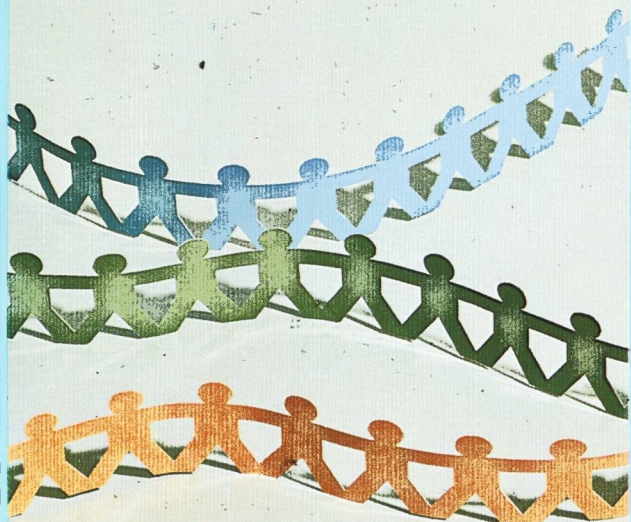


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OF SOCIAL AND  
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KNOWLEDGE

WHAT ARE  
**Trade Unions?**

E. UTKIN



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

**ABC** of Social and Political Knowledge

**E. Utkin**

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**WHAT ARE  
TRADE UNIONS?**

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ABC СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАНИЙ

Э. УТКИН

ЧТО ТАКОЕ ПРОФСОЮЗЫ?

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*Chapter 1*      **TRADE UNIONS: THEIR ORIGIN  
AND ROLE IN SOCIETY**

**A History**

The origins of the working class can be traced back to feudal society of the 14th and 15th centuries, when the first shoots of the capitalist mode of production appeared on the European continent. Before the 16th century, hired laborers made up only a small part of the population. Hired labor did not become predominant until the primary accumulation of capital took hold at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, first in England and later in other countries. The primary accumulation of capital was made possible by the peasants' forced dispossession of land and the formation of a free labor force for employment in developing

capitalist manufactories. A manufactory proletariat was formed from among the delanded peasantry and artisans. However, the manufactory workers by and large were not yet proletarians in the exact sense of the word, since they still owned certain instruments of production and were in a more or less patriarchal relationship with their employers. At this stage of social development "the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition."<sup>1</sup>

The appearance of capitalist relations sparked a struggle by workers against capitalist exploitation, which in the age of manufactories manifested itself in disjointed protests in the form of spontaneous rebellions and isolated strikes.

Trade unions emerged at this time to defend workers in their struggle for better living and work conditions.

The founding of trade unions was "a tremendous step forward for the working class in the early days of capitalist development, inasmuch as they marked a transition from the workers' disunity and helplessness to the *rudiments* of class organization."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism— an Infantile

The proletariat, compelled to struggle by the very conditions of its existence, for a long time did not recognize its class interests and the opposition of these interests to those of the bourgeoisie. Striving to alter the conditions of society, workers turned their anger on machines, seeing them as the source of their plight. One such movement was that of the Luddites, the name given to English handcraftsmen in the early 19th century who because of a poorly developed class consciousness rioted for the destruction of machinery in reply to cruel exploitation by their capitalist employers. But life convinced the workers that the machines were not to blame, but rather the social system under which these machines were employed for the enrichment of industrialists, so riots against machinery were supplanted by isolated actions at factories against capitalists. Despite all, the workers did not yet see capitalists as their class enemies and treated them as individual evil employers. Only gradually, as capitalism developed and the class struggle advanced, did the proletariat recognize their real enemies and realize their own class interests and the antagonism of these interests with those of the ruling class.

The 19th century saw the stirring of the class struggle between the proletariat and the



bourgeoisie in Europe. In 1831 in Lyons, France, a worker rebellion broke out which was viciously quashed by government troops. Three years later, a second major uprising of workers erupted in Lyons, demonstrating the revolutionary potential of the proletariat. In England, which as the most industrialized nation was constantly plagued by the ill effects of overproduction, the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie spilled over into "Chartism, the first broad, truly mass and politically organized proletarian revolutionary movement."<sup>1</sup>

At the outset of the 19th century Germany lagged behind other European countries and had yet to be affected by a bourgeois revolution. By the middle of the century the situation began to change. The proletariat had grown into a serious political force which the bourgeoisie was compelled to reckon with. An uprising of textile workers, directed against local industrialists, broke out in June 1844 in Silesia. Large contingents of troops were called in to suppress the rebellion. The workers were defeated, but the uprising had tremendous political significance. It demonstrated that a new force—a growing working class—was starting open revolutionary struggle against their exploiters. By the 1840s, workers in the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Third International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 309.

industrially advanced countries of Europe had formed a coherent movement and accumulated valuable experience.

Common interests united the workers in their struggle, which became unavoidable due to merciless exploitation by the capitalists. The workers lived in squalor, with average wages in the 1840-1860s lower than a hundred years ago, and the working day lasting between 13 and 16 hours. The industrialists showed no concern for creating normal working conditions at factories. The workers enjoyed neither paid vacations nor a regular weekly day off. They had to purchase goods of poor quality in factory shops at inflated prices.

Workers were forbidden to form their own organizations or to strike. A strike or a refusal to work was usually regarded as a criminal offense and the losses incurred by the factory owner as a result of a strike were made up by workers. Collective bargaining by workers with a factory owner occurred rarely.

Ruthless exploitation drove the working class to join together in organizations that would defend their interests. Such organizations first appeared in England at the end of the 18th century when the country was undergoing a transition from the crafts and manufactory industry to machine production. Contributing to this process was the mass devastation of the English peasantry.

The very first labor organizations in England

were concerned with providing their members with aid in time of need. But the very fact of the foundation of these organizations, which were known as coalitions, was of enormous significance, for it convinced workers that it was possible—and necessary—to act jointly. Workers began to create secret unions for organizing strikes which would be disbanded once the strike was over. But they soon discovered that temporary associations were not capable of resolving their main problems. What was needed were permanent organizations which would prove their resiliency in the struggle with the bourgeoisie.

The trade union movement was given a new impetus in 1824 by the adoption in England of a law that legalized working men's associations. The main aim of trade unions was to guard the economic interests of workers. Practice showed that only by organizing and acting together could they wrest concessions from the capitalists. The trade unions acted as schools of economic struggle, schools that taught the proletariat to recognize their class interests. With time, the trade unions began to present political demands as well as economic.

The bourgeoisie put up fierce resistance to the growing power and influence of the trade unions. Attempts were made to prevent workers from joining unions and to control the unions once they emerged.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*,

drafted in 1848 by the first international communist organization, it was emphasized that the organization of the proletariat into a class was perpetually disrupted by competition between the workers themselves. The bourgeoisie tried to intensify this competition by, among other things, forming privileged groups of workers and pitting them against the rest. In the 1850s-1870s, trade unions, particularly in England, unionized only the more skilled workers and operated on the shop principle. Such unions acted as tight-knit caste organizations closed to unskilled workers, contributing to the disunity of workers and making it difficult to organize large-scale strikes. They pursued the narrow aim of improving relations between labor and capital within the framework of capitalism. They were characterized by narrow-minded shop views and a support of a class reconciliation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The rise of the labor movement in England in the late 1880s facilitated the formation of new trade unions which brought together primarily unskilled laborers. The new unions soon organized mass strikes and agitated for the adoption of labor legislation, in particular, the establishment of an eight-hour work day.

The trade union movement gathered strength and steadily expanded its influence. On May 1, 1886 a wave of strikes and demonstrations rolled across the United States.

In Chicago, a strike embraced nearly the entire city. Workers who had been ruthlessly exploited demanded better working conditions and the introduction of an eight-hour work day. The Chicago police, however, brutally dealt with the demonstrators. A large number of workers were brought to trial, many of them were given lengthy jail terms and several people were executed. The May Day demonstration in Chicago showed to workers of the entire world the need for the proletariat in every country to join arms in the struggle against capitalism. Today May Day has become an occasion for viewing the revolutionary strength of the international working class.

In the 1890s trade union membership began to increase rapidly, reaching a level of 3.5 million members by 1897, compared to no more than a few hundred thousand 25 years earlier. This process was furthered by the establishment of national trade union centers in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, France and Italy.

The impressive upsurge of the trade union movement and its class awareness paved the way for the labor movement's adoption of the scientific theories of socialism. The founders of Marxism—Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and later Lenin—showed that material production was the basis of the social process and that society developed according to laws which were independent of human will and consciousness.

A materialistic view of human history made it possible to interpret it as a law-governed, onward process. Marxist theory showed that society develops in stages, from primitive communal society to slave-owning to feudalism to capitalism and, finally, to communism, the highest stage. The law-governed nature of this process means that advance to a communist society is historically inevitable, the sole means for resolving the contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production. This transition can come about only as a result of the class struggle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels revealed the economic essence of the capitalist mode of production and demonstrated how the working class was being exploited. They also showed what kind of transformations in the economic sphere were needed to free the proletariat—and together with them all working people—from the yoke of capital. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat began to be understood as an ultimate requirement of the laws of economic and social development.

The real social force capable of carrying through a revolutionary transformation of society was engendered by capitalism itself. This force was the proletariat, or a class of hired laborers deprived of ownership of the means of production and forced to sell their own labor power to survive.

At the stage of imperialism all capitalism's contradictions became aggravated. By 1914, the number of industrial workers in the world had grown to 70 million, making it even more difficult for them to unite. At this point only 20 percent of the world's workers belonged to trade unions.

In these years the labor movement was highly factious due to the emergence of an aristocracy among the workers which took its signals from the bourgeoisie. As the number of independent labor organizations increased, the capitalists found various ways to buy off their leaders. Also, the bourgeoisie adopted the tactic of supporting labor unions whose policies were beneficial to the monopolies and whose demands were limited to securing better pay for their members.

In many of the Western countries, particularly England, France, Germany and the United States, political parties representing the interests of labor appeared later than labor unions, explaining the latter's rejection of revolution and their support of cooperation of the classes and the transformation of capitalism into a just society through the institution of reforms.

In contrast, in Russia trade unions emerged only after a Marxist working-class party had been founded, thus ensuring the direct guidance by the party of their formation. The Russian trade unions were not detached from

politics. In conducting an economic struggle, they sought also to resolve political issues. V. I. Lenin, the leader of the revolutionary proletariat, chastised the trade unions for their neutrality and their non-interference in political matters. In the article "Trade-Union Neutrality," written in 1908, Lenin observed: "Our whole Party, consequently, has now recognised that work in the trade unions must be conducted not in the spirit of trade-union neutrality but in the spirit of the closest possible relations between them and the Social-Democratic Party."<sup>1</sup> Lenin stressed that the trade unions had to adopt the tactic of combining various methods of struggle, skillfully going from one to another, to continually increase the awareness of the masses and expand the range of their collective actions, of which each one taken by itself is both offensive and defensive.

