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AN ANALYSIS OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM  
OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

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of the World Federation of Trade Unions

Part One: The Draft Program

1. The executive council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Prague on 23-26 June 1961, approved a draft program for submission at the fifth world trade union congress to be held in Moscow in December 1961. The program is set forth in seven sections.

a. Introduction and Section 1, nineteen paragraphs, describe, from the Communist point of view, the status, power, and problems of the working class in the world situation and relate the problems to the fifth congress.

b. Section 2, seventeen paragraphs, justifies and describes the tasks of the trade unions in the Communist peace campaign.

c. Section 3, twenty-two paragraphs, justifies and describes the tasks of the trade unions in the anti-colonial struggle.

d. Section 4, seventeen paragraphs, describes in glowing terms the status, power, and achievements of the trade union organizations of the Soviet bloc as an ideal--a model toward which all trade unions should be moving.

e. Section 5, twenty paragraphs, justifies and describes those trade union tasks in the advanced capitalist countries necessary for the enhancement of the power and influence of trade union organizations in political and economic decision-making.

f. Section 6, twelve paragraphs, justifies and describes those trade union tasks that must be carried out to weaken the position of anti-Communist trade union leaders and to aid in the recruitment and indoctrination of trade union members.

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g. Section 7, twenty-one paragraphs, discusses the problems encountered by Communist-dominated trade unions in their unity of action efforts and spells out the tactics through which unity is to be achieved and the main opponents of the trade union unity between Communists and non-Communists discredited or destroyed.

2. Although there is no explicit reference to either the Moscow 6 December 1960 declaration of 81 parties or other such declarations of the Communist parties of the world, the draft program is completely consistent with the Moscow declaration of 6 December 1960. Those sections dealing with the advanced capitalist countries are also completely consistent with the November 1959 declaration of the seventeen European Communist parties.

3. The program calls for militant mass struggles and action programs at the national level throughout the world rather than for conferences or parliamentary and organizational maneuvering. The draft program merges the two major programs (international developments and the present activities and tasks of trade unions; the contribution of the trade unions for the struggle against colonialism) submitted to the 11th session of the WFTU general council at Peking in June 1960 in the reports by Marcel Bras and Ibrahim Zakaria. But, on the question of the peace campaign, the WFTU draft program is harder than the Bras presentation. For example, amendments incorporated at the last moment in Peking in the Bras report included the argument that the achievement of peaceful coexistence would make it possible for the more developed countries to divert resources to aid economic development in other parts of the world, and also contained the assurance that the people of the underdeveloped countries were "capable of distinguishing between aid given by the bloc and aid received from the major capitalist states." These rationalizations have disappeared in the draft program.\* The economic benefits of

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\* These amendments are representative of the outer limits of the soft Soviet line of the period before the signing of the 6 December 1960 statement. The Chinese explicitly attacked the first of these two arguments and it was not included in the Moscow statement.

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disarmament in the capitalist world are now described in terms appealing to the workers of the capitalist countries alone. Aid to underdeveloped countries from the capitalist world is condemned and the generous and disinterested character of bloc aid is aggressively stated.

4. Despite the disappearance of the rationalizations mentioned above, the program is clearly a victory for the CPSU. The preservation and strengthening of peace and the prevention of a new world war are described as "the vital problem of our age," and the first specification of tasks for all the trade unions of the world consists of seven specific demands under this general heading of peace. The treatment of anti-colonialism also reflects Soviet principles, for the draft emphasizes that the importance of the anti-colonial struggle lies in its potential for contributing to peaceful coexistence, and it asserts that achieving peaceful coexistence will help national liberation struggles to be completed successfully. It also asserts that the achievement of peaceful coexistence will strengthen and make easier the class struggle in advanced countries.

5. The program is anti-imperialist. It condemns the United States as the leader and main bulwark of imperialism but it emphasizes flank attacks on imperialism rather than direct struggles. The only cases in which it calls for direct anti-imperialist campaigns are Algeria, South Africa, Angola, Laos, and the Congo. Its flank tactic is to call rather for struggles against monopolies--international, foreign, and national monopolies--which it describes as the source and inspiration for imperialism. This general line takes two forms. For the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the campaign against international foreign monopolies clearly encompasses anti-USA campaigns and is the WFTU application of the program for national democracies as set forth in the 6 December 1960 statement. In the advanced capitalist countries the attack is directed against national monopolies and all imperialist monopoly forces, without singling out those of the United States.

