the world. One could say that the Charter is in a way an international Convention which, while having no legal force, carries moral obligation of considerable value.

In the socialist countries, where the working class is in power, the principles of the W.F.T.U. Charter, applied in everyday practice and throughout trade union life, have become reality.

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In the capitalist countries, where the workers are struggling for the conquest and defence of trade union rights, this Charter has become a precious weapon in the hands of the workers and trade unions in their fight.

One can realise the great value of the Charter if one thinks of the deficiencies in the two I L O Conventions : Convention No 87 on "trade union freedom and the protection of trade union rights" and Convention N° 98 on "the right to organise and collective negotiation".

These two Conventions adopted by the I L O on the initiative of the W.F.T.U. differ greatly from the original wording proposed by the W.F.T.U. The weaknesses of these Conventions are further accentuated by the procedure and methods of work of the Committee, also called "trade union freedom" of the International Labour Organisation, which is called upon to examine the complaints lodged with the I L O on the violation of trade union rights.

Up to now this Committee has shown itself incapable of taking any effective steps to ensure that measures are taken against the governments and employers responsible for the infringement of trade union rights.

1961 is the year of the Vth World Trade Union Congress. As part of the preparation for the Congress among the ranks of the workers, we consider that trade union organisations should intensify their united actions, undertake new steps and rouse the workers to defend their organisations more forcefully and to raise the level of their fighting power, to increase their class solidarity.

In the face of the widespread repression against the trade unions in the capitalist world, is it not opportune to examine more deeply what problems of trade union rights are posed in different countries of the world, what are the tendencies, and what actions are being taken by the trade unions in defence of these rights, to consider how to establish concrete objectives for campaigns at international level ?

We are convinced that the Commission that we have formed today will give effective help to the Secretariat in setting forth these aims. You will have noted, moreover, in studying the plan of organisation of the Commission, that the Secretariat believes that it should have the character of a Commission for study and consultation, so as to help the W.F.T.U. in its actions.

I should like to mention that in particular cases where the W.F.T.U. must provide effective skilled aid to the National Centres, in cases where it is called upon to organise a campaign, or some specific action on a given question, it often consults trade union leaders who are specialists on such questions, or it may create a committee, a commission or a working party. In a general way these bodies have a purely trade union nature.

In the case of our own commission, we might say that it has a varied character, in the sense that we find, alongside active trade unionists also lawyers and experts who, in their own country, very often cooperate with the trade unions in the struggle for the defence of democratic freedoms, of which trade union rights and freedoms are an integral part.

We should like to express the wish that this collaboration, so valuable on the national scale, will also be a feature of this commission on the international scale. Moreover, the collaboration of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat with the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and personally with its General Secretary, Mr. Nordmann, has enabled us to meet under the best conditions.

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We think that, in general, this Commission should:

- following developments related to the respect of trade union rights, and inform the Secretariat in case of their violations;
- study the application in practice of the Charter of Trade Union Rights and the I.L.O. Conventions, and put forward proposals to make these into even more effective weapons in the struggle;
- to make on-the-spot enquiries, and to propose steps to be taken nationally and internationally;
- to propose and to organise, with the W.F.U. Secretariat, legal aid for the victims of repression against the trade unions;
- to make approaches in agreement with the W.F.U., to the International Labour Organisation, governments and Ministers of Labour;
- to draw up publicity material on these subjects.

As you see it is not for the Commission to occupy itself exclusively with organising legal aid for the victims of repression against trade unions. We consider that the General Council formulated its decision in a much wider sense. Material aid and help to the victims is one aspect of the problem, and we must pay every attention to it. But it seems to us that the basic problem is to find together the best ways and means for the whole trade union movement to move over to the attack in the field of defence of trade union rights.

We think that the action of the workers, its breadth and fighting power, is an infallible method to bring to nothing the manoeuvres and attacks of the employers and governments. Furthermore, united action, international solidarity, legal assistance to the victims of repression, can carry decisive weight by adding effectively to the actions and struggles waged by the workers and trade unions at the work place, at industry level and nationally.

We await with great interest the information, suggestions and proposals you will present on the questions which we have come together to discuss.

- Perhaps after examining the situation in the different countries and regions of the world we could draw up a concrete plan of action, whose fulfilment could begin right away, the first stage being at the 5th World Trade Union Congress.
- Moreover, would it not be opportune to decide and to put forward, at the international level, specific slogans and aims in a form which could be examined by the Commission?
- Enquiries could be organised in certain countries where the repression is most serious, so that the workers and the trade unions of the whole world could be informed and their solidarity organized more effectively.

Such missions could be organised for example for the Sudan where brother Shafie Ahmed El Sheikh has been imprisoned for more than two years. A vigorous mass campaign for the release of Brother Shafie and other active trade unionists in prison in Sudan, or for the protection of Brother Elario Blass of Chile, could be organised. In Greece, too, where hundreds of active trade unionists are imprisoned or interned in extermination camps, such an action would be very effective.

Should we not plan an especially broad campaign for amnesty in Spain?

The situation in various African and Latin American countries could be examined and a concrete plan established in line with our possibilities for putting it into effect.

The Commission could also examine the most useful procedure for legal aid from lawyers for the defence of the imprisoned trade unionists.

The most numerous attacks on trade union rights occur directly at the work place. Do you not think that certain steps could be taken with the I.L.O.? For example, in the framework of an eventual revision of the I.L.O. Conventions, a draft resolution could be submitted to the next International Labour Conference in June concerning the protection at their workplaces of trade union shop stewards elected by the workers.

The members of the Commission will probably tell us what opportunities they have of supplying the W.F.T.U. with documentary material, of preparing studies, of providing information on trade union rights, and of sending articles for the W.F.T.U. press.

On the basis of this material a brochure on trade union rights could be published.

These are some proposals on which we should like your opinions. We hope also that during the discussion other proposals will emerge and that in this way the field of action will be considerably widened.

I should like to conclude by reminding you in 1945, during the First World Trade Union Congress, unity led to the formulation of general principles of trade union rights.

Despite the many obstacles at international level, created especially by the I.C.F.I.U., which persists in its refusal to reply to the W.F.T.U. proposals for unity, united action of all trade unions at national level, regardless of their international affiliation, has made progress in recent years and considerable success has been achieved.

This shows the great possibilities for the further development of our policy of unity and for new campaigns for trade union rights and democratic freedoms, to guarantee the improvement of working conditions and a rise in the workers' standard of living.

The Commission, which has such a broad and united character, can be a very effective weapon for achieving these aims. But for this it seems to us that certain questions should be clarified from the beginning. If we are agreed about its tasks, we should also

decide on its operations.

The problems related to trade union rights, to the defence of these rights and the protection of the victims of repression against the trade unions, are extremely complex and varied. In some cases it is necessary to act immediately and effectively. In others it is necessary to establish a long-term plan of action.

Taking this situation into account we suggest that the Commission should meet once a year, with the W.F.T.U. Secretariat having the possibility of calling it together between two annual meetings in case of urgency. But it seems to us difficult to summon all the members of the Commission even in urgent cases, if one thinks of the many tasks and obligations that they have in their own countries.

Normally, to assure the democratic operation of the Commission, it should have a President, a Vice-President and a Secretary. They will be able to meet with the W.F.T.U. Secretariat for urgent tasks, to take certain decisions, to inform members of the Commission, to ensure their co-operation and so to establish the necessary continuity of work. It is clear that the practical work between two meetings of the Commission can be thus ensured by the Secretariat of the Commission with the help of the W.F.T.U. staff and under the leadership of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat.

Perhaps all these questions regarding the nature of the Commission, its composition and tasks and its mode of operation could be drawn up in rules which will in a sense be the Constitution of the Commission.

Looking forward to your remarks and proposals, and with apologies for taking so much of your time, I thank you for your fraternal interest.

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REGULATIONS

of the

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION AND LEGAL COMMISSION FOR THE DEFENCE AND EXTENSION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF VICTIMS OF REPRESSION AGAINST TRADE UNIONS

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. during its 11th Session (Peking, June 1960) has made the Secretariat responsible for studying with all trade union organisations concerned, the formation of an International Trade Union Commission for the Defence and Protection of trade union victims of repression (Main Resolution).

In order to carry out this decision, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat called the first meeting of the Commission in Prague on March 9 and 10, 1961. The meeting adopted the following proposals concerning the character, tasks, functioning and composition of the International Trade Union and Legal Commission for the Defence and Extension of Trade Union Rights and for the Protection of Victims of Repression Against Trade Unions.

CHARACTER

The Commission shall be a body for study, consultation and action with a united character. It must be capable of helping the Secretariat and the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U., and trade union organisations affiliated or not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., in their activities for the defence of trade union rights and victims of repression against the trade unions. Co-operation should be established with any organisation that desires and seeks to co-operate.

TASKS

With the primary aim of helping to develop action, the Commission shall draw up concrete proposals on the basis of deep analyses of the position as regards trade union rights in different countries.

In a general way, the Commission shall:

- follow problems relating to the respect of trade union rights and inform the W.F.T.U. Secretariat and the trade union organisations concerned of their violation;
- study the application in practice of the W.F.T.U. Charter of Trade Union Rights and the development of continuous activities for the application of I.L.O. Conventions No.87 and 98, as well as the experiences acquired in various countries and put forward proposals to make them into more effective instruments in the struggle against the violation of trade union rights;
- study and propose the possible revision of International Instruments, especially the I.L.O. Conventions, particularly in the light of the W.F.T.U. Charter of Trade Union Rights;
- carry out on the spot the necessary enquiries into violations of trade union rights and propose measures to be taken nationally and internationally.

In special cases, when technical enquiries are being held the Commission and the W.F.T.U. shall undertake to provide technical experts:

- make representations, in agreement with the W.F.T.U. Secretariat and in collaboration with the trade unions concerned, to the I.L.O. (send documents and memoranda on repression directed against trade unions, delegations to the Director-General, and so on ...) as well as to the governments and Ministers of Labour in the countries where there have been violations of trade union rights;

.../



draw up for the press of the W.F.T.U. and other trade union organisations, articles, studies and information on the problems within its scope.

FUNCTIONING

For the functioning of the Commission it must be taken into account that apart from its long-term tasks, the Commission must sometimes act immediately and effectively.

It shall meet once a year; the W.F.T.U. Secretariat may call an extra meeting if urgent need arises.

The trade union organisations represented on the Commission may also ask the W.F.T.U. to call a special meeting.

There shall be a close liaison between the members of the Commission and the Secretariat, so that the work should have the necessary continuity.

Practical work, between the meetings of the Commission, shall be carried out by the Economic and Social Department, under the leadership of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat and in consultation with the trade unions participating in the Commission.

COMPOSITION

In order to make its work more effective, the Commission shall be composed of trade union leaders from different parts of the world and of lawyers of international fame, whose authority and capabilities enable them to take an active part in the campaigns for the defence of victims of repression against trade unions, and also to take part in the general work of the Commission.

✓

The Commission shall be made up as follows:-

- 11 trade union leaders chosen by the National Centres of:
France, India, Cuba, UGTAN, Italy, Japan, Chile, Spain, Indonesia, the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia;
- 6 lawyers chosen by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers;
- representatives of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat.

The Commission shall appoint a Bureau composed of one President, two Vice-Presidents and one Secretary.

.....oo.....

March 14, 1961.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

CONSTITUTION OF THE TRADE UNION AND LEGAL COMMISSION FOR THE DEFENCE AND EXTENSION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND THE PROTECTION OF THE VICTIMS OF REPRESSION AGAINST TRADE UNIONS

The meeting of the International Trade Union and Legal Commission for the defence and extension of trade union rights and for the protection of the victims of repression against trade unions, the formation of which was decided upon by the Peking General Council, met on March 9-10, 1961, at the W.F.T.U. headquarters in Prague. The proceedings were presided over by Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

The W.F.T.U. Secretariat, representatives of the national centres both affiliated and non-affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and lawyers and barristers from different countries took part in the meeting.

There was very wide discussion on the report presented by Elena Teodorescu on behalf of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, "On the trade union rights in different regions and countries of the world and the prospects for the development of action for the defence of these rights and for the victims of repression against trade unions".

The Commission decided to become permanent because its activity should, in collaboration with the W.F.T.U., be based both on mass action and on legal action. As an integral part of trade union activity itself, the Commission will develop solidarity with the victims of repression against trade unions and for the defence and extension of trade union and democratic rights throughout the world.

This Commission is composed of a Bureau including:
a president :

CAMPOS JUAN Vice-President of CUTCh (Chile)

two vice-presidents:

GRANDJEAN-COSYNS ANDREE Lawyer (Belgium)

MATSUMOTO YOSHIAKI Lawyer (Japan)

and a Secretary:

Elena TEODORESCU W.F.T.U. Secretary

and the following members:

AMANU WACHID Secretary of SOBSI (Indonesia)

BOITEL MAURICE Lawyer (France)

HOSTETTLER JOHN Lawyer (Gt. Britain)

MA CHUN KOU W.F.T.U. Secretary

MONJOVIS LUCIEN Member of the Trade Union Bureau
of the Paris area (C.G.T. - France)

MUJICA ROJAS MARCO Lawyer (Venezuela)

PEREZ JULIO Representative of the workers of Spain

RABINOWITZ VICTOR Lawyer (U.S.A.)

ROY RATAN Secretary of the T.U.C. (India)

THIAW ABDULAYE General Secretary of U.G.T.A.N.

VAIS MARCO Member of the C.G.I.L. (Italy)

ZAKARIA IBRAHIM W.F.T.U. Secretary

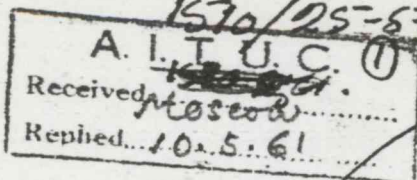
A representative of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions

A representative of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions

Published by the W.F.T.U. Press Dept.

No.214

Yashwant Chavan
C/o Palace of Labour
42 Leninsky Prospekt,
Moscow B-119. U.S.S.R.



Dear Comrade,

I would have left Moscow on 6th May along with Com. Hargovind Pant. My ticket was purchased along with his. But our hosts decided to treat my stomach trouble and got me admitted in a hospital on 4th May. First I was admitted in a hospital where they examined me for Amoebic Dysentery. After five days of close examination it was found that I was not suffering anymore from Amoebic Dysentery, which was chronic with me for many years past. However I was suffering from Gastritis and fortunately for me no ulcers have developed so far but there is inflammation of some parts of the intestines. The doctors advise immediate treatment of the inflammation so that it may not develop into ulcers. Doctors reckon that

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I may require a treatment for about three weeks from now on. I was rather hesitant but our hosts the comrades of the All Union Council of Trade Unions insisted that as my ailment was ascertained and immediate treatment was advised, I should take the treatment here. I have agreed to their proposal. They are doing the best of arrangements for me. In short my return back to India is being delayed by some three more weeks.

I could not write a report of the Seminar till now because our programme during and after the seminar was very heavy. I could have written it in the hospital but the texts of the lectures and my notes are lying in Hotel Moscow and I have not been able to get the same so far.

③

Now that my stay here is extended I will try to get the necessary materials and prepare the report for you.

Com. Pant and after him Com. Ponda must have given a brief oral report and also a copy of the conclusions which were adopted by the participants of the Seminar at the end of the Seminar. A Report on the organization of the Seminar was also adopted at this meeting. This report contains the suggestions made by various delegates for future guidance. I will try to send you a copy of the Report as early as possible.

I think the participation of our delegation in the seminar was good. Our team work was good and we built good relations with delegates from Japan, Indonesia, Burma and received very good cooperation from them. I would like to record our appreciation of the very good

(4)

participation of Com Than We from Burma and he reflected the growing maturity of the Burmese T. U. movement.

The Burmese and the Indonesian comrades said that their trade union movements had not been able to do much in the matter of reaching culture and education to their working people, ^{so far} but they want to apply in that direction in right earnest. They thought that before the end of this year they will be holding T. U. conferences on Culture and Education in their respective countries. They also propose that a conference or seminar of Asian region may be convened and that Indian Trade Union movement take initiative in the matter.

We in India have not given much thought to this problem of Access to culture and education of working people. At present the initiative is completely in the hands of the Government in this matter.

⑤

and we have not been able to give a thought to this aspect of the life of the working people.

① I think it is high time we did it.

This is not to say that I underestimate the various difficulties especially organisational. But as A.I.T.U.C. Centre has set in motion certain very positive processes during the past five years, so also the Centre should give the initial impulse in this respect also. A meeting on this subject like the one we had at Lonawala last year on Textile problems may be very helpful.

We made contacts with the delegates from Latin American and African countries. We also had some give and take with the Italian and French delegates. The initiative taken by our delegation in proposing a congratulatory message being to sent to the Algerian and French Trade Union on their timely action

6

against fascism brought us very close to the French and Italian Comrades.

I want to conclude this letter with one idea that is in my mind regarding the immediate problems facing Textile T.U. movement in our country. Rationalisation and modernisation are going to be the main matter of struggle in the Textile industry. Our line on this aspect is to ensure that unemployment does not increase, that proper conditions of work are guaranteed to workers and that a proper share of the economic gains goes to the workers. For putting up an adequate and informed fight on points (2) and (3) we must have cadres who know ^{broadly} the cost structure and the technique of the industry. I will not be wrong if I say that we have no such cadres in the Textile T.U. movement at present. To start with I ~~would like~~ ^{get an opportunity} to spend one week in a Textile factory before I come back I think it will benefit me personally but also our Textile T.U. movement. I am trying in my own way. Please see if you can do something to strengthen my hands. Yours faithfully
Yashwanth Char.

See 65A2
File UKL 1/3/vi

लाइसेंसिंग आणी एक मोठा टेक्स्टाइल
 कंपनी पाहिजे. परंतु दोन तासातच जे
 पहाणे न पाहिजे असे काळे व्यापार अनेक
 व्यावसायिकांमधून तपविलेले मिळू शकले नाही.
 आलेल्या कांतिनिधीमध्ये टेक्स्टाइल ट्रेड युनियनचा
 ही एकदाच होतो. मला एक व्यापार एक दिवस
 कंपनीमध्ये जाऊन पाहिजे असा मनी असाही
 प्रमाण केला. परंतु दुभाषांचा कार्यालय इतका
 भरगच्च होता की अखेरपर्यंत जाऊ शकले नाही.
 शेवटी कौन्सिल ऑफ मॅनिजर्स (उद्योगिकांच्या)
 ही आस्थापना पारती दिली होती त्या पार्यन्तेवेची
 कंपनीमध्ये शिफारशांची ही मोठेपण वरून घेताही
 आणि पत्रव्यवहाराने पाहिजे मिळविण्याचे आभासून
 त्यांच्याकडून घेतले.

आता माझे परतणे लांबले आहे. तेव्हा
 होरनेरल मधून बाहेर पडून फुवईस परतण्यापूर्वी
 काही दिवस ^{मैत्री} एरबा या कंपनीमध्ये जाऊन
 तपासिलेवार पाहिजे असाही तर फार उपयोग
 होईल असे वाटते. रेशन व्हायझेशन व मॉडर्नायझेशन
 प्रथम भाग कायद्यातील ट्रेड युनियन संघटनांचा
 प्रश्नही प्रथम वनाडा आहे. अशावेळी उत्पादन व
 रेशन व्हायझेशन मॉडर्नायझेशनद्वारे दोन असलेली वचना

आणी कापाच्या पारिस्थितीत करता येण्याजोग्या
 रुंधारणां यासंबंधी तपाशीकवार माहिती मिळाल्यास
 आपल्या कापास मदत होईल असे मला वाटते.
 या दृष्टीने माझ्या परीने ही कथन करतो आहे.
 तुमचेही एखादे पत्र इतरच्या टेक्स्टाईल ट्रेड यूनियनच्या
 वृत्तवस्तु मंडळीना मिळाल्यास कायदा मदत होईल.
 सहजासा जमल्यास पहा.

मेरदिनासाठी भावनायुक्त आढोत्या ट्रेड
 यूनियन कार्यानिधीना कायदा पावलास मेरला.
 डॉ. वसुधादेव गुलाब्या माझा आर्थरनेड जेवढीय गुना
 परिचय होण तो नया देला. तसेच मेरुमार योधरांच्याशी
 ओळख झाली. हिंदूजदूरसमितीने ^{दोस्त} कार्यानिधी होते
 यांच्याही परिचय साध. पण यांचा कार्यक्रम नेत्रा
 आरवलेला अकल्यातुळे आपलात एकमेकांना पारने
 मेरला आले नाही.

सोदिगारमध्ये जॅकमीन लेव्ही नावाच्या
 वार्डचा परिचय झाला. सोदिगारच्या संघटनाकार्ये
 या होत्या. तसेच मेरुमार सभरकरेला जाणाना विमानाने
 आता सोदागा एक व सध्याचा असण आला. या
 वार्डचा इंग्रजी चांगले नोकला मेले या गोष्टीचा

५७) तिथे वधत शोध लागला. मग आशी
 लारुभर रूपाच गप्पागोष्टी केला. फ्रेंच
 वाड्याची व क्रान्तिकारक कादगाद चरुषीची
 थोडीशी माहिती अकल्यातुळे आमच्या गप्पा वयाच
 त्रेगला. माही काय तुमच्या हातातकाडी काळ
 न्दराभाचा (W.F.T.U. कनेक्शन) त्याना योग
 आन-भाचे (आनी सांगितले. It was a
 pleasure to work with Com. Dange अकोला म्हाला.

पुण्यात आनी गजदकार सांगितला आहे. दोन्ही
 दिवा शौच यापैकी कोणाचा तरी आंचा परिचय
 आहे असे आनी सांगितले पण गंध पात्र सांगू
 वादला नाहीत. मों. उषाताईचीही आनी चौकशी केळी.

पत्राचा कागद व पत्रात वापरलेली गार्ड
 यात जी विवेचना आली आहे तो ही देखील
 होतकीटखमध्ये अकालाचा परिणाम आहे. तरी आदळे
 वाचताओळ करावा.

See 57. file
 W.F.T.U.
 2/1/49

आला
 यशवंत चव्हाण
 १३. मे. १९६१



A. I. T. U. C.
 I. R. No. 1924. Date... 20.6.61 ...
 File No..... Replied on.....

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

Prague, 14th June, 1961

All India Trade Union Congress
 4, Ashok Road,
 New - Delhi

41987 Address all correspondence to
 Adresser la correspondance au :
 Toda comunicacion ha de ser dirigida al:
 Адресовать всю корреспонденцию :
 SECRETARIAT DE LA
 FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
 PRAGUE I - RUE JANSKA 100
 TELEPHONE : 67.856
 ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE : FESYMOND PRAGUE
 SEFCS/MP/N° 1877

- India -

Dear Brothers,

With the termination of the W.F.T.U.-UNESCO Seminar in Tashkent, at which important positive results were achieved, we should like to thank you once more for the contribution you have made in sending serious, capable trade union members from your organisation to the Seminar.

As you undoubtedly have heard from your members, at the end of the Seminar the general assembly of participants discussed and unanimously approved a document appraising the course, the basic ideas adopted, questions of organisation, etc.

A copy of this document is enclosed herewith.

We are now considering the possibility of publishing certain material with a summarised report on the Seminar. We should be glad to receive any comments you may have on the course at Tashkent.

Yours fraternally,

Luigi Grassi
 Luigi GRASSI

Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

*See G.S. file
 no. 27/ii*

Enclos.

MOSCOW
 December 4 to 16, 1961
 5th World Trade Union Congress

C O N C L U S I O N S

ON THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR OF
TRADE UNIONISTS ON THE SUBJECT: "ACCESS OF
THE WORKING PEOPLE TO EDUCATION AND CULTURE"
(Held in Tashkent, April 8-28, 1961)

Peoplefull

We, participants of the International Seminar of Trade Unionists, have unanimously come to the following conclusions at the end of the deliberation of the Seminar, that we are submitting to you for your consideration.

From the whole programme of lectures, discussions, exchanges of experiences which we have carried out in an atmosphere of friendly, fraternal relations and solidarity, we can draw some fundamental ideas which we have acquired here and which are valuable additions to our treasure of ideas and practice. These ideas will help us immensely in our actions to be carried out in each of our countries to ensure for the workers the conditions of access to education and culture.

We have become more conscious of the fact that, today, new prospects are opened for the workers in the development of their conditions of life and of their human personality, through the rapid development of the movements for liberation of mankind from oppression and exploitation, through the fabulous development of science and technology. Thus access to education takes on a new character of urgency; the same applies to the training of leaders of a new type. In view of such a prospect a special and important function befalls trade unions concerning the elaboration of special demands and their action to implement them.

We consider that the demand for general and controlled disarmament in the context of easing international tension is a fundamental condition for using the money wasted on purposes of destruction at the present time, to promote the development of education and culture, as well as to make it possible for

.../

humanity to make progress in all spheres of life, in a rapid and decisive way, in conformity with the earnest desire of all working people and of all progressive mankind.

The problem of access of workers to education and culture should be considered, in our opinion, from the point of view of both its quantitative development and qualitative content and of its ideological orientation, freed from any subordination to the narrow interests of monopolistic groups. It should avoid the dangers of the idea of transforming human personality into a robot and on the contrary it should answer the ideological interests and class conceptions of working people and of the whole society.*

The present conditions and prospects for developing culture directly call for an ever growing participation of the workers. And such a participation itself depends upon the ever broader access of working people to education and culture.

Monopolists, reactionary groups cannot give a progressive and democratic expression of culture, on the contrary, they constitute an obstacle to its development and a threat of disintegration of its human values.

Men of culture, of technology and science are, generally and objectively, valuable allies of the workers in their struggle to develop education and culture. When unity is founded upon the aims of revitalising educational institutions to serve the interests of the workers and of the community, between the world of culture and **technology** on the one hand, of labouring classes and their trade union organisations, on the other, it is a decisive factor for constituting an anti-monopolist united front, on the matters of culture and education, a fundamental condition to push forward the process of cultural development.

Trade union action, becomes an important contribution to the general struggle of progressive and democratic forces for the development of education and culture, when it is undertaken within the framework of an organic vision of the problem and of its structural solution. Trade union action is a great contribution, when its aims are carefully chosen, and especially

when trade union action is developed to bring under workers' control the means of the expression, of education and culture by breaking the domination and control of monopolist groups on these means.

In the context of aspirations and possibilities of access of masses of working people to education and culture, the economic and social demands of the workers and their trade unions such as development of trade union rights and liberties, 40-hour week, full employment, increase in wages, equality of wages, social security systems, lodgings for the working people, take a new character, a new importance; these are decisive conditions for the development of the personality of the worker, to the new dimensions that will answer to the new prospects of progress and human civilisation.

In the light of these prospects, trade union action constitutes an ever more important contribution to the progressive transformation of society.

This seminar will constitute an important step towards the determination of trade union tasks on the subject of education and culture. It is desirable that, when organising similar seminars, the thesis of each lecture be determined in a more precise way so that problems may be approached in a concrete direct way and in order that trade union action and experience may be put in better light. It would also be desirable that out-of-school programme be lighter to allow more time for contacts between delegations.

We wish to express our gratitude here to the World Federation of Trade Unions for taking united initiatives towards convening this seminar which allowed a rich and interesting exchange of experiences and ideas between the trade unions of continents and different social systems. We hope that the fraternal links forged between us during this seminar will be maintained in the future. We wish that the action undertaken here could be developed, by means of adequate publicity given to the discussions and documents of the seminar, by holding regional seminars and through special steps taken to elaborate a programme of specific demands on this particular aspect.

It appears desirable to us that the problem of access of workers to education and culture be further discussed and developed in deliberations of the 5th World Trade Union Congress which will be held in Moscow, in December next.