Owing to its consistent defense of the interests of the working class, the Russian revolutionary Marxist party, which was closely connected with the workers' movement and introduced into it the socialist consciousness, succeeded in gaining authority among the trade unions. The party sent its best members to work among the masses and in the trade unions. The slogans advanced by the party

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Trade-Union Neutrality," in: V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, 1972, p. 460.



echoed closely the aspirations of the workers. For example, during World War I the revolutionary Marxist party called for an end to the bloody imperialist war, a call that was supported by the working class, the peasantry and all democratic segments in Russia. By the time of the revolution in the autumn of 1917, the party had won over nearly every major industrial trade union in the country. The trade unions took direct part in the Revolution, and trade union representatives were on military-revolutionary committees of Petrograd and Moscow and other major cities. The union committees were active in arming workers and setting up and training Red Guard units at factories and industrial enterprises. During the October uprising the trade unions of Petrograd, on orders from the Party, kept in operation bakeries, power stations, water mains, trams and telephone stations.

### Revolutionary Theory of the Proletariat

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), the world's first program of Communists, Marx and Engels showed that class struggle was inherent in a society of exploitation, that social revolution was a law-governed process involving the transition from an old society to a new one. They observed that "the first step in the revolution by the working class

is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."<sup>1</sup> The founders of Marxism repeatedly stressed the need to unite the working class and educate it politically. They advanced the idea of uniting the contingents of the working class of different countries into a single international community.

This idea was realized with the founding in 1864 of the International Working Men's Association, widely known as the First International. The goal of this organization was to create a mass political party of the proletariat and bring Marxist revolutionary theory to the workers. Karl Marx's most important work, *Capital*, gave the working class a genuinely scientific foundation on which to act. Marx discovered the laws of social development and of the emergence and development of capitalism and showed that social development leads irreversibly to the replacement of the capitalist formation by communism. He also showed that the chief contradiction of capitalism was that between the social nature of production and the private-capitalist form of appropriating its results, giving rise to contradictions between production and consumption, between the planned organization of production at particular enterprises and the anarchy of production

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1976, p. 504.

throughout society. These contradictions become visible in recurrent economic crises, a rise in unemployment and a worsening of the conditions of the working class.

The Paris Commune was the world's first proletarian revolution. A large part in the revolution was played by workers, many of whom were members of the First International. The Paris Commune succeeded in dismantling the bourgeois state machinery (it demobilized the army and disbanded the police) and in setting up a new type of government—the world's first dictatorship of the proletariat—which lasted a total of 72 days. On May 28, 1871, the Paris Commune was overthrown by a counterrevolution. While the revolution was drowned in blood, it showed that only the proletariat was capable of promoting the revolutionary process of leading the popular masses. The lesson of the Paris Commune was that, for a revolution to succeed, the political vanguard of the proletariat must be organised in a Marxist political party. The absence of a consolidated party was one of the main reasons why the working class was defeated. No attempts were made for the proletariat to join with the peasantry. The revolutionary experience of the Paris Commune vividly demonstrated that only a proletariat led by a revolutionary party can make a genuine social revolution and overcome the resistance of class enemies.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Lenin made a major contribution to proletarian theory. In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, published in 1916, he provided a detailed economic and socio-political analysis of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. Lenin revealed how imperialism established the domination of monopolies and of a financial oligarchy, aggravated contradictions between capitalist states, monopolies and groupings of imperialist powers locked in a struggle for sales and investment markets, and sources of raw materials, drew up plans to divide the world into spheres of influence, and started wars to recarve it.

Since imperialism was powerless to unwind the entire web of contradictions, Lenin came to the single correct conclusion that imperialism was the eve of a socialist revolution. The subsequent course of events totally affirmed the correctness of Lenin's conclusions. On analyzing the revolutionary situation, Lenin noted that the success of a revolution could be assured only if all segments of society are no longer able to live under the old conditions. He wrote: "For a revolution to take place it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realize the impossibility of living in the old way, and demand changes; for a revolution to take place it is essential that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. It is only when the *'lower classes'* do

*not want to live in the old way and the 'upper classes' cannot carry on in the old way that the revolution can triumph."*<sup>1</sup>

The theory of proletarian revolution lay at the basis of all activities of the communist party aimed at uniting the working class and preparing a proletarian revolution. The October Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of humanity. The record has shown that the main elements of this revolution will be invariably copied in the world revolutionary process. The Revolution's greatest accomplishments were the elimination of the bourgeoisie's political dominance, the revolutionary transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat, the liquidation of private ownership of the means of production, the closest collaboration of the working class with the urban working masses and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, the working class's reliance on the guidance of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, the restructuring of the economy on socialist principles, and the liquidation of national oppression and inequality. A revolution can triumph only if the working class is led by a party guided by the theory of scientific socialism and having a broad social base.

Lenin repeatedly stressed the difference

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, pp. 84-85.

between the communist party and non-party trade union organizations, which bring together hired workers with diverse political, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Yet Lenin, like all Communists, thought it necessary for all workers to be united in a common struggle for their class interests.

Between 1919 and 1921, reactionary leaders of reformist trade unions began to expel Communists and revolutionary workers from their organizations en masse. This precipitated the need to create a progressive international trade union organization. Thus the Red International of Labor Unions was born in 1921 which came to play an important role before its dismantling in 1937 in rallying workers from different countries in support of the Soviet proletarian revolution of 1917. The Red International, bringing together trade unions from the Soviet Union and national revolutionary trade union centers in Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Indonesia, and other countries, was formed to get the world trade union movement to act together to improve the working people's standard of living, promote democracy in trade unions and rally Communists, Social-Democrats and workers not belonging to any political party into a common struggle against the offensive of capital.

The Red International of Labor Unions, a product of a long and continuous search for

an effective form of organizing a revolutionary trade union movement, did much to fuse the ranks of the international working class in the struggle against the intensification of labor and for the introduction of an eight-hour working day, higher pay and better working conditions, and the meeting of workers' political demands.

In 1919 reactionary quarters set up an alternative trade union organization, the Amsterdam International, which was in existence until 1945. The organization's activities were controlled by the imperialist bourgeoisie, explaining why numerous appeals by the Red International to join forces against the capitalists on a number of key issues were never greeted with much enthusiasm.

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*Chapter II*      TRADE UNIONS IN THE  
MODERN CAPITALIST WORLD

### Capitalism Today

In order to gain an understanding of the current role and prospects for trade unions in the industrially advanced countries of the West we must first examine the nature of present-day capitalist society.

What is capitalism as we know it today?

Capitalism of the 1980s is capitalism of the age of electronics and informatics, of computers and robots, which drive millions of people out into the street. Wealth and power are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Politically potent militarism, fed by the arms race, is becoming increasingly ugly and menacing, harnessing advances in science



and technology for the creation of weapons of mass destruction.

Modern capitalism is marked by a steadily sharpening contradiction between labor and capital. In the economically prosperous 1960s and 1970s, workers succeeded in somewhat improving their lot. However, the economic crisis of the mid-1970s and the refitting of production with new technologies allowed capital to launch a counter-offensive and divest workers of many of their hard-fought social gains. In a number of indicators the standard of living of workers fell dramatically, and the army of unemployed grew to a postwar record level. The crisis did not bypass the countryside. Once prosperous farmers were forced to sell their farms and hire themselves out or submit themselves to the crushing terms imposed by major agricultural corporations and banks. Social inequality continued to mount. In the United States, for instance, the richest one percent of the population controls assets that are more than 50 percent greater than the combined wealth of the bottom 80 percent of the population.

In recent years large corporations have launched a large-scale and embittered attack on the rights of workers. Trade unions have been the targets of constant bashing and economic blackmail. Harassment has been carried out against progressive activists, and anti-worker legislation has been adopted.

Breakthroughs in science and technology in our epoch of the scientific and technological revolution have altered the structure of work. The refitting of industry with automatic transfer lines and robots has resulted in widespread lay-offs of workers. Categories of people have appeared who are unable to acquire new work skills and lack the necessary training to work under new conditions of work. Reliance on labor-saving technologies engenders so-called "technological unemployment," reduces the number of jobs, contributes to "moral aging" of many professions and makes it impossible for many workers to find jobs in new sectors of the economy.

Increased use of computers reduces the number of jobs available for accountants and cashiers, and other slots mainly filled by women.

The expansion of jobs in the public sector—particularly in education and health care—depends heavily on government fiscal policies. However, spending on the public sector has been cut drastically over the last several years in favor of bloated defense budget. Thus, more than 75 percent of all federal research grants in the United States go to military R & D. Also, the arms industries of the Western countries are being increasingly integrated, and global military-industrial complex is

being molded to be headed by U.S. corporations.

The internationalization of industry and capital does not lessen the complex problems faced by capitalism but instead aggravates them. The productive forces of capitalism have outgrown the boundaries of national economies. Monopolies and corporations are finding it ever more difficult to expand their operations at home, and this forces them to seek opportunities for expansion in other regions of the world and compelling capitalist nations in work for joint regulation of the world economy and try to coordinate their economic policies.

The end of this century is characterised by the continuing concentration of capital and production within the world capitalist economy and the growing influence of transnational corporations (TNCs). They establish subsidiaries and daughter companies in Western as well as developing countries and acquire local firms. Transcending national boundaries, TNCs are particularly active in regions where they are able to derive high profits and have access to large markets and cheap labor. TNCs account for over one-third of the gross national product of the capitalist world. The value of goods manufactured by British subsidiaries abroad and sold on the world market is twice that of total British exports. In the United States more than 50

percent of the deliveries of the largest American corporations go to their foreign subsidiaries, with exports accounting for the remainder. Direct investments by TNCs are growing at a rate two to three times faster than the GNP of most countries. The working class in capitalist countries is being exploited not only by the local bourgeoisie, but by all of international capital. Today, some 30 percent of the profits of American corporations are derived from overseas investments.

The effects of scientific and technological progress on capitalist society, economic instability, inflation, and a corporate onslaught on the gains of workers give rise to social tensions that sharpen the class struggle, pushing the working class to seek radical transformations in society as it exists today. United in trade unions, the workers press demands for an increase in state spending on programs designed to create jobs and improve medical care and the education system. They adamantly oppose the reprivatization of industries and call for deep cuts in the defense budget.

The accelerated internationalization of state-monopoly capitalism and a vicious offensive on the gains of working people call for a further rallying of workers and a strengthening of their unity within trade unions.

## Monopolies Go on the Offensive

Endemic to the current stage of the scientific and technological revolution is the decline of a number of branches of industry which previously had underpinned the capitalist economy and, at the same time, the emergence of new branches based on radically new technologies. These transformations have resulted in a sharply reduced need for labor. Industrial plants are being closed in such branches as metallurgy, machine tools, ship building and the tailoring and footwear industries. The plants that remain open are being reconstructed on the basis of new technology, putting out of work large numbers of employees. Growth in the aerospace industry and expanding production of computers, robots, microprocessors, laser technology and fiber optics fail to compensate for the removal of jobs from the labor market. Between 1979 and 1983, high-tech fields in the United States created 217,000 jobs, far short of the 565,000 jobs that were eliminated in industry during this period.