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6. The general approach to unity of action also appears to have hardened. The draft is more doctrinaire, furthermore, in its attacks on splitters of the trade union movement than were the reports submitted to the 11th session of the general council at Peking. Bras at Peking recounted failures in the WFTU approach to the ICFTU for unity, and Zakaria characterized the ICFTU leaders as pro-imperialist in their thought and action and derided ICFTU claims to be anti-colonialist. The new draft program explicitly calls for attacks on and exposures of ICFTU leaders for their anti-Communism, for their support of splits in the working class at the national and international levels, and as reformist advocates of class collaboration. It places great emphasis on the ICFTU leaders as capitalist tools and instruments of the monopolies. At the same time, instead of announcing the successes achieved in unity operations directed at the ICFTU affiliates, it calls for a more vigorous prosecution of unity from below on class questions, at both the national and international levels, as a means of discrediting and eliminating anti-Communist leaders.

7. After appealing to all trade unions and their members to persevere in the struggle for peace, the WFTU program assigns all workers, peasants, artisans, and intellectuals the following seven tasks.

a. Obtain universal and complete disarmament with strict international control.

b. Prevent the resumption of nuclear tests and ensure that the manufacture of atomic weapons is stopped.

c. Prevent weapons of mass destruction being put at the disposal of the German and Japanese militarists and obtain the abrogation of the Japanese-American military treaty.

d. Impose the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and obtain the transformation of West Berlin into a free, demilitarized city.

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e. Obtain the solution of all international disputes by peaceful means through negotiations.

f. 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.

g. Ensure genuine respect for equality between states, prevent aggression against the Cuban revolution, and end foreign intervention in the Congo and Laos.

8. To accomplish "the complete and final eradication of the colonial system", which "is a primary task for the peoples and for all forces of peace and progress in the world," the WFTU program outlines three sets of tasks.

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

b. In the second place the WFTU program calls upon the workers in newly independent countries to struggle, presumably against the bourgeois leaders and governments, for the following things: higher wages, guaranteed payment of agreed wages, and a guaranteed minimum wage; shorter working hours without loss of pay; 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, the annulment of all individual contracts, and trade union participation

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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; and the ending of wage, hiring, and dismissal systems enforced by colonial regimes.

c. The third set of tasks applies when and where trade unions of the underdeveloped countries have already achieved strength and influence, and are capable of exerting pressure for political goals. These are:

(1) The nationalization of foreign monopoly undertakings, the building and development of a national industry and a state sector, and the expulsion of foreign monopolies from these countries.

(2) 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.

(3) Democratization of the state, making it possible to mobilize all national forces in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, and against military dictatorships and undemocratic measures hostile to the people and endangering national independence.

(4) A policy of cooperation with all countries and the organization of state control of foreign trade in order to safeguard it from imperialist domination and interference.

(5) Fully independent participation by workers and trade unions in the preparation and organization of economic plans and programs for developing the national economy.

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9. In the struggle for unity in the trade union movement, for the unity of all working class forces, the WFTU program urges all workers and trade unionists to 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 vital interests of the workers more active on the basis of united action; to strengthen continually the fraternal international solidarity of the workers in all countries; and to widen the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement nationally and internationally in each branch of industry and in each undertaking.

10. In addition to the tasks for all trade unions in struggling for peace, eradicating the colonial system, and unifying all the working classes, the WFTU program calls upon the workers in the advanced capitalist countries to demand the following.

- a. Increased wages, the guarantee of wages, and a guaranteed minimum wage.
- b. The liquidation of all paternal forms of work remuneration.
- c. A real increase in wages.
- d. Establishment of trade union control over the setting of the wages of workers.
- e. The reduction of hours of work without loss of pay.
- f. Extension of guarantees against unemployment and dismissal.
- g. Extension of the right of negotiations over collective agreements.