We thank UNESCO for making a contribution through the organisation of this seminar in co-operation with the W.F.T.U. towards establishing trade union international unity and co-operation in studying the concrete problem.

We wish to see UNESCO further develop, in a more decisive way, such united steps, in order to help elimination of any trend towards discrimination. We wish to underline the necessity, for UNESCO, to strengthen its action adapted to various regional situations, and mainly in Africa and in the culturally and economically less-developed countries. We desire that UNESCO exert its influence for implementing fundamental conditions to ensure the access of workers to education and culture.

We are sure that such action on the part of UNESCO will not prejudice the technical character of their measures but will only give them a direction and content in conformity with the wishes of the workers and with their democratic principles.

We also wish the UNESCO to study the ways to put an end to the resurgence of fascist propaganda in certain countries which constitutes a menace to peace and culture.

We express our gratitude to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and to the Central Council of Uzbek Trade Unions for making possible for our seminar to work in an atmosphere of sympathy, cordiality and international working class solidarity and also for the living lesson they gave us on the great development of education in the Soviet Union. From all the knowledge we have drawn from concrete and direct experience here and the opportunity we had of comparing conditions in different countries we are convinced that the development in the Soviet Union constitutes a great inspiration to the people of other countries in their struggle for the development of education and culture.

We also wish to word our admiration for the deep and basic transformation which has occurred in Uzbekistan, a country that was extremely backward not so long ago and in which we find today people successfully progressing towards new and higher civilization and culture.

We are conscious that, in the existing world situation, trade union unity and all forms of united action is extremely urgent to avert danger of destruction of culture and realising the great prospects for the development of education and culture, linked with raising standards of living for workers.

We are conscious that international trade union unity, understood not as a rigid formula but as a convergence of all trade union forces closely connected with the interests of the working classes, and on real aims of economic, social and cultural development - represents a decisive condition for accelerating the march of the workers of all countries towards the accomplishment of new historical aims.

And because of that conscience we pledge ourselves to contribute to the reinforcement of the international solidarity of the workers and to international trade union unity in the name of cultural and social education of the workers, in the name of culture, peace and progress of human society.

===== : =====

Report

N. 211

Received 10/11/61
 A. I. U. C.
 Ex. 16

on the seminar of Trade Union
 held at Tashkent from 9-4-61 to 29-4-61.

By N. Ponda.

The seminar was attended by 40 delegates from the continents of Asia, Europe, Africa, and Latin America as follows.

<u>Asia</u> :-			
Burma	-	2	
India	-	3	
Indonesia	-	3	
Japan	- . . .	1	
Cyprus	. . . .	1	
Asiatic Russia	-	2	12
<u>Europe</u> :-			
Austria	. . .	2	
East Germany	-	2	
France	. . .	2	
Hungary	. . .	2	
Italy	. . . .	3	
Poland	. . . .	2	
European Russia		2	
Czechoslovakia		2	17
<u>Africa</u> :-			
Ghana	- . . .	1	
Mali	- . . .	1	
Morocco	. . . .	2	
Senegal	. . . .	1	
U. A. R.	. . . .	2	7
<u>Latin America</u> :-			
Brazil	- . . .	1	
Chile	. . . .	1	
Cuba	. . . .	1	
Mexico	. . . .	1	4
Total			<u><u>40.</u></u>

The theoretical lectures of the seminar were given at the meeting hall of the Palace of Culture of the Textile Combine. Facilities for simultaneous translation through ear-phones were provided in the lecture hall in 6 languages — Russian, English, French, Spanish, etc.

also from France, Italy and Chile. After the lecture was read out there were group discussions, then questions to the lecturer. After the lecturer answered the questions delegates one from each country (sometimes one from each continent if the time is short) spoke their impressions on the subject. First At first it was confined to the subject of the lecture only. Afterwards, in conformity with a suggestion made by the leader of the Indian delegation Com. Y. Chawan, it was extended to a report by the concerned delegate on the situation in his country with regard to the subject under discussion. Finally the lecturer was summing up the discussions and was then closing the subject.

In all there were 9 lectures concerning various aspects of Education and Culture to workers. Besides the lectures the delegates had programmes to visit institutions and functions of Education and culture, also two large factories and one collective farm. These visits, I should rather say, were the practical courses for the delegates. During these visits to the theatres, cinemas, educational institutions, pioneer schools, rest home, libraries etc. we could learn a lot about the free access of working people under a socialist system to all these institutions of Education and Culture in general, and about the great and new strides achieved by the Soviet people in Particular. I was impressed by the careful organisation of a wide net^{work} of these Educational and cultural organisations in the Soviet Union, and that too in Uzbekistan which was previously a very backward region of Asiatic Russia. There a worker while working to earn a livelihood is given all the facilities to develop his education and culture in any branch he likes through evening schools and correspondence courses. For me personally this practical part of the course was very educative, much more than the theoretical part of which I had read with interest previously during the last 13 years.

It was felt by the delegates that the

not afford sufficient time for exchange of thoughts between the delegations of various countries. Later on in Moscow I heard from Com. Podzernko that the programme of 4 weeks previously intended for the seminar was compressed to 20 days for want of time. But for this small deficiency the seminar was a grand success and the organisers of it deserve all thanks and praise.

The Indian delegation of 3 led by comrade Y. Chawan had participated in the seminar in making it a success. Com. Chawan was elected as the monitor of the English speaking group which was the largest group. Through the able leadership of Com. Chawan India was recognised as a substantial country.

The Indian delegation was able to meet and make friendship with many Soviet people from all walks of life. The Soviet people are very friendly and talk to Indians with respect and without any superiority complex. They are very simple and straight forward. They are very eager to know about India.

The Indian delegation did not know how to dance and sing. That was a drawback on us.

MAY DAY

On 29th the delegates were taken to Moscow and we attended the May Day celebrations. We could see the display of 70 ft. rockets and other military vehicles. We could get a glimpse of the military might of the Soviet Union which stands on guard to protect peace in the world and which is a decisive check on the war mongers. A rocket shaped balloon was let loose in the middle of the red square. It shot up and disappeared into the thick clouds. This was a big attraction and a pointer that the Soviet Union is leading the world in rocketry and space exploration. Above all the dancing and singing crowds numbering more than 2 million was

Soviet people are solidly behind their Trade Unions, Party and Government and they fully support the Socialist system. A special feature of the demonstrations was the manifestation of the solidarity for the people of Cuba against American intervention. When the demonstrators come near the section of foreign delegates, they burst out greeting the Cuban delegation which was standing in the front row and shout "Cuba yes, yankees no".

After seeing the important places in Moscow the Central Committee of the metal workers of U.S.S.R. sent me to Zaporotze in Ukraine to see and study the working of the steel factory there on 5th. May. During the three days in Zaporotze I could see the 3½ million capacity steel factory, a large aluminium factory, a chrome chromium factory and also met the Trade Union leaders there.

By this visit I could know the mechanism of a steel factory in its outlines, a knowledge which I lacked so much. The request to show me a steel factory was made by the National Federation of M.E. workers, India and it was readily complied with by their Soviet counterparts. Such ready compliance can come only from the Soviet organisations which have abolished capitalism and are sincere champions of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet organizations and the W.F.T.U had taken great care of us and had made our stay in the Soviet Union very comfortable and useful. The Seminar, the May Day demonstrations, and the visit to Zaporotze, and also the visit to Samarkand on 25-4-61 had made me much wiser and I pledge to devote all my wisdom and energy for the cause of the Indian working class and the A.I.T.U.C. which afforded me this mighty opportunity to attend the Seminar and see the Soviet Union. For this I am grateful to the secretariat of the A.I.T.U.C.

Delhi }
11-5-61 }

N. Sonda.

File No. 211

A. I. T. U. C.
Received. 1307/11-5-61
Replied.....

P R O G R A M
of the International Seminar of Trade Unionists,
of Countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and
Europe

Tashkent, April 9 - 29, 1961

Sunday, April 9

- 11.00 Opening of the Seminar:
- 1) A speech of welcome delivered by S.N.Nurutdinov, President of the Uzbek Republican Council of Trade Unions.
 - 2) Address by Ibrahim Zakharia, Secretary of the WFTU.
 - 3) Address by Paul Longren, UNESCO
 - 4) Address by L.N.Soloviev, Secretary of the AUCCTU, member of the National Commission for UNESCO affairs.
 - 5) Information on the work of the Seminar by S.N.Nurutdinov, director of the seminar.
- 4.00-6.00 - Sightseeing tour of Tashkent with the city chief architect.
- 19.00 - Visit to the Alisher Navoi Theatre.

Monday, April 10

- 9.30-11.30 Lecture: "Man and Culture"
(Lecturer - prof. A.N.Leontiev, Vice-President, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR).
- 11.30-13.30 Individual faculty studies.
- 16.00-18.00 Individual and group discussions with the consultation of the lecturer.
- 18.00 Film "Navoi"

Tuesday, April 11

- 9.30-13.30 Final discussion of the lecture delivered by A.N. Leontiev.
- 16.00-18.00 Talk by comrade L.N.Soloviev "Soviet Trades-Unions.
- 18.30 Visit to Tashkent Railwaymen's Palace of Culture, acquaintance with its work.

Wednesday, April 12

- 9.30-11.30 Lecture: "Means of expression of culture and their utilization in different social systems" (Lecturer - M. Teoreanu, Rumanian Peoples' Republic)
- 11.30-13.30 Individual faculty studies and group discussions.
- 16.00-19.30 Final discussion of the lecture by Teoreanu.
- 19.30 Film "The Destiny of a Man"

Thursday, April 13

- 9.30-13.00 Visit to the Tashkent Textile Combine.
- 18.00-20.00 Acquaintance with the work of the Combine's Palace of Culture and with the amateur activities of the Palace.

Friday, April 14

- 9.30-11.30 Lecture: "Culture and working people" read by S.A. Azimov, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR.
- 11.30-13.30 Individual studies and group discussions
- 16.00-17.00
- 17.30 Soccer match "Spartak (Moscow) -- Pakhtakor (Tashkent).

Saturday, April 15

- 9.30-11.30 Final discussion of the lecture read by S.A. Azimov.
- 16.00-18.00 General meeting of the participants of the Seminar to discuss current matters.

Sunday, April 16

- 10.00-12.00 Visit to Stalin Pioneer Palace.
- 15.30-20.00 Trip to the X October Rest Home to see the forms and methods of cultural work with holiday-makers.

Monday, April 17

- 9.30-11.30 Lecture: "Culture, Peace and International Relations." (Lecturer - Jean Mourier, France).
- 12.00-13.30 Individual faculty studies and
- 16.00-18.30 group discussions.
- 18.30. Film "Ballade of a Soldier"

Tuesday, April 18

- 9.30-11.30 Visit to the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR.
- 11.30-13.30 Individual faculty studies and final
- 16.00-18.00 discussion of the lecture by Jean Mourier.
- 18.00 Visit to a school of working youth.

Wednesday, April 19

- 9.30-11.30 Lecture: "Education of the working masses as one of the tasks of trade unions." (Lecturer - A. Pizzaro, Chili).
- 11.30-13.30 Individual studies and group discussions.
- 16.00-18.00 Visit to the Railway Engineers' Institute.
- 18.30 Visit to the Alisher Navoi Library.

Thursday, April 20

- 9.30-13.30 Final discussion of the lecture by A. Pizzaro.
- 16.00-17.00
- 17.00 Soccer match ZDSA (Central Army Club) (Moscow)-- Pakhtakor (Tashkent)

Friday, April 21

- 9.30-11.30 Talk of the participants of the Seminar with members of the Presidium of the Uzbek Republican Council of Trade-Unions.
- 11.30-13.30 Film "Welcome to Uzbekistan"

- 16.00-18.00 Visit to the Tashkent Lenin State University.
- 19.00 Performance at Mukhimi Theatre.

Saturday, April 22

- 9.30-11.30 Visit to Secondary School 24.
- 12.00-14.00 Visit to the Voroshilov "Tashselmash" Plant, (Agricultural Machines Plant). Acquaintance with the production process and the work of the plant trade union committee.
- 19.00 Visit to Tashkent State Circus.

Sunday, April 23

- 10.00-14.00 Visit to the "Kzil Uzbekiston" collective farm.
- 16.00-17.00 Visit to the Fine Arts Museum.
- 19.00 Performance at the Hamza Drama Theatre.

Monday, April 24

- 9.30-11.30 Lecture: "Access of the working people to Education and Culture." (Lecturer - A. Forni, Italy).
- 11.30-13.30 Individual studies and group discussions.
- 16.00-17.30
- 19.00 Meeting of the Participants of the Seminar with trade union activists. (The meeting takes place at the Alisher Navoi Theatre). Performance by amateur companies of Uzbekistan.

Tuesday, April 25 -- TRIP TO SAMARKAND

Wednesday, April 26

- 9.30-13.30 → Final discussion of the lecture by A. Forni.
- 16.00-19.00 Lecture: "UNESCO, its role and activities." (Lecturer - Paul Lengrand, UNESCO representative).

talk by Com.

Com. Paper - will be discussed

Thursday, April 27

- 9.30-11.00 Visit to Nizami Pedagogical Institute.
- 11.30-13.30 Talk on public education in the Soviet Union with Prof. N.K. Goncharov, Vice-President of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.
- 16.00-18.00 Group discussions.

Friday, April 28

9.30-11.30 Lecture "Prospects of the workers in the sphere of culture and its development."
(Lecturer - a WFTU representative).

Official Closing of the Seminar.
Addresses by members of the Director's body of the Seminar and its participants.

Saturday April 29 -- Departure of the participants for MOSCOW.

DIRECTOR OF THE SEMINAR

(S. MURUTDINOV)

Handwritten notes: 26/4/61

Handwritten note: F No 211

A. I. T. U. C.
Received 1307H/11-5-61
Replied.....

L i s t e

des stagiaires du Stage d'études internationales FISM-UNESCO pour militants syndicaux des pays d'Asie, d'Afrique, d'Amérique Latine et d'Europe

Tachlent, 9-29 avril 1961

N°	Nom et adresse	Organisation Syndicale	Fonction	Profession
1	2	3	4	5
<u>A s i e</u>				
1.	MAUNG Maung 389-391 Bo Aung Gyaw str. <u>Rangoon</u> Burma	Congrès des Syndicats de Birmanie (B.T.U.C.)	Secrétaire	
2.	THAN Ngwe 389 Bo Aung Gyaw str. <u>Rangoon</u> Burma	d ^o	Secrétaire	
3.	PONDA Nityanand Bisra Road, P.O. <u>Rourkela</u> (Oressa) I n d e	Congrès des Syndicats de l'Inde (A.I.T.U.C.)	Secrétaire général du Synd. Mazdoor de l'acier à Rourkela	
4.	CHAVAN Yashwant 11 A, Haji Moosa Terrace, Club Back Road, <u>Bombay</u> 3 Inde	Syndicat ouvrier du Textile de Bombay (A.I.T.U.C.)	Secrétaire	
5.	PANT Har Govind c/o U.P.T.U.C. Ramesh Bhawan <u>Chinpi Tank</u> , Meerut, I n d e	Congrès des Syndicats de l'Inde (A.I.T.U.C.)	Professeur Histoire Ancienne à l'Université de New Delhi, Meerut College	
6.	KUNTJAHJO S.W. <u>Djalan Kramat</u> V/14 <u>Djakarta</u> , Indonésie	S.O.B.S.I. Membre du Conseil National	Secrétaire adj. du Synd. des fonctionnaires d'Indonésie	Gal Rédact. du journal de SCBSI
7.	BUDIONO PD SCBSI Djawatengah <u>Grigendon</u> g 1144 <u>Semarang</u> , Indonésie	S.O.B.S.I.	Membre Cte Régional pour le Centre de Java	Journa- liste de Ha- rian Rakjat

1	2	2	3	3	4	4	5
8.	SUGANDI SUKARNO Keponpedes 1/17 Doror, Indonésie	S.O.B.S.I.			Membre Cté Pro- vvincial SOBSI Java Occidental		Membre Con- seil local du peuple
9.	LAGAMI Hiroshi Ninatoku Adzabusin- bori-cho 4 Tokyo, Japon	S.O.H.Y.O. Synd.Trav.des Transmissions Téléphon. et Té- légraphiques			Membre du Cté Central, Chef du Dep. Propa- gande		
10.	DJAMANKULOWA Mirzagul 49, Mitchurin Franzé, Rep. Kir- ghise	Présid. Conseil des travailleurs de l'École Supérieure des Ets Scientifiques de la République					
11.	OROZOWA Djoumangoule 15, Mikhaïlevskaïa Achkhabad, Turkméni- stan	Président du Comité du Synd. des Etablissements d'Etat de la République					
12.	AVRAAM Antonio POB 185 Nicosia Chypre	Fédération Pan-Cypriote du Travail			Secr. à l'Org Synd. Fonction- naires Civils et militaires		employé

E u r o p e

1.	AUER Georges Heindlgasse 4/2/19 Vienne XVI, Autriche	Union des Syndi- cats d'Autriche O.G.B.			Délégué du Pers. Journa- rédacteur quest, liste synd. (Völkstimme)		
2.	ZICKLER August Budirskygasse 4/27 Vienne, 19, Autriche	Syndicat des tra- vail. de la métal- lurgie (O.G.B.)			Délégué du Pers. mécani- Membre du Cté que de Syndicat local, préci- Chef Dep. Cultur. sion		
3.	BÜHL Harald Markthorstr. 91 Berlin O34, Allemagne	Fédération des Synd. Libres d'Al- lemagne (F.D.G.B.)			Chef dep. cultu- rel		employé Caisse d'Epargne

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4.	KÜCKHOFF Armin Gerd Springerstrasse, 4 <u>Leipzig</u> , Allemagne	F.D.G.B.	Membre Com. Cult. & Cons. Central FDGB, Cons. Cent. Synd. artistes	Directeur Ecole sup. Théâtre Leipzig
5.	DOLLE François 12, Sq. Pont de Sèvres <u>Boulogne</u> (Seine) France	Synd. CGT des Travailleurs Régie Renault (Billancourt)	Sec. du Synd. et du Comité d' Entreprise	Tourneur
6.	LEMAIRE Paul 114, Av. de Neuilly <u>Neuilly</u> (Seine) France	Synd. du Per- sonnel d'Ex- ploitation des Autobus parisiens (C.G.T.)	Secrétaire du Syndicat	Employé RATP
7.	KAJAN Lászlo Szentkirályk, 47 <u>Budapest 8</u> , Hongrie	Syndicat des Enseignants	Chef Adjoint Dep. Education Publique	Prof. de littérat. & histoire
8.	KOLB Josef Amerikai ut, 90/B <u>Budapest</u> , Hongrie	Confédération des Syndicats Libres de Hon- grie	Chef du Dep. culturel	Employé
9.	QUARANTA Mario Via del Padovanino, 1 <u>Padova</u> , Italie	C.G.I.L.	Directeur d'une école profession- nelle C.G.I.L.	
10.	RASTRELLI Gian Franco Via Filippo degli Ugoni, 18 <u>Firenze</u> , Italie	Section cult. du Synd. Bureau provinc. Presse C.G.I.L.	Resp. Cons. Prov. Jeunesse, & Péd- agog. provinciale LAVORO	
11.	BARECELLI Renzo Via Traccia 5 <u>Milano</u> , Italie	C.G.I.L. Syndicat Bois et Construc- tion	Membre Comité directeur du Syndicat	

1	2	3	4	5
12.	KULIGOVSKA Krystina Touholka 9 k 20 <u>Varsovie, Pologne</u>	Syndicat des Enseignants de Pologne	Secrétaire du Syndicat	Enseignant
13.	JAREK Tadeusz Widnitskaia ul.47/4 <u>Vrozlav, Pologne</u>	Conseil Central des Syndicats de Pologne	Secrétaire du Synd. Rég. travail de Vrozlav	Chargé du travail culturel
14.	MOLODESOVA Alexandra I. Pras. Statchek 75, 154 <u>Leningrade L-96, URSS</u>	Syndicat des travailleurs de la Culture	Membre Plénium du Synd. Rég. Leningrade	Directeur Palais de Culture
15.	SAFONOV Vladimir I. rue Lénine 8' 35 <u>Kiev, URSS</u>	Conseil des Synd. de la République	Chef du dep. culturel	
16.	NEDOROST Jaroslav rue Klacenska 545/16 Vokovice, <u>Prague.</u> <u>Tchécoslovaquie</u>	Mouvement Syndical Révolutionnaire (R.O.H.)	Chef de Chaire d'économie du travail Ecole des Syndicats	
17.	NEOUGIL Irchi rue Kalininova 2 <u>Prague, Tchécoslovaquie</u>	(R.O.H.)	Travailleur du Dep. Cult. Cons. Central Synd.	Employé
<u>A f r i q u e</u>				
1.	ATITSOGBUI Gabriel Mensah P.O. Box 701 <u>Accra - Ghana</u>	Congrès des Syndicats du Ghana.	Dep. Educ. & Propagande	Respons. des Publications
2.	DIALLO Boubacar Bourse du Travail, B.P. 169 <u>Bamako, Répub. du MALI</u>	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du MALI	Membre du Comité Ex ^{titif} Secr. Jeunesse	Comis. d'Ép. & T.
3.	BEN BRAHIM Mohamed 38, Av Madagascar <u>Rabat, Maroc</u>	Union Marocaine du Travail	Secr. Adjoint Bureau local de Rabat	Instituteur

1	2	3	4	5
	<u>FAKHR</u>			
4.	GHAZI Abdelkader Hopital Chrarda F e z ' (Maroc)	Fédé Nat. de la Santé Union Ma- rocaïne du Tra- vail	Secr.fédéral et Secr.Sec- tion de Fez	Controleur Santé Publique
5.	THIAW Abdoulaye rue 17, Angle 30 <u>Dakar, Sénégal</u>	Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (U.G.T.A.N.)	Secr.Gén. UGTAN, Secr. Union Synd. du Sénégal	Comptable
6.	M. MOHAMMAD Saad 32, r. Abdel Khalek Sarwat. <u>Le Caire, Egypte</u> (R.A.U.)	Fédération des Travailleurs d'Egypte	Secrétaire chargé de l'Education	
7.	ALY SAYED ALY c/o Egyptian Federa- tion 32 r. Abdel Khalek Sarwat <u>Le Caire, Egypte (R.A.U.)</u>	Fédération des Travailleurs d'Egypte	Secret.Gal pour Relations internationales	

Amérique Latine

1.	PBREIRA DA SILVA Antonio Av. Presidente Vargas, 502 22 Andar, <u>Rio de Janeiro</u> Brésil.	Syndicat des Employés de Banques de Rio de Janeiro	Secrétaire du Syndicat	Employé de Banque
2.	ARINEDA BRIONES Ernesto Francisco de Toled- do 4700, Población Julio Danila Para- dero 11 1/2, San Miguel <u>Santiago, Chili</u>	Centrale Unique des Travailleurs du Chili (CUTCh)	Secr.Gal Conseil Pro- vincial de Santiago	Ouvrier du bâti- ment

1	2	3	4	5
3.	RANCAÑO ALVAREZ Alfredo Estrada Palma 511 apto 4, Santos Suzarez <u>Habana</u> , Cuba	Fédération Nat ^{le} Travailleurs de l'Alimentation	Secr. Fédé- ral du Synd. Province Habana	fonction- naire
4.	BERNANDEZ JIMENEZ Salvador Raciol Av. Moxelot, 91 <u>Mexico</u> , Mexique	Union Générale des Ouvriers et Paysans	Membre du Com. Nat. Exé- cutif Adj Comm. Educ. Politique. Coordinateur, Université ouv- rière, Mexico.	Comptable

A. I. T. U. Almora

I. R. No. 1936. Date... 21.4.61. ...

my dear Com. K. G.

I have File just... not received
Com Anand's letter from Meerut from which I learnt
that "you" felt it very much that I did not go & report
to the AITUC office."

As a matter of fact I went to the
AITUC office on the very day I got back to Delhi
It was 7th of May - in the evening but I learnt that
I & you & Com D. have gone to Ferozabad Conference.
As there was some great trouble regarding my service
at the college I had to rush to Meerut that very
night. While in Delhi for a few hours, I learnt from
my sister that my mother was ailing for some
time so I had to come to see my mother also.

All along I was under the impression
that it was Com J. S. Chavan, a leader of our
Delegation who had to report to the office otherwise
I would have definitely stayed there & made report.
I learn now from Com. Chavan's letter that his stay
has been prolonged now. Then Com. Panda was
expected the day after. That led to this mistake on
my part.

Kindly excuse me for this
descarting & mistake which was never meant by me.

As you know we left in the early
morning of 6th April for Tashkent & reached
there before noon. At the Airport we were
- our Burmese friends were also with us. - received by
one Com. Makhor of Int. Deptt of Central Trade Union.
we were taken to Hotel Tashkent where we lodged
comfortably.

On April 9, Sunday the Seminar
was opened. The following countries participated
in this Seminar

- Asia : (1) Burma (2) India (3) Indonesia (4) Japan.
Europe : (5) Austria (6) France (7) Germany (8) Hungary

- (9) Italy (10) Poland (11) Czechoslovakia, (12) U.S.S.R.
 (13) Cyprus.
 Africa - (14) Ghana (15) Mali (16) Morocco (17) Senegal.
 (18) Egypt
 Latin America (19) Brazil (20) Chile (21) Cuba (22) Mexico

We heard the following distinguished lecturers and we participated in group discussion & oral discussions

- (1) Man + Culture by Prof. A. N. Leontiev U.S.S.R.,
April 10;
- (2) Soviet Trade Unions Com. L. N. Soloviev U.S.S.R.
April 11,
- (3) Means of Expression of Culture & their Utilization in Different Social Systems
Com. M. Teodorescu, Rumania
12th April.
- (4) Culture & Working People.
Com. S. A. Azimov - Uzbek U.S.S.R.
V. President of Council of Min.
April 14.
- (5) Culture, Peace + International Relations
Prof. Jean Houriet, France
April 17
- (6) Education of working masses as one of the tasks of Trade Unions
A. Pizzardo - Chile
April 19.
- (7) Public Education in Soviet Union
Prof. N. K. Gancharov. 24th April U.S.S.R.

(8) Access of working people to Education & Culture
A. Formi - Italy 26th April

(9) UNESCO, its role & activities
Paul Lelong -
UNESCO Representative

Besides we visited their famous Theatre, the Sher Navoi, Hamza, Makhumi & their Fine Arts room. Once we were invited to the Academy of Sciences. We visited Railwaymen Palace of Culture & Textile Palace. One of the most interesting & instructive visits of ours was to the famous Tashkent Textile Combine - we made acquaintance with the work of the Combine & their many-sided cultural activities & once we were taken to one of their Collective Farms. and on 25th of April a trip to Samarkand was arranged for us where we saw many historical remains for instance Timur's tomb & Ulughbek observatory.

Our stay in Tashkent, was a very pleasant education for us & due recognition was given to our delegation by hosts. I think the one who made very pleasant impression on the Seminar was our leader, Com. Y. S. Chavon. The draft conclusion which I am enclosing herewith has been mainly his work. It was a pleasure & a pride to work with him. And our friend Com Panda provided us with dashig & driving energy when we seemed to lack it - be it in dances, in toasting or in introducing to the people.

On 29th of April we left for Moscow & life's one great ambition was fulfilled when we witnessed the spectacular May Day Parade & visited Lenin Mausoleum. I would have liked to stay there for some more time but our Russian hosts had asked us to be ready for our departure so many times.

2/3

July 1, 1961

Dear Com.Pant,

Many thanks for yours of 18th June which I saw on return from tour.

2. Nobody here told us of your visit to AITUC office - nor you left any chit. Inquiries from Meerut and Ram Asre also revealed that you have neither visited nor written to them. We tried to even guess the reasons and could not think of any to fit in with the circumstances.