Monopoly capital is conducting a broad offensive on workers' social and economic rights.

In Western Europe, unemployment grew from 9.1 million people in 1976 to 19 million in 1986. As a percentage of the gainfully employed population, the joblessness rate rose

over these years from 5.6 percent to 11 percent. This means that if in 1976 unemployment affected one in eighteen workers, by 1986 one in nine people was out of a job.

Unemployment has hit especially hard young people, with more than one in five unable to find a job. It is also mounting among college graduates, women, and ethnic minorities. The elderly find it virtually impossible to obtain permanent work, too. As the unemployment rate climbs, the period it takes to find work becomes extended, with some people having to look for a job for a year or two and even longer. Unemployment usually means that a person has lost his trade along with his job. Learning a new trade is nearly impossible in the absence of a state-run system of occupational training.

The growth of unemployment is caused in large part by the militarization of the capitalist economy. Western economists have calculated that the defense industry, because of its high capital and technology intensiveness, creates less jobs per dollar of investment than the civilian sector. As a result, in the United States, where more than one trillion dollars were spent on defense purposes between 1980 and 1985, around two million jobs were lost.

One of the main reasons for the steady and rapid reduction in the number of jobs has been the introduction of robots in industry.

Japan is the world's leader in the introduction of robots. More than two-thirds of all robots in operation in the capitalist world are in Japan. Japanese managers count on robots to minimize production costs, mainly at the expense of laying off workers. Robots helped the electronics manufacturer Hitachi to cut unit production time by 80 percent, production costs by 30 percent and materials and semi-finished product reserves by 80 percent. At the same time each installed robot replaces 3-4 workers.

The same problems plague the other Western industrial powers, the United States in particular. American specialists believe that robots are today capable of performing up to one-third of all work in U.S. industry, and that in the future they may occupy between 65 and 75 percent of all job places. They also predict that within the next thirty years up to 30 million workers will lose their jobs on assembly lines to robots. The number of new jobs (programers, adjusters, etc.) available at automated factories will fall far short of the number of jobs eliminated.

Amid widespread joblessness in the developed capitalist countries, those with a job are compelled to intensify their work. Confronted by the constant fear of losing their job, employees work at the limit of their capabilities, bringing on rapid physical and mental deterioration.

Toyota, the Japanese automaker, can serve as a good example. Employees work in two shifts, five days a week with an eight-hour working day. But, according to established practice, workers actually put in two more hours of overtime work each day. A sociological study completed in 1983 found that 64.2 percent of Toyota employees thought that the pace of work had become faster than before, and 60 percent reported that they became sick on the job. Furthermore, 24.8 percent of survey sample thought their sickness was a result of their work being too hard, 29.8 percent indicated night shift work as the cause of their sickness and 11.2 percent attributed it to the work day being too long.

At Toyota a pay system has been introduced that in many respects can be said to be exploitative. The basic wage makes up no more than 30 percent of the employee's gross pay. Up to 57 percent can be made up by various types of add-on payments. Work teams and shops compete among themselves for the right to receive this extra pay. This pay system has gained Toyota the reputation—as a Toyota employee put it—as the first company in the world to “artfully squeeze the last drop of juice from an already squeezed lemon.”

The position of the working class is further compounded by the closing down of old factories and the opening of new ones and their dislocation to new areas. All this hinders



the occupational consolidation of workers and gives monopolies the opportunity to degrade the work conditions of their employees. In the first ten years after the Second World War workers in Western industrial countries achieved pay hikes and certain social benefits. Today the threat of mass lay-offs has had a dampening effect on pay increases and in some cases has caused pay rates to fall. Between 1981 and 1985, wages in the United States declined by 3.5 percent. Real income has shrunk even more due to the fact that the prices of goods and services have risen faster than wages.

Recent years have seen an unusually vicious offensive against the rights and freedoms of trade unions won by workers in many years of hard-fought struggle. In the Western industrial countries, nearly 30 percent of all hired workers belong to trade unions, including 18 percent in the United States, 30 percent in Japan, 31 percent in France and 40 percent in West Germany. In the United States, laws are on the books in 19 states allowing authorities to bar the activities of trade union organizations. In Great Britain, the Conservative government has introduced a series of anti-trade-union laws. In 1980, 1982 and again in 1984, the Conservative cabinet adopted employment laws which considerably limited the right of workers to strike and gave the government broad powers to interfere in trade union matters. Not

surprisingly, each of the so-called employment laws restricted the activities of trade unions more than the previous one. Owing to these restrictive policies, trade union membership in the United States, Great Britain and in some other Western industrial countries declined markedly.

The membership of trade unions has also been affected by structural changes. An abrupt drop has been noted in number of labor union members among miners and metal and railway workers, whose trade unions have traditionally defended class positions in the trade unions. At the same time there has been an increase in members in the engineering and technical fields and also among the management personnel, who have little experience of trade union politics. In the 1980s alone American labor unions have lost nearly 3 million members. Currently around 95 percent of all major U.S. corporations openly fight the unionization of the country's industries, with more than three-fourths of them spending annually up to 100 million dollars for the services of anti-labor-union consultants.

The way in which the 1981 U.S. air traffic controllers' strike was handled serves as a relevant example. In the summer of 1981, U.S. air traffic controllers went on strike at the urging of their union, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, or PATCO. The Washington Administration rejected all

the union's demands, calling them totally unacceptable. The striking controllers were dealt with harshly. More than 11,000 PATCO members received notice that they were fired. More than 70 of the strikers were put on trial, and many of the union leadership were handed out jail terms by the federal court. When arrested, many of the union members were not only handcuffed but also had their legs shackled, a treatment that is usually applied to state criminals. The union's strike funds were also impounded. The federal court ordered the union to pay a fine of one million dollars for each day that the strike continued. And to top it all off, the Federal Labor Relations Authority issued a decision to abolish the union.

On orders from the government a campaign was launched in the press to hound the labor unions. The strikers were betrayed by the leaders of the AFL-CIO, the national trade union organization, which pursued a policy of "class" collaboration with capital. As a sign of solidarity with the striking air traffic controllers, the aerospace and machine-building industry unions wanted to stop loading and unloading the airliners and halt operation of passenger gangways and hold a one-hour nationwide work stoppage, but the AFL-CIO leadership refused to support them.

The terror brought down on the air traffic controllers' union by the authorities gave the

monopolies a free hand: several airline companies forthwith filed multi-million-dollar suits against the union. The courts immediately decided in favor of the airlines. As a result of the demise of the union, 11,400 of the striking air traffic controllers who had refused the order to return to their job were fired by the government. An absolute majority of them were blacklisted and have since been unable to find jobs.

U.S. Communists contend that the reprisals against the air traffic controllers' union are not an isolated event. Rather, they see it as an act of state terrorism with respect to the country's labor union movement. The crushing of the union was intended to intimidate workers who are engaged in a struggle to defend their rights and interests.

In the United States there are more than a thousand agencies whose job it is to impede the organization of labor unions or to abolish existing unions. These agencies have developed most refined methods for hounding the union organizations. One such method which has become widespread is the declaration of bankruptcy. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court allowed the Bildisco Company of New Jersey to declare itself bankrupt in order to get out of a collective bargaining agreement with a labor union. This decision paved the way for many more false bankruptcies intended to disband union organizations.

In June 1985 the Supreme Court upheld the rights of strikebreakers.

Hard-line policies against workers are followed in Western Europe also, where American practices are copied in meticulous detail.

The anti-labor laws adopted by the British Conservative government have put a clamp on strikes and picketing. The labor unions have been denied the right to expel from their organizations strikebreakers and have lost their say in the hiring of workers by management. The financial obligations of labor unions for so-called illegal strikes have also grown—companies can now go to court to sue unions for losses incurred as a result of an illegal strike action. Company management resort with increasing frequency to mass lockouts. In Norway companies in 1986 let go 110,000 employees because of their involvement in labor conflicts.

Also, trade unions have narrowed the focus of their political activity. In mid-1986 the Supreme Court in Ontario Province in Canada barred Canadian trade unions from backing political parties and movements whose activities reflect the interests of workers. Trade unions were denied the right to make any kind of demands except for purely economic ones. The Canadian Labor Congress, which represents the country's trade unions, violently protested the Supreme Court's decision.

In Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, big business has set up a special fund of more than a billion kronor to combat the influence of trade unions. The fund is intended for use in the course of labor conflicts.

The capitalists have also resorted to the setting up of right-wing trade unions, which they generously finance, to dismember radical trade unions. The main purpose of these right-wing unions is to counter progressive trade unions and pursue policies acceptable to the capitalists. These organizations are funded by national and international corporations, and some are government-financed. The money is drawn, among other places, from secret accounts allocated by American Congressmen for subversive activities. One such source is the National Endowment for Democracy. Two-thirds of the budget are used to finance the Institute for Free Labor Development, an arm of the AFL-CIO. The endowment funds have also been channelled to the French right-wing trade union organization, the Force Ouvrière. The American government, in close collaboration with the National Endowment for Democracy, finances ultra-right trade unions throughout the world. Only in the years 1985 and 1986, the National Union of Workers, a Portuguese trade union organization, received around 200 million escudos, which was used for training personnel and for conducting various anti-communist actions.

Monopoly capital has set up trade union organizations whose bosses pursue a policy of conciliation with the capitalists, try to reduce trade union demands to the carrying out of minor reforms and lead the working-class movement away from political struggle. Known as reformist trade unions, their goal is to achieve only limited economic concessions from management. In a number of countries big business has succeeded in getting disjoint reformist unions to merge into large national umbrella unions which they rely on to implement its anti-labor policies.

Industrialists have increasingly resorted to strikebreakers to disrupt strikes and other trade-union activities. These hired agents distort the meaning of concerted actions by workers and incite confrontations between the police and the strikers. Such tactics were used against London printing plant workers who went on strike in February 1986 to protest the firing of fellow employees by newspaper magnate Rupert Murdoch. The fired workers with their wives and children—nearly 5,000 in all—assembled regularly outside the plant gates. Coal miners from Kent, city transport workers and students from local colleges displayed solidarity with the strikers, whose strategy was to effect a peaceful blockade of the plant's entrances. Yet among the demonstrators were several groups who incited a confrontation between the police and the

workers. In what proved to be a planned action, police units, some of whom were on horseback, pressed the demonstrators to the plant gates, clutching clubs and plastic shields. And though the workers tried not to yield to the provocation, the police dispersed the demonstrators, making numerous arrests.