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- h. The negotiated settlement of better classifications in relation to the actual trade qualification and the nature of production methods.
- i. Development of a professional training independent of the employer.
- j. The formation, improvement, and extension of social security and insurance.
- k. The improvement of labor safety under the control of trade unions.
  - l. Increase in paid holidays.
  - m. Lowering of the retirement age.
  - n. The end of all discrimination of race, age, sex, religion, opinion, and nationality in employment, pay, trade training, and promotion. All these demands are justified by the WFTU as necessary to the strengthening of working class influence within essentially bourgeois societies; and the tasks are consistent with those unity missions accepted by the seventeen European CP's in their joint declaration of November 1959.

11. To achieve these economic demands, the WFTU program asserts, a bitter political struggle for the protection and extension of trade union liberties is necessary. The trade unions must, therefore, work against discrimination and to extend trade union freedom to places of employment by demanding recognition of the trade union and its right to conduct at the place of employment organizational activity, propaganda campaigns, and collection of dues without interference or retaliatory action by either the employer or the government. The trade unions must also organize for the defense of persons arrested or imprisoned for their trade union activity and provide moral and material assistance to such imprisoned leaders and their families.

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Part Two: The Soviet and Chinese Positions on the Program

12. The WFTU draft program was treated in a three-quarter page article in Trud and other Soviet papers on 26 July, and Tass broadcast in English a summary comment to Europe on 25 July. On 6 August the People's Daily in Peking carried an editorial on the draft program, and NCNA broadcast in English to Asia the highlights of the editorial. The two broadcast comments have been compared with the full text of the draft program and the conclusions expressed below are based on this comparison.

13. The Soviet and Chinese comments both embodied expressions of approval and support for the draft program, but differences, primarily a matter of emphasis given to specific sections of the program, are apparent. There are also, on the Chinese side, some rephrasings of certain key statements.

14. There are differences in emphasis on the main task of the WFTU, on the vital problem of today, on United States imperialism, and on the task of eradicating colonialism.

a. The main task of the WFTU. The Chinese noted first the draft program's statement that the WFTU's main task is to wage a decisive struggle for unity, and editorially endorsed the struggle. They implied, however, that this task in Chinese eyes involves the extension of the influence of the WFTU. The Soviet treatment of this point noted that the WFTU program calls for the constant exposure of the foes of unity, for the extension of contacts between trade unions of all countries, and for the united struggle for the vital interests of the working people.

b. The vital problem of today. Tass, like the draft program, defined the vital problem as "to preserve and strengthen peace and prevent a new world war." The Chinese broadcast, however, stated that the most pressing task is "to oppose imperialist aggression and defend world peace." The Soviet treatment gave the peace struggle primary emphasis and quoted from the draft

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(paragraph 33) on the necessity of mobilizing "the workers and trade unions in the struggle to ensure that the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems may triumph." The Soviet broadcast also quoted the seven specific peace tasks of the trade union movement and made no reference to the anti-colonial tasks set forth in Section 3 of the draft. The Chinese broadcast, in contrast, made no reference to paragraph 33 or to peaceful coexistence.

c. U.S. Imperialism. The Soviet broadcast made no mention of the aggressive role of U.S. imperialism although accusations of this role appear in many places in the draft program. The Chinese, on the other hand, made repeated reference to U.S. imperialism and devoted most of their broadcast to the tasks spelled out in the draft program for Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Chinese also made explicit reference, as does the draft program, to the leaders of the ICFTU as enemies of unity and agents of monopoly capital in the working class movement.

d. Eradicating colonialism. In speaking of Section 3 of the draft program, on the task of eradicating colonialism, the Soviets emphasized the WFTU support of and political solidarity with the peoples of colonies in newly liberated countries. The Chinese, basing themselves on paragraph 48 in that section of the draft, emphasized that trade union action in the anti-colonial struggle should retain its character as a class organization and should agitate at the national level for workers' demands, trade union rights, and democratic rights, a reflection of the Chinese mistrust of non-Communist nationalist leaders.

15. These differences in emphasis show that the USSR and Communist China have not resolved the differences over policy that have existed between them for some time now, both on the score of the WFTU and the larger score of the world and peace or war. The Chinese, in brief, want to use the WFTU and the national trade union movements aggressively and openly to advance the Communist revolution throughout the world; the USSR wants to make the WFTU conform to its more flexible and less belligerent strategy for world conquest.

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