A formal report has come from Com.Chavan who returned 2-3 days back and also Com.Ponda who stated here for 2-3 days gave us verbal as well as written report of the Seminar. As you were the first to return, everyone thought we knew something about it through you and when we did not get your letter even, surprise was natural.

What happened to your job?

What are your future plans?

I hope this will find you are o.k.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

K.G.

(K.G.Sriwastava)

21B

July 3, 1961

Dear Com.Chavan,

Yours of 30th June. Thanks.

2. Com.Pant straightaway went to Almora as his mother was sick there. Com.Dange and myself were on that day at Ferozabad and he did not find anybody here. I received a letter from him recently from Almora. He did not say anything about the notebook.

His college is likely to open now at Meerut.

I am giving you his addresses both at Almora as well as at Meerut for your record.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

K.G.
(K.G.Sriwastava)

- 1) H.G.Pant,
Regional Karyalaya,
Uttar Pradesh Trade Union Congress,
Kutchery Road, MEERUT.
- 2) H.G.Pant,
C/o Shri D.N.Tewari,
Dubkiya,
ALMORA, U.P.

A. I. T. U. C.
I. R. No. 2110. Date 3.7.61
File No. Replied

Yeshwant Chavan
72/33 Sahakar Niwas
Sasakhipeter, Poona 2.

Dear Com. Privastava,

I returned to Bombay from Moscow on 28th evening. I had an hours halt at Delhi and very much wanted to ring you up. But I had some difficulty with my extra luggage fare slip and I could not get time to contact you on phone.

As Com. Dange and Com. S.K. Rungta are here in Poona in connection with the trade union school at present being held here under the auspices of the M.S.T.U.C., I came down to Poona.

The treatment at the Sanatorium in Zelenogradsk has considerably helped me to improve

my physical condition. Owing to the very intensive nature of the treatment I was unable to do anything except undergoing the treatment. I will have talk with Com. Dange and do the needful about report in Tashkent Seminar.

Com. Pant had taken my notebook. He was to leave it either ~~with~~ in Moscow or with you. He has not left in Moscow. Kindly let me know if he has left it with you or has left any word about it with you.

I had sent a letter to you and another to Com. Dange from Moscow. I don't know if the letters reached.

CONVENTION (N°98) OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE
AND TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY

Article 1

1. Workers shall enjoy adequate protection against acts of anti-union discrimination in respect of their employment.

2. Such protection shall apply more particularly in respect of acts calculated to -

- (a) make the employment of a worker subject to the condition that he shall not join a union or shall relinquish trade union membership;
- (b) cause the dismissal of or otherwise prejudice a worker by reason of union membership or because of participation in union activities outside working hours or, with the consent of the employer, within working hours.

Article 2

1. Workers' and employers' organisations shall enjoy adequate protection against any acts of interference by each other or each other's agents or members in their establishment, functioning or administration.

2. In particular, acts which are designed to promote the establishment of workers' organisations under the domination of employers or employers' organisations, or to support workers' organisations by financial or other means, with the object of placing such organisations under the control of employers or employers' organisations, shall be deemed to constitute acts of interference within the meaning of this Article.

Article 3

Machinery appropriate to national conditions shall be established where necessary, for the purpose of ensuring respect for the right to organise as defined in the preceding Articles.

Article 4

Measures appropriate to national conditions shall be taken where necessary, to encourage and promote the full development and utilisation of machinery for voluntary negotiation between employers or employers' organisations and workers' organisations, with a view to the regulation of terms and conditions of employment by means of collective agreements.

Article 5

1. The extent to which the guarantees provided for in this Convention shall apply to the armed forces and the police shall be determined by national laws or regulations.

2. In accordance with the principle set forth in paragraph 8 of Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation the ratification of this Convention by any Member shall not be deemed to affect any existing law, award, custom or agreement in virtue of which members of the armed forces or the police enjoy any right guaranteed by this Convention.

Article 6

This Convention does not deal with the position of public servants engaged in the administration of the State, nor shall it be construed as prejudicing their rights or status in any way.

45th International Labour Conference

DRAFT RESOLUTION No.4

International Labour Conference

Realising that Conventions No.87 on the freedom of association and protection of the right to organise and No.98 on the right to organise and to bargain collectively, represent important progress in international legislation in the field of trade union freedom.

Estimating :

- a) that for the workers and trade union organisations trade union freedom means the free and effective exercise of the functions of the shop stewards elected by the workers to the workers' representative organisations including the trade unions, at the places of work, for the protection of the trade, economic and social interests of the workers,
- b) that the action of these shop stewards elected or chosen by the workers or the trade unions at the places of work, is extended collectively to all the workers in a trade or in the nation whether or not they are organised within the trade unions,
- c) that the activity of these bodies and of the trade unions at the places of work just as often include control of the application of collective agreements and legislation on wages as the control of laws on health and safety, on taking part in the inspection of labour, supervising trade training, the distribution of jobs, apprenticeship and so on.

.../

Noting that in certain countries the shop stewards elected or chosen by the workers are prevented from exercising their functions freely; ^{they are} and sometimes even ^{without of need means} are subjugated by the employers to ~~arbitrary administrative measures~~ ^{discriminatory} ~~take against their rights~~ ^{involving employees against employers.}

In order to meet the need to guarantee full respect for trade union rights at places of work,

Asks the Director-General of the International Labour Office to prepare for the November 1961 session of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., a report on the legislation and practice of "the free exercise of the functions and the protection of shop stewards elected or chosen by the workers for the representative organisations including the trade unions at the places of work", in order to enable the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to provide for the insertion of this problem at the 47th session of the International Labour Conference in 1963 so that it should be adopted as an international instrument.



WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

XXIIInd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Berlin - 2nd-4th of February, 1961)

INFORMATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE E.C.

PLAN OF ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMISSION FOR THE DEFENCE AND PRO- TECTION OF TRADE UNION VICTIMS OF REPRESSION

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. during its IIth Session (Peking, June 1960) has made the Secretariat responsible for studying with all trade union organisations concerned, the formation of an International Trade Union Commission for the Defence and Protection of trade union victims of repression (Main Resolution).

To carry out this decision, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat passed the following proposals on the character, tasks, functioning, composition and convocation of the Commission.

Nature

The Commission must be an organisation for study, consultation and action with a united character. It must be capable of helping the Secretariat and the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. in their campaigns for the defence of trade union rights and the trade union victims of repression. *Its cooperation should be extended to all who want to accept this as their aim.*

Tasks

Aimed principally at helping the campaign, the Commission must draw up concrete proposals on the basis of deep analyses of the situation as regards trade union rights in the various countries of the world.

In a general way the Commission should:

- Follow the problems relating to the respect of trade union rights and inform the W.F.T.U. Secretariat of their violation;
- Study the practical application of the W.F.T.U. Charter of Trade Union Rights and Conventions No 87 and 98 of the ILO and the experiences acquired in various countries and to draw up proposals to make them into more effective means of waging the struggle against the violation of trade union rights;
- Study and propose the eventual revision of the International Instruments, especially the ILO Conventions, particularly in the light of the W.F.T.U. Charter of Trade Union Rights.



The Commission could be made up as follows :

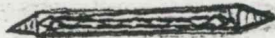
- 2 trade union leaders chosen by the National Centres of :
France, India, Cuba, UGTAN, Italy, Japan, Chile, ~~Spain~~ and
Indonesia, ~~Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia,~~ ^{Subventional}
- 4-5 lawyers chosen by the Association of Democratic Lawyers;
- 4-5 Secretaries of the W.F.T.U.



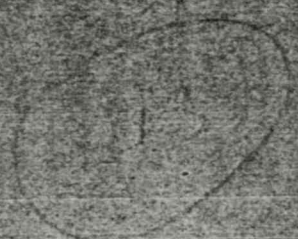
(The socialist countries will be represented in the Commission by members of the Secretariat from these countries. Where necessary, the Secretariat could go to the Centres of the Socialist countries to choose their representatives.)

Convocation

The first meeting for setting up the Commission will be March 9-10 in Prague.



Handwritten notes:
2 hrs
socialist countries
don't forget



*George
Full
document*

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF TRADE UNION ACTION

at the present stage for the defence of the
workers' interests and rights

*File No 213
WFTU COMMITTEE MEETINGS*

Adopted by the 40th Session of the
Executive Bureau

(Prague, June 23-26, 1961)

and submitted to the 5th World Trade
Union Congress

1. The 22nd Session of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions has decided to call the ~~the~~ ^{Fifth} World Trade Union Congress in Moscow from December 4 to 16, 1961. It will be an outstanding event in international trade union life and an important meeting for the workers of countries on all continents, all trades, all opinions and beliefs and of all trade union affiliations. From its free and democratic platform, the powerful voice of the working class of the world will be expressed, determined to obtain through its united struggle the victory of its just cause, the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

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24 eww

2. Reflecting the basic ^{interests} ~~interests~~ and demands of the workers of the world, the ~~the~~ ^{Fifth} World Trade Union Congress will discuss the following agenda items as proposed by the 22nd Session of the Executive Committee:

H The activities of the ^{WFTU} and present tasks of the trade unions for peace and against imperialism, for peaceful co-existence, universal and complete disarmament and for the achievement of the workers' economic and social demands.

H The development of trade union activities and solidarity in the people's struggle for the eradication of colonialism..

3. In order to prepare and facilitate a full preparatory discussion of these themes among the workers and to increase their struggle and unity of action, the World Federation of Trade Unions is submitting for consideration by workers and trade unions, without distinction, a draft programme of trade

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union action in the present stage of the defence of the workers' interests and rights. The W.F.T.U. thus wishes to reaffirm its united and universal character and gather all experiences gained in democratic struggles which are taking place throughout the world in defence of the workers, regardless of the policy which the workers themselves and the trade unions leading them profess.

Discussions and talks will help to strengthen unity of the labour world. They will likewise help to enrich the general policy of the world trade union movement towards the struggle of the classes against imperialist monopolies.

I. THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD TOGETHER WITH ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES CAN SOLVE THE PRESENT PROBLEMS OF MANKIND

4. The Fifth World Trade Union Congress will meet at a time when two different social systems have been formed in the world, when one-third of mankind has already set out to build a new life in the name of true democracy and freedom, the well-being and happiness of the working people. The socialist system is growing and expanding steadily and it is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The capitalist system is rotting away, it is shrinking and its internal contradictions are becoming more and more acute every day. The complete defeat of capitalism is inevitable. It is an objective law governing the development of humanity and there is no force in the world that can arrest this historical process.

The period since the ^{Fourth} ~~the~~ World Trade Union Congress in 1957 has confirmed the irreversible superiority of socialism over capitalism, of all the forces of peace and the labour movement over the reactionaries and the forces of war. It has been marked in the national and international trade union field by a remarkable upsurge in united struggles by the workers of all countries for the maintenance

of peace, the liquidation of the shameful colonial system and the improvement of the living standards of working people.

5. This growing militancy goes hand in hand with the increasing organisation of workers in trade unions, especially in the socialist countries and those recently liberated. This phenomenon reflects, on the one hand, the growing activities of trade unions in the construction of a socialist society and, on the other hand, the growing resistance of the working class to exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and the monopolies.

6. While in 1945, there were roughly 70 million organised trade unionists in the world, today there are more than 175 million. Of these, 107 million are members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is the only organisation to unite in its ranks workers and trade unions belonging to different economic and social systems. The trade union movement, taken as a whole, is a huge and growing force today which attests to the ever-growing awareness and class organisation of the working people.

7. These developments have been greatly stimulated by the favourable situation created in recent years by the profound changes which have occurred in the world and which open up wonderful possibilities for the working class and all humanity. What are these changes?

8. Thanks to the constructive work and enthusiasm of their peoples, who have freed themselves from capitalist exploitation; the socialist countries have achieved historic successes. The growth of the socialist camp is adding great strength to the international working class.

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9. The general rapid, planned advance of the socialist countries presents an increasingly striking contrast to the anarchic, uneven development and economic instability of the capitalist system. Completely dominated by the monopolies, weakened by its internal contradictions, undermined by repeated economic crises and chronic mass unemployment, and shaken by the national liberation movement and powerful working class struggles, the foundations and sphere of influence of this system are shrinking and disintegrating rapidly. It is thus entering a new stage in which its general crisis is becoming worse.

10. The imperialist monopolies are trying to find a way out and to maintain their enormous profits. By means of state monopoly capitalism, and in order to create one single instrument, they are combining their power and the state machinery in order to strengthen their hold over the economy and all aspects of national life.

They are aggravating this development in the name of economic and political integration. They are continuously swelling arms expenditure and increase war preparations. They are stepping up the exploitation of the working class and of the broad mass of the working people as well as the pillage of economically under-developed countries by camouflaging their ventures behind so-called assistance plans.

11. This growing domination leads to stronger internal contradictions within the system itself. Exploitation of the working class is becoming greater, sharpening the class struggle. At the same time, the monopolies are accelerating concentration in industry, agriculture and trade and attack the small and medium peasantry, the middle classes in towns and the widest sections of society.

12. The capitalist system, in fact, is showing itself to be incapable of solving the important problems of our time. Each day it reveals its inability to fully utilise the productive forces and to ensure the general development of these forces, or the application of technical and scientific achievements, such as automation, in the workers' interests. The productive capacity of the most highly industrialised imperialist countries, mainly, United States, cannot be used systematically to the utmost. The monopolies and governments that they control cannot provide full employment or higher material and cultural standards for the workers and the people, despite demagogical promises, while there are extensive areas which suffer from unemployment, low wages, poverty and even hunger.

The anti-democratic, authoritarian trend of the ruling classes in capitalist countries, the aim of which is to restrict and destroy political liberties, is being intensified.

All these facts appear in different forms and at different times in the various countries, but their common direction betrays the depth of the crisis in capitalist society and in the ~~imperialist~~ policy, headed by the United States. *of imperialists*

13. For these reasons, ever-growing sections of the population are showing their opposition to the policy of the monopolies, which more and more clearly appear as the main enemy of the workers and of the people. The struggle waged by the working class and the people generally on behalf of their democratic, economic and social demands, against the aggressive policy of imperialism, for peace, for universal and complete disarmament and national independence is growing wider and stronger.

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14. The American monopolies are the most powerful and the most aggressive. It is they who decide the policy of the largest imperialist state.

Stifling the national independence movement, they are crushing freedom and democracy wherever they can. They are behind the policy of preparing for another war and the arms race, from which they make fantastic profits at the expense of the peoples. American imperialism is at the head of world reaction and advocates the policy of cold war and force, which arouses the anger and growing opposition of workers and all who desire peace and prosperity.

15. The working class must therefore strengthen its fight against the capitalist monopolies and their aggressive plans. The fight for peace is today the urgent task of all mankind.

Big popular movements have been conducted in all continents in defence of peace and democratic liberties and against imperialism. The most typical of these during the recent period was illustrated by the victory of the Cuban people over the aggressive policy of the United States and in defence of their social revolutionary achievements.

16. The peoples' national liberation movement has won magnificent successes of world historic importance, heralding the collapse of the colonial system. Since the ~~4th~~ ^{Fourth} World Trade Union Congress, 21 countries have acquired national sovereignty at the expense of imperialism, which is thus weakened and deprived of a part of its principal resources.

By their heroic struggle and victories, many nations and millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America

have set out on the way to economic and social progress and the building of new, national and democratic states. The peace policy of countries in the socialist camp and the active solidarity of the international working class have greatly contributed to the far-reaching successes of the liberation struggle of colonial peoples. They have profoundly shaken the economic and political foundations of imperialism. These successes give fresh impetus to the liberation struggle of those peoples who are still oppressed and encourage anti-imperialist action by all peoples, offering ever greater prospects for the policy of peace.

17. The development of anti-imperialist struggles in the under-developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America have been particularly strong. These struggles were openly directed against exploitation by foreign monopolies and for agrarian reforms, true economic independence and democratic liberties. The weakening of imperialism is a victory of paramount importance for workers all over the world. It facilitates both the struggle of oppressed people in the colonies and the struggle of the working class in the colonising countries.

18. The powerful forces of the socialist countries, of the international working class, of the national liberation movement and of all those who fight for peace and progress have together brought deep changes in the international situation in favour of the working class.

19. In these favourable conditions, which open wonderful new prospects for the workers and the people, the ~~W.F.T.U.~~ ^{W.F.T.U.} considers that its main task is to wage a decisive struggle for unity in the trade union movement, for the unity of all working class forces.

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Unity of workers all over the world will make it possible to defeat the forces of reaction, imperialism and war, to preserve peace and to achieve further success in the struggle for democracy, national independence of peoples and social progress for all mankind.



Pl. caps

II. - WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE - IT CAN BE AVOIDED. PEACE CAN BE PRESERVED AND STRENGTHENED

20.

The vital problem of our age is to preserve and strengthen peace and to prevent a new world war. With the terrible means of destruction and wholesale extermination that exist today, a new world war would be a calamity for all peoples and for all countries. Workers must be more vigilant than ever before.

21.

So long as imperialism remains, the danger of war will continue. The capitalist monopolies, and especially the American monopolies, are creating this danger for humanity. They are responsible for tension in the world. They are the instigators and organisers of aggression and interference, of provocation and military blocs, which they try to justify on the grounds of the so-called threat offered by the socialist countries.

22.

The imperialist military blocs, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and the Central Treaty Organisation, are instruments for preparing war. They are directed against the socialist countries and the peoples' national liberation movement. These blocs are used by the ruling circles of the imperialist powers to crush democratic and progressive forces and to sustain dictatorial, reactionary governments.

23.

The workers and the people must judge them by their deeds and not by their words.

24.

They can see that it is the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are the initiators and tireless advocates of the propositions for general and complete disarmament, for peaceful co-existence and that they are

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the defenders of the national independence of peoples. The one-sided reduction in the armed forces carried out in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries confirms fully this peace policy. It is in contrast to the evident bad will of the imperialist powers which continue in their policy of armament and preparations for war.

23. The workers and peoples can also see that the imperialists, above all those in the United States, are organising armed aggression against Cuba and are threatening the independence of its people; that they are sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements, intervening politically and militarily in Laos and increasing their arms supplies to South Vietnam thus hindering the unification of Vietnam; that they are violating the armistice agreement in Korea and continue to occupy South Korea, supporting the fascist coup d'etat and intensifying oppression of the South Korean people's struggle for the unification of their country.

24. They can see that the American imperialists actively support the colonialist occupation of West Irian in violation of the Indonesian people's wishes; that they occupy the Chinese territory of Taiwan and are stepping up provocations against the People's Republic of China, refusing to recognise the only legitimate government of the great Chinese people, in contradiction to plain common sense and world opinion.

25. The workers and the peoples can see that sixteen years after the end of the Second World War, no peace treaty has yet been concluded with Germany and that until now the conclusion of such a treaty has been prevented by American imperialism in order to allow the revival of West German militarism. The West German State is today an influential

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member of the aggressive NATO bloc. Former nazi generals are in command of the troops of this organisation and are seeking to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. In France and in the other West European states military bases have been put at their disposal.

The danger arising from West German imperialism is becoming more serious every day because the West German militarists have become the fiercest enemies of disarmament and a relaxation of tension in Europe and in the world. They openly demand a modification of the borders established after the Second World War and are conducting a continuous and systematic campaign against the socialist countries. West Berlin has been changed into a centre of provocation directed against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries.

The transformation of West Berlin into an open and demilitarised city has become an urgent necessity, reflecting the interests and the security of the peoples of Europe and world peace.

American imperialism continuously intensifies the restoration of militarism in Japan, imposes the Japanese-American "Security" Treaty, thereby making a serious attempt against the interests of the Japanese people and threatening peace in Asia and world peace.

26. The workers and peoples realise more and more clearly that the source of international tension and danger of war lies precisely in the aggressive policy of the U.S.A. and all Western countries aimed fundamentally against the socialist camp.

27. The dangerous and burdensome arms race enables the monopolies to seize the wealth belonging to the people. The governments who obey their orders make the working

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people bear an ever heavier tax burden. In the capitalist countries military expenditure absorbs an essential part of the State budgets to the detriment of sums intended for social needs, for the construction of homes, for the setting up of schools and medical establishments, while the profits of the arms manufacturers reach fabulous heights. Millions of unemployed only receive a meagre allowance. Hunger is rife in the vast territories of Asia, Africa and Latin America looted by the colonialists. ✓

28. It is the workers and ordinary people of the capitalist, colonial and under-developed countries who suffer most from this policy. The war policy goes against the vital interests of the working people.

That is why these people have every reason to wage a decisive struggle against the monopolies who are keeping the world on the brink of war and are worsening their conditions. All who cherish peace and justice and want higher wages, higher pensions and allowances, a comfortable home, schools for their children, must fight with all their strength against the policy of the monopolies and against imperialism. ✓

29. The supporters of the policy of war, including certain U.S. trade union leaders, are trying to convince the workers that disarmament would entail a reduction in employment and that the production of arms guarantees prosperity. This is shameful hypocrisy which only benefits the arms trusts. Increased war budgets can never make for a balanced economy. A war economy has not spared the American working class chronic, widespread unemployment. Neither has it solved the problem of how to provide full employment in other capitalist countries whose governments are devoting an essential part of the State budget to the

production of armaments. The enormous sums devoured each year by the arms race must be used for the expansion of peaceful branches of production and should be used to satisfy the needs of the peoples.

30. The advocates of war assure the workers that the roots of war lie in human nature and that it is not within the power of the ordinary people to prevent it. This is a vulgar lie. Although the imperialists still want to provoke a world conflagration, fortunately the time is over for mankind when imperialism can arbitrarily decide whether or not to unleash a war. In present conditions, war is not inevitable: it can be prevented.

31. Now it is other forces which determine to an increasing degree international policy. It is the peaceful and powerful socialist camp; it is the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are striving to win independence; it is the neutral states who are in favour of peaceful co-existence; the international workers' movement and the great mass of trade unions with tens of millions of members; the World Peace Movement which is a broad, free and voluntary coalition of all groups and persons waging a consistent battle for the preservation of peace; the countless number of simple, honest, peace-loving people throughout the world.

32. It is intolerable that the selfish actions of the monopolies should bring the world towards the fire of a nuclear war. The organised will of all workers can and must become an insurmountable stumbling block for the aggressors.

The international working class is the leading force of our time. History has entrusted it with the greatest

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responsibility for the destiny of the world, of humanity and all future generations. The working class must show unceasing vigilance to defeat the evil forces of war.

33. That is why it is essential to mobilise all forces of the workers and trade unions in the struggle to ensure that the principles of peaceful co-existence between states with different economic and social systems may triumph.

Peaceful co-existence means the elimination of war as a means of settling international disputes. It means the relaxation of international tension and the development of peaceful competition. It creates for the working class the most favourable conditions for improving international trade union relations and developing unity among the workers. For the trade union movement, peaceful co-existence, of course, does not mean acceptance of capitalist exploitation, colonial oppression and class collaboration. On the contrary, the struggle for peaceful co-existence creates new possibilities for a great upsurge in the class struggle in capitalist countries and in the movement for national liberation in the colonial and dependent countries. Successes won in these struggles in turn strengthen peaceful co-existence.

34. The World Federation of Trade Unions appeals to all trade unions and their members to persevere in the struggle for peace. All workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals, in all walks of life, who cherish the ideals of peace and progress, must take part in this noble task.

35. If they are united in their determination to safeguard peace, the workers of all countries have sufficient strength to ensure it. They can and must:

- H obtain universal and complete disarmament with strict international control;
- H prevent the resumption of nuclear tests and ensure that the manufacture of atomic weapons is stopped;
- H prevent weapons of mass destruction being put at the disposal of the German and Japanese militarists and obtain the abrogation of the Japan-American military treaty;
- H impose the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the transformation of West Berlin into a free, demilitarised city;
- H obtain the solution of all international disputes by peaceful means through negotiations;
- H ensure the dissolution of all military blocs, the removal of all military bases on foreign soil and the evacuation of all troops from the territory of other states;
- H ensure genuine respect for equality between states and for their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, prevent aggression against the Cuban Revolution and end foreign intervention in the Congo and Laos.

36. In their struggle to safeguard peace, the workers are successfully developing their actions and are using all forms of mass action in close liaison with other sections of the people.

Relying on the power and influence of the socialist and other peaceful states, the international working class and broad sections of the people, by their firm, active struggle, will be able to isolate the aggressors, put an end to the arms race, force the imperialists to conclude an agreement for universal disarmament, and prevent the unleashing of a new world war.

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III. - COLONIALISM MUST BE COMPLETELY ERADICATED

37. The victorious struggle against colonialism, which is the disgrace and scourge of our time and an acute form of exploitation and colonialist plunder, has entered a new phase. The end of colonialism is inevitable.

This great success is due to the victories and heroism of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to the shining example, the active support and the peace policy of the socialist camp and the powerful blows it delivers daily against imperialism and colonialism, and to the solidarity shown by the workers and trade unions of all countries. By carrying on their struggle, by force of arms or otherwise according to the circumstances, these peoples are now able to put an end to colonial oppression.

38. In 15 years, hundreds of millions of men and women have freed themselves from colonial servitude. Many politically independent states have risen from the ruins of colonial empires, undermining the foundations of imperialism and making an ever-increasing contribution to the strengthening of world peace.

39. However, millions of men and women still suffer under the colonial yoke. The imperialists stop at nothing to crush the national liberation movement. The French colonialists are continuing the war against the heroic Algerian people. The Portuguese colonialists are massacring the people of Angola, while the Belgian imperialists are doing all they can to divide and retain their hold on the Congo. The South African rascists subject the South African people to terrible oppression, the British and Dutch imperialists are manoeuvring against the people of Kenya and Indonesia. The people of Latin America are still oppressed by American imperialism.

40. All this clearly shows that, despite the defeats and their withdrawal in various parts of the world, the imperialists still cling to the wreckage of colonialism. The invasion of Cuba organised by the ruling circles of the United States has torn the anti-colonial mask from American imperialism and exposed its true role as the worst enemy of freedom for colonial peoples. One of the most tragic examples of these methods was the murder of Prime Minister Lumumba, which evoked a wave of indignation throughout the world. Concerning the events in the Congo, a heavy responsibility falls to the imperialist circles and, in the first place, to the U.S.A., for having used Mr. Hammarskjöld as an instrument for the suppression of the liberation movement in the Congo.

41. It is possible and necessary to end the reign of despotism and hunger, forced labour and racial oppression, obscurantism and economic looting. The complete and final eradication of the colonial system is a primary task for the peoples and for all forces of peace and progress in the world.

42. In this situation, the trade unions of the colonial and under-developed countries have an important part to play in the struggle of their people for independence and social progress. By fulfilling this role the trade union movement is becoming a leading spirit in the great struggle for national liberation valid for all mankind and makes a powerful contribution to the struggle of the international working class. The latter, in turn, has the important task of showing active solidarity with the peoples and workers of countries fighting against colonialism. It must give them all possible help and oppose the colonialist bloc with a united front of everyone in the world who struggles for the right of the peoples to freedom and independence, thus

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bringing decisive aid to their fight against imperialist oppression.

The mutual aid and close international solidarity which joins the workers and peoples of colonial countries with their brothers elsewhere is thus developing.

43. The colonialists do not surrender their power willingly. Still less do they make a gift of freedom to the oppressed nations and peoples. What they try to do is to introduce new shapes and forms of colonialism.

Workers in the newly-liberated countries, therefore, must fight not only to destroy the old military, political and economic forms of colonialism, but also to defeat the new forms in which colonialism now appears. By financial interference, trade agreements and so-called programmes of economic development, in order to maintain their domination and to keep the young states at the mercy of foreign capital, the monopolies strive to control the economy of these countries and to pillage their basic raw materials and home markets.