In France the powers that be have stepped up their offensive against the trade unions. In the course of many years of struggle the French working class had won major concessions from the capitalists. In one such concession, in enterprises with more than 50 employees, trade union representatives are elected to enterprise committees and are empowered to conduct negotiations with the management on all issues affecting workers. Under French law, these elected persons are supposed to be protected from the tyranny of the management. Yet in reality things stand quite differently. Management tries to fire union activists as soon as the first opportunity presents itself, resorting to blackmail and provocation. The thrust of big capital's attack is aimed at France's progressive trade union, the Confédération Générale du Travail, or the CGT. A Paris court fined 13 activists of the CGT a million francs for participation in mobilizing auto workers at the Citroen auto plant to stand up for their rights and interests. In February 1983 they aroused the workers to call a strike in support of fellow workers who had been



unfairly dismissed. The plant management incited confrontations on the shop floors, the entire blame for which was laid on the CGT.

The management of the Renault auto plant in Douai accused a national secretary of the CGT and the plant's trade union secretary of involvement in an assault of two plant employees. And although it was established that on the day of the assault the union activists were nowhere near the scene of the incident, the Renault management ordered their dismissal, a decision that was backed by the Labor Ministry.

In another case, the management of a footwear factory in Dordogne falsely declared bankruptcy in order to rid itself of trade union activists. The factory remained practically in the same hands, control having been transferred merely on paper. Yet this legal reorganization entitled the management to lay off employees, with CGT representatives on the factory committee the first to go.

And administrators of the National Society of Railways punished a number of trade union leaders for their opposition to plans to cut rail service. French press reports claim that in 1985 alone around 2,500 French workers were fired for their union activities.

The French government has sought to introduce a law allowing companies to freely fix the work week anywhere from 38 to 44 hours. Critics argue that this would cause a rise in

partial unemployment. Under such a plan, employers would be freed of the obligation of paying workers for overtime and could make employees work evenings and nights as well as weekends without extra compensation. Also, management would be able to shut down operations any time it chooses to do so without being obliged to pay for lost work time.

Such tactics have been employed in Italy also, where a sliding wage scale law has been introduced. The law has helped to lower living standards among the working class.

In Belgium the law rejects wages to be pegged to inflation rates. Similar anti-labor legislation has been adopted in other developed capitalist countries.

Transnational corporations create formidable difficulties for the development of trade unions. By switching orders for goods back and forth between countries, transnationals are able to effectively bring trade unions under control by threatening to withdraw orders or close factories. Other methods are also used. British Leyland, for example, rolled back capital investments in its Italian subsidiary after workers there resisted pay cuts. The Italian plant was thus deprived of funds for future growth. Transnationals are known for their disregard for local trade union laws. Ford, the automaker, for instance, has forbidden its employees in Great Britain to join a union.

## The Working People Rebuff Capital

The development of modern capitalism led to the acute aggravation of class contradictions. The very conditions in which the working class finds itself arouse it to struggle energetically to protect its rights.

In the United States, Western Europe and other industrially advanced capitalist countries working people put up a powerful resistance to the onslaught of capital and try to capture the initiative in the struggle for their rights. In West Germany, for example, workers became indignant over a government plan to rescind paragraph 116 of the labor code guaranteeing workers the right to strike. The clause regulates relations between enterprises' management, employees and the federal authorities during strike actions. Under the law, the government must pay compensation to workers at cooperating enterprises who are temporary idle because of a work stoppage at some other plant. Under the new wording of paragraph 116 proposed by the government, workers of cooperating enterprises would no longer receive such compensation. Yet all sizeable strikes result in work stoppages at other plants. If paragraph 116 is changed, all workers of these plants could be deprived of means of subsistence. The draft law allows the factory owner to recover losses incurred as a result of a strike from the trade union to which the

strikers belong. The new wording would give factory owners virtually unlimited powers to declare lock-outs and blackmail workers economically.

The plan to alter the wording of paragraph 116 was fiercely resisted by the West German national trade union council—the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund—and its branches. Throughout the country mass meetings of workers were held to protest the scheme, where workers rallied around the slogans “Hands off the right to strike!”, “No to the anti-strike law!”, “We’ll not let ourselves be put on a chain!” and “No compromises!”.

More than 40,000 employees of Volkswagen, the automaker, signed a petition sponsored by the metal workers union to protest the plan. Strikes were called involving hundreds of thousands of workers in the Ruhr, Baden-Württemberg, Lower Saxony, Bavaria and other major industrial centers as a warning against the passage of the revised law. And in the spring of 1986 nationwide demonstrations of workers were held. The West German trade unions were supported by a majority of the democratic public in their bid to block the adoption of the revised law. Opinion polls showed that two-thirds of the public were against the “anti-labor amendment” to the labor legislation.

The campaign against lay-offs and for an improvement in the socio-economic conditions

of life is expanding. At its September 1985 Congress, the British Trades Union Congress adopted a Chapter for Change calling for a higher rate of employment and better public services for workers. Among the demands of the British trade unions are a shorter work week, the creation of a government retraining program for the unemployed and the institution of a guarantee against lay-offs.

In the United States several large strikes have been successful. A five-day-long strike in 1984 of more than 100,000 General Motors employees forced the company to sharply curtail overtime and introduce an employee retraining program. Strikes are becoming much longer. Thus, at a copper-smelting plant in Arizona belonging to Phelps Dodge, workers have been out on strike for over three years.

A shift has also occurred in the type of demands being made by workers, who now present political demands along with economic ones. The unemployed are also joining in the struggle. Unemployed workers have held national conferences in the United States, West Germany and France and have set up their own organizations.

Despite these small victories, the trade union movement in industrialized Western countries faces considerable difficulties. Changes are occurring in the nature of work and the occupational training of workers, and jobs are being shifted to different branches of the

economy. In many countries more than half of all jobs are in the service sphere, commerce and government. A large part of wage workers are employed by small businesses where there are less than 20 employees. Large corporations are trying to take advantage of these changes. In Italy, for instance, the industrialists have not only renounced previously honored agreements but are trying to eliminate trade unions entirely. As a result, collective bargaining agreements have not been concluded for many years at the automaker Fiat and the chemical plants of the Montedison company.

The Italian National Labor Conference, the country's largest trade union organization, mounted a struggle for the introduction of a 35-hour work week, the improvement of health care and pre-school facilities and for the reform of the tax system. It has strengthened ties with other trade union organizations in the country which support positions that sometimes conflict with its own and which are associated with various trade union organizations outside the country. Progressive trade unions cooperate with each other in the areas of environmental protection and the impact of the STR, the peace struggle and the release of resources now spent on the arms race so that they can serve mankind.

The mounting struggle of the working class against the policies of monopolies is merging with the campaign to halt the arms race. A

growing number of trade union organizations in the United States, Japan and Western Europe, when pressing demands for an end to unemployment, also come out for an end to the arms race. For they are aware that investments in civilian sectors create more jobs than spendings on arms production. Reformist trade unions increasingly adopt this position. Even the AFL-CIO, which for a long time supported increases in the defense budget, declared that it would no longer do so if the result were a curtailment of social programs.

Worthy of mention is the mass involvement of workers in the peace movement. In West Germany, for instance, thousands of workers came out to participate in a trade-union sponsored peace rally held on September, 1984 in 40 cities. Working people in Japan, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Holland and other countries have also become more active in the peace movement. Serving as great inspiration to them are the peace proposals of the Soviet Union aimed at halting the arms race and strengthening international security.

### A Combatant Class

In the Western press it is sometimes claimed that the contemporary working class has lost its fighting spirit and sense of purpose and has been lulled into inactivity. In support of these

charges reference is made to the fact that in the three years between 1983 and 1985 there were 15-17 percent fewer strikes than in the previous three years involving one-third less strikers. It is also noted that in the leading industrial powers, particularly the United States, France and Japan, trade union membership is far below that of the previous years.

Indeed, some segments of the working class have lost to a certain degree their fighting spirit. This is because the workers trade union movement has sometimes been slow to adjust to changing conditions, while corporations have generally reacted more quickly to changes in the world capitalist economy and to transformations in the structure of the working class.

The introduction of high technology in industry brought a reorientation of the exploitation of labor from physical toward mental abilities of workers. It has also made the mechanism of exploitation more elaborate and intricate. These shifts, which became necessary owing to advances in science and technology, were accompanied by a broad and continuous ideological assault on the working class by capital. By whipping up anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiments, monopolies seek to undercut the revolutionary aspirations of the workers and call in question the achievements of socialism. The bourgeoisie try to blacken socialism using the mass media which they control.



Monopolies have also tried to get the working-class movement to adopt reformist positions. They were to a certain extent successful, since not all workers have yet developed a firm class consciousness. Some even harbor the desire to become their own boss and start up a business. Frequent economic crises, the bourgeoisie's use of ever refined means of ideological brainwashing of workers and changes in the nature of labor brought on by the introduction of advanced technologies all hampered many representatives of the working class in quickly and properly finding their bearings in the class struggle; some workers lost their sense of class purpose.

Nevertheless, the chief revolutionary class has always been and still is the working class, which today numbers some 660 million people and is steadily growing. This number represents a third of the world's workforce. Since the 1950s, the working class has grown in the industrialized West from 137 million to 241 million people, in the developing world from 79 to 217 million, and in the socialist world from 66 to 202 million.

Certain Western ideologists assert that the skill level of workers has been declining. They claim that today's workers are not the same as their ancestors were 100 or even 50 years ago. Indeed, the composition of the working class has changed. While employment opportunities in the traditional industries have steadily de-

creased, millions of new jobs have been created in the electronics and aerospace industries, and in chemistry and biology.

New job conditions have also brought on changes in the worker himself. He is more skilled, is better educated, and has higher material and cultural demands than his parents' generation. In spite of this, his relationship with modern capitalist bosses has changed very little if at all: the owners of the means of production hire and exploit the labor force.

It should be mentioned that the working class today is composed not only of just the labor force engaged in physical work in industry and other spheres of production. Also in this category are engineering staff, trade and office workers, the so-called blue-, grey- and white-collar employees who are essentially wage workers, the same as industrial workers.

Concomitant with the internationalization of the world economy is the internationalization of the actions of the working class which is being increasingly exploited by transnational corporations.

In 1986 the tire manufacturer Michelin closed down one of its plants in Belgium, at the same time giving the boot to 1,100 employees. Coming to the defense of the workers were the left-wing parties of Belgium and leading trade unions. As a sign of solidarity with the Belgium workers, the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers

Unions announced that the lay-offs would be protested by the locals of Michelin plants throughout the world.

The internationalization of the actions of the working class fosters the migration of the work force. The internationalization of the labor market also opens greater possibilities for workers in their struggle to uphold their rights and broadens the basis for the merging of the working class internationally.

New aspects have emerged in the historical mission of the working class. As the only class in human history that has never sought to seize power to achieve privileges over other segments of society, the working class defends the interests of all working people of broad segments of the population. Its goal is to free all laborers from class oppression and social rightlessness, bring about socio-political equality, genuine social justice and the free and all-round progress of every nation and every individual.

Under present-day conditions it is the working class that must ensure life on Earth and the preservation of civilization. The modern world has become overly vulnerable to the risk of a military clash. There will be no victor in a nuclear war. People of labor and the majority of their trade union organizations struggle for a stable and lasting peace. Efforts by trade unions to better the living standards of workers are invariably linked with the struggle for

the peaceful coexistence of countries with different political systems and for ensuring that all disputes are resolved by peaceful means.

Marching in the front ranks of the anti-war movement, the working class fights not only for the right to live but for finding solutions to such problems as unemployment, inflation and the decline of real wages which are largely engendered by the arms race. The working class expresses more than just its own interests; it reflects the aspirations of all mankind, which testifies to the proletariat's humanitarian essence as a class that holds out the hope of liberation from exploitation to all working people.

Great is the role of communist and workers' parties in bringing Marxist-Leninist ideology to broad segments of the population. The new CPSU Program stresses:

"The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly uphold the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point out ways of leading society out of the crisis situation of bourgeois society, indicate a real alternative to the exploiter system and provide answers, imbued with social optimism, to the basic questions of our time. They are the true exponents and the most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A New Edition*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 19.

The growth of the international working class, its new social possibilities are a key factor for the further progress of the communist movement, as this growth is rooted in the working class, in its struggle. The proletariat has always been and remains a fighting class, a class that fights exploitation of man by man and social injustice.

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*Chapter III*    THE TRADE UNION  
MOVEMENT IN THE  
DEVELOPING STATES

The victory of the national liberation revolutions in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America altered the political map of the world, liberating the bulk of mankind from the colonial yoke and striking a political and ideological blow at the capitalist system.

With this victory began the slow and difficult process of carrying out socio-economic transformations in countries accounting for more than half the world's population. In many of the young states the struggle for national liberation began to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist.

But the imperialist states, part-

ly by political maneuvering often by direct interference, by and large succeeded in preserving the dependent economic relations with their former colonies and creating a refined system of neocolonialist exploitation.

The developing states pursuing capitalist development in which more than 2 billion people live, have virtually become a sea of poverty. In the early 1980s per capita income in these countries was 11 times smaller than that in the developed capitalist world. Since the mid-1970s alone, the profits of U.S. corporations derived from operations in the developing world have exceeded investments in this region by more than four times, and in Latin America and the Caribbean, by more than 8 times.

The developing countries are caused tremendous harm by the neocolonialist policies of the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF). In Bolivia, a local oligarchy backed by the IMF established a financial and economic dictatorship that has caused monstrous harm to the national economy and the people's interests. Under the model of development adopted there workers' social rights were drastically curtailed, state enterprises were ravaged or transferred to the private sector, natural resources were put at the disposal of transnational corporations and unlimited privileges were granted to the banking and commercial bourgeoisie.

Working through the IMF, world imperialism sought and achieved drastic pay cuts for workers in the developing world aimed at restricting consumption in the region and increasing exports, since revenues from them go for servicing the huge interest on the foreign debt. The hourly wage of workers in the advanced capitalist states is higher, and sometimes several times higher, than the daily earnings of workers in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The conditions under which they work and live are barely enough to eke out a meager existence. In pursuit of maximum profits corporations shut down enterprises at home and move production lines closer to sources of cheap manpower in the developing world.

Imperialism continues to exist by and large by plundering the developing countries and mercilessly exploiting them. The forms and methods of this exploitation change, but its essence remains the same. For instance, a significant part of U.S. national income is derived from these sources. Inequitable terms of trade machinations with currency exchange and discount rates, and the plunderous operations of transnational corporations help to make the poor poorer and the rich richer, and intensify the polarization of wealth in the world capitalist economy.

In recent years the foreign debt of the developing world has more than quintupled



while demand for goods from these countries on the world market has been declining. In the mid-1980s yearly debt service payments on loans owed to capitalist states equalled half or even more of all export revenues. Combined with the large amount of capital taken away from the developing countries as profits, mounting indebtedness bodes for the developing world a further aggravation of social and economic problems.

There is a causal link between the trillion-dollar indebtedness of the developing world and the more than trillion-dollar growth of military spending by the United States over the last decade. The fact is that militarism has a direct interest in preserving and strengthening the system of neocolonial superexploitation. Some 200 billion dollars are siphoned from the developing world annually, a sum equal to that of the United States' military budget in recent years.

Amid the aggravation of capitalism's contradictions and the shrinking of the sphere of its domination, neocolonialism is becoming increasingly important to monopoly capital as a means for allaying social tensions in the leading bourgeois states, providing them room for maneuvering.

## The Struggle Against Neocolonialism

The struggle against neocolonialism and for economic autonomy has been given new impetus in the present setting. Playing a key role in this struggle are trade unions. This is attributable largely to the fact that in many countries of the developing world there have yet to arise influential political parties reflecting the interests of the working class and of all workers. Trade unions are thus the only mass organizations defending these interests. The status, role and objectives of these trade unions are shaped by the main economic, political and social tendencies prevailing today in the developing world. With the advent of modern factories and industrial sectors and the formation of a skilled work force the trade union movement in the developing world has taken on a larger scope and political weight. The highest-skilled workers, organized in trade unions, are employed at major enterprises. The experience of many Latin American countries, in particular Argentina, Venezuela, Columbia and Mexico, shows that highly-skilled and well-paid indigenous employees of enterprises owned by foreign corporations tend to be more organized and consistent in their struggle against their employers. Notwithstanding their high standard of living relative to other categories of the working class, they feel the full impact of the capitalist moderniza-

tion drive that has caused job lay-offs and impinged on the vital interests of the workers.

By defending the interests of workers, trade unions in the developing world more and more often become the motive force behind the struggle with imperialism. Yet some of the trade unions that arose with the support and sometimes direct participation of reformist U.S. and West European trade unions, adopt to a certain extent the ideology, forms and methods of activity of the latter.

The monopolies strive to place the trade unions in the developing world under their own control and direct their activities in their own interests. The American Institute for Free Labor Development, for instance, founded on the initiative of the AFL-CIO leadership and managers of 60 big American corporations, is effectively used by American imperialism to split the trade union movement in Latin America. The Institute was established to train trade union officials which the big corporations hope will oversee their drive to splinter the trade union movement. More than 40,000 trade union functionaries from the developing world have undergone training at a AFL-CIO training center outside Washington and in American trade union colleges situated in 11 countries in the Western hemisphere. The Institute's activities are funded largely by the U.S. Treasury Department.

The workers of the developing world active-

ly rebuff the policies of imperialism. In the front ranks of the popular masses' struggle against imperialism and local reaction stand political and trade union organizations embracing class positions, which help organize intransigent strikes across the continent. Notable examples of recent years include a steel workers' strike in São Paulo, a walkout of rail workers in Buenos Aires, nationwide strikes in Bolivia called by the national trade union center, demonstrations by Chilean miners, and nationwide general strikes in Columbia called by the country's national trade union council.

The trade union struggle has taken on a broad scope and has involved trade union organizations of varying orientations. Among the demands most often made by the trade unions of the continent is the guarantee of trade union rights and freedoms, jobs, a social security system, wage increases and better job safety. At the same time, the demand is increasingly made for economic independence from foreign companies and the restriction of their activities. In the policy documents of many trade unions foreign corporations are named as the chief enemy of the people and an ally of the local oligarchy.

In a resolution adopted at the First Trade Union Congress of Latin American and Caribbean electrical industry workers, it was stated that the foreign-owned electrical industry is not only a source of astronomical profits for

the foreign corporations made at the expense of local workers but also helps to make these countries technologically dependent on them, which serves to worsen the region's economic position and is a form of neocolonialism. For breaking out of this colonial economic dependency, the congress participants recommended that the electrical industry be nationalized, which would further the development of the region's economies. They also stressed that the loans granted by international banks to which political strings are attached foster financial enslavement rather than development and independence.

The class-based trade unions of Jamaica consistently protect the interests of all workers, including those who belong to reformist trade union organizations. This promotes the growth of their numbers as well as their influence and authority. The strike movement in the country is on the rise. Coca-Cola plant workers called a massive strike that was supported by many other factory workers, who collected money and food for them.

The struggle of workers and trade unions against imperialism and local reaction is gaining momentum in Trinidad and Tobago, where workers supported by a powerful trade union movement noted for its combativeness have become increasingly active in protecting their vital interests. At the head of this struggle are the trade unions representing oil industry

workers and workers in other industries, transport and sugar plantation workers, and also bank employees and shipbuilding and ship repair workers. The Council of Progressive Trade Unions actively cooperates with the merchant marines and dockers' unions, and other trade union organizations belonging to the reformist-led Trinidad and Tobago Labor Congress.

The Chilean proletariat succumbed to a tragic plight. The country's trade unions are the target of mass repressions, and trade union leaders and activists are abused, thrown behind bars or physically annihilated. Many of them have disappeared without trace. The Chilean government is out to crush the progressive labor movement and supplant it with submissive "yellow" trade unions. To help, it has adopted repressive laws which bar trade unions from using membership dues, make mandatory membership in large trade union organizations, restrict the right of workers to strike and hold joint demonstrations, and make it easier to repress trade union activists and striking workers. Only a few enterprises' trade union organizations have retained the right to bargain with management.

The Chilean authorities set up a corporate trade union organization, the National Unity Labor Front, to drive a wedge in the country's working class. Democratic forces within the country strive to stimulate organizations true to

their class interests into greater activity and coordinate these organizations' efforts. In response to the government's anti-union policies, Chilean trade union organizations have formed a united front comprised of the Chilean National Workers' Union, Confederation of Private Sector Employees, National Committee for Coordinating the Activities of Trade Union Confederations, Federations and Organizations, and the United Labor Front. The government responded to a call made by radical unions for the repeal of all restrictions on union activities with mass arrests and prison terms.

Many trade union activists in El Salvador have fallen victim to a wave of government terror. Union officials whose activities are perceived by the regime as a threat are imprisoned, while numerous decrees, including one that allows torture to be used for obtaining a confession, have presented authorities vast powers to quell opposition from the workers and their union.

The trade unions of Africa have also become more active of late. The growth of the African working class is having a decisive impact on the nature of the class struggle and its socio-economic and political thrust. It also reflects a major shift in the social structure of the gainfully employed population. An increase in the number of wage workers expands the social base of trade unions and provides

objective preconditions for trade unions to exert greater influence on the socio-economic processes of the development of society.

The African trade unions with increasing frequency advocate anti-imperialist positions. In Sudan, for example, striking textile and railway workers' unions, in addition to demanding better work and living conditions, called for certain political demands, including an end to the neocolonialist policies pursued by the government; and in Nigeria more than 1,500 mining industry workers, united in a trade union, successfully fought for their rights.