44. If necessary, they install governments to do their bidding, picked from national reactionary circles, and prevent the people from managing their own affairs independently and democratically.

To attain this aim, the neo-colonialists use corruption and violence, supporting simultaneously or alternatively feudal, capitalist and bourgeois groups, or in any case privileged ones interested in preserving by all means the feudal structure or in promoting new ones of a capitalist type.

To these ends they work to involve new states in all sorts of groupings, which limit their sovereignty. They aggravate antagonisms between tribes and nations, and impose economic

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relations which make the young states dependent upon the imperialist powers and on the monopolies. The colonialists do not act alone in these activities but are supported by their military blocs and alliances and most generously and actively by the American imperialists who are doing all they can to spread the forms of neo-colonialism used in Latin America.

45. American imperialism is the worst enemy of those who are fighting to achieve or strengthen their independence. It is the mainstay of colonialism. To remove its false mask of anti-colonialism is an essential prerequisite for the success of the struggle for the eradication of colonialism.

46. In their efforts to maintain and expand their influence and to implant neo-colonialism in the recently liberated countries, the colonial powers are greatly aided by the undermining, corruptive and disruptive activities of the leadership in the I.C.F.T.U., which is used by bourgeois governments to prevent unity in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

47. The stand and statements of the I.C.F.T.U. on the Congo, which were openly hostile to its immediate independence, are not the only manifestation of this dependence vis-a-vis imperialism; the All-African Trade Union Conference in Casablanca brought forth many other examples.

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48. To lay the foundation, for a happy future, the workers of Asia, Africa and Latin America are seeking to strengthen their unity in order to consolidate their national independence, safeguard the integrity of their countries and to create the conditions required for free, independent development. In the specific conditions prevailing in these countries, and by supporting the general political struggle for independence, trade union action on economic and social demands is an important feature of the part played by the trade unions in ensuring workers' participation in the struggles for independent economic development and a profound democratic transformation of their society. ✓

49. The generous, unconditional assistance given by the socialist countries, who are the sincere, honest friends of all oppressed peoples, open up vast possibilities for countries which have recently acquired independence. It can be said with certainty that it is now possible for them, using the aid from socialist countries and through their own efforts to create and develop their industry and agriculture in the national interest and without harmful penetration by the imperialists and foreign monopoly capital, and thus advance along the path of social progress.

50. Such development can only be ensured by a broad national front including all patriotic forces and those whose interests are incompatible with the interests of the imperialists and foreign monopolists. Such a front cannot succeed unless it is solidly based on a close alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The working class should play the main role in the establishment of these national fronts and in their activities. It is becoming daily more aware of the

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importance of the role of the trade unions as mass and class organisations. It is acting to preserve the class nature of the trade unions, basing its relations with the national bourgeoisie and other classes on co-operation in the common fight against imperialism without abandoning for a moment the vital interests of the workers.

51. The independence of the trade union organisations is an essential condition for the struggle waged in the interests of all the people and especially of the working class. Class independence, unity and support for the masses are essential for the trade unions in their struggles against imperialism and colonialism, for the development of a national economy in conformity with the interests of the people as a whole and for the respect of democracy.

52. The agricultural workers' fight for better wages, against unemployment and for genuine agrarian reforms, and the worker's struggle for a greater purchasing power, for better social legislation and the full exercise of his trade union rights, are increasingly bound up with action to eject foreign monopolies and to develop the State sector of the national economy on a democratic basis. They are connected with action to achieve a policy of industrialisation which will properly exploit national resources without plundering by the imperialists and an independent monetary policy that will end subordination to imperialist financial policies; an economic development policy ensuring true independence and using all the country's resources in the interests of the people.

These present-day urgent objectives go hand in hand with the fight for the realisation and defence of economic and political independence, the elimination of authoritarian dictatorial methods of government, the recognition of the

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right of the people to have a share in determining national policy and guarantees all democratic rights. The contribution of the trade unions to the formation of national and democratic states is decisive in these countries.

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53.

To accomplish these historic tasks the workers and trade unions of colonial and newly independent countries maintain relations of solidarity and friendship with the progressive international trade union movement.

The W.F.T.U., which has always been the best ally of workers in these countries and has fought with all its power against the shameful colonial system, will continue this policy and give its support and political solidarity. The international trade union committees for solidarity with the workers and people of Algeria and of South Africa, which were set up on the initiative of the W.F.T.U., are practical evidence of this attitude.

The W.F.T.U. considers the creation of the All-African Trade Union Federation to be a great success of the forces fighting for the unity of the trade union movement in Africa. The fight of the African trade union members for unity on the basis of anti-colonialism, against the new forms of colonial oppression, against imperialism, feudalism and reaction, inflicts heavy blows to the disruptive forces represented by imperialism and the I.C.F.T.U. The latter ones will not renounce their actions inimical to unity and must, therefore, be fought decisively. The African workers who every day understand more clearly who are their friends and who are their enemies can, if united and firmly tied to their brothers and sisters on the other continents fighting for the same aims, contribute fully to the definitive liquidation of colonialism and to the defeat of the new forms of colonial oppression.

The All-African Trade Union Federation and the African workers have in this respect a sincere friend in the W.F.T.U. who extends a helping hand to them.

54. The W.F.T.U. calls on the workers and trade unions throughout the world to struggle for the following:

- H support for the heroic struggle waged by the Algerian people for national independence and integrity of their national territory, an end to the war of aggression waged against them;
- H support for the campaign by the South African people for freedom and equality;
- H support for the patriots in Angola against ruthless repression;
- H for freedom for all peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke by putting a final end to colonialism and the thwarting of imperialist adventures against young independent states such as the Congo and Laos.

55. It points out that the workers and trade unions in the capitalist countries in particular have a great obligation of solidarity to fulfil in putting an end to colonialist relationships of every kind and in compelling their governments to establish new relations with liberated countries based on equality, respect for national independence and mutual interest, taking into consideration the real needs of these countries in regard to independent economic development.

56. The W.F.T.U. supports the struggle waged by workers and trade unions in the newly independent countries for:

- H higher wages, guaranteed payment of agreed wages, and a guaranteed minimum wage;
- H shorter working hours without loss of pay;
- H the establishment and extension of social security and social insurance;

- ↳ the right to work;
- ↳ the introduction and general application of a system of collective agreement and the annulment of all individual contracts; trade union participation in the settlement of problems arising between employers and wage-earners;
- ↳ the stocking of markets with food and essential products and the reduction of their prices;
- ↳ the introduction of paid holidays;
- ↳ vocational training;
- ↳ the ending of wage, hiring and dismissal systems enforced by the colonial regime.

57. By developing their actions for their vital interests, the trade unions of the under-developed countries create the most favourable conditions for the mobilisation of the masses to fight for the following demands:

- ↳ nationalisation of foreign monopoly undertakings, the building and development of a national industry and a State sector; the expulsion of foreign monopolies from these countries;
- ↳ agrarian reforms benefitting the peasantry, particularly poor peasants and agricultural workers, abolishing colonial ownership and the remnants of feudalism and providing the poor peasants and agricultural workers with assistance for increasing production;
- ↳ democratisation of the State, making it possible to mobilise all national forces in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, and against military dictatorships and undemocratic measures hostile to the people endangering national independence;

a policy of co-operation with all countries and the organisation of state control of foreign trade in order to safeguard it from imperialist domination and interference;

fully independent participation by workers and trade unions in the preparation and organisation of economic plans and programmes for developing the national economy.

58. The W.F.T.U. which has always supported these demands and policies, will continue to work for a further strengthening of active solidarity by the whole international trade union movement with the working class and popular forces that consistently struggle, in their respective countries, to free themselves from the imperialist, colonial yoke and to achieve through independence and peace more democratic, advanced living standards.

The more the workers unite in class organisations at both national and international levels, the more they accelerate the liberation from colonialism and the defeat of imperialism.

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IV. - THE WORKERS IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, BUILDERS OF
A NEW WORLD

59. Free workers, masters of their destinies and builders of their happiness, are erecting over immense areas covering more than a quarter of the surface of the globe, the magnificent construction of the most just social regime in the world. The world socialist system has shown the world the enormous possibilities that socialism is offering to all working people. It is showing in a convincing way that millions of men can at last live free and happy without capitalists, without big landowners and without bankers. In the whole of the socialist system the exploitation of man by man has been or is being abolished for ever. The successes of socialism show like a powerful light the workers in all the countries of the world the way to a happy future.

60. In a historically short space of time, the working class of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries have built new towns, numerous factories and mines, electricity stations and railways and created modern equipment and machinery, lightening human labour and improving the living conditions of the whole of society. The triumphal fulfilment of the policy of socialist industrialisation has led to the harmonious development of the economy of the socialist countries and the improvement of the material well-being of the working masses and the full flowering of human personality.

61. The national economy of the socialist countries is developing and making gigantic progress. In the U.S.S.R., production has increased 45 times as compared with the period preceding the October Revolution. The Soviet Union has made an enormous advance in scientific development and the

training of specialists. It leads the world in scientific and technical progress. It was a Soviet man—the cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin—who for the first time in history, flew into space. The era for new discoveries in the Universe has arrived. This wonderful triumph of human intelligence also represents a great victory for the new social system.

The working class of the People's Republic of China is making admirable progress. In 1960 industrial production in China was already 13 times greater than in 1949. Enormous successes are also being achieved by the other socialist countries.

62.

In close, fraternal collaboration, based on reasonable planning permitting the most rational use of social and natural resources, the peoples of the socialist countries are working successfully to surpass the capitalist system, in the shortest possible time, in absolute volume of industrial and agricultural production and to surpass the most highly-developed capitalist countries in production per capita and in the standard of living.

63.

The great victories won by the socialist countries and the steady improvement in the people's material and cultural standard of living offer striking proof of the basic advantages of socialism over capitalism. Socialism has created new relationships between men based on freedom, equality and mutual support. It has opened wide prospects for the struggle for the happiness of man, for a maximum improvement of his material and cultural conditions and for the development of the ability and talents of man.

64.

During the development of the socialist states the awareness of the working class has increased unceasingly and is

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shown by a new attitude towards work in socialist competition. The workers understand that they are working for themselves, for the good of the whole people. The conditions of socialism, the creative initiative of the labour of the working class and the joyous prospects for its future, inspire it to overcome difficulties which occur in the formation of a new society. The steady increase in the national income, the increase in the real wage of the workers and employees, the ending of unemployment, the increase in the circulation of goods and the buying power of the population show the improvement in the people's living standard in the socialist states.

65.

Apart from cash remuneration, the workers receive various payments, facilities and advantages, as, for example, free medical care, pensions and allowances, allowances for temporary inability to work, free education including higher education, grants and scholarships. The trade unions manage a large number of recreation and holiday homes. The reduction of hours of work is being put into effect in the socialist countries without reduction in wages and is even accompanied by an increase in wages.

66.

The State subsidies for health and public education and for social and cultural needs are increasing. The building of homes has developed on a scale that is unprecedented in previous years in all the socialist countries. During the last period alone, millions of workers have been installed in new and modern homes. In the socialist countries, rents are the lowest in the world. The socialist states also grant large credits for the construction of schools and medical centres, for children's establishments and for theatres, canteens and sports grounds.

67. In the Soviet Union during the Seven-Year Plan (1959-1965), the real wages of industrial and office workers as well as those of peasants will rise by 40% per head and national income by 60 to 63%. In 1960, the transfer of all industrial and office workers to the 7- and 6-hour day was completed throughout the country. This reduction in working hours was followed by a substantial wage increase for a large number of workers. The average work week in the U.S.S.R. is now 39.4 hours.

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68. A further reduction in the working day is planned for the near future. As from 1964, a 30-35 hour work week will be introduced. Taxation is being abolished for industrial and office workers. An unprecedented programme of housing construction, financed by the State, is being carried out. The Soviet Union leads the world in the number of apartments built per 1,000 inhabitants. Enormous progress has been made in public education, 39% of all workers are receiving secondary school or university training. All socialist countries are following this path.

69. At the present stage of the development of the world socialist system the organisation of the working class has also increased. In all the socialist countries the trade unions are the largest organisations of the working masses and they are functioning on the basis of a broad democracy. They take part actively in the management of production.

70. The trade unions take part in drawing up plans for the development of the national economy; they intervene in the state organisations and the social institutions on behalf of the workers and employees on all problems of work, daily life and culture. The laws concerning all these problems are drawn up with the direct participation of the trade unions.

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71. The trade unions run the social insurances and have a decisive influence on labour legislation. They present legal provisions concerning the working and living conditions of the workers and employees and they follow their implementation. They control the state of labour safety and the health conditions. The trade unions play a decisive role in the solution of labour disputes. For all these tasks, they have the widest rights and guarantees at their disposal, especially at the places of work. They carry out a great deal of education work and they are responsible for raising the cultural and technical level of the workers. For these purposes, the trade unions have a large network of cultural establishments at their disposal.

72. Nowhere in the world have the trade unions as many rights in the life of society or freedom in their activities and responsibilities as in the socialist countries. To the extent socialist society develops, they observe how their rights that are protected by law and form an integral part of socialist democracy are continually growing and how their influence on all ways of social life is increasing steadily.

73. The trade unions in the socialist countries are helping by every means at their disposal to strengthen the unity of the trade union movement. They are constantly developing their international relations with the trade unions of other countries and are waging an active struggle for peace and friendship between the peoples against imperialism and colonialism.

Each victory won by workers in the socialist countries constitutes a fresh blow against imperialism, a further strengthening of world peace and an invaluable aid to the world working class.

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74.

By building a new social system, workers in the socialist countries are fulfilling their international duty towards the world working class. Their victories prove indisputedly the superiority of socialism over capitalism and exercise a profound influence on the working class movement in capitalist countries; they strengthen the position of trade union organisations and facilitate the struggle waged by workers, and trade unions in the capitalist, colonial, dependent and newly liberated countries for their social and economic demands, for national independence and for a lasting peace.

75.

The example of the socialist countries encourages and mobilises the oppressed and exploited peoples in their fight for a new life and for the elimination of exploitation and poverty on earth. The united struggle waged against imperialism by the workers of all countries, in turn, is of great assistance to the workers in the socialist countries.

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V. - THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE FIGHT FOR THE WORKERS' SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CLAIMS, AGAINST CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION

76. All the wealth of the world is the fruit of the labour of the workers. But in the capitalist world, it is a small minority of capitalists and monopolists who seize all the produce of the labour of millions of men and women, while famine, hardship, poverty, illiteracy and racial discrimination continue to spread through a great part of this world. Profits increase unceasingly on the one hand, while the part of the national income given to the wage-earners is reduced.

77. In present conditions characterised by the weakening of imperialism, the shrinking of its markets, economic instability and the loss of colonial wealth, the monopolies can no longer content themselves with mere exploitation of the workers. To maintain or increase their profits they are intensifying and perfecting the exploitation of labour, attacking the living standards of the working class and the working people as a whole and they are depriving them of their democratic freedoms and trade union rights. By hard fights, the working class of certain countries has succeeded in obtaining the fulfilment of certain vital demands. In many capitalist countries the living standard remains low. The social advantages and improvements achieved by action are constantly reduced, especially under the pretext of different austerity plans for the workers. Since the ~~war~~ Fourth World Trade Union Congress in 1957, in all the capitalist countries, prices have had a general tendency to rise. In many of them, the purchasing power of the working class has dropped and, in a large number, it is lower than before the war.

78. The monopolies, masters of the means of production, of transport, press and publicity and the Banks are extending their domination more and more over all the aspects of working class life, in the undertakings and outside them, worsening the conditions of the proletariat.

79. By inflation and a so-called policy of austerity, they are making the workers pay for war and colonial adventures and the costs of the arms policy. They are using to their advantage the state budget in the form of subsidies, preferential tariffs and tax rebates at the expense of projects useful for the people and to the detriment of social and cultural facilities and the interests of the working class as well as other sections of the working people. This policy of the monopolies tending to achieve maximum profits, is also being realised by a crude differentiation between the profits of different undertakings. The disequilibrium is extended even to the existing working conditions provoking in this way the reaction and fight of the workers. In some advanced capitalist countries this situation is even more difficult because of the economic, political and military domination of American imperialism.

In their struggle, the workers of these countries are waging a consistent action against this domination and against reactionary forces within the countries.

80. In order to reach their economic aims, the monopolies practice a productivity policy utilizing scientific discoveries, new organisational methods of work and most modern machinery, for an increase in their profits and their power.

The consequences of this capitalist utilization of productivity lie heavily on the shoulders of the workers. By suffering from inhuman paces of work, and an extra-

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ordinary expenditure of energy, the working class expends more and more of its labour power. It has less and less opportunity to compensate for it, even though this additional effort creates greater needs in addition to new requirements arising from modern life.

81. This development brings a rise in work accidents, an increase in occupational diseases, especially nervous complaints, overwork and premature ageing which, in many cases, make it impossible for a worker to continue in his job or to find another.

The uncertainty of the morrow created by insufficient social protection, dismissals, continuous or increased unemployment, preoccupies the workers and their families.

82. In the United States, the richest capitalist country, there are almost 6 million workers either completely out of work or on short-time, the highest number in the so-called "free world". Thousands of workers over 35 years of age are turned into the streets there. In Canada more than 700,000 workers are unemployed, in Italy chronic unemployment is affecting more than 1½ million wage-earners. There are millions of workers out of a job and on short-time in Japan. Whole sections of industry in many countries, like the coal industry and the automobile industry, are experiencing a wave of mass dismissals.

83. In the countries and the industries that are most modernised technically, the automation of production, which in the socialist system is opening the way to an abundance of material goods and to freedom from physically difficult work, is bringing in the capitalist system serious social consequences for the whole of the working class.

The introduction of new techniques and new methods of work organisation is expressed by a growing concentration of capital and the accumulation of huge profits in the hands of the monopolies. This brings dismissals, reduction of wages and chronic mass unemployment for the workers, making the wage-earners who are kept on at their jobs, into accessories for the machines and for the production. It is used for fresh attacks against the workers, for the introduction of new methods of exploitation, new forms of remuneration and new classifications which do not respect trade qualifications. All these measures are increasing the above-mentioned methods of exploitation.

84. In an attempt to increase their domination and impose their policy on the workers, the monopolies are attacking trade union liberties, the right to strike, traditional forms of democracy. Whenever there is an opportunity, they are doing their utmost to reinforce the authoritarian character of their state power.

85. The workers in countries still under the colonial yoke continue to suffer from inhuman living conditions without the guarantees and protection, relative as they may be, granted to their brothers in other countries and continents as regards wages, labour protection, social security, education and vocational training. These discrepancies and these differences in the economic and social conditions from one continent to another, from one country or region to another are systematically aggravated and used by trusts to maintain the division and to increase their domination and profits.

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86. The ideologists of capitalism and those who support them in the trade union movement are doing everything possible to turn the workers away from an active class struggle and to make them accept the evils of the capitalist regime. There are added to "traditional" methods of corruption, discrimination and paternalism, new mystifications. In order to whitewash and beautify capitalism in the eyes of the workers, various lying theories like that of "people's capitalism" and "human relations between employers and workers", "equal social partnership" and "labour capital association" are invented. The bourgeoisie is trying to weaken the class trade unions as well as any organised movement by the workers which is not willing to be reduced to the rank of a "yellow" trade union.

87. However, the harsh reality of the capitalist countries pitilessly exposes the demagogy of the advocates of capitalism. All the attempts to justify class collaboration have been pitilessly refuted by reality, as illustrated by the powerful wave of strikes and other mass actions which are unfurling with growing force through ^{out all} the capitalist world where millions of workers have been on strike during the last year alone.

88. These class struggles are growing vigorously throughout the capitalist world and on all continents. They are remarkable for their high militancy proved in strikes and in demonstrations often in the face of cruel repression, for their united character in factories, locally and often nationally, for their mass character and for the development of international solidarity. In all the capitalist countries, they are being waged for identical objectives, especially higher wages, the protection of employment, a reduction in hours of work and the defence of trade union rights. Frequently the workers add even higher objectives

for democracy, social progress and peace.

Far-reaching successes have been reached in these struggles. The workers were frequently able to impose their wage claims together with other pressing demands. On some occasions, these struggles brought new gains, and in many countries, they checked attacks against living standards and the workers' rights. They helped to lay the basis for still more powerful movements resulting in even greater victories.

89. During these battles it has been possible to note the active and courageous participation of young people and women workers. The trade unions must give the necessary support to their demands.

Office staffs, civil servants, technicians and more and more often also engineers and managerial staffs, take an active part in these struggles.

The bourgeoisie and its ideologists in the labour movement in order to speak of the elimination of antagonistic classes and the destruction of class consciousness argue that the number of workers in these categories has risen. On the contrary, by taking an active part in the struggle, these workers prove that they are aware of the community of interests with all exploited workers. The trade unions cannot fail to defend the demands of these sections of the workers and help them to firmly organise.

90. In Western Europe, the monopolies, under the cover of economic integration (Common Market), are increasing their domination at the expense of non-monopoly undertakings. They are provoking the closing of factories and mines, they are speeding up concentration in industry and agriculture and are increasing the exploitation of the

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workers under the pretext of international competition.

The workers of these countries have been waging strong battles against the implications of this policy and the trend towards international unity is growing. To the international alliance of the monopolies, they are opposing more and more vigorously their own international unity without distinction, and are co-ordinating their campaigns.

91. All these workers' struggles develop on the basis of concrete conditions in each industry and in each country. From these class struggles by the men and women workers in the capitalist countries, essential joint demands emerge for the achievement of which broad united action against the monopolies can and must be realised. These are:

- ┌ increased wages, the guarantee of wages and a minimum guaranteed wage. This demand will be for all the wage-earners the fundamental means of satisfying their vital needs and resisting the infringements of capital;
- ┌ the liquidation of all paternal forms of work remuneration; a real increase in wages and the establishment of trade union control over the setting of workers' wages;
- ┌ the reduction of hours of work without loss of pay to counteract the work speed, the overlong working day and to struggle against the evil effects of automation. The reduction in hours of work and higher wages are one way of preventing the abuse of overtime which the workers are compelled to do, so as to make up their wages;
- ┌ the strengthening or extension of guarantees against unemployment and dismissals;
- ┌ extension of the right of negotiation over collective agreements affecting all the interests of the workers (from arrival at the factory till departure);

- ↳ the negotiated settlement of better classifications in relation to the actual trade qualification and the nature of production methods; opposition to any system of payment not based on trade qualifications;
- ↳ development of a professional training independent of the employer, with direct participation of the trade unions in its orientation and realisation in order to eliminate all paternal tendencies;
- ↳ the formation, improvement and extension of social security and insurances (sickness, work accidents, unemployment, dismissal, old-age) financed by the state and the capitalists, to cover all categories of wage-earners and to limit the insecurity of the morrow, as stipulated in the draft Social Security Charter which will be submitted to the ^{Fifth} 5th Congress by the International Trade Union Commission on Social Security set up by the WFTU;
- ↳ the improvement of labour safety under the control of the trade unions for better protection against work speed-ups, accidents and occupational diseases;
- ↳ increase in paid holidays;
- ↳ lowering of the retirement age;
- ↳ the end of all discrimination of race, age, sex, religion, opinion or nationality in employment, pay, trade training or promotion. ✓

92. The defence of the workers' economic and social demands and the struggle for full employment and for the workers' interests in general are closely linked with the struggle to limit the power of the monopolies, for greater democracy and for a policy of peace and social progress.

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The trade unions are fighting for:

H the nationalisation of the main industries on which the power of the monopolies depends and of all the sectors and sources decisive for the well-being of the people, the democratisation of the management of the nationalised industries;

H the reduction of military budgets and the use of the sums freed for the general improvement of living and working conditions;

H the development of a peaceful economy and the building of homes capable of improving the life of all the working people and reducing unemployment and dismissals;

H the development of trade with all the countries of the world with no discrimination; this will help to increase orders in the peaceful branches of industry, to use production capacity, and to reduce unemployment.

The workers' trade unions support the fight of the peasant masses for a democratic land reform giving the land to those who work on it. They fight for an improvement in wages and social insurance for agricultural workers to put them into a position equal to that of industrial workers.

93. In order to attain such objectives it is indispensable to strengthen the class orientation of the trade union members to advance the unity of the workers, to assemble all popular and democratic forces around the working class.

Such an assembly of forces directed against the monopolies, would enable us to carry out changes in the sense of increasing democracy in the capitalist countries which would allow the working class to take an efficient part in political life in the interests of social and economic demands and in favour of the masses of the people who are victims of the politics of the monopolies.

94. The satisfaction of these claims, capable of uniting the working masses, would mark an important step on the road to social progress. The application of these measures, even though not suppressing exploitation of man by man, would allow the limitation of the all-powerful monopolies and would isolate them, allowing the working class to play an even more important role.

95. A growing number of workers realise that only socialism can bring a decisive and lasting improvement to their economic and social situation and free ~~them~~ them from economic and political oppression. But they fight actively against the monopolies and they know that the first duty and sacred obligation of the trade union organisations is to organise their united action for the success of their vital claims and their trade union rights and democratic freedoms.



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VI. - PROTECTION AND EXTENSION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES

96. The achievement of these demands necessitates a bitter struggle for the protection and extension of trade union liberties. The capitalist monopolies and the governments obedient to their will, in their drive for maximum profits and in their anxiety to preserve their political power, continuously attack trade union rights and democratic liberties of the workers.

97. In the same way, they are attacking democracy, tightening their direct grip on the entire State apparatus and are suppressing democratic institutions in various countries or depriving them of their meaning. The protection of trade union rights is an essential factor for the protection of democracy. ✓

98. The imperialists fear the increasing power of the organised working class and the growing activity of the trade unions fighting for the interests of the workers, and they are doing their best to defeat them by force, division and corruption.

A reactionary legislation, hostile to the working class, is being enforced in numerous capitalist countries. The workers are deprived of their major rights and liberties: right to the organisation of trade unions and trade union activity, the right to strike, to hold meetings and demonstrations, freedom of the press, etc.

99. In various countries, violent repression is being unleashed against the trade unions. Thousands of leaders, active

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trade unionists and workers, brave fighters of the working class, are thrown into prison or into camps in Spain, Portugal, Greece and the Union of South Africa. Brother Shafie Ahmed El Sheikh, a devoted son of the working class and people of Sudan, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., has been in prison since the beginning of 1959. Elsewhere the police open fire on peaceful workers demonstrations as in Italy, India, and Belgium.

100. Political and racial discrimination is rampant in the United States. Those with progressive ideas are not being employed and they are prevented from holding public posts. New laws restricting the rights of the trade unions are being introduced. In Western Germany, people are condemned merely because they are fighting for peace, because they want to establish contacts between the trade unions and workers in the two German states.

101. The employers are creating "company unions" which are entirely devoted to them. They reply to just demands by "lock-outs" and repression. Many workers are sentenced and dismissed because of their participation in this struggle.

In a whole series of recently liberated countries in Africa, Asia, the Near and Middle East, the genuine trade unions are victims of repression that is often violent. Their rights are attacked and many leaders and active trade unionists are imprisoned.

102. The struggle and the activities of the trade unions in the colonial countries take place under extremely difficult conditions. Harsh and arbitrary terror reigns in the Portuguese colonies. All demonstrations by the workers are met by bloody reprisals. The position is no less

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difficult in the British colonies where forced labour and racial discrimination continue to predominate. In Algeria, the workers' organisations are subject to the most vicious repression.

103. In some countries, the capitalists and governments have recourse to more subtle methods in attacking trade union liberties. Under cover of rules and regulations, they introduce all sorts of obstacles and restrictions to the practice of trade union activity, to the right to strike and to the trade unions' right to express themselves. They take discriminatory measures against militant trade unions and increase their interference in their democratic life in an attempt to impose their policy of class collaboration. The employers also try to use the possibilities offered to them by the introduction of the new technique into production for the exclusion of the workers and their trade unions from all forms of negotiations and to decide in this way in a unilateral manner about all questions the workers are interested in.