Workers in a number of African countries must fight for their rights amid extremely disadvantageous conditions. In Egypt, for instance, defying a government ban on strikes, Cairo railway workers declared a walkout in mid-1986 in an attempt to win higher pay. The government responded by arresting 37 engineers on charges of orchestrating the strike and inciting others to join the walkout. Several of them were found guilty and sentenced to terms of hard labor.

In Africa, like on other continents, neocolonialism utilizes reformist trade union organizations for reinforcing its position, they push the African trade union movement toward conciliation. Many trade union organizations in capitalist-oriented African states have forged bilateral contacts with trade unions in the United States, Britain, West Germany,



France and other Western nations, where numerous seminars and courses have been organized specially for African trade union activists.

The African wing of the AFL-CIO actively aids and abets neocolonialism and South African racism. The goal of this organization is to infiltrate African trade unions and prop up regimes on the continent which display no opposition to imperialism's neocolonialist policies. The organization carries out vast propaganda work on the continent, focussing its efforts on those countries where American corporations have made major investments. It sponsors the training of indigenous trade union officials, sets up schools, cooperatives and unions and conducts trade union seminars on social and economic development issues. It also widely employs the tactic of bribing local trade union leaders.

Repulsing imperialist policies on the African continent are trade unions in countries of socialist orientation. They vigorously fight to limit the plunderous activities of monopolies in Africa. The trade unions of these countries have achieved certain success in fighting foreign capital through local labor legislation. But since African governments have too little legal rights to effectively control the activities of foreign monopolies and regulate labor relations at enterprises owned by them, the trade unions are relegated a key role.

The trade union movement in Asia has achieved a certain degree of success in struggling for economic development, improvements in the standard of living of workers and broader rights for trade unions. A serious obstacle in this struggle is the lack of unity among trade unions of various political platforms. The internationalization of capital presents propitious opportunities for strengthening the international solidarity of the working class and for unifying the trade union movement in the capitalist world. However, monopolies pursue a policy of setting workers from developing countries against workers of capitalist states, those from one region of the world against those of a different region.

In spite of all this, Asian trade union organizations continue to pursue all possible forms of cooperation. Asian trade unions operating on a class position apply continuous efforts to forge contacts with various trade union organizations.

Many trade union organizations are forced to work in trying conditions. In the Philippines, for example, the government, caving in to pressure from foreign and local monopolies, introduced measures to curb the strike powers of trade unions. Dozens of them were either blacklisted or outlawed. The press launched an attack on left-wing union leaders, accusing them of being "subversives" who took orders from foreign "centers." The police, govern-

ment troops and strikebreakers were increasingly called in to fight strikers. Bloody confrontations ensued. Progressive trade unions were blamed for the consequences. Under a new law, the government was made chief arbiter of labor conflicts and handed unlimited powers to quell strikes.

Monopolies, particularly foreign, make every effort to prevent workers from uniting in trade unions. In Thailand, the employees of the majority of private companies are non-union. Those who try to organize are immediately fired. According to the National Congress of Thai Labor, of the nearly five million wage workers in the country, no more than 300,000 are unionized.

The trade union movement in India is also not without its difficulties. No more than a fourth of the country's work force is unionized. Membership in a trade union is based not on professional skills but on party affiliation. Industry-oriented trade unions are a rarity. Each enterprise has up to ten different trade unions which rarely cooperate or interact, adding to the difficulties typical for the country's trade union movement as a whole.

Notwithstanding, in recent years Indian trade unions have been pursuing their activities with greater vigor. In 1985, four of the country's largest textile workers' trade unions met in Congress. The Congress called for the nationalization of all textile plants and large

handicrafts enterprises with management to be turned over to employees and underscored the urgent need for the modernization of industry involving the full utilization of its capacities, significant improvements in the work and living conditions of workers and an increase in the manufacture of inexpensive fabrics affordable to the average worker.

In Pakistan, the government responds to efforts by workers to protect their rights with reprisals aimed at the unions. Arrests and imprisonment of trade union leaders continue, union-sponsored strikes are violently repressed. Arrested trade union activists are denied the right to defense in a court of law. They are tried by military tribunals who invariably find them guilty and send them to prison, where refined torture of prisoners is a normal practice.

In Turkey, trade union members pursue their activities at the risk of severe repression. Trade union organizations are as a rule small; the largest among them are the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions and the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK).

The influence of DISK has been on the rise in recent years. Operating within the limits of the law, DISK has sought improvements in the workers' lot by opposing cuts in national social programs and advocating better living and work conditions, an expansion of democratic

and trade union rights, national independence, social progress and peace. Turkish ruling quarters launched a major assault on the organization, putting more than 400 of its activists on trial before a military tribunal. DISK counted more than 600,000 members. Military authorities accused DISK of disseminating communist propaganda and conducting anti-constitutional subversive activities ultimately aimed at toppling the current regime. In fact, however, DISK did not act as a political party. It was set up in strict accordance with the country's constitution. In standing up for the vital interests of workers, however, DISK could not remain uninvolved in current political issues, so it was outlawed.

### For a New Economic Order

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been subjected to plunder over the lifespan of many generations. Yet the political freedom won by the newly free nations was but the first step in the direction of true independence—economic. In recognition of this, the U.N. General Assembly at its sixth special session in 1974 adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Program of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

The New International Economic Order is to be based on the sovereign equality of states, self-determination for all peoples, freedom of choice of an economic and social system, the impermissibility of using force for acquiring territory, territorial integrity of all nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and full sovereignty of every nation over its natural resources and national economy, including the right to nationalization and the regulation of the activities of transnational corporations.

The main ways for realizing these goals were defined as follows. In the area of *world trade*—through the establishment of fair prices that would cause no harm to the national interests of developing countries and not lead to the enrichment of the industrialized countries at the former's expense. In the area of *international settlements*—through reform of the currency system with account being taken of the interests and specific requirements of the developing countries. The new system of *international economic relations* also presupposes greater development aid on less stringent terms and the transfer of high technology.

Of special significance to the developing world in the realization of the new international economic order are the export of raw materials and manufactured goods, industrialization, imports of technology, financial aid, currency reform, eliminating food shortages,

economic cooperation with industrialized countries, and also the set of issues concerning the situation in the most economically backward countries.

The struggle for the establishment of a new world economic order is primarily a struggle against the dominance of transnational corporations (TNCs). In the developing world transnationals plunder national resources, undermine the economy and make the local bourgeoisie and government agree to terror in dealing with the growing labor movement.

TNCs are rabid foes of trade unions. In establishing subsidiaries abroad and exploiting cheap labor, the monopolies seek to curb the expansion of trade unions and split the labor movement. Transnationals plot cruel repressions of trade union leaders and throw union activists out of jobs. Among the weapons in their arsenal are blackmail, terror, threats and reprisals. They force workers to join "yellow" unions which are obedient servants of the transnationals.

Countering the anti-labor policies of the TNCs is one of the key directions of the class struggle in the developing world. Workers pursue every avenue to rebuff the TNC policies. International solidarity has become increasingly important in the struggle for upholding the interests of the working class.

The present international economic order has led the developing nations into a deep

socio-economic crisis that has left its imprint on every area of life. This makes it imperative to revise the existing economic and political relations between the developing world and the industrialized countries. A structural realignment of relations would offer workers of the developing world a real chance to improve their standard of living. The New International Economic Order can become real only if all members of the working class in developing countries rally in a joint struggle. Only then can it be hoped to dismantle the present structure of neocolonialist relations.

In recent years trade unions have become more active, particularly in Latin America, in the struggle for equitable terms of trade, an issue brought to the fore by the sharp deterioration of the social and economic situation within these countries. However, striking unions have yet to present the demand for the establishment of a new world economic order. In recent years Latin American trade unions have begun to accord more weight to the struggle for achieving fairer prices on raw material exports at a time when the prices on imported manufactured goods have risen while those on raw materials have steadily declined.

The developing countries seek with increasing vigor the establishment of a new international economic order. However, the imperialist powers have no intention of yielding to their demands, especially on the issues of 'use



of natural resources, effective control of the TNCs and access of the domestic markets of developing countries for certain goods. The limited concessions made by the industrialized capitalist countries have hardly affected the overall situation. The imperialist states effectually block the just demands of the developing nations at international conferences and assemblies.

Resorting to neocolonialist methods, the TNCs have stepped up their penetration of developing world economies. At present foreign monopoly capital controls key sectors of the economy in a majority of African countries. The main form of this penetration is long-term private investments, in the African countries' production sphere, especially direct investments. TNCs are responsible for the bulk of all investments in Africa, which they channelled into extractive sectors, and more recently into processing industries.

In many African countries foreign subsidiaries are responsible for a large share of gross national product of the host country. In English-speaking Africa, TNCs account for 34 percent of the local GNP, and in Francophone Africa, they produce 42 percent of the GNP.

The profits of foreign subsidiaries operating in Africa are much higher than the inflow of new direct investments. Between 1970 and 1980, foreign investments in Africa amounted

to \$4,339 million, while during the same period \$15,923 million were exported from the continent as profits. Yet direct investments are not the only means used for enslaving the developing countries. These countries are unable to shake their dependence on monopoly-controlled capitalist markets owing to the fluctuation of world prices on export goods, less favorable terms of trade, persistent inflation, and the mounting indebtedness of the developing world.

The TNCs are also responsible for the changing structure of agricultural production in the developing world. The emphasis on exports of food products has made them less available for domestic consumption, having an inflationary impact on prices.

TNC policies in the agrarian sector have government support in a number of developing countries. In the Philippines, for example, the American food industry giant Del Monte, which has subsidiaries in more than 30 countries, has greatly expanded its operations. Del Monte owns 7,000 hectares of plantations in the Philippines, where it grows pineapples, bananas and vegetables. Another American company, United Fruit, controls 16,000 hectares on the islands.

The eagerness of these companies to expand their operations in the Philippines is explained by the fact that in Hawaii, for example, plantation workers earn \$2.64 an hour, and

canning plant employees \$2.69 an hour, while in the Philippines Del Monte pays its workers 15 and 20 cents an hour, respectively.

Economic development that is dependent on imperialism brings the workers of the developing world only poverty and suffering. For the TNCs, the only goal is super-profits; nothing else matters. In pursuing this goal, they are not moved by the suffering, illness and even death from hunger of millions of people.

A study of the pharmaceutical industry in India found that foreign subsidiaries operating there withdrew from the country three times more currency than they brought in; 15 TNCs recouped their initial investment after four years of operation, after which they reaped pure profit. U.S. corporations, with \$140 billion in assets in the country, managed to transfer to the United States \$76.4 billion a year in the form of dividends, interest revenues and other payments. The study also found that the presence of TNCs in India had little effect on employment; TNCs were responsible for the creation of no more than 18,000 jobs. Twenty-five foreign pharmaceutical manufacturers account for more than half of all output of medicines in the country, yet the bulk of their output is intended for export.