In this manner, the employers mean to subordinate the trade union organisations entirely to their own policies in order to deprive the workers of all possibilities of defending themselves against exploitation.

Even in countries where the workers have imposed trade union rights a long time ago, the employers and governments are trying to violate them and to restrict these rights continuously, as in France after the setting up of personal power.

104. The task of all trade unions consists in mobilising the working class and all forces of the workers more actively, for the defence of trade union rights and democratic liberties, for the preservation of all the gains, against

all discrimination, to safeguard the independence of the trade unions and protect them from interference by the employers and governments; for the defence of active trade unionists imprisoned and victims of persecutions by the monopolies and capitalist governments; for the organisation of moral and material assistance to the victims of persecution and to members of their families.

105. By tirelessly defending their rights, the workers are at the same time waging a struggle for the widening of trade union and democratic liberties as well as for new rights.

It is indispensable that trade union freedom should be extended in places of work by recognising the trade union organisation in undertakings, and by provisions giving it every opportunity to carry out its activities (meetings, publicity, collection of dues and so on) and guarantee the protection of its active members against the arbitrary measures of the employers.

106. These demands are even more pressing under modern conditions of work. Gathered in large factories which are far away from their homes, and subject to exhausting toil, the workers find it more difficult to take part in trade union activity outside the factory after working hours. Existing rights have become inadequate to ensure the normal exercise of trade union activity.

107. The development of the situation of the trade unions in capitalist countries and the achievement of economic and social demands necessitates that the trade unions are struggling for the free and complete exercise of their duty to defend the interests of the workers in undertakings as well as on a national and international scale, to widen

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their rights and their participation in the settlement of problems which endanger the interests of the working class.

The W.F.T.U. considers that it is essential to conduct a vast and vigorous international campaign for the protection and extension of trade union rights in-undertakings and on a national level. ✓



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VII. ACTIVE UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WILL GUARANTEE THE VICTORY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

108. Taken as a whole, the trade union movement throughout the world has grown stronger. It would be even more powerful if it were united. It is a fact that the split in the trade union movement plays into the hands of the capitalist monopolies who are plotting against unity. Disunity allows them to intensify exploitation of the workers, to attack trade union liberties, to wage the dangerous policy of the arms race and preparations for war, and to create an obstacle to the final eradication of colonialism.

109. On the other hand, each time the workers oppose them with a united fighting front, class unity and international solidarity, the monopolies and governments are inevitably forced to make economic and political concessions.

110. A striking proof of this is provided by the many successes won in recent united struggles for the achievement of demands. On many occasions, these struggles became vast political campaigns against capitalist governments and against the imperialist forces and their hostile policy towards the people.

111. Confident that it reflects the deep hopes of all the workers, the WFTU, its affiliated organisations and its Trade Unions Internationals are continuing with vigour their policy and united measures on a national and international scale.

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112. Steps forward have already been made along this road. United action has made great progress since the ~~4th~~ World Trade Union Congress between workers and trade unions of all affiliations in the undertakings. In many cases, such progress has been made locally, nationally and on all continents. In Africa and in Latin America, the united trends are becoming ~~more clear~~ on a continental scale and on an anti-imperialist basis.

113. International joint action and friendly co-operation have developed with success between the W.F.T.U., its affiliated organisations and the organisations which are either independent or affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. Moreover, exchanges of delegations, contacts, bilateral and multilateral trade union relations have considerably progressed, despite restrictions by the I.C.F.T.U., between organisations and leaders of different international affiliations.

114. However, despite the progress made, many obstacles remain especially at international level. Many approaches made by the W.F.T.U. to the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.F.C.T.U. in order to achieve co-ordination of world trade union activity, for peace, for the end of colonialism and for demands, have unfortunately remained unanswered.

It is impossible not to recognise that the disruptive activity of the leadership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is a serious threat to the workers' vital interests. The obstinate refusal of these leaders to establish and strengthen the bonds, the co-operation and the joint actions between all trade unions on the most current and vital problems for the workers, hinders the fighting power of the trade union movement and objectively plays into the hands of the capitalist monopolies.

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115. This resistance and these manoeuvres can only be overcome by the intervention of the workers and especially the members of these organisations and they can fulfil this task only if they know the reasons for this obstinate opposition to unity.

The most important obstacles to the realisation of unity have their source in the policy of class division carried out by the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U.

Is it possible not to see that if the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U. supports the continuation of the "cold war", if they continually place obstacles in the way of a fully efficient development of the struggle for demands, if they support the policy of neo-colonialism, they objectively create favourable conditions for the realisation of the essential aims of the monopolies and of imperialism? In the name of the defence of the so-called "free world", i.e., of capitalism, they have sacrificed in this way the most obvious interests of the workers.

The class collaboration practised by the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U. is directed against unity; it is the source of the division in the ranks of labour.

Those who want to defend consistently the workers' interests which are the same throughout the world, against the exploiters, the monopolies and imperialism, feel the need for unity and make all efforts to bring it about.

116. The monopolies who know how powerful a weapon the unity of the workers against their policy of exploitation and oppression is, do not spare any means and manoeuvres to ~~foment~~ disruption and to make it into a permanent one. This splitting policy should be rejected promptly and decisively by the unity of the workers and their trade union organisations.

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117. The achievement and broadening of united action particularly in places of work, on a national scale and the efforts of the workers for international trade union unity, will be decisive in overcoming existing difficulties. In this connection, action by the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) becomes even more important. Judging from the intensive work to establish unity carried out in recent years, this action is developing in various forms and by different means towards an expansion of contacts between industrial trade unions in all countries, regardless of affiliation. Centred on common problems, it is giving strength to the workers' movement for unity.

118. To continue relentlessly all united moves in action and for action, to denounce firmly in a clear and convincing way the enemies of unity and to explain the reasons and the effects of their attitude, remain the two inseparable conditions for the achievement of unity both nationally and internationally. To place on an equal footing the defenders of unity and its irreconcilable adversaries who are responsible for the prolongation of disruption in the trade union movement which is detrimental to the interests of all the workers, means rendering bad service to the cause of unity and adopting an erroneous position contrary to historic facts.

119. The World Federation of Trade Unions was born in 1945 out of trade union unity, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was born out of the break in 1949. The W.F.T.U. always considers the reconstitution of international trade union unity to be one of its most important aims. It is continuously reaffirming its desire for unity. The I.C.F.T.U. is continuously reaffirming its disruptive position. Nevertheless, the W.F.T.U. still

feels that international unity of action is possible on class positions on the basic problems relating to the workers' demands, to the defence and conquest of trade union rights and to disarmament and peace and the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Under these conditions, it creates no obstacles and no prior conditions to meetings, contacts and joint campaigns which it never ceases to propose.

120. The WFTU never ceased to give repeated proof that its tireless work for unity was in no way a reflection of a tactical move, but application of a basic principle which responds to the interests of all workers and all trade unions: growing unity of action among the workers of the world and progress on the road leading towards unity of the international trade union movement.

121. By increasing its friendly contacts and proposals for unity towards other organisations, the WFTU always scrupulously respects the principles of international trade union co-operation outlined by the ^{Fourth} World Trade Union Congress, which it wishes to recall today:

- Mutual respect and non-interference in national trade union matters and in those of industrial organisations;
- The search for problems on which the workers are able to unite;
- Establishment of joint objectives and slogans and voluntary elimination of points on which there is no agreement.

122. On this basis, understanding and respect which the WFTU has always observed on organisational problems and peculiar forms of national unity of trade unions on this or that

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continent which do not belong to it, clearly distinguish its policy from that of other international trade union organisations.

The world-wide character of the W.F.T.U. is a permanent feature. To consolidate this character means to consolidate the basis and principles of unity of the international trade union movement in the interest of all workers.

123. The new international situation like the daily struggle of the working class offers a real and solid basis for progress.

The vital and common interest of all the workers to maintain and strengthen peace, to make peaceful co-existence victorious, to prevent a destructive thermo-nuclear war, to obtain universal and complete disarmament, to safeguard national independence and to struggle against imperialism, to put an end to the bloody colonial adventures and to liquidate colonialism for ever; the joint interest of the workers and trade unions to win and defend their democratic freedoms and trade union rights, to improve living and working conditions, these are necessary and sufficient reasons for unity.

124. For the fulfilment of these aims against the power of the monopolies, the working class is not alone. It can and must regroup in a united front the other sections of the population who are also victims of the retrograde policy of capital. At a time when new sections of the people are joining together in a just fight for peace and social progress, the active participation of the trade unions in gathering all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the people is a major task.

125. Preparing for the 5th World Trade Union Congress, all workers and all trade unionists must increase their efforts,

to give a devastating answer to all those who hope to continue the cold war in the international trade union movement and who are trying to deepen and lengthen the break in it;

to develop and strengthen fraternal relations between the trade unions of all countries in the spirit of proletarian internationalism;

to make their struggle for the workers' vital interests more active on the basis of united action;

to strengthen continually the fraternal international solidarity of the workers in all countries;

to widen the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement nationally and internationally in each branch of industry, and in each undertaking.

126. Since its foundation, the W.F.T.U. has been faithful to the cause of all the workers of the world by making its positive contribution to the struggle of the working class and the people against war, by giving its support to the oppressed peoples fighting for national independence and to the struggle of the workers for their demands and for trade union unity. Of itself it has obtained and deserved the confidence and the support of the workers of the world. The 5th World Trade Union Congress will be a new and outstanding demonstration of this. Prepared by the W.F.T.U., the member organisations, and others who are not affiliated to it, the Congress will be a living symbol of its policy of unity and of gathering all the workers for their joint objectives, of peace and the safeguarding of the interests of the working class.

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127. The 5th World Trade Union Congress will help to strengthen international trade union unity. It will be wide open to all workers and all trade unions whatever their leanings. The Congress will discuss the most important questions which deeply concern the workers in the socialist, capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. This broad and representative assembly will express the hopes and desires of all the workers and their unshakeable will to struggle for a better life and it will determine the methods of this struggle and the path to follow.

128. For the convocation of the 5th World Trade Union Congress, the W.F.T.U. issues an ardent appeal:

Workers of all countries, trade union members of all trade union organisations !

You represent an overwhelming force which cannot be resisted if you are united, if you form a united front in the struggle for your vital interests, democracy and social progress, for the cause of world peace.

In order to throw off the chains of exploitation and to win the fulfilment of your vital demands, you need to unite immediately all the efforts of the working class, to re-establish and to consolidate as far as possible its unity of action.

Workers ! Fight firmly for unity, unmask the manoeuvres of the monopoly capitalists and their agents which bring division into your ranks. Unite all your forces to win better living conditions; freedom and peace in the world, to open the way to prosperity for the whole of humanity.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

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Social Security in Japan

---- The Present System and
the Struggle of Workers for the Improvement ----

*Copy
of
document*

Prepared by:

The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan
(SCHYO)

March, 1961

P R E F A C E

The struggle for better social security system is particularly important for the Japanese trade union movement. It is important, not only as a struggle to make up for the low wages or as a struggle for the just right of the workers, but also as an important part of the united struggles of a broad strata of the people and the workers for peace and democracy, and against reactionary war policies of the Government and monopolies.

Fully dependent upon American imperialism, politically, militarily and economically, Japanese monopolies are recovering their imperialistic position. Their policies of exploitation have been further intensified as their subjective relations to the U.S. has strengthened through the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Intensification of rationalization policy of the capitalists has sharpened the adverse effects upon the workers, and the conditions of the destitute worsened under their low-wage-and-labor-exploitation policy.

Spreading the "double the national income" and "remarkable economic growth" theories, the Government is cheating the public as if the extreme poverty of the people would soon be wiped out. The expansion of social security measures is advocated by the Government as a central theme of the "double the national income" policy. What the Government is attempting, however, is to use "expanded social security measures" as a machinery with which the military alliance between Japan and U.S. is reinforced from within.

Under such circumstances, the workers of Japan have been carrying out a campaign to expose the true nature of the social security policy of the Government, and press it with a demand for the establishment of a true system to be carried out at the expense of the state and the capitalists, in parallel with their fight for total abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty to block the war adventure policies.

The campaign has united a wide range of people. With the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) acting as the core, the movement has grown through regional joint organizations in which workers, peasants, small-sized enterprisers, women, general public, medical doctors, patients, jobless workers, the Socialist and the Communist Parties are taking part. Although it is only four years since the Association for the Promotion of Social Security System has been set up, the organization has done a great deal in carrying out the campaign.

We pay a high tribute to the World Federation of Trade Unions for its efforts in improving social security measures through the activities of the Social Security Committee. We are also grateful for the invitation sent by the WFTU to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) to attend the meeting sponsored by the Committee. The General Council will do its best to further the struggle for the betterment of social security measures, expanding the scope of the united struggles for the question.

On this occasion, we would like to make clear about the history, characteristics of the social security system in Japan, and actions being taken by the trade unions to improve it.

I. SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM IN JAPAN AND ITS PROGRESS IN THE PAST 15 YEARS:

In capitalist countries, the growth of social security system depends a great deal upon the progress of capitalism. As capital is accumulated and production increases, increased labor is needed, and working masses are driven into destitution. This generally makes the capitalists step up measures for social security to protect labor source for their own interest.

Japanese capitalism developed on the basis of land lordism, which constituted the foundation for absolute Tennoism. The destitute peasants flowed into labor markets and were employed under old social relations. This has enabled the employers to maintain their policies of low wages and poor working conditions toward their workers. Little attention was paid to carry out necessary measures for social security, and no modern labor laws were enacted for the benefit of the working masses. In the primitive labor-capital relations, workers had no guarantee for their labor.

A special feature of Japanese capitalism is that monopoly capitalists stay at the apex of vast strata of medium and small-sized enterprisers, peasants, farmers and fishermen. Their policies of labor exploitation has been made possible due to a huge number of unemployed workers.

The movement of the workers and the peasants was always under fierce oppression by the absolutists. In prewar days, they were absolutely forbidden to exercise their right of organization. The Peace Regulations, the Peace Police Law, and the Public Peace Maintenance Law were put into force in 1887, 1900 and 1925, respectively, by the ruling class who feared the growth of solidarity among the workers. Under the cloak of "a big-family system" or "a labor-capital-family system", the employers continued to suppress the workers. Rapid development of Japanese capitalism and accumulation of huge capital were based on continual oppression upon the working class and maintenance of their low-wage policy.

In the progress of Japanese capitalism, it was impossible for the capitalists to utterly ignore an increase and intensification of poverty among the people. It was because of this that they legislated "the Relief Regulations", to cultivate the respect for the absolutism or Tennoism among the people. Benevolence through the Relief Regulations and oppression through the Police Regulations were interlaced to achieve their purposes.

In the days of prosperity, they obtained necessary labor source from among the peasants and petty farmers, and in the days of recession, they urged them to go back to their farming. This was far from a real solution of social problems. It was only to shift the responsibility for the problem upon the shoulders of petty farmers. No social security measures were carried out for the benefit of the people.

A remarkable advance made by Japanese capitalism after World War I gave birth to monopoly capitalism. While, the workers began to organize actions to achieve their demands.

The legislation of "the Factory Law" in 1916 became the first step toward outlawing old labor-capital relations. However, poverty became more and more serious in those days, which led to a rice riot in 1918, in which tens and hundreds of workers, peasants and citizens were involved. The seriousness of the situation compelled the capitalists to legislate some social security measures.

The Health Insurance Law passed the Diet in 1922 and was put into force in 1927. However, the insurance premium was too high for the working masses, and opposition actions were organized on national basis in 1926 and 1927 by the Japan Council of Trade Unions. The action is known as Health Insurance strike.

The Child and Maternal Protection Law and the Soldiers' Relief Law were enacted in 1937, and the National Health Insurance Law was put into force in 1938 for the purpose of building strong army. In 1941, the Insurance Against Annuity Law for the Workers was legislated to raise military fund.

The nature of the abovementioned social laws, excepting the Health Insurance Law, unsatisfactory though it might be, revealed that the aims of the Governments were at strengthening war-time setup.

Japanese capitalism was hit by panic in 1920 due to over-production, which enlivened the activities of trade unions and proletarian parties. They carried out actions in demand for measures to solve unemployment. World-wide panic of 1930 hit Japan before any drastic measures were mapped out to cope with the national situation. The jobless workers aggregated 3 million, which threatened the government to work out unemployment relief measures. The workers stood up with a demand for the establishment of an unemployment insurance system.

However, the workers' demand for an unemployment insurance system was substituted for the establishment of "the unemployment relief construction project". It was only 70,000 to 80,000 jobless workers who were given jobs with extremely low wages. Poverty and destitution of the people were prevalent; Japanese capitalism was threatened from its foundation.

Social unrest in those days led to the enactment of the Relief Law in 1932 in place of the old Relief Regulations. The Relief Law is estimated highly as the first law for the public welfare based on public relief regulations in modern society. But, it was not a satisfactory one in that the rights of the persons under the Law were not fully guaranteed, and that the Law was applied to a very limited category. The Law was not applied to the persons who became destitute due to unemployment. It was nothing but a charity.

The capitalist class strongly opposed to the legislation of the Retirement Reserve Fund Law and Retirement Pension Law, which was enacted in 1936, because they wanted to maintain the old labor-capital relations based on subjection.

(2) Social Security Measures After the World War II:

Japan was placed under the control of American imperialism after the

collapse of Japanese capitalism due to their defeat in imperialistic, aggressive war. Under their control, Japanese militarism and monopolism gradually recovered their positions.

The problems which required immediate solution in those days were concerned with the destitute and the unemployed. The demobilized soldiers filled the streets; munition factories had been closed. Japan lost her territories which she had possessed. More than 1.3 million jobless workers thronging all over the country gradually became black-marketters, or vagabonds, who badly needed relief by the state.

In spite of the land reform performed immediately after the War, there was an overflow of farming population, who remained as a cheap labor source for home labor in agricultural districts. Surplus labor force in those regions became a bed for unemployment, on the one hand and low-wage policy of the governments and capitalists, on the other. Real wages went down in the period of inflation which followed the War. Majority of workers were driven into the state of semi-employment.

In order to recover and strengthen their setup, the monopolies allied with the American imperialism and enforced enterprise rationalization, and mass discharge, upon the pretext of administration adjustment. The number of the workers thrown out of the factories increased rapidly. To cope with the situation, trade unions carried out powerful actions.

It was to oppress the rapid growth of trade union movement that the Unemployment Insurance Law was promulgated in 1947 for the first time in the history of Japanese trade union movement. However, in order to win the success, Japanese workers made sacrifice of themselves. Many of them were restricted of or deprived of their rights to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike, in spite of the fact that those rights were just rights of the workers obtained through powerful, persistent, and anti-fascist struggles of the workers of the world.

However, the Unemployment Insurance Law obtained dearly by the Japanese workers had only a little effect to the Japanese who were suffering from chronic unemployment in the critical period of capitalism.

The living standard of the workers and peasants lowered to the bottom. And the situation was made worse by the American imperialism which has turned Japan into America's base.

Under such circumstances, the Japanese Government decided under the instruction of U.S. Occupation Forces to legislate the Programme to Protect the Destitute in Dec. 1945 and put it into effect from April 1, 1946. This was followed by the execution of the Livelihood Protection Law in October, 1950, under the general relief system based on the Recommendation by the U.S. Occupation Forces on Social Relief. The Japanese Government publicized that the execution of the Livelihood Protection Law was a step forward in the field of public welfare, as it was based on equality and performed by the state's responsibility. It seemed that the Government considered the Law sufficient to offset the loss and difficulty suffered by the working masses in the period of inflation and colonial subjugation.

The legislation of the Livelihood Protection Law, which was good enough to keep the masses in the starvation standard, was followed by the legislation of the Unemployment Insurance Law, the Labor Accident Law, Child Welfare Law, and revision of the Health Insurance Law, the Welfare Pension Insurance Law, and other social security laws.

The improvement of social security laws in those days was won through the struggles of the workers suffering from low wages, joblessness and critical living conditions, and the peasants who had difficulties resulting from low rice-price and compulsory quota-delivery system and the citizens under high commodity prices and shortage of daily necessities in the 1946-1947 period.

In the upsurge of mass movement for better living, the ruling class intensified their attacks, particularly through direct assaults by the U.S. Occupation Forces, on the one hand, and continued cheating the people with the propaganda that they were preparing for the establishment of ideal social security system.

However, the social security laws mentioned above were all far from satisfactory, due to lack of fundamental conditions which would have made the laws more effective and beneficial for the working masses. For instance, a minimum wage system had not been established; the Labor Standards Law was entirely ignored. Had such important, fundamental measures been fulfilled, the social security laws that were enacted in those days might have been more effective.

Under such circumstances, greater austerity was imposed on the working masses. The workers were under constant threat of serious illness, labor accidents, unemployment and precarious life. (In 1959, the labor accidents hit the highest in the postwar period. About 20 persons were killed daily in accidents.)

The Japanese Government and reactionary capitalists took the advantage of the Korean War, intensifying their policies for the earliest recovery of Japanese militarism. A huge sum of money was poured in rearmament, driving the people into utter difficulty.

Since those days, the social security question began to be used by the ruling class as an instrument to exploit the masses. The Government started advocating the need of establishing "National Health Insurance" and "National Pension System" as something beneficial for the people, while sharply reducing the budget for social security measures on the ground of "a deflation trend" in those days (1954).

Prior to this, the Japanese Government had received a recommendation from the Committee on Social Security System, an advisory organ to the Government. The recommendation was made on the basis of the report made by the U.S. Social Security Survey Mission, and the central theme of the recommendation was to integrate the social security projects that had already been practiced, and establish a National Health Insurance System. The recommendation itself had some advantages, but it was used by the capitalists for their own benefit. What they did was to differentiate the amount of payment, and increase insurance premiums to have greater burden borne by the people.

The plan was submitted by the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations in 1956. Many poverty-stricken masses were

excluded from the benefit of the health insurance system.

In parallel with this, the capitalists publicized the advantage of a National Pension System in the course of electioneering campaign in 1958. According to them, any persons could receive pension when they reached old age. The purpose of a National Pension System was at collecting money from the hands of the people for the use of the monopolies. It was just at the time when the monopoly capitalists of Japan intensified their setup through reinforced alliance with the American imperialism and were ready to invest an exorbitant amount of money for rationalization of equipment and facilities.

It should be mentioned here that the fund for state finance, including the social insurance premium borne by the workers themselves, is in the hand of the Finance Ministry which is willing to furnish fund to the monopolies. Equipment investment -- enterprise rationalization -- has been and is being carried out at the sacrifice of the working masses.

A glance over an increase in investment fund clearly indicates that National Insurance and National Pension Systems are tactfully used as instruments to exploit workers. Instances to show this, for example, are a large-scale revision of the Health Insurance premiums for workers and seamen in 1957 against their interest, and a sharp increase in the premium for workers' Welfare Pension in 1960, and a decrease in the amount borne by the government in Unemployment Insurance. In addition, severe restriction was given to the range of persons to whom the Accident Insurance was applied. In this way, social security measures were turned into tools for the service of monopolies, giving greater burden to the masses of the people.

II. CHARACTERISTICS AND STATUS OF SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM OF JAPAN

(I) What are Social Security Measures in Japan?

Although social security system has been formed in Japan, it can not be highly appreciated as it does not correctly guarantee the people against illness, disablement, old age, etc. It can not guarantee people for decent living.

The current, social security system of Japan is not a mutual social security system for the benefit of workers, peasants, and general citizens, but it is a system served as a public aid project for the destitute, including the persons Livelihood Protection Law. That is to say, the present system can hardly guarantee the ordinary people for better living, or against extreme poverty, but to aid the destitute persons. It includes, therefore, public welfare measures through charity and public hygiene services. Therefore, various social projects are integrated for convenience' sake, and are classified under "social security measures". We will deal upon the subject in later pages, and, here, we will summarize some of the measures being carried out.

A. Social Insurances:

This includes Medical Insurance, Old Age Insurance, Unemployment and Accident Insurances. Each has different kinds of measures, and is governed by different authorities.

Owing to limited space, we can not deal with all the measures. Social insurance measures closely connected with the workers' lives will be dealt with here.

a. Health Insurance:

There are two kinds: one administered by the Government and the other by the Health Insurance Union. The number of the insured aggregated 12.46 million as at the end of the fiscal 1959, with the family members of the insured scoring 16.19 million. This is the largest insurance system for workers, and is applied to any enterprises, whether they like it or not, which employ more than 5 employees. The enterprises or organizations which employ more than 300 employees must permit them to form a Health Insurance Union composed of the insured.

The insurance premium or contribution is fixed according to a standard remuneration system and is borne equally by employers and workers. In the case of union-administered insurance, the premium is not necessarily shared equally by employers and workers, but borne more by the employers, partly through the strength of the unions concerned, and partly through the intention of the employers who are trying to use the measure as a part of their labor management method. At present, the premium rate accounts for 63/1,000.

The representatives of the insured should participate in the management and/or administration of health insurance. However, the present law does not guarantee the workers, or the insured, of this right. The union-administered health insurance sounds like more democratic in its administration, but, it is under the administration of the management in reality. That is to say, regardless of forms or names, health insurance is administered by the Government and/or the employers.

Under the social insurance measures, the insured themselves are provided with (1) medical treatment fee, (2) allowance for labor accidents expenses for hospitalization, 60% of wages to be paid during duty-off), (3) funeral expenses, (4) expenses for delivery, (5) allowance for child birth, and (6) allowance for nursing. Dependants of the insured are provided with (1) medical care expenses, (2) funeral expenses, (3) child delivery expense (all for dependants). The term of benefit for the sick extends to three years when they are suffering from the same disease.

A 60% of the standard amount of remuneration is given to women workers during their 6-week maternity leave. In case of funeral, workers get the amount equivalent to one-month of the standard remuneration. And 2,000 yen is paid to working mothers for six months as a nursing allowance.

b. Government & Public Servicemen's Mutual Aid System:

There are various insurances for the Government and Public Servicemen: Government and Public Servicemen's Mutual Aid Insurance Union covering 2.13 million persons, Public-enterprise Employees' Mutual Aid Insurance Union covering 680,000 men, Municipal Government Employees' Mutual

Aid Insurance Union for 375,000 persons, Private School Teachers' and Employees' Mutual Aid Insurance Union for 70,000 and others. Each of them has different administration system and authorities concerned: for example, Finance Ministry, Prime Minister's Office, Transportation Ministry, Autonomy Ministry, and Education Ministry. There is no integral interrelation among them.

The insurances for Government and Public Servicemen involve pension, too. The administration is under the control of Finance Minister and the Ministry. In fear of the fact that the administration should be freely criticized by the working masses, the Government sets up administration committees within Ministries in which the labor representatives are formally represented.

Let me give brief explanation about the Government and Public Servicemen Mutual Aid Insurance Union. As has been mentioned in the previous pages, the social security measures in Japan have strongly been based on "a big labor-capital-family" theory. It is a charity of the employers and not the right of the employed that they have a guarantee for living.

There are two kinds: one on short term basis renewed yearly, and the other on long term basis. Both the short-term and the long-term Mutual Aid Insurances are administered by the Mutual Aid Insurance Unions within the Ministries concerned, and also by the Federation of Mutual Aid Insurance Unions.

Under the short-term Mutual Aid Insurance System, the insured are provided with (1) allowance at the time of happy and mournful events, and (2) solatium for accidents, in addition to the provisions under the Health Insurance for the workers in civil industries. Payment is higher than the health insurance: for instance, (1) one-month wages is given as an allowance for child delivery as against half-month pay in case of Health Insurance for civil industry workers, (2) half-month pay for the child delivery by their dependents as against ¥ 1,000 under Health Insurance, (3) 80% of daily wages as accident allowance (60% for Health Insurance applicants), etc.