The transnationals take advantage of the yearning of the newly free states to tackle the issue of economic development. This policy is

vividly seen in free trade zones in which entire industrial sectors are created to meet the needs of the world capitalist market without thought given to the consequences this may have for the domestic economy. The number of such zones in the developing world is rising sharply. In these zones workers have little recourse to the protection of trade unions, though wages at TNC-run enterprises are the lowest. In Asia, wages at such enterprises range from 13 to 60 U.S. cents per hour. Such wages are made possible by the ban on trade union activity and the lack by workers of legal rights in these free trade zones. Working in these sectors are predominantly women between the ages of 16 and 25. They make up 75 percent of the work force employed in the developing world in export-related industries. In Taiwan, 80 percent of those employed in export-related industries are women. They receive half the wages of men for the same work. The six-day working week is standard, and individual output quotas are so high that many must work 10-12 hours each day to fulfill them. And although in most developing countries a 48-hour working week has been legislated, in free trade zones this law is ignored. In Sri Lanka, for instance, the normal working week often lasts 70 hours.

Social security deductions from paychecks average around 30 percent in the developing world. In the free trade zones, however,

workers generally do not receive any kind of state benefits. They are not granted sick leave or vacation, and pregnant women are often fired. Work loads are heavy. Labor productivity levels in the free trade zones are usually as high as those at similar enterprises in the developed capitalist countries. For instance, the hourly output of a textile plant in the free trade zones of Malasia is the same as that of similar plants in the United States, West Germany or Japan.

In the free trade zones, membership in a trade union is in many cases sufficient ground for being fired. The ban on trade union activity within the zones may prove detrimental to the interests of workers outside the zones as well. This is witnessed by events in Sri Lanka and the Philippines, where the powers of trade unions at the national level were curbed because of their opposition to the creation of free trade zones.

The struggle by the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order is being fought on all fronts. This struggle is being merged with the efforts by trade unions to protect the vital interests of workers and gain the right to organize. The situation is compounded by the fact that trade union organizations in certain developing countries have succumbed to pressure from the imperialists and embraced a policy of conciliation. The conciliatory policies of indi-

vidual trade union leaders is what made the creation of free trade zones possible in the first place. Many of these leaders endorse an "open doors" policy under which the primary emphasis is put on the development of export industries. The TNCs are the major investors in such ventures.

Trade unions vary in their views on the activities of transnationals. Some trade union leaders argue that TNCs are the only available source of investments for developing new industries. They also credit TNCs with the creation of jobs, the technical training of the work force, providing the opportunity to utilize local material resources and manpower and offering a source of hard currency earnings.

Trade union leaders who support class positions reject these opportunistic arguments. They justly believe that the TNCs exploit every opportunity to mobilize local financial resources and drain scarce local capital away from national industries.

As the operations of the TNCs in the developing world expand, the financial indebtedness of these countries is growing at a phenomenal rate. The total debt of the developing world now stands at more than a trillion dollars. The foreign debt of the ASEAN countries rapidly increases. In 1984, all the ASEAN countries owed foreign banks \$66 billion; today, the Philippines

alone has a foreign debt of nearly half that sum.

Exploiting the human and natural resources of the developing world, transnationals turn local wealth into a source of scandalous fortune. As a result, the developing nations are forced to resort to foreign loans. Servicing the loans and the interest on them requires new loans, locking these nations in a vicious circle out of which there is no escape. New devices have been added to standard means of exploiting and plundering the developing world. One such device resorted to widely in Latin America is "technological colonialism." Payments for such things as foreign patents, licenses and trade marks, as well as management and other technology-related services in six developing countries alone (Argentina, Columbia, Brazil, Mexico, Chile and Venezuela) account for 30 percent of all foreign payments of the developing countries. The developing countries are forced to buy licenses from TNCs under crippling terms which often prohibit or limit the export of goods produced under the acquired license.

With increasing frequency national and international trade union centers in the developing countries are placing on their agenda the demand that transnationals be controlled and that a new international economic order be implemented immediately. However, many trade union organizations are finding it dif-

difficult to coordinate their actions with other such organizations because of the inexperience of their ranks and the faith of their leadership in the policy of class peace.

Today an effective struggle against transnational corporations is impossible relying on a single country's efforts alone, as long as trade unions are concerned about only what is happening in their own country. A contradiction exists between the transnational expansion of corporations and the national orientation of trade unions. The world trade union movement has not yet been able to achieve unity in its struggle to curb the powers of TNCs for a number of reasons. Among them is the fear among workers in the capitalist world of losing their jobs as a result of the relocation of factories to developing countries. The strategies pursued by the transnationals have resulted in curtailing employment in the country where their headquarters is located. This has driven trade union leaders in the industrialized countries to seek guarantees against the further reduction of the number of jobs. Many transnational corporations have striven to disrupt ties between employees of foreign subsidiaries and the mother company, causing fragmentation of the trade union movement. Such transnational corporations as International Business Machines and Eastman Kodak, by paying employees of their central enterprises high wages, have practically suc-



ceeded in dividing workers. In some countries, strikes and boycotts called to show solidarity with workers abroad are banned.

Transnational corporations are much better organized for conducting an international struggle against workers than trade unions are. It is very difficult for trade unions to coordinate simultaneous strikes at different subsidiaries of the same TNC located all across the globe. These difficulties are compounded by the division of the trade union movement at the national level, due to the presence of several trade union centers, often ideologically opposed, within a single country.

The world's largest trade union organization, despite their dissimilar political views and approaches to the problems of development, have agreed on a common strategy for the implementation of a new international economic order. Its main points are:

- the broad participation of workers and trade unions in all stages of the drafting and carrying out of development plans;
- public control, including the nationalization of the key sectors of the economy; democratic management of enterprises in the state sector;
- the carrying out of an agrarian reform with the active participation of the peasantry and agricultural workers;
- industrialization aimed at raising the population's standard of living;

— the adoption of a mandatory Behavior Code for all TNCs having the force of law;

— international regulation of technology transfer;

— reform of the international monetary and financial system to eliminate the domination of monopoly capital;

— equitable and mutually-profitable international economic cooperation; dismantling of the barriers to the expansion of trade and an adjustment of the system of preferential trade status in favor of developing countries;

— provision of trade unions with access to essential information;

— entitling workers to conclude international collective agreements;

— increased aid to the developing countries and cancellation of their foreign debt;

— implementation of effective measures to combat unemployment;

— halting of the arms race and effective cuts in military budgets, with a share of the money thus saved to be sent to the developing world as aid.

The issue of disarmament occupies a central place in this strategy. The arms race draws enormous resources away from development programs. Hundreds of billions of dollars are spent on armaments each year, not only in the industrialized countries but in the developing world as well, where the pace of this spending is rapidly growing. The total military spending

now exceeds \$100 billion a year. As a result, sources of funds for socio-economic development and industrialization are shrinking, inflation and external debt mount, and democratic processes are being rolled back.

Another harmful side effect of the arms race is that more than a quarter of all scientists and researchers in the world have been drawn into the defense industry. This branch of industry is the largest single consumer of non-replenishable natural resources. This explains why the advocates of a new international economic order call for deep cuts in military spending.

### No to Apartheid!

All people are born equal irrespective of the color of their skin. Yet there are those who would like to perpetuate inequality and racism.

The indigenous population of South Africa is fighting for liberation from racial discrimination and the yoke of capital under tyrannical conditions. Only whites have the right to vote there. Sixteen percent of the population own 86 percent of the land and all natural resources. More than 1,600 Blacks are arrested daily for the violation of passport laws, which prohibit the free migration of Blacks throughout the country. Most of the Black population has been driven into bantustans which resemble concentration camps, where hunger and

disease are rampant. Three in five infants die from malnutrition before they reach the age of two.

The situation in South Africa has significantly worsened in recent years during which a new wave of reprisals was launched. The racist regime considers it normal to lock innocent people away in jail without trial, among them trade union leaders, the clergy and students. Many have died in police torture chambers.

The trade unions play a pivotal role in the struggle against apartheid. The racists make every effort to undermine the Black trade unions and place them under their control. Under the pretext of reforming the trade union system, South African authorities have stepped up their assault on union rights of the Blacks. Under the 1979 law, the Black trade unions were granted the right to be officially registered. In fact, however, only those organizations are legally recognized which have pledged to abandon political struggle and resigned themselves to apartheid. The same law placed strict control over the activities of Black unions, thus preserving the primacy of the white minority. The officially recognized unions are closed to a majority of the Black population, forcing the African proletariat to set up their own unions whose members work predominantly in the mining and manufacturing industries, communications, trade and the services and transportation sector.

The South African trade union movement has witnessed major changes over the last few years. There were more strikes in South Africa in the first half of 1985 alone than there had been in all of 1982, the previous record year for the number of strikes. In November 1985 the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was born, a national federation of Black and anti-racist trade unions with a combined membership of more than half a million workers. Total union membership in the country is close to one million: in 1979, when unions were first legalized, membership stood at no more than 16,000 workers. Major strikes of mine workers were held in 1984 and 1985, which were ruthlessly suppressed by authorities. The first strike by Black miners took on a general character, demonstrating the enormous power possessed by Black workers. In 1985, for the first time in the history of the South African trade union movement, Black and white workers who had banded together made joint demands on the magnates of industry; they had called for an increase in pay, the introduction of a 40-hour working week (it is currently 50 hours), and greater employee social security benefits.

The success of the workers in achieving unity forced the racists to mount an offensive. The authorities backed by ultra-right quarters launched a broad campaign against freedom fighters. However, this new onslaught found

the white population divided, with government officials and skilled workers in favor of preserving apartheid but with some businessmen and the majority of teachers and students opposed. The opposition of the business community was more economic than political. Having expanded together with foreign capital, South African industrialists felt constrained within national boundaries; they were faced by a shortage of skilled workers among Blacks, made even worse by restrictions on their movement in the country, etc.

Recent years have seen changes in the nature of the strike movement at foreign enterprises in South Africa. Afraid for their profits, the transnational corporations have called for the lifting of restrictions on the movement of Blacks and for the granting to Black businessmen of the right to engage in business in white districts. Foreign corporation strategists hope that such measures would be instrumental in the emergence of a Black bourgeoisie that would act as a class ally and be a breeding ground of conciliatory political and trade union leaders. They also hope to form in this way a social base for the strengthening of their own dominance. A gradual relaxation has followed the restrictions on Black businessmen in the trade sector, for drawing credits, in buying land, etc.

The ultimate goal of all this is to divide the Black population, counter the growing influ-

ence of the working class in the drive against apartheid, smash the strike movement and try to smooth over the contradictions between labor and capital. TNC strategists hope that the Black population will be content with superficial reforms in the Apartheid system and that, by granting small increases in pay and social benefits, they can continue to exploit it, as of old.

The transnational corporations are prepared to make concessions to the trade unions in order to steer them onto a reformist path and confine their demands to narrow economic interests. At the same time, the monopolies in alliance with the white minority regime apply harsh repressive measures to deal with the trade unions. In one such case, directors of the Impala platinum mine in the Black bantustan of Bophuthatswana dismissed 20,000 employees after they had demanded recognition of the right to form independent trade unions and pay hikes in a strike that lasted five days.

The upsurge of the class struggle precipitated the formation of SACTU, which demanded the immediate dismantling of the system of apartheid. Representing nearly a half million workers from 33 independent trade unions, SACTU, which is a member of the anti-Apartheid United Democratic Front, has consistently called for the seizure of foreign assets in the country and the imposition

of international sanctions on the racist regime.

The workers of South Africa are joining multiracial trade unions in increasing numbers and have spoken out against the common enemy from class positions. In just one of hundreds of similar cases, union activist Tozamile Gweta was eight times arrested by the South African secret police and thrown in jail. His house was torched by "unidentified persons," killing his mother. During her funeral at which more than 3,000 mourners attended, police opened fire.

In South Africa whites who oppose Apartheid are also killed. Typical in this respect is the murder of Neil Agget, a trade union figure who was opposed to Apartheid and was an active participant in the multiracial trade union movement. Agget was the first white political prisoner murdered by security officials after the introduction in 1963 of a law allowing arrest and imprisonment without court order.

Although strikes by Blacks are banned in the country, the workers have attracted increasing support from broad segments of the population, especially from among students, the clergy and farmers. The coordination of economic struggle with political activity has allowed the workers to achieve greater organizational unity and effectiveness.

The Zionists of Tel Aviv act as true racists in respect to the indigenous population of Israel and their trade union organizations, and also



to the population of the occupied Arab lands. Trade union activity is paralyzed by an atmosphere of terror and violence and the flouting of the elementary rights of workers. The Palestinians, their organizations, including trade unions, are harassed and persecuted in every way. Thousands of innocent Palestinians have been arrested. Israeli jailers are infamous for their use of torture on prisoners, subjecting them to electric shock, beatings with rubber clubs or metal rods, dog attacks, hanging head down and cigarette burns to the skin. Among the prisoners who are tortured are many trade union activists.

In spite of the terror and violence and the repression of Arab trade unions, the Palestinians have waged a stubborn fight for liberation. Demonstrations and strikes involving the entire indigenous population are a regular occurrence on the Arab lands occupied by the Israelis. The trade unions play an active role in these protests.

### Trade Unions in Countries of Socialist Orientation

The emergence of a whole group of states opting for the socialist path of development was the result of the further advance of the national liberation movement and the reinforcement of its social thrust. From the struggle of former colonial nations for national and

social independence a strategy of national development emerged that embraced the Marxist-Leninist theory on the possibility of the non-capitalist development of states which were formerly victims of imperialist plunder.

This strategy is aimed at fostering rapid economic growth, the creation of a socio-economic base through the expansion of the state sector, discarding of the former international division of labor foisted on the colonies by imperialism, and the building in the future of a society relying on socialist principles. Following this strategy should lead to the achievement of economic independence by way of changing and diversifying industrial output, organizing agriculture into cooperatives and realigning foreign trade to give priority to trade with socialist countries.

The states of socialist orientation are confronted by a tangle of complex socio-economic problems. They must focus their energies on gaining control of key economic sectors such as industry, transportation, communications, construction, foreign and domestic trade, banking, finance and insurance. Doing so usually requires time and much patience.

The ultimate success of these states in their endeavor depends largely on how well they exploit the advantages they have over developing states which have embarked on a capitalist path of development. Among the advantages at their disposal is the possibility, relying on

broad segments of workers, of achieving greater consolidation of classes within society; centralization and economic planning based predominantly on the state sector; experience by other socialist countries adjusted to fit local conditions; the broad application of the mechanism of state finance as well as credit and currency policies; the financing of state programs by confiscating part of the income of the rich, expropriating the assets of foreign and local private companies who sabotage the policies of the revolutionary government and nationalizing the property of former colonizers who fled abroad; economic activity centered in the burgeoning state sector, mostly in the key branches of the economy; extensive economic and moral support from the socialist camp and from all progressive forces in the world.

The carrying out of political and socio-economic reforms in states of socialist orientation is a far from smooth affair. Progress in instituting reforms is impeded by internal contradictions, some inherited from the previous regime, others a natural outcome of the transition to a society free from exploitation bypassing the capitalist phase of development. States of socialist orientation also face difficulties emanating from abroad. The imperialists have yet to resign themselves to the breakaway of these states from the world capitalist system. Trying to block the national and social liberation of peoples, they present things as if the

changes in the developing world were the result of "international terrorism," and not objective processes. With the help of these cynical assertions, the imperialist powers hope to justify their policy of destabilizing progressive regimes and flouting the elementary rights of peoples and stem the tide of anti-capitalist changes in the developing world.

In the war against monopolies and their minions much depends on the size, strength and activeness of workers' public organizations, among which trade unions play a prominent role.

While in the capitalist states severe persecution of trade unions is a normal occurrence, in the countries of socialist orientation the situation of trade unions is entirely different. The policies of the trade unions, which act here in the interests of millions of workers, dovetail with the policies of the ruling political parties and the goals of the government. In these states the labor movement is expanding briskly, as is its contribution to the building of a new society and the raising of the working classes' standard of living.

In the People's Republic of Congo, the Congolese Trade Union Federation has a membership of nearly 100,000 workers, or 15 percent of the country's work force. There are also trade unions for seven different industries. The confederation sees its goal as rallying workers behind the Congolese Labor Party's program for expanding the economy

and ensuring a higher standard of living for workers and of raising their culture.

The trade unions of Ethiopia, including the All-Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU) with over 300,000 members, actively participate in the socio-economic reforms taking place in the country. The same can be said of the national trade union organizations in Angola, Mozambique, Benin, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and other countries of socialist orientation.

The main purpose of Afghan trade unions is to promote the increase of labor productivity and the improvement and expansion of industrial output, encourage labor competition among workers and foster prosperity of the working people. Engaged in this endeavor are 30 provincial-level trade union councils representing 700 primary organizations and 170,000 workers. Membership in the country's trade unions continues to grow.

The Federation of Kampuchean Trade Unions, founded in 1979 after the country was liberated from the bloody Pol Pot regime, has done much to revive the operation of more than 300 enterprises, eliminate unemployment and illiteracy and improve the people's working and living conditions.

In Angola, the country's work force, led by the trade unions, which encourage patriotic competition among workers, is intimately involved in fulfilling the national five-year economic and social development plans.

The labor movement in countries of socialist orientation still have many unresolved problems. Some lack organizational zeal, others face the problem of recruiting new members from among the emerging work force. Yet, what is important for all of them is that their activities are in line with the interests of the working people and that they are free to act, having the support of their people's governments.

The specific challenges lying ahead of the trade unions in countries of socialist orientation stem from the nature of the tasks facing the whole nations. Past experience in the developing world shows that in the first few years of development, when the working class has yet to assume political power, progressive reforms aimed at erasing feudal privileges and property, nationalizing the assets of local and foreign capital and building up the state sector can be successful only if these reforms have the support of workers. It is here that the trade unions can and must play a key role.

By calling for the restructuring of the system of inequitable economic relations left over from the age of imperialism to make it more fair and democratic, workers and trade unions make a contribution to the common struggle of the developing countries for political and social liberation. In this struggle they receive continuous aid and support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

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*Chapter IV* UNDER SOCIALIST  
CONDITIONS

Under capitalism working people possess many formal rights that are not translated into life. Trade unions have to wage a dogged fight to see that these rights are upheld. The situation is completely different under socialism. Trade unions in socialist countries—by virtue of their influence on political and economic decision-making and active participation in tackling social matters, as well as their efforts to involve workers broadly in the management of governmental and public affairs—are key in the development of democracy, primarily in the productive sphere, the main area in which man applies his creative abilities.

## Trade Unions in the Socialist Political System

Under socialism trade unions are a chief constituent of the political system of society and of the system of socialist democracy, ensuring that the working people's power is used to foster the building of socialism and communism and the progress of all mankind. A trade union, said Lenin, "is an organization designed to draw in and to train; it is, in fact, a school: a school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of communism."<sup>1</sup>

Under socialism changes took place in the content and class essence of trade union activities. They became a more active creative force, a direct participant in the building of a new society. They work hand in hand with the socialist state and conduct their activities under the guidance of a Marxist-Leninist party.

The foes of socialism assert, *inter alia*, that since trade unions in socialist countries recognize the guiding role of the Communist Party in socialist society, they are therefore incapable of independent decision-making. But the experience of the building of socialism refutes these conjectures.

The triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 ensured the creation of the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "On the Trade Unions," *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 20.



world's first state of workers and peasants. The Russian working class became the dominant, ruling class. Lenin defined the new role and tasks of trade unions: "Yesterday the chief task of the trade unions was the struggle against capital and defence of the class independence of the proletariat. Yesterday the slogan of the day was distrust of the state, for it was a bourgeois state. Today the state is becoming and has become proletarian. The working class is becoming and has become the ruling class in the state. The trade unions are becoming and must become state organizations which have prime responsibility for the reorganization of all economic life on a socialist basis."<sup>1</sup>

The creative process of building a new society and improving socialism is unthinkable without the guiding role of the Communist Party, whose augmented influence was a reflection of the clear need for the advance of socialist society. The Party exercises ideological and political guidance of both state and public organizations. We might ask, in what way does the Party guide the activities of trade unions?

Trade unions are the backbone of the Party, its active helper. In working with broad segments of the population, trade unions, guided by the Party Program, assist the Party in its multiform efforts to guide society.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks'," *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 215.

Trade unions are organizationally independent. They act in compliance with their charters and on the basis of decisions made independently and democratically. The Party respects the organizational independence of trade unions and takes stock of this in its activities; the Party does not meddle in the ongoing affairs of trade unions. But the Party has no policies or ideology in which the vital interests of workers, of all working people in general are not reflected. The Party Program is a guide to action for the entire working class and the entire nation—and, logically, for the trade unions.

In some socialist countries there exist more than one political party, each of which represents the interests of different segments of the population. Yet these parties always act as a single bloc and are invariably guided by a Marxist-Leninist party—the political vanguard of working people.

Under socialism, relations between trade unions and the Party are always close; in this relationship the Party exercises the guiding role and the trade unions have full organizational independence.

Also, trade unions play a key role in preparing for and holding elections to state power bodies. Many representatives of state power are elected from among the trade union leadership and rank-and-file activists. Soviet trade union representatives, for example, par-

ticipate in the work of the Soviet government and the government of the constituent republics, of various ministries and agencies and of Soviets of People's Deputies.

Economically, cooperation between trade unions and the state under socialism