The long-term Mutual Aid Insurance includes retirement pension, retirement lump-sum payment, and reduced retirement pension. (This corresponds to Welfare Pension for the workers in civil industries.) Retirement pension is paid to those who are more than 55 years old and have worked for 20 years. 40% of the annual salary, accounting for 4.8 month salary is paid to them. 1.5% of annual salary is added to those who have worked for more than 20 years. Payment of 70% of annual salary as pension is at the highest level.

Retirement lump-sum payment is granted for those who have been the members of the Mutual Aid Insurance Union for the period of 3 to 20 years. They receive 70 to 515 day payment as a lump sum.

Besides these, disability payment, survivor's pension and survivor's lump sum are included. Mutual Aid System is used as an instrument to control the employees.

c. Health Insurance for Day Workers:

Day workers (workers who enlist themselves daily for jobs at the Public Employment Security Office) are granted with special health insurance measure. They get (1) medical treatment fee, (2) allowance for medical care, and their dependents are provided with (1) medical treatment fee when they are sick or injured. The applicants were 930,000 persons, with 1.16 million persons as dependents as at the end of March, 1960.

Premium ranges from ¥10 per day for the workers, whose daily wages are more than ¥ 280; to ¥ 8 per day for those who are paid less than ¥ 280. ¥ 10 is borne by the employers per day.

As a result of the struggle carried out from last year toward this year, allowance for sickness and accidents has been increased from 14 day payment to 21 day payment. Allowance for child delivery is also been increased, but, it is still much worse than that for the workers of other industries and Government and Public Servicemen.

The conditions of the day workers are among the worst. Therefore, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) the National Confederation of Construction Workers' Unions (Zenkensoren) and the All-Japan Day Workers' Union (Zennichi Jiro) unite their forces to press the Government for the revision of the insurance system.

d. Unemployment Insurance:

Unemployment insurance is allowed to workers who, according to the Law, "are thrown out of work, regardless of their will and ability to work". A 60% of the wages paid to them while in employment is paid for 180 days starting from the next day they are discharged.

Payment of a 60% of the monthly wages may sound reasonable, but none can hardly live with it in Japan as Japanese wages are very low. The sum is paid through the Public Employment Security Office. But more and more workers waive their right to get the payment due to the fact that they can not spare car-fare to go to the Office. This indicates how small the payment is.

e. Seamen's Insurance:

Seamen's Insurance is a measure which is forcibly applied to seamen engaged in dangerous work of sea duty. It is an all-round insurance which serves as old-age, medical and accident insurances.

In the case of seamen's insurance, the term of payment can be summed up and added to the welfare pension, while this is not allowed to other insurances.

f. Workers' Accident Compensation Insurance Law:

The Workers' Accident Compensation Insurance Law was put into force in April 1955 as a step to "compensate for the victims of labor accidents" as stipulated in the Labor Standards Law. Therefore, the compensation was made within the framework of the Labor Standards Law. The premium was paid entirely by employers.

However, the term for accident and sickness compensation is limited to three years. Compensation is paid as a lump sum when three-year-term is exceeded. Under such circumstances, the patients suffering from dust diseases and traumatic myelitis united to organize a powerful campaign to modify the Law. As a result, the Workers' Accident Compensation Insurance Law was partially revised in March 1960.

The Government took the view that "the Law was executed under the responsibility of the state, and the employers would be responsible only for the insurance premium needed."

According to the revised Law, the compensation required for the period extending after the 3-year-compensation-period will be partially borne by the state, (for instance, in case of dust diseases, the state bears $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total sum for compensation, and in other diseases, it bears $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total).

1) The terms for compensation is divided into two groups: one is 3-year term which needs hospitalization or similar medical treatment, and the other, period which succeeds 3-year term. Accordingly, there is a differential in the amount of compensation paid by the employers.

a) Medical Expense as Compensation: Expenses necessary for 3-year period.

b) Compensation Paid During the Off-duty Period: A 60% of the average wages is paid during the period.

c) Compensation for Impediment: There are two kinds for this. Under Group one, pension is paid, and for those under Group Two, lump sum allowance is paid.

Group One is subdivided into three sub-groups:

(a) A sum equivalent to 240 days of annual average wages is paid;

(b) A sum equivalent to 213 days of annual average wages is paid; and (c) 188-day payment is granted.

Group Two is subdivided into several sub-groups: for instance, 920 day payment is paid to those in group Four. 50-day payment is paid to Group Fourteen.

d) Compensation for the Survivors: A sum equivalent to 1,000 days average wages is paid for those who died during the medical compensation term.

e) Expense for Funeral Service: A sum equivalent to 60 days of payment.

2) Compensation for those who can not go back to work after 3-years of Medical Treatment: This is called Compensation for Long-Term Patients.

a) The amount of Medical Compensation differs according to Groups: Group One (those under home treatment) gets a sum equivalent to 240 day average annual pay, including medical and living expenses.

Group Two gets a sum equivalent to 200 day average annual pay as a living expense. (Medical expenses are borne through insurance.)

b) Payment for Impediment: Group One gets Pension and Group Two gets a lump sum. The sum paid for the applicants under compensation for long-term are called "allowance, and the same in amount.

c) Survivor's Payment: Payment differs according to the length of term for the medical compensation. For instance, family gets a sum equivalent to 1,000 day average annual when the applicant dies within a year, and 50 days' pay is paid in case of the death occurred after 6 years of illness.

d) Funeral Payment: The same amount of money with the payment for ~~the~~ funerals and festivals under Health Insurance System.

Due to its peculiarity of the dust diseases, the victims of the disease are not covered by the current Labor Accident Insurance Law. When the workers are transferred to other jobs according to the recommendation made by the state, under the Dust-Disease Law, a sum equivalent to 30 days' pay (average wages) is paid under the responsibility of the employers.

g. Welfare Pension Insurance:

The Welfare Pension Insurance was put into effect in 1941 when the Pacific War broke out. The insured have to pay the premium for a long period of time until the pension is paid. The purpose of the Japanese imperialism to start the Welfare Pension Insurance was to use it for their advantage to raise war fund. It was a compulsory wartime deposit in those days, and remains as such in the present day as it is reserved in Investment Fund.

Those to whom this measure is applied are those who have been under Health Insurance measure while in employment. The pension is paid when they become old, disabled, seceded or died. Premium is 35/1,000 (for men), 30/1,000 (for women) and 42/1,000 (for miners), of standard remuneration and is borne equally by labor and capital. Premium is raised every five years, menacing the living of workers. Annuity is computed on the basis of ¥ 2,000 per month, which is very low, indeed. It is the minimum standard for those under the Livelihood Protection Law. The Japanese workers are demanding for a better insurance system.

h. National Health Insurance and National Pension:

These two insurances are applied for the persons other than workers: peasants, farmers, citizens and independent enterprisers. Generally speaking, they have no powerful organizations to protect their interest. Therefore, the insurances are extremely poor, or reactionary in nature.

Half of the medical expense must be borne by the applicants: only ¥ 1,000 is paid to mothers at the time of child birth. Funeral expense is so small that it means almost nothing.

Average premium for a family as at the end of fiscal 1959 amounted ¥3,729, five to ten times as much as inhabitants' tax. There are many who can not afford such a high premium.

Sharing of medical expense imposes a heavy burden upon the applicants, resulting in a decrease in the number of cases for medical consultations.

The National Pension is the worst of its kind, as described in the later pages of this report. First of all, applicants have to keep paying the premium for 40 years; the premium is as high as ¥ 150 per month; and the 30,000 million reserved in the first year is furnished to monopolies as an investment fund. Annuity will be only ¥ 3,500 per month after 40 years. There is no legal basis for a guarantee for an increase in annuity according to fluctuations in currency value. Welfare Pension Insurance was put into effect in 1941, prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War. The nature of the National Pension Insurance is made clear when we consider the intention of the Government which stepped up the measures for raising a war fund.

B. Public Aids:

The Livelihood Protection Law constitutes one of the Government Aid Project. Public Aid measures are based on the Livelihood Protection Law.

The Law was modified a little in October 1946. The amount (¥ 2,000 per head per month) provided monthly through the Law is too small to guarantee the living of the needy. It is no exaggeration to say that it is only a sheet of clinex a day and nothing else, that can be bought with such a small amount of money. How can the people live with this?

The allowances are for (1) living, (2) education, (3) dwelling, (4) medical treatment, (5) child delivery, (6) starting occupation, and (7) funerals. The applicants have right to receive a couple of relief fund simultaneously.

At present, there are some 1.6 million persons who are "protected" under the Law, while, according to the Government, there are more than 10 million people whose living standard is as low as theirs.

In full support of the National Council of Associations for the Protection of Living and Health and the All Japan Day Workers' Union (Zennichi Jiro), the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) surveyed the conditions of those under the Livelihood Protection Law. The result of the investigation proved us an urgency to fight for the improvement of the Law, for a two-fold increase the monthly payment by the Government.

(II) Special Features of Social Security Systems of Japan:

So far we have glanced over some of the social security projects performed by the Government. It is, however, very difficult to give the entire picture of the system. Maybe, the complexity is one of the characteristics existing in the present system.

What should be kept in mind when we talk of the Japanese social systems, is the fact that a minimum wage system has not yet been established in Japan, and that there are more than 10 million people in extreme poverty, and that social security measures have been used as

instruments to serve for the interest of the monopolies.

The system is quite complicated, and is made difficult for the workers to understand the nature and unite their forces for its improvement. It has been planned to weaken the organization and fighting spirit of the working masses.

For instance, there are more than ten different insurances. It is solely for the purpose of cutting down the forces of workers who need solidarity to wage a powerful struggle. Further, there is a disparity in insurance payment among the different health insurances established on enterprise basis within one trade union.

The second characteristic of Japanese insurance system is that, as has already been mentioned, it is a tool used for the interest of the monopolies. High premium and a long term for premium payment make it possible for the authorities to accumulate the fund in the name of "insurance system".

The fund accumulated in this way is offered through the Fund Functioning Department of the Finance Ministry to the National Railway Corporation, Telephone and Telecommunication Corporation, and civil iron-steel and shipbuilding enterprises at a low rate of interest. In addition to price rise, heavy taxes ..., "social insurance system" is another question which is threatening the lives of the workers and the people.

Thirdly, attention should be paid to the fact that insurance systems, particularly the National Pension, National Health Insurance and Welfare Pension Insurance, are planned to be operated with the premium paid by the people, and not by the fund from the state or monopolies.

The rate of charges on national treasury against the total expense for social insurances was 36.2%, 28.1%, 25.9%, 21.4%, in 1951, 1954, 1956 and 1958, respectively. While on the other hand, the capitalists are manoeuvring through the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (Nikkeiren) to reduce the share by the capitalists. They are trying to reduce it so that the charges be equally borne as in the case of Government-administered insurances.

Further, the Government and the capitalists are planning to give restriction over the number of the applicants, or reduce the number of day workers employed in order to cut down their share in the social insurance expenses.

Fourthly, control over the activities of Mutual Aid Insurance Association Committee and Social Insurance Committee, advisory organs to the Government, is being sharply intensified, threatening democracy in Japan. In particular, the Committees on the National Pension and the National Health Insurance are not represented by the insured, but by the Public Utilities Commissioners.

Fifthly, the Government and the capitalists are using every possible means to weaken the consciousness of the workers and cultivate among them the spirit of respect or love for the enterprises to which

the workers are employed. Majority of enterprises carry out welfare services for workers. Some of them run welfare or recreation facilities; some build dwellings for workers, serve lunches, carry out deposit system and send solatium on funeral or happy occasions. Together with a competition drive with other enterprises through "rationalization" drive, these measures are being used to inflame enterprise consciousness among the workers. It must be remembered that such welfare and recreation facilities are established and managed with the fund accumulated through Health Insurance Union of that enterprise. Superiority in welfare facilities serves as a means to undermine the class consciousness of the workers. Care is taken not to have workers know about their rights for better working conditions. Therefore, the workers do not know how much should be demanded by them to improve conditions, and how much should be realized under social insurance system. Social insurances should be fulfilled on the Government's responsibility. But the workers are made ignorant of their rights.

Lastly, the Japanese social insurance system appears to be as good as others in other industrialized countries. And Japan is in such a condition, as far as social insurance system is concerned, as would allow the ratification of the ILO Convention 102. In view of the fact that a minimum wage system has not yet been established in our country and that the insurance system is poor in its quality, there is still so much for us to do for the improvement of the system. It is impermissible that the workers are being cheated by the capitalists and the reactionary Government in this way. The following table shows the percentage of budgets for social insurances and national defense against the estimated expenditure.

Table I:

Countries:	1956		1957		1958		1959	
	National Defense:	Social Insurance:	National Defense:	Social Insurance:	National Defense:	Social Insurance:	National Defense:	Social Insurance:
America:	62.9	11.3	64.0	11.2	62.5	11.7	59.1	12.0
Austria:	3.5	20.6	5.0	20.6	5.9	21.4	--	--
West Germany:	27.1	43.6	26.4	39.2	23.8	37.2	29.7	33.2
Japan:	18.7	10.1	18.0	8.7	17.6	8.4	18.4	9.9
Italy:	15.9	13.8	16.4	12.6	16.3	12.5	--	--
Sweden:	20.7	26.0	20.7	28.1	19.3	28.2	17.3	28.6
Great Britain:	26.7	20.6	26.7	21.3	24.6	22.0	23.6	22.1
USSR:	17.3	16.1	16.0	18.1	15.3	20.5	--	--
Norway:	21.1	14.9	20.7	15.2	18.4	15.5	18.7	13.6
Canada:	40.6	15.9	37.4	15.2	33.8	16.1	33.6	17.2

(Source: U.N. Year Book on Statistics)

III. STRUGGLE OF JAPANESE WORKERS FOR BETTER SOCIAL SECURITY MEASURES IN THE PAST AND FUTURE:

(1) For the Formation of United Organization for the Success of the Campaign:

The development of the social security system in Japan is inter-related with the workers' movement against the policies of war. To certain extent, it reveals the growth of contradiction on the side of monopolies.

In the immediate postwar period, the Japanese governments and U.S. Occupation Forces tried their best to step up the measures for the recovery of monopoly setup and rehabilitation of Japanese industries. However, extreme poverty and dismay in those days hindered them from doing so. More than 13 million jobless workers were thronging in the streets. But, the governments did almost nothing to cope with the situation.

Powerful movement for social measures was organized by workers, peasants and citizens. The trade unions and farmers' unions which were organized rapidly in the immediate postwar days played a central role in such nationwide movement, contributing to the establishment of the Labor Standards Law, the Labor Accident Insurance Law, the Health Insurance and the revision of Welfare Pension Insurance System, and enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Law.

The establishment of these Laws was a concession on the side of monopolies. Frantic to regain their positions, the monopolies, in full support of the American imperialism, did every thing it could. The central theme of the policies of U.S. Occupation Forces was at reviving Japanese monopolies. The Korean War was planned to check the decline of the Japanese capitalism. Trade union movement was suppressed; social security systems were mutilated to the detriment of the workers and masses. These measures were taken as a link in the chain of subjection policies of the U.S. Occupation Forces. This is plain in that series of anti-people pacts were concluded during the Korean War: the Japan-U.S. Peace Treaty, Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Japan-U.S. Administration Agreement, etc. Tight-money policy based on MSA military budget plan was imposed upon Japanese workers in 1954.

Under such circumstances, the Japanese workers who had stood up in opposition to the formation of a Japanese army, were under the cloak of the National Self-Defense Corps, carrying out difficult struggles. The struggle for the social security system was organized as a part of the national struggle against war and war policies of the reactionary governments.

Committee on Social Security was formed within the People's Congress for Peace-time Economy under the initiative of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo). The Association for the Defense of Social Security Measures was also set up, composed of 27 organizations including the Sohyo, the All Japan Day Workers' Union (Zennichi Jiro) the Japan League of Patients, the National Federation of the People Living under the Livelihood Protection Law, the Federation of Democratic Medical Doctors. The Association launched fierce campaign in January, 1955. A total of 3,000 persons, and 5,000 men were mobilized on January 4 and 5,

respectively, in a series of protest petition with the Finance Ministry.

The formation of the People's Congress for Peace-time Economy and the Association for the Defense of Social Security, the fierce upsurge of the movement for the improved social security measures which followed the establishment of the two organizations, were greatly encouraged by the international conference on social security held in the previous year under the sponsorship of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The conference gave a strong encouragement and conviction to the Japanese workers fighting for better social security measures.

The Japan League of Patients and other organizations made repeated mass representations to the Welfare Ministry and to the Diet, opposing to a reduction in social security budget. Struggle of the people and the workers grew rapidly.

In face of fierce campaign, the Government had to approve the demand of the working masses "not to cut down the budget for the day workers", and changed the Welfare Minister.

The movement led by the Association for the Defense of Social Security reached the climax in 1955, and then after, the Liaison Congress for Better Social Security began to be the central figure in the movement. With the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) acting as the center, the Liaison Congress organized a powerful campaign for three years from 1956 against the revision of Health Insurance System to the detriment of the insured. Through the revision, the then Yoshida Government and the capitalists attempted to shift the burden of increasing medical expenses upon the workers and petty citizens.

A powerful opposition involved some 100,000 medical doctors in addition to workers and citizens. Although, the premium was forcefully raised by the Government and the capitalists, the national campaign made several gains. Most noteworthy gain was the growth of unity among the vast strata of the population, and the realization of the importance of unity among them.

The Council for the Promotion of Social Security was formed in September 1958 on the basis of the unity achieved during the struggle. The Council was joined by the 48 organizations including Sohyo-member unions, independent unions, the Socialist and the Communist Parties, the Japan League of Patients, the National Federation of the People under Livelihood Protection Law, the National Organization of Nurses, the National Council for Social Welfare Employees' Union, the Federation of Democratic Medical Doctors, the Council of Atomic Victims, the Medical and Hospital Employees' Union, the Federation of Medical Students, and the Japan Peasants' Union.

A massive campaign was organized from the end of 1958 toward April 1959 under the leadership of the Sohyo and the Council for the Promotion of Social Security. A great People's March Against War and Unemployment, and For the Expansion of Social Security started Kyushu, southern island, on January 6, 1959, and Fukushima, northern part of the main island, on February 4, to join in Tokyo, covering 2,000 kilometres across Japan.

As the marchers went, meetings, rallies and study groups were organized throughout the country, which led to the formation of tens of

joint struggle organizations for better social security measures. Fierce protest representations were organized to the local and municipal governments, and the marchers were welcomed by aged women and young fishermen, farmers, who supported the campaign. As many as 10 million persons joined the grand March, which was marked by many gains. For instance, the people were made known that war and social security were the two sides of a shield, and that peace is an indispensable prerequisite to ideal social security measures.

The formation of the Liaison Council and the People's Grand March which followed the formation of the national organization contributed to the establishment of councils for social security in cities, towns and prefectures.

The supreme goal of the war-criminal Kishi Cabinet was the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty to rearm Japan, and intensify her subjection to U.S. imperialism. As a step for such an attempt, the Government brought up a Police Bill for discussion at the Diet in Autumn 1958. The Government attempted, through this, to revive the fascist-like Public Security Maintenance Law. The National Pension Insurance Law was also submitted to the Diet.

However, the Japanese workers and the people were no longer the same workers and the people who sacrificed under absolute Tennoism. The Police Bill was clashed in face of mighty fight involving workers, peasants, farmers, merchants, citizens and students.

This gave a powerful push to Japanese democratic movement. However, although efforts were made to combine the struggle against the National Pension Law with the struggle against the Police Bill, success was not obtained, and the Law passed the Diet in spring 1959. (The policy of the Council for the Promotion of Social Security clearly pointed out that the Government was attempting to solidify Japan-U.S. Security Treaty setup economically through the passage of the National Pension Law.)

The vital energy revealed at the time of anti-Police Bill struggle exploded again in the historical nationwide struggle against the Government's attempt to revise the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. The forces of the people were united through the People's Congress Against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, and flamed up as a fire. All the actions were concentrated upon the fight to do away with the Government's notorious attempt. The people's action made a great stride forward in the course of united actions conducted in November 1959.

In the upsurge of the nationwide struggle, the Sohyo and the Council for the Promotion of Social Security held a central rally in February 1960 against unemployment and poverty, and confirmed that the struggle should be developed in close combination with the anti-Security Treaty struggle, as the aims of the National Pension Law was at strengthening the Security Treaty setup.

How to combine the anti-National Pension Struggle with the anti-Treaty struggle was an important problem. The Miike miners' struggle contributed a great deal to enlivening the people's struggle to block the Government's attempt.

Hundreds and thousands of people rushed to the Diet and to the American Embassy day after day in firely protest to the revision of the Security Treaty. Their mighty power forced the Kishi Cabinet to cancel its plan to invite then the U.S. President Eisenhower.

In the fierce opposition of the people of the country, the new Security Treaty was rammed through the Diet in a most fascist-like method at 0:19 a.m. on the morning of May 20, 1960. 500 armed police were stationed within the Diet building, while the Socialist, the Socialist-Democratic and the Communist Parties were not represented. Even the anti-main-current groups within the leading Liberal Democratic Party rejected Beating at the time of ratification.

The Japanese people were more than holding their activities in face of forceful ratification. The waves of people's anger grew in demand for the invalidity of the new Treaty, in protest to the fascist-like method of adoption and for the defense of democracy of the country. The Kishi Cabinet had to resign in the upsurge of the nation's anger.

The nationwide united action centering around the workers at the time of the anti-Treaty revision struggle contributed a great deal to developing various pressing struggles. It has given a vital push to the struggle for social security measures and against the Government-proposed National Pension Insurance System.

(2) An Advance Made in Joint Action:

The Kishi Cabinet was succeeded by the Ikeda Government in July 1960. At its outset, the Ikeda Cabinet spoke highly of the need to replete social security measures. Taking a "low-posture" attitude, he tried his best to retrieve the distrust of the people in the Liberal-Democratic Government.

However, the real intention of the Government through "economic-stabilization policy", "double the national income policy", "rationalization policy", "reinforced Security Treaty setup coupled with monopoly intensification policy", etc. could not escape the attention of the public. The Ikeda Cabinet was destined, from the very beginning, to be exposed to the stern protest of the population.

The General Councils of Japan (Sohyo) and the Council for the Promotion of Social Security Decided on its basic policy in April 1960 as follows: "The organizations holds the attitude of opposition to the National Pension System as its purpose is to collect a huge sum of money from the hands of the masses; they would launch a wide publicity campaign to enlighten the public with the basic principle to oppose the movement up to April, 1961. (the month set by the Government as the time for the execution of the Law. According to these principles, a massive campaign will be conducted to force the Government to revise the National Pension Law. In case the Bill is not revised for the interest of the people, a campaign will be organized to boycott payment of premium. Actions will be organized to block the implementation of the Law."

In June 1960, the Council submitted a written document of 20 demands to the Welfare Minister, in which it demanded the revision of the system so that the applicants or their families could have a guarantee of their

old age as long as they paid the premium for a certain period.

To this, the Welfare Minister replied that the proposed National Pension was the best one in the world, and tried to make the deputation realize that that the Law had already been adopted. But his conviction had to suffer from collaption.

Gradually but steadily, struggle has been developing. In parallel with the anti-National Pension struggle developed the struggle of construction workers (uniting with the National Federation of Construction Workers' Unions), and day workers (organized in the All Japan Day Workers' Union) for the revision of Day Workers' Insurance; the struggle of underground workers (belonging to the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union and Japanese Federation of Metal Miners' Unions) against the Government-proposed revision of the Labor Accident Law, the struggle of Government and Public Servicemen against the revision of the Public Servicemen's Mutual Aid Insurance System, the struggle organized by the Councils for the Promotions of Social Security of major 5 cities for the improvement of the National Health Insurance system, and raise of monthly payment for those under the Livelihood Protection Law, and the struggle of the medical doctors for the raise of medical fees, etc.

Strong public criticisms against the fascist-like unilateral ratification of the new Security Treaty have continued developing, driving the monopolies to the corner.

The Sohyo and the Council for the Promotion of Social Security decided to carry out mighty actions at several peaks: for instance, they required the applicants to reject survey by the local governments in June and July when the Government was planning to make a national survey on the applicants; to reject notification; around September and October, and to reject receiving Pension Pocket-books in December and January when it would be delivered by the Government. In March and April, it was planned to carry out an opposition campaign within the Diet, and later, a campaign to reject the payment of the premium.

In July 1960, ten days after the formation of the Ikeda Cabinet, the Council for the Promotion of Social Security launched a united action through the mass representation to the Welfare Ministry.

The Japanese workers who headed the anti-Treaty revision struggle had a realization that they should spear head the struggle for the improvement of social security measures. The united action in Tokyo was participated by more than 2,500 workers uniting with the Japan Teachers' Union (Nikkyoso), All Japan Postal Workers' Union (Zentei), All Agriculture Ministry Workers' Union (Zen Worin), All Japan Day Workers' Union (Zennichi Jiro), National Federation of Construction Workers' Unions (Zenken Soren), the Municipal and Local Government Workers' Union (Jichiro), All Japan Telecommunication Workers' Union (Zendentsu), the National Railway Workers' Union (Kokutetsu), All Japan Forestry Agency Workers' Union (Zenrinya), the Council of Medical and Hospital Workers' Unions (Irokyo), Tokyo Workers' Federation (Tororen), the Tokyo Communication Workers' Union (Toko), Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (Taro), etc. and the organizations affiliated with the Council for the Promotion of Social Security and the representatives of more than ten prefectures.

A great deputation was a menace to the Welfare Minister. She shouted with a frown that "it would be too much to ask for the better", but promised finally that the Welfare Minister would notify the lower administrations not to enforce survey or notification, though the system requires compulsory application.

Unified action in Tokyo was succeeded by the struggles throughout the country. The protest movement spread all over in July, August and September through the District Trade Union Councils and Councils for the Promotion of Social Security of regional and local basis.

Study groups, meetings, rallies, deputations to the local governments were conducted one after another. Local assemblies adopted resolutions in demand for the improvement of the social security measures and postponement of the Government-proposed National Pension system.

The Welfare Ministry began receiving notification forms on October 1, after a month delay. In Tokyo, the representatives visited the Welfare Ministry and urged it to postpone the notification business. 30 publicity cars paraded through the streets of Tokyo, calling upon the citizens to reject the notification. Protest demonstrations to the Finance Ministry and Welfare Ministry were repeated.

While on the other hand, a Farmers' Joint Congress for the Establishment of Good Pension System was set up. It was composed of Japan Peasant and Farmers' Union (Nichino), National Federation of Farmers' Unions (Zennoren), and the Federation of Settlers' Associations (Kaitakuren), which gave a spur to the formation of peasants' unions on local basis.

The third general meeting of the Council for the Promotion of Social Security held in the middle of October 1960 decided as follows: (1) To carry out a campaign to realize a pension system under the Government's responsibility, (2) to conduct a movement for a guarantee for the jobless workers and the destitutes, (3) a struggle for the establishment of a guaranteed medical measures, (4) and an action to establish real social welfare.

More and more trade unions joined the Councils for the Promotion of Social Security on the occasion of the 3rd general meeting. The reports to the general meeting made clear the will and determination of the workers to take a lead in the national struggle.

The national Meeting of the Activists in the Pension System Struggle which was held immediately after the third general meeting was participated by 250 persons from all over the country. It decided to organize wide-range campaign to enlighten the inhabitants, let them know about the truth of the Government-proposed National Pension so that they would have courage and determination enough to reject the notification from their spontaneous will. The meeting approved a plan to organize small publicity-groups, organizers' teams to go around the villages, towns, and cities. It also decided to launch a signature collection campaign to collect 10 million names in opposition to the proposed Pension. It was stressed that the movement should be developed in such a way that the local assemblies would adopt opposition resolutions in the electioneering campaign for the Lower House in November 1960. (On this day, Socialist Chairman Asanuma was killed by a thug at the Hibiya Public

Hall. The participants resolved to do everything they could against the rise of fascism.)

In the same month, the 4th forum on the local autonomy sponsored by the local government workers took up the subject in a special commission and issued an appeal to the People of Japan. (The forum was attended by 5,000 local government workers.) The appeal stressed the urgency of the question and called upon the organized workers to tackle with the question energetically. "The question no longer concerns with the 26 million persons to whom the Pension is to be applied by the Government," it said.

Prior to this, the subcommission of the 6th World Conference Against A and H Bombs and Japan Mothers' Congress unanimously adopted resolutions to fight for the postponement of the implementation of the system. Thus the struggle against the National Pension system developed from the anti-Treaty revision struggle, and expanded further during the electioneering campaign.

In face of growing opposition, the Government finally declared that a lump sum would be paid to the applicants, and old age pension be paid to those who desire.

While doing so, the Government and the Welfare Ministry contacted with the local government officials to use the influence of the bosses to force the applicants to quickly notify at the local government offices.

In December 1960, the Sohyo and the Council for the Promotion of Social Security organized a campaign in parallel with the struggle of Government and Public Servicemen for year-end bonus and higher wages. As the result of the campaign, the Welfare Ministry approved the demand of the representatives "that written notifications handed in the offices against the will of the applicants should be returned to the applicants", and promised them to have the lower offices notified about it immediately.

This successful action was followed by a sit-down in January 1961. Some 2,000 persons joined the sit-down conducted for 7 days in front of the Welfare Ministry building, and kept on demanding an increase in budget for social security.

Through the struggles for social security measures, with greater emphasis laid currently on the anti-Pension struggle, more and more workers realized the importance of a minimum wages system to do away with low-wages and low living conditions.

In the upsurge of the struggle for better social security, the medical and hospital workers stood up with the demands for higher wages and better working conditions. They closed their ranks and finally won a national unification at the beginning of this year as a fruitful result of their repeated strikes.

The medical workers made a showdown battle with the Government and monopolies who are frantic to pursue low-medical-budget policy at the sacrifice of the people.

While, many small-sized medical doctors (physicians) who belong to the Japan Physicians' Association have carried out several mighty campaigns,

repealing threatening interferences by the reactionary leaders of the Association. They successfully suspended medical consultations repeatedly and threatened the Government with waiver of insurance doctors.

The Government and the monopolies are greatly threatened by concerted actions of the workers and the Council for the Promotion of Social Security for an increase and expansion of medical treatments at the cost of the Government and the monopolies, on the one hand, and medical doctors who are demanding an increase in medical fee, on the other.

The struggle for the guarantee of living has grown from the struggle of those under the Government Livelihood Protection Law, their organization, the All Japan Day Workers' Union, and the Japan League of Patients, to the struggle involving wide range of workers who have become more and more conscious of the low-wage policy taken by the employers.

Here is a story of a patient who has been in bed for 18 years under the Government Aid. He entered an action against the Welfare Minister on the charge of violating Article 25 of the Constitution, because "he can never recover from his illness under the medical treatment prescribed by the present Livelihood Protection standard."

Supported by the Sohyo and patients' organization, he won a suit in the first trial in October 1960. His success was a great deal of encouragement to all the people who are fighting for better social security measures.

The struggle of the people in 5 major cities was carried out with the Councils for the Promotion of Social Security acting as the center. As the result the Government approved the demand to pay the insured 70% of medical expenses on the government's responsibility, in Tokyo. Then, the local governments in Kobe and Yokohama also approved the same demand. In Nagoya, they agreed to bear 80% of medical expenses.

The struggle for improved social security measures has been given impetus and strength with the participation of organized workers. The fighters have now come back from defensive to offensive. An indication is that the struggle will further develop during the present spring struggle for higher wages, shorter hours of work, against rationalisation drive, for the establishment of a minimum wage system. The People's Grand March against Poverty and Unemployment which started in January this year has already yielded many gains.

The Government is planning to forcefully practice the National Pension as from April 1, 1961. Only 15 million out of a total of 24 million estimated applicants have finished register. Efforts have been made to keep the unregistered persons, totalling 9 million, as they are. And, at the same time, the struggle will be organized in such a way that the already-registered would reject the payment of the insurance premium.

The Socialist Party, in support of the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party, presented the Diet a revision bill to postpone the implementation of the National Pension system and to modify the system for the benefit of the insured.

(3) Outlook of the Future Struggle:

The past experiences have taught us that the united strength of the workers and vast strata of the people is a factor to decide the fight for better social security measures. It is also correct to say that the struggle for a minimum wage system can not be separated from the struggle for better social security. These are the basic rights of the workers. To assure them, it is essential for us to carry out constant, day-to-day activities, and let the rank and file understand that they have right to maintain the minimum standard of living.

It is our regret that a minimum wage system has not yet been established in Japan. Although some of the social security systems appear to be rational, they are far from satisfactory. The trade union movement based on enterprise-unit unions is a great disadvantage to the wholesome development of the movement for just, pressing demands. Disparity existing within social security systems, differential in premiums, payments, and other conditions, is beneficial only for the employers who are frantic to split workers' front.

One of the most urgent question in our trade union movement is to eliminate enterprise-consciousness from every sphere of the movement. The trade union organizations must be based on industrial basis. Increased oppression, threat and interference by the capitalists must be repelled through consolidated unity of the workers fighting for a minimum wage system and improved social security.

The Government and the capitalists are trying to increase the amount of share borne by the workers. This means a reduction in real wages. The reduction of share borne by the state means an increase in the fund for the monopolies. Such is a part of war preparations.

Therefore, it is essential for us to carry out the struggle for social security in parallel with the struggle for a minimum wage system, for abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

The struggle for a minimum wage system and for social security measures is one of the most important struggles in that it will raise the living standard of the destitute people and put an end to the capitalists' low-wage policy. Therefore, the struggle must be organized in close unity with the peasants, small-enterprisers, general public, and at industrial and regional level.

The struggle for these two important demands is sharply against the interest of the Ikeda Cabinet and the monopolies who are frantic to revive imperialism through the revision of the Security Treaty.

The following are the concrete principles of the present struggle:

(1) To compel the Government to postpone the implementation of the National Pension system until the system is completely improved.

a. To have the payment of Welfare Pension Insurance and Seamen's Insurance raised to ¥ 6,000,

b. To survey the machinery for equipment investment, and democratize its administration. The fund should be managed by workers themselves.

Some ideas and proposals capable of being used as a
basis for drawing up a draft of

THE SOCIAL SECURITY CHARTER

Social security is a fundamental right of the working class and the result of countless united struggles that the workers have been waging for many years against exploitation by the employers.

The general worsening of the living and working conditions in the capitalist countries, the low wages, inflation, the work speed-up and the evil consequences of mechanisation and automation have even further accentuated the difficulties that the workers encounter. Moreover under the pressure of the monopolies the governments systematically reduce or suppress the budgetary expenses on social aims. The burden of armament brings about a reduction in social allowances.

The situation presents itself in an even more unfavourable light in the under-developed countries because of colonialist exploitation, the extremely low living conditions and the over-exploitation of the workers by the foreign monopolies. In the colonial countries the creation of social legislation becomes more indispensable every day.

The very complete systems of social security which exist and are improving in the socialist countries guarantee high allowances and the workers do not have to pay contributions. These systems, financed entirely by the State, guarantee all the workers complete protection in all cases of loss of the capacity to work and against all risks. This example also shows the superiority of the socialist

c. To compel the Government and employers to give the temporary Workers, day workers and the workers employed in small-sized enterprises (employing less than 5 workers) equal opportunities to apply for Welfare Pension, Health Insurance and Unemployment Insurance, etc.,

d. To urge the Government not to lower the level of payment. The insured have the right to maintain their vested rights.

(2) Medical expenditure should be increased and borne by the national treasury.

a. To urge the Government to raise the wages of the medical workers, increase the number of the workers, and improve the working conditions immediately,

b. Under the Health Insurance, all the expenses should be borne by the state and employers. In case of sickness of dependants, 70% of the expenses should be borne by the state under Health Insurance system. Special allowance should be given at the time of child birth. There will be no restriction in medical examination and medical treatment. Difference shall not be borne by the insured.

c. More than 50% of the expenses shall be borne by the national treasury under the Day Workers' Insurance. No difference should be made with the Health Insurance.

d. More than 50% of expenses shall be borne by the national treasury under the National Health Insurance system. 100% payment should be made to the insured and 70% payment for the dependents.

e. Medical expenses for T.B. patients should be borne by the national treasury. The living of the patients' families should be guaranteed by the state.

f. A democratic medical-system-survey-organization should be established, which is represented by the medical workers and the insured.

(3) The payment for those under the Government Livelihood Protection Law should be doubled. They should have a guarantee against unemployment and for decent living.

a. To press the Government for the establishment of a uniform ¥18,000 minimum wage system,

b. To urge the Government to double the monthly payment for those under the Livelihood Protection Law,

c. 80% payment should be given as an unemployment insurance for at least two years,

d. To urge the Government to newly establish a family allowance law.

(4) To urge the Government to carry out infantile paralysis vaccine inoculation for 8.5 million children free of charge.

(5) To urge the Government to increase the budget for social welfare, and improve the system.

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d. To urge the Government to newly establish a family allowance law.

(4) To urge the Government to carry out infantile paralysis vaccine inoculation for 3.5 million children free of charge.

(5) To urge the Government to increase the budget for social welfare, and improve the system.

(6) To urge the Government to improve the conditions so that the prescriptions in ILO Conventions 102 and 103 are fully realized.

In order to carry out campaigns for the materialization of the abovementioned demands, the following actions be organized on regional and workshop basis:

a. To organize social security committee or study groups, and meetings to enlighten the workers.

b. In the unions and enterprises where there are union-administered health insurance unions, action should be organized to lessen the share by the workers, to increase the share by the employers, to increase the payment to the dependents, and the amount of allowance. These demands should be well combined with the struggle for higher wages.

c. In the unions where there are Government-administered health insurance unions, action should be organized to increase the share by the employers.

d. In the enterprises where there is no Health Insurance, Welfare Pension Insurance and Unemployment Insurance applied, action should be organized for the full application of these systems.

e. Together with the demand for the promotion of temporary workers to regular workers, action should be organized for the full application of social insurance.

Through the united actions organized by the district or local trade union councils,

a. Attention should be paid to recruit more unions into the Council for the Promotion of Social Security, and wage united actions with general public, for the improvement of the system.

b. To organize demands to be presented to the local governments. To organize and develop national movement to put an end to poverty and unemployment.

c. To get in touch with the members of the Parliament who represent trade unions and strengthen cooperation with them. Some of them must be responsible for social security question.

d. To launch signature collection campaign for the postponement of the implementation of the National Pension system, for the inoculation against infantile paralysis and against the commodity price rise.

system in the field of social security and constitutes a considerable moral force for the workers of the capitalist countries in their struggles against the employers attacks and for the improvement of social security.

Because of the common interests of all workers throughout the world, without distinction of trade union tendencies or affiliation, the W.F.T.U. submits for the discussion of the workers and trade unions, this first draft of the Social Security Charter drawn up by the trade union leaders in the different countries whether or not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. who are members of the International Trade Union Commission on Social Security.

The adoption of this Charter will be proposed at the 5th World Trade Union Congress which will take place December 4-16, in Moscow.

Social Security Systems :

1. A true social security system must be based on the recognition of a fundamental social right guaranteed by law to all people and to the members of their family who live by their work or who find it impossible to work or who are temporarily or permanently incapacitated.
2. The social security systems must assure the workers of the normal means of existence by means of loans in kind and guarantee them complete free medical care. The loans in kind should be readjusted on the basis of the cost of living, development of wages and the vital needs of the workers and their families.

3. Social security must cover all the social responsibilities and risks including sickness, maternity, family allowances, health and safety at work, work accidents and occupational diseases, disablement and old age, unemployment and death.

In the general framework of the social situation and labour conditions effective measures must be taken especially

- regarding the right to work and employment,
- the length of hours of work,
- paid holidays,
- accommodation

in order to contribute to the material and cultural conditions as well as to the safety of the lives of the workers.

4. Social security must apply to all workers and employees to small peasants, artisans, members of the liberal professions and students as well as to those who are unable to work.

5. The right to social security must be equal for all without discrimination of race, nationality, religion, sex and age; there should not be any discrimination based on the trade or discrimination between the public and private sectors of the economy.

6. Sickness

The workers have the right to medical care of a curative, preventitive and convalescent nature - free and without any limit - for all sicknesses. The allowances in kind, paid from the very first day must guarantee normal means of existencex, ~~depending to~~

~~the degree of incapacity.~~

7. Maternity

The working woman as well as her children has the right to special protection including free medical care during pregnancy and after the birth, clinical care for the child up to the age of one year, the payment of allowances in the nursing period, paid maternity leave and bonuses for the birth as well as the provision of a layette.

8. Health and labour safety

Delegates and health and safety committees elected by the workers must be picked in the undertakings and at the places of work in order to promote co-operation with the labour inspection and effective preventitive measures adapted to the labour conditions

9. Work accidents and occupational diseases

Medical care as well as readaptation and trade re-education with a guarantee of re-employment must be assured, free and without any limit.

In case of temporary incapacity, allowances in kind must be paid during the medical treatment guaranteeing the workers the same living standard as before. If it is a case of permanent incapacity a pension must be granted estimated on the basis of the wage and according to the degree of incapacity.

In the case of occupational diseases an allowance must be paid as soon as it is established. All occupational diseases must be compulsorily registered on the official lists established for these diseases.

10. Disablement and old age

The age for retirement must be fixed at 50-60 for men and 45-50 for women, taking into account difficult, unhealthy or dangerous work.

The minimum basic rate for disablement and old age pension set up in accordance with the actual salary of the workers must guarantee them normal means of existence, allow the pensioned man and his family to preserve a reasonable living standard.

The disablement pension must be over valued beyond the minimum according to the degree of physical or trade disability.

Free medical care must be given to those with old age and disablement pensions.

11. Family allowances

Family allowances must be given for all children and for dependent persons and fixed at a total allowing a family to keep up a good standard of living and to guarantee the upbringing of its children.

12. Unemployment

Unemployed persons must be guaranteed an allowance until they are re-employed, for each day or each hour of work lost, on the basis of their actual wage.

13. Death

A funeral allowance will be granted to cover the costs of burial and a pension must be paid to the widow and dependent persons to allow them to keep up normal living standards.

14. Management and finance

The management of the Social Security Institutions must be guaranteed by the representatives of the workers themselves.

This management must be guaranteed at all levels by the election of members of leading bodies and the participation of the trade unions.

The financing of social security must be assured by the employers or the State or by a combination of the two without a contribution from the workers.

The right to work

- Constitutional recognition of the right to work and its effective application in the countries where it is admitted;
- The continuous application of the policy of full employment.

Length of work

- Reduction of the hours of work to 40 per week and less for certain trades and jobs, without reduction of wages and rest periods during the working day.

Paid holidays

- The right of all workers to a paid annual holiday of a minimum guaranteed length and increase and extension of the existing practice in various countries.

Housing

- To guarantee the workers adequate accommodation at reasonable rents which represent only a fair percentage of their wages.
- To encourage the building of homes.

Concluding part of Com. Teodorescu's ^{Report} ~~Speech~~ in
meeting of International Commission on Social
Security (Prague March 27-30, 1961)

After this glance around certain aspects of Social Security in the different countries of the world we realise how many integral problems in this wide field have yet to be solved.

I am thinking of the work accidents, new occupational diseases, the working conditions of women, young people and children, and the result of capitalist over-exploitation in general, as well as the use of forced labour.

Everywhere the reasons originate in the total contempt of the employers for labour safety measures and for the protection of the life and health of the workers.

In modern industry the mechanisation and automation of production has replaced the old animal muscular fatigue of the workers. But the modern machine functions at fantastic speed. It is no longer the worker who governs the machine, it is the machine who governs him. It only demands a few simple operations from the worker but they must be fast, precise and uninterrupted and these actions put his whole nervous system under constant pressure.

The increased intensity of the work, the insecurity of the job, the long journeys between ~~bet~~ home and the place of work and other facts, have made the workers more vulnerable to risks from accidents and sickness.

The mechanisation of production is undergoing a rapid development in the large factories and in the undertakings where the most powerful capitalists can be sure of supplementary profits by introducing modern machinery and over-exploiting the workers.

But how many unhealthy factories still exist that are equipped with ancient material and are a constant threat to the

health and lives of the workers. The employers are pushing the workers to over-production in absolute contempt of the security of their lives.

It is certain that mechanisation will occur sooner or later. In the new conditions of modern production new problems are already beginning to present themselves to the workers and to their trade union organisations.

It is difficult to make a general analysis of the main causes of accidents, sickness and the deterioration in the health of the working class in the capitalist countries.


This analysis must in fact be made by the industry or the branch of activity, and particularly where the rate of occurrence are highest: in the mines, building, chemical and engineering industries, the post and telegraph services, forestry, etc...

We also think that the working conditions of women and young people must receive more attention from the trade unions.

The claims and the hopes of all categories of workers in the field of social security are a powerful basis for joint actions that can be waged against the attacks by the employers and the capitalist governments.

Since its creation the W.F.T.U. has encouraged these campaigns; it has carried out widespread activity to obtain and defend Social Security.

The leading bodies of the W.F.T.U.: its Congresses, General Councils, Executive Committees and its Secretariat, as well as its Trade Unions Internationals have adopted ~~document~~ documents, resolutions and plans of action for the progress of



Convinced that the social demands of women and youth must be upheld more strongly, the WFTU has developed its activities in this field. It has organized two large Conferences: one for women, the other for youth; at which the right to Social Security, health and job protection, were among the most important objectives.

Social Security in the world. This continuous activity by the W.F.T.U. has become even wider since the Vienna Conference, not only as regards the trade union organisations but also as regards the international organisations: U.N., I.L.O., I.S.S.A., and the Economic and Social Council, ~~for the protection of health and work.~~

A lot of material has been collected, studies have been made and continuous support has been given to the workers in their struggles for Social Security.

Springing from the interest that it has always had in the economic and social demands of the workers ^{as an integral} ~~who are~~ a part of its activities, and in the framework of the application of the decisions passed at the 4th World Trade Union Congress, the W.F.T.U. has taken this new initiative: the creation of an International Commission on Social Security.

We are happy to note that at the first meeting of this Commission there are brothers present who have great responsibilities in the field of social security in national centres affiliated and non-affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

We hope that this Commission, which is so broad and united, will be able to find, along with the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, the best ways and means of guaranteeing new developments in the united action and international solidarity of all workers and all trade union organisations without distinction, to obtain, defend, extend and improve Social Security.

You must know that this year is the year of the 5th World Trade Union Congress which will take place in Moscow in December.

The announcement of this meeting has aroused great interest among the workers and the trade unions in many countries of the world. And it is normal when one thinks that all the Congresses

of the W.F.T.U., its big united international assemblies, have always marked new stages in the struggles for the defence of peace and for the satisfaction of the workers' claims.

We think that the platform of the Congress will be widely used by the participants to make known the Social Security situation in all the countries and to make known the experiences of the struggles, the successes achieved or the difficulties encountered.

It seems to us that within the framework of the preparation for the 5th Congress in the ranks of the working masses the trade union organisations should right away intensify their united actions and take measures to raise the level of the workers' struggles in a field which is so very topical.

Perhaps the proceedings of our Commission could constitute the point of departure for a broad world campaign for Social Security which is one of the claims to which all the workers are most alive.

A very important document will soon be launched by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau; it will help to enlighten the workers on the vital problems of the hour and to define the aims of the Congress. In this document the social aspirations of the mass of the workers will be reflected.

At the same time it seems to us that our Commission could discuss the proposal made by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat and adopted by its Executive Committee concerning the drawing up of a Social Security Charter whose adoption would be proposed at the 5th World Trade Union Congress.

The draft of such a Charter drawn up by the Commission and submitted for discussion to all the workers and trade unions of all countries could be a weapon of considerable value in the

actions for obtaining and defending Social Security.

Completed and modified on the basis of the proposals which will spring from a wide discussion, this draft could be submitted afterwards for adoption at the 5th Congress.

We have already drawn up some ideas capable of serving as a point of departure for the Draft Charter. It is a case as you may have noted, of ideas which are to a great extent contained in the Programme adopted by the Vienna Conference.

It is up to you to give your opinion and your suggestions and to act so that this Charter will reflect all branches of Social Security, its principles and its standards, so that it can be universally accepted by the trade union organisations.

This is a first and in my opinion very important task that the Commission could accomplish.

Moreover we think that the Commission, which must be a body for study and consultation in order to help the W.F.T.U. in its campaigns, could itself formulate its immediate and long term tasks.

We think that the Commission should:

- Make a thorough study of the existing regimes of Social Security in the different countries and regions of the world
- Make known with the help of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat the experiences of the workers' struggles in this field.
- Propose to the W.F.T.U. Secretariat the forms of action capable of achieving the unity of the workers around problems of a social nature.
- To draw up propaganda material on these themes: articles, pamphlets and so on.

- To take measures in agreement with the W.F.T.U. for the improvement of social legislation as regards the international organisations: I.L.O., Economic and Social Council, I.S.S.A.
- To see how technical aid and assistance in the field of social security could be given ^{to} the trade unions of the countries which have recently acquired their independence.

The Commission could perhaps make a statement on the need to revive the National Committees created before the Vienna Conference and which have done a lot of very important work.

The questions raised by Social Security closely affect numerous fields of fairly strict specialisation. The Commission could eventually make a statement on the opportunity of associating in its work doctors, engineers and specialists who are working for the progress of Social Security.

The Commission could meet once a year, naturally on condition that they could find the means of guaranteeing a continuous co-operation of all members, and so establish continuity in their work.

The machinery of the W.F.T.U. with the help of the members of the Commission and under the leaders ^{hip} of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat will be able to ^{carry out the} ~~guarantee~~ practical work between two meetings of the Commission.

These are some proposals and suggestions on which we would like to have your opinion.

I would like to emphasize once more that this report is only a glance at some of the aspects of Social Security and the struggles of the workers in the capitalist countries in this field.

We are looking forward to your speeches with great interest in order to get to know more about your experiences which will enable us all to find the way for our Commission to begin its work in the best possible conditions.

In concluding I would like to emphasize that only the united contiguous and tenacious action of the masses can seriously counter the attack by monopoly capital against the social rights of the workers.

The main obstacle preventing the working class from achieving its aims remains the division within its ranks.

The W.F.T.U., a united class organisation, does not cease to enlighten the workers on the need to achieve national and international trade union unity. It is well aware that the achievement of unity is not an easy objective to achieve.

The capitalist monopolies and the reactionary governments helped by the right-wing leaders of the trade union movement are doing everything possible to prevent and delay this achievement.

But at present the trend towards unity in the ranks of the workers is stronger and more effective than the hostility of certain trade union leaders.

The many exchanges of delegations between trade unions of different affiliations; the joint campaigns by the workers for economic and social demands and for the defence of peace; the actions carried out by the W.F.T.U. at international level and in co-operation with independent organisations or those affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. are also proofs which demonstrate the development of a trend in favour of unity.

The presence of representatives of the independent National Centres or of those affiliated to other organisations alongside the representatives of the centres from the socialist and capitalist countries affiliated to the W.F.T.U., meeting today at the headquarters of the W.F.T.U. to discuss the problems which are of interest to all the workers of the world is a clear proof of our joint desire for co-operation.

The workers of the world will be able to profit from this comparison of ideas and experiences. This is the wish we want to express in beginning the proceedings of the Social Security Commission.

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A. I. T. U. C.
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R E P O R T

on the position and growth of struggles for
the achievement, defence, extension and
improvement of social security in different
countries and regions of the world

Speaker: Elena TEODCRESCU
Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

The International Conference for the defence, improvement and extension of Social Insurance and Social Security, organised on the initiative of the W.F.T.U., took place in Vienna in March 1953.

Now we meet together 8 years later, in March 1961, at the W.F.T.U. headquarters, not to celebrate the anniversary of this Conference but to find together new forms of trade union action in a field which is very topical for the workers in the capitalist countries.

In my opinion this is the best way of celebrating an event as important as the big united Vienna Conference.

If I may, I will take as my point of departure the significance of that Conference for the eventual development of the action of the trade unions in the field of Social Security.

One can see first of all that by showing the state of Social Security at the time, the Conference enabled trade union organisations to plan their action better and to give it more strength, unity and precision.

By adopting a concrete programme it defined the principles of social security, according to which a real system of social security should be based on the recognition of a fundamental social right, guaranteed by the law, to all human beings who live by their work or who find it impossible to work or are temporarily or permanently incapacitated, and to the members of their families.

It has shown that the right to social security is the same for all, without any discrimination of race, nationality, religion, sex or age, just as there must not be any discrimination between the public and private sector of the economy.

The Conference emphasized that Social Security must cover all the social responsibilities and risks including especially sickness, maternity, disability, old age, work accidents and occupational diseases, total or partial unemployment, death, family responsibilities and so on.

It also pointed out that Social Security payments must guarantee adequate means of existence and be adjusted to increased wages and higher costs of living.

The Conference established that in principle Social Security must be financed by the State, or the employers, or by both, without any contribution from the workers, and that its management must be carried out by the workers' representatives.

Such in general were the principles drawn up by the Conference and written into the "Programme of Social Security" that it adopted.

This programme had considerable value for the eventual development of action for Social Security. It has become a precious weapon in the hands of the workers and trade unions in their struggle for a better life and for social progress.

It is no exaggeration to say that the organisations of the whole world have profited from the programme of the Conference around which unity has very often been achieved and considerable gains made.

In fact we have been able to see that in Congresses or Conferences, at national, regional or international level, in the struggles for claims in particular workplaces or at industry level, the Social Security demands can be found formulated in almost exactly the same way as they were in the Programme adopted by the Vienna Conference.

What conclusions can one come to today 8 years later, about the developments in Social Security in the different countries or regions of the world and what is the present situation?

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If one tries to reply to these questions one must, from the beginning, make a categorical demarcation between the Social Security situation in the socialist countries on the one hand, and that in the industrialised or under-developed capitalist countries on the other.

In the socialist countries, within the framework of a society freed from domination by the monopolies and from the exploitation of man by man, in a society where the working class is in power, the essential aim is the most complete satisfaction of the material, social and cultural needs of the whole working population.

The harmonious and swift upsurge of socialist economy and the immense work of peaceful construction in these countries is expressed in the continuous improvement in the living standard of the working people and in the great achievements in the social field.

It is undeniable that if one compares the principles in the Programme adopted by the 1953 Conference with the achievements of the socialist countries, one sees that the social security systems in these countries faithfully reflect all these principles and in many cases even, go beyond them.

These systems naturally vary in detail from one country to another according to the historical conditions of development of each country but in a general sense the fundamental principles of Social Security are the same for all the socialist countries.

Certainly the most complete Social Security system is that of the Soviet Union which, since the Great October Revolution, has not ceased to develop on the basis of new conceptions formerly unknown in history.

Following the example of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia have made their original contribution in this field, so enriching the joint heritage of the working masses of these countries.

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During the proceedings of our Commission we are going to listen to our brothers from the Soviet Union, from China and Czechoslovakia, who will certainly tell us about their experiences and achievements, as well as about the ideas which are at the basis of the Social Security systems in their respective countries.

I would, however, like to emphasize that the legislation on Social Security in the socialist countries is the most advanced in the world. It guarantees to all who live by their work, without any discrimination, as well as to the members of their families, very broad rights protecting them from all risks.

Free medical care is guaranteed by a considerable network of social institutions: hospitals, maternity homes, sanatoria, creches, nursery schools, rest homes and so on... Special attention is given to the prevention of accidents and illnesses, to job safety in the workplaces. Women and children enjoy the greatest possible care from the governments of the socialist countries.

The workers pay no contribution to Social Security: it is entirely financed by the undertakings and the States, which devote great sums for this purpose. Here are some examples which illustrate this fact:

In my own country the People's Republic of Rumania, where Social Insurance has been managed by the trade unions for 11 years, the budget for 1961 has risen to 3 billion 745 million lei as against 3 billion 526 million in 1960.

The constant increase in Social Security budgets in Rumania is the result of the rapid development in the national economy, the increase in the number of the workers and in their wages, as well as the progressive improvement in Social Security rights.

The government of the People's Republic of Poland increases every year the sums devoted to the improvement of Social Security and work safety. In 1959, 5 billion 206 million zlotys were spent on it, that is 2.5 times more than in 1954.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria the sums allocated to Social Insurance were 2 billion 168 million leva in 1960 as against 1 billion 247 million in 1957, that is an increase of 74%.

We note the same tendency in all the other socialist countries.

When one thinks that these considerable sums are at the disposal of the trade unions, which administer the Social Security system, are responsible for management of the funds and supervise the application of the legislation, one realises the deep democratic and human content of the systems in the socialist countries.

These achievements as well as the great successes of the socialist countries in other fields, contrast more each day with the backward social policy of the governments in the capitalist countries, and enlighten the workers in these countries by showing them that the socialist system is, in our age, becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society.

To hinder this evolution, to maintain their class privileges and to increase their profits unceasingly, the governments of the capitalist countries, the big monopolies and the employers are attacking the standard of living of the working masses and the rights the workers have acquired after long battles against their exploiters.

For none of the workers' rights, in no matter what field, are the result of the goodwill of the employers; they are only the result of countless battles waged by the working class during dozens of years. The rights won from the employers - even those which are guaranteed by law - are never final in the capitalist world. The danger always exists that these rights may be attacked by the employers, revised and even removed, according to the changes occurring in the balance of forces between the employers and the workers.

This truth, many times confirmed by life, as well as the fact that all the workers' rights are closely linked and spring directly from the nature of the society in which they were won, have been emphasized by those taking part from many countries and continents, in the first meeting of the International Trade Union and Legal Commission for the Defence of Trade Union Rights, which took place two weeks^{ago} at the W.F.T.U. headquarters in this very room.

This meeting, of which the main aim was to set up a programme of action for the defence of trade union rights and to find ways and means for the whole of the trade union movement to take part in the struggle for the defence of trade union rights, also emphasized that this struggle constitutes an indispensable condition for the defence of the workers' economic and social claims, for the improvement of wages, for the reduction of working hours, to prevent dismissals and to reduce unemployment.

It is clear that the struggle for the defence of trade union rights and democratic freedoms and for the strengthening of trade union organisations, as well as the struggle for economic and social claims, are all an integral part of the continuous class struggle that the workers and their trade unions must wage without relaxation in order to cope with the growing difficulties they are encountering.

The worsening of the living and working conditions of the mass of the people, the low wages, the increases in the cost of living, the unemployment, the long and tiring days of work, daily accentuate these difficulties.

In many capitalist countries war budgets and the sums devoted to the arms race are constantly increasing, while monopolist groups and governments are trying systematically to reduce budgetary expenditure on social purposes.

In the United States - the main force of aggression and preparation for a new world war - 57% of the 1960 budget was spent on armaments and the upkeep of war preparation centres in

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different parts of the world, and only 5.6% on social purposes.

In Federal Germany where the Nazi militarist revenge-seekers, with the aid of the American imperialists, are furiously preparing for new aggression, 62% of the 1960 budget was devoted to direct and indirect expenditure on armament.

In France, the Algerian war last year cost about 2 billion francs a day; in Great Britain, in Belgium and in the other NATO countries considerable sums were spent on increasing the stocks of weapons and on putting-down the struggles of the colonial or dependent peoples for their liberation.

The arms race not only threatens the peoples with further aggression but is a heavy burden on the living standards of the masses.

In the capitalist countries the working class consistently demands the reduction of military expenditure and the use of the resources freed in this way for the improvement of the living conditions of the masses, for the satisfaction of the needs of civil production, for the building of homes, for public health, education, social security and so on. Disarmament has become at present, an important demand of the mass of the people. The W.F.T.U. has never ceased to enlighten the masses on the close links which exist between the struggle for peace and disarmament and the struggle for economic and social demands.

To illustrate this liaison, the 20th session of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. pointed out that the money needed to pay for only one of the destroyers planned by the Bonn Government would be enough to reimburse the West German miners for the loss of wages they have suffered from unemployment. The 2 billion 600 million marks spent by the Bonn Government on the purchase of war plans would enable the construction of the 630,000 flats required by the workers and a small part of the annual arms expenditure would be enough to guarantee the payment of their wages to all workers in case of sickness without increasing their social security contribution.

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Despite these facts the Bonn Government recently began an attack on the modest social rights and benefits which the workers of West Germany have at the moment. They want to have a reform of sickness insurance which would lead to a deterioration of the present situation. The majority of the Federal Parliament decided that the workers must pay a supplement for each medical prescription, for medicines and dressings.

Those insured are therefore forced to pay for 30% of the actual medical costs. They must further pay 2 DM for each medical certificate. Besides, the insured people and their families must contribute a great deal to hospital costs.

The absence of labour safety measures, the excessive pace of work, and the overexploitation of the workers have caused in the last 10 years more than 50,000 fatal work accidents and 20 million injuries.

These examples show clearly the reactionary and backward nature of the Bonn Government, its contempt for the life and health of those who build all the wealth of the country.

This situation is in striking contrast with that of the workers in the German Democratic Republic, where all the efforts of the government are devoted to the good of the people. One example is enough to illustrate this characteristic direction in all the socialist countries: in 1959 the government of the G.D.R. spent 41.5% of the annual State budget on public health and social security and only 2.1% on national defence.

In Great Britain although thanks to the workers' struggles, the Social Security system is much more complete than in the majority of the other capitalist countries, the workers and the trade unions must wage a consistent struggle to defend and improve it.

The workers have waged the most numerous campaigns for the increase of benefits and allowances, above all to cope with the increase in the cost of living. That is especially

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the case with old-age pensions, for which the struggle is going on all the time. In September 1960, the T.U.C. adopted a resolution which demanded an increase in pensions. But the right-wing leaders in the T.U.C. succeeded in obtaining rejection of an amendment specifying a pension of £3.10s.0. a week, on the pretext that it was not realistic. They also succeeded in obtaining rejection of a resolution stipulating that May 1st, 1961, should be a day of demonstrations and strikes for increased pensions.

To cope with the expenditure on armaments the government of Great Britain and the monopolies have recently decided on increased contributions from the workers for their retirement pensions, for medical care, spectacles, dental treatment and so on. These measures have aroused a new wave of protest and discontent.

On February 20, 1961, 2,000 workers went on strike in Glasgow for half a day to protest against this increase. The Welsh miners have decided on a general strike for May Day, the Engineering Unions, the General and Municipal Workers' Union and the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers also decided to organise actions of protest.

The Trade Union Committee for Co-ordination and Action for the Common Market Countries has noted in the Common Market countries : France, Italy, Belgium, Federal Germany and so on - a general attempt to restrict the rights that the working class has acquired in the field of Social Security.

To combat the united movements of the workers who demonstrate in these countries for the application of better social benefits there is a tendency to level out these advantages in all countries to the level of the lowest.

In these countries the allowances are not in general adjusted to increases in wages or the cost of living. If one adds the general tendency to increase the workers' contributions, either for medical care or for other branches of social security,

one realises that there is a reduction in effective wages and a considerable lowering in the purchasing power of the workers.

In the face of the attack of the governments and the monopolies the working class does not remain passive. In France the C.G.T. is waging a continuous action for the defence and extension of Social Security and at present especially to prevent the effective transformation of the Social Security systems into public services, that is to say against the State taking over these institutions and the whole network of insurance.

In Italy, the C.G.I.L. in July 1960, presented to the Chamber of Deputies a Bill for the establishment of a new Social Security system, which would reflect the hopes and needs of the Italian workers in this field.

The big 5-week strike which has just shaken Belgium and which involved almost a million workers, was aimed at preventing the passing of a law of social regression, the "loi-unique" drawn up by the government.

To continue their policy of high profits and the arms race, which involves 20 billion Belgian francs of military expenditure every year, the government and the monopolies thought it necessary to put even more pressure on the workers. That is why the "loi-unique" provided for new taxes bringing in 10 billion francs, and economies of 10 billion francs in social expenditure, that is to say on Social Security, unemployment allowances for workers in private industries, as well as on the pensions and other benefits of workers in the public services.

This heroic strike of the Belgian workers, supported by international solidarity, enabled an unprecedented raising of the consciousness of the broad masses of the workers, and marked a stopping point in the reactionary attack against the standard of living and the democratic rights of working people.

In the other countries of Western Europe, the Social Security situation is varied. In Switzerland more than half

of the contributions are paid by the insured, while the employers pay 23% and the State only 21%. In the Scandinavian countries, where there are fairly good systems especially for pensions, it must be emphasized that the age of retirement is very high - in Sweden and in Denmark 67 and in Norway 70 - and is a great weakness of the legislation.

In the capitalist state most highly developed from an economic point of view, the United States, the Social Security situation is fairly backward in comparison with the other industrialised capitalist countries. Many categories of workers are not included in the general system.

The Social Security Act adopted in 1945 and completed after the war by a series of derogatory laws, is considered by bourgeois theoreticians as a proof of the concern of the State to satisfy the needs and the demands of its citizens. But this does not correspond with the truth. In fact the Social Security laws adopted after the war were in the first place the result of the conscious struggle of the working class. It is not by chance that the years 1949, 1952, 1953 and 1955 which preceded the adoption of the most important laws on Social Security were those in which there were the greatest number of strikes. The improvements which were achieved were of course linked to an increase in the insurance payments. Moreover the employers are able to make the consumers cope with their increased Social Security contributions by raising prices, which means in fact that the expenditure related to these improvements is supported by the workers.

The situation of old workers who have not yet the right to retire is particularly difficult in the United States. With the automation of production, a growing number of workers are dismissed between the ages of 45 and 50. If they look for another job they are told that they are too old to be insured, they are therefore in the most fortunate cases reduced to dependence on their families. This critical situation is even reflected in the official statistics. According to the U.S. Minister of Public Health and Social Insurance there were in

June 1956 almost 14.5 million people over 65 years, but only 8.5 million, that is 59% of them, receive a pension on the basis of the Social Security Law.

Since 1937 there have been laws on unemployment in each state of the U.S.A. But these laws are not valid for all wage earners. Even former President Truman was compelled to state in 1958 that the level of allowances for unemployment benefits and old age pensions are a disgrace to the country.

Social security in the countries of Latin America, whose economy is dominated by the monopolies and the American imperialists, is limited almost exclusively to sickness and accident insurances, which only cover a fairly small percentage of the workers and employees.

In Brazil only 17% of the population is protected, in varying degrees, by a social security system.

Therefore the percentages of workers and of the population of the Latin American countries who do not benefit from insurance are very high, except in Chile - and even there the percentage of those who have the right to a pension is minimum. Unemployment insurance is almost non-existent in Latin America.

So the workers in these countries must still struggle for the extension of Social Security and even in some countries for the application of a system which should according to the law already exist.

Besides, since the second world war, the value of allowances and pensions paid to certain workers has shrunk considerably as a result of inflation. In certain countries, the workers have succeeded in obtaining readjustments to check this tendency. This applies particularly to Brazil and Chile.

Administrative costs of social security bodies are often very high. For instance, during the past twelve years

expenditure of the social security fund in the Dominican Republic on general administration amounted over a 12-year period to 33% of the disbursements to insured persons.

The majority of Latin American countries follow the principle of a "progressive extension" of social security: this means that it covers first of all certain industries, or certain regions only, or restricted groups of workers, and finally, it is, in theory, applied to other workers. But this process takes a long time and all improvements are won only after struggles by the workers.

There are still contradictions between the legislation on social security in these countries and reality.

In Ecuador, the law provides for the establishment of unemployment insurance, but this has not yet come into force.

In Peru, even though legislation requires the employers, employees and the State to pay contributions to social security, the State did not pay its share for several years. The charges falling on the Ministry of Finance were reduced and were almost completely abolished in 1957. Finally, purchase tax on alcohol was increased so as to pay the contributions of the State.

After the Cuban people's victory over Batista, a new law was passed setting up a new organisation on May 29, 1959. It is called the Insurance Bank of Cuba, which was made responsible for the uniform administration of social insurance and the preparation of a basic law on social insurance to cover all the workers. A plan is now being drawn up to provide medical services for the workers. Funds will be provided by contributions equivalent to 2% of the wages. Under the plan a clinic or a medical centre will be established on each plantation for agricultural workers and will meet all medical requirements. It is further planned to build hospitals in all the regions, which will co-operate with the clinics.

In 1960, the workers and trade unions in Brazil won a far-reaching victory. After a long struggle and ten years of discussions in Parliament, a new law has been passed.

The law provides for a democratisation in the administration of insurance institutions, the inclusion of workers' representatives in the Administrative Council; it unifies the various systems of institutions and establishes the rate of contributions and allocations.

In Uruguay, 25,000 textile workers on strike for 77 days succeeded in imposing health insurance and wage increases.

In Argentina, for the first time since 1955 a country-wide 24-hour strike was organised in November, 1960, in protest against President Frondizi's veto of a law adopted by Parliament, which would grant workers severance pay substantially higher than that in force. As a result, the Government promised a new law on severance pay.

In the countries of Asia, with the exception of the People's Republics of China, Korea and Vietnam, where social security systems are expanding year after year, social security has developed only very slightly.

In India a certain amount of progress has been made under the pressure of workers' struggles led by the powerful trade union centre, AITUC. At the end of December, 1959, about 7,200 undertakings with a total of 2,640,000 workers were covered by the Providence Fund. Seven years ago the scheme was applied in six industries, at the end of 1959 it covered 41 industries. The scheme applies to undertakings employing at least 50 workers.

The employers pay lower contributions than the workers and in several cases, they have failed to hand over both the workers' and their own contributions to the Social Insurance System.

At the 17th Indian Labour Conference, the AITUC succeeded in having a decision adopted unanimously which provided for a 100% increase in the rate of accident compensation. The Government has not yet adopted a law introducing these amendments.

In Indonesia, the majority of the workers, such as casual labourers in medium and small undertakings, civil servants and others are not covered by social security. In order to evade their responsibility towards the workers and office staffs, foreign oil companies are hiring a large number of casual workers to take the place of permanent workers. The workers have no guarantees of their livelihood in the event of sickness, old age and so forth.

The large trade union centre in Indonesia, SOBSI, adopted a programme of demands on social security at its last Congress which now serves as a platform for the Indonesian workers' struggle.

In Japan, the old age pensions scheme which is to be introduced next April provides for equal contributions to be paid by all. This means that every person over the age of 20 must pay the government a monthly contribution ranging from 100 to 150 yen. This will entitle him to a monthly pension of 1,000 yen (approx. £1.0.0.) once he has reached the age of 65. The funds accumulated in this way will be lent to the monopolies to enable them to carry out capital investments.

In November 1960, nurses and hospital staff launched a vast nation-wide campaign for higher wages. They are, further, pressing for an improvement in the social security scheme which should be paid for by the employers and the government. Doctors held a 24-hour strike throughout the country for higher medical fees to be paid by the Social Security Fund for treatment given to sick persons under the social security scheme.

In Pakistan, the government is taking steps to introduce a social security scheme for workers in industry and commerce. It is planned that the scheme will cover sickness,

maternity, work accidents and similar cases. However, this is only a plan and promise.

According to a report by a delegation of the Work Bank published in the Rangoon press in May, 1960, in Thailand there is only one doctor for every 1,000 inhabitants in the capital and for every 30,000 in the other parts of the country. On an average, there is only one hospital bed for every 2,000 persons and in some parts, where medical services are scarce, for every 10,000 persons.

Only one-quarter of all the districts have a properly equipped clinic. Two-thirds of all doctors - there are 5,000 of them - are in Bangkok. The delegation found that Thailand needed at least 20,000 additional doctors to look after the 22 million inhabitants of the country.

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These, brothers, are some aspects of conditions in social security in certain countries in Europe and other continents, including industrially-advanced and less-advanced ones.

This report while not giving by any means a complete account of the social security situation or of the tireless struggles which the workers have to conduct to win and defend this vital demand, makes it clear that the development of social legislation in various countries is determined by their economic development, and by the militancy and political maturity of the working class.

It is only after many struggles which have been going on for more than a century that the working class in industrialised countries has succeeded in obtaining social legislation that can protect them against the risks inherent in the life of each human being.

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Whether it refers to protection in the event of sickness, the right to sickness benefit, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, the protection of female labour and so forth, the law provides more or less adequate facilities for the workers to protect themselves against extortions by the employers.

But political and economic domination of many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America by imperialist and colonial powers, the grip of the large monopolies and looting of the national wealth of these countries, have maintained entire nations in a state of bondage for many centuries.

Many examples can be quoted to illustrate this. But the most typical example, which applies also to social security, is provided by the countries of Africa.

While the capitalists have had to recognise to a greater or lesser extent the social rights of the workers in the developed countries, they have stubbornly opposed any social legislation for the workers they exploited in the colonies. That is the position today in countries which have won independence as well as in those still living under the yoke of colonialism.

In the former, the African working class, which was in the front ranks of the battle for independence, is again in the front ranks of the battle for the liquidation of the effects of colonialism, for the economic independence of their country and for the achievement of the economic and social demands of the working class.

As a rule, African workers are not covered by any social security scheme which would protect them in the event of sickness, accident, maternity, old age, unemployment and so forth. Social legislation to this effect is almost non-existent, with the exception of Morocco and Guinea.

In Morocco, a decree on social security was adopted in 1959. The provisions contained therein apply both to workers in industry and in agriculture. The weekly of the Moroccan

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Labour Union "Avant Garde" featured an article on the introduction of this initial scheme under the title "The workers advance one step further, thanks to their day-to-day battle, which should encourage them to carry on the struggle against hardship, exploitation and foreign imperialism".

In Guinea a bill on social security was drawn up and presented to Parliament. However, even before its final approval, certain of its provisions have already been put into effect for the benefit of the workers.

In the Rhodesias, Angola and Uganda there is practically no social security and the few rare provisions which do exist are based on racial discrimination.

In Northern Rhodesia, for instance, expenditure on medical services for Europeans is 25 times that for natives.

Even though the position in Kenya and Tanganyika is somewhat better, we find that social legislation in these two countries has reached the same stage of development.

During the 130 years of French colonial rule in Algeria, only fifty persons qualified as doctors out of the entire population.

In the former Belgian Congo, not a single native has ever had the opportunity to become a doctor.

In former Italian Somaliland, social insurance is among the most backward in the world. The workers receive no assistance in the event of sickness, maternity, old age or disability.

In South Africa, where the most shameful racial discrimination ever known is rife, coloured workers are pushed around and treated worse than slaves.

It has been estimated that as a result of the high rate of infantile mortality, the average span of life of an African is 22 years, while in advanced countries it is between 60 and 70 years.

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To draw the attention of the workers to the serious situation which exists throughout the African continent and to stimulate action, UGTAN organised, in collaboration with the W.F.T.U., an African Conference on Social Security, which was held in Dakar in March 1960. This Conference, which had a great response in all African countries, decided to organise a broad campaign for the creation of a complete and effective system of Social Security in every African country.

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After this glance around certain aspects of Social Security in the different countries of the world we realise how many integral problems in this wide field have yet to be solved.

I am thinking of the work accidents, new occupational diseases, the working conditions of women, young people and children, and the result of capitalist over-exploitation in general, as well as the use of forced labour.

Everywhere the reasons originate in the total contempt of the employers for labour safety measures and for the protection of the life and health of the workers.

In modern industry the mechanisation and automation of production has replaced the old animal muscular fatigue of the workers. But the modern machine functions at fantastic speed. It is no longer the worker who governs the machine, it is the machine who governs him. It only demands a few simple operations from the worker but they must be fast, precise and uninterrupted and these actions put his whole nervous system under constant pressure.

The increased intensity of the work, the insecurity of the job, the long journeys between home and the place of work and other facts, have made the workers more vulnerable to risks from accidents and sickness.

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The mechanisation of production is undergoing a rapid development in the large factories and in the undertakings where the most powerful capitalists can be sure of supplementary profits by introducing modern machinery and over-exploiting the workers.

But how many unhealthy factories still exist that are equipped with ancient material and are a constant threat to the health and lives of the workers. The employers are pushing the workers to over-production in absolute contempt of the security of their lives.

It is certain that mechanisation will occur sooner or later. In the new conditions of modern production new problems are already beginning to present themselves to the workers and to their trade union organisations.

It is difficult to make a general analysis of the main causes of accidents, sickness and the deterioration in the health of the working class in the capitalist countries.

This analysis must in fact be made by the industry or the branch of activity, and particularly where the rate of occurrence are highest: in the mines, building, chemical and engineering industries, the post and telegraph services, forestry, etc...

We also think that the working conditions of women and young people must receive more attention from the trade unions.

The claims and the hopes of all categories of workers in the field of social security are a powerful basis for joint actions that can be waged against the attacks by the employers and the capitalist governments.

Since its creation the W.F.T.U. has encouraged these campaigns; it has carried out widespread activity to obtain and defend Social Security.

The leading bodies of the W.F.T.U.: its Congresses, General Councils, Executive Committees and its Secretariat, as well as its Trade Unions Internationals have adopted documents, resolutions and plans of action for the progress of Social Security in the world. This continuous activity by the W.F.T.U. has become even wider since the Vienna Conference, not only as regards the trade union organisations but also as regards the international organisations: U.N., I.L.O., I.S.S.A., and the Economic and Social Council.

Convinced that the social demands of women and youth must be upheld more strongly, the W.F.T.U. has developed its activities in this field. It has organised two large conferences: one for women, the other for youth; at which the right to social security, health and job protection, were among the most important objectives.

A lot of material has been collected, studies have been made and continuous support has been given to the workers in their struggles for Social Security.

Springing from the interest that it has always had in the economic and social demands of the workers as an integral part of its activities and in the framework of the application of the decisions passed at the 4th World Trade Union Congress, the W.F.T.U. has taken this new initiative: the creation of an International Commission on Social Security.

We are happy to note that at the first meeting of this Commission there are brothers present who have great responsibilities in the field of social security in national centres affiliated and non-affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

We hope that this Commission, which is so broad and united, will be able to find, along with the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, the best ways and means of guaranteeing new developments in the united action and international solidarity of all workers and all trade union organisations without distinction, to obtain, defend, extend and improve Social Security.

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You must know that this year is the year of the 5th World Trade Union Congress which will take place in Moscow in December.

The announcement of this meeting has aroused great interest among the workers and the trade unions in many countries of the world. And it is normal when one thinks that all the Congresses of the W.F.T.U., its big united international assemblies, have always marked new stages in the struggles for the defence of peace and for the satisfaction of the workers' claims.

We think that the platform of the Congress will be widely used by the participants to make known the Social Security situation in all the countries and to make known the experiences of the struggles, the successes achieved or the difficulties encountered.

It seems to us that within the framework of the preparation for the 5th Congress in the ranks of the working masses the trade union organisations should right away intensify their united actions and take measures to raise the level of the workers' struggles in a field which is so very topical.

Perhaps the proceedings of our Commission could constitute the point of departure for a broad world campaign for Social Security which is one of the claims to which all the workers are most alive.

A very important document will soon be launched by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau; it will help to enlighten the workers on the vital problems of the hour and to define the aims of the Congress. In this document the social aspirations of the mass of the workers will be reflected.

At the same time it seems to us that our Commission could discuss the proposal made by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat and adopted by its Executive Committee concerning the drawing up of a Social Security Charter whose adoption would be proposed at the 5th World Trade Union Congress.

The draft of such a Charter drawn up by the Commission and submitted for discussion to all the workers and trade unions of all countries could be a weapon of considerable value in the actions for obtaining and defending Social Security.

Completed and modified on the basis of the proposals which will spring from a wide discussion, this draft could be submitted afterwards for adoption at the 5th Congress.

We have already drawn up some ideas capable of serving as a point of departure for the Draft Charter. It is a case as you may have noted, of ideas which are to a great extent contained in the Programme adopted by the Vienna Conference.

It is up to you to give your opinion and your suggestions and to act so that this Charter will reflect all branches of Social Security, its principles and its standards, so that it can be universally accepted by the trade union organisations.

This is a first and in my opinion very important task that the Commission could accomplish.

Moreover we think that the Commission, which must be a body for study and consultation in order to help the W.F.T.U. in its campaigns, could itself formulate its immediate and long term tasks.

We think that the Commission should:

- Make a thorough study of the existing regimes of Social Security in the different countries and regions of the world;
- Make known with the help of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat the experiences of the workers' struggles in this field;
- Propose to the W.F.T.U. Secretariat the forms of action capable of achieving the unity of the workers around problems of a social nature;

- To draw up propaganda material on these themes: articles, pamphlets and so on;
- To take measures in agreement with the W.F.T.U. for the improvement of social legislation as regards the international organisations: I.L.O., Economic and Social Council, I.S.S.A.;
- To see how technical aid and assistance in the field of social security could be given to the trade unions of the countries which have recently acquired their independence.

The Commission could perhaps make a statement on the need to revive the National Committees created before the Vienna Conference and which have done a lot of very important work.

The questions raised by Social Security closely affect numerous fields of fairly strict specialisation. The Commission could eventually make a statement on the opportunity of associating in its work doctors, engineers and specialists who are working for the progress of Social Security.

The Commission could meet once a year, naturally on condition that they could find the means of guaranteeing a continuous co-operation of all members, and so establish continuity in their work.

The machinery of the W.F.T.U. with the help of the members of the Commission and under the leadership of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat will be able to carry out the practical work between two meetings of the Commission.

These are some proposals and suggestions on which we would like to have your opinion.

I would like to emphasize once more that this report is only a glance at some of the aspects of Social Security and the struggles of the workers in the capitalist countries in this field.

We are looking forward to your speeches with great interest in order to get to know more about your experiences which will enable us all to find the way for our Commission to begin its work in the best possible conditions.

In concluding I would like to emphasize that only the united continuous and tenacious action of the masses can seriously counter the attack by monopoly capital against the social rights of the workers.

The main obstacle preventing the working class from achieving its aims remains the division within its ranks.

The W.F.T.U., a united class organisation, does not cease to enlighten the workers on the need to achieve national and international trade union unity. It is well aware that the achievement of unity is not an easy objective to achieve.

The capitalist monopolies and the reactionary governments helped by the right-wing leaders of the trade union movement are doing everything possible to prevent and delay this achievement.

But at present the trend towards unity in the ranks of the workers is stronger and more effective than the hostility of certain trade union leaders.

The many exchanges of delegations between trade unions of different affiliations; the joint campaigns by the workers for economic and social demands and for the defence of peace; the actions carried out by the W.F.T.U. at international level and in co-operation with independent organisations or those affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. are also proofs which demonstrate the development of a trend in favour of unity.

The presence of representatives of the independent National Centres or of those affiliated to other organisations alongside the representatives of the centres from the socialist and capitalist countries affiliated to the W.F.T.U., meeting



today at the headquarters of the W.F.T.U. to discuss the problems which are of interest to all the workers of the world is a clear proof of our joint desire for co-operation.

The workers of the world will be able to profit from this comparison of ideas and experiences. This is the wish we want to express in beginning the proceedings of the Social Security Commission.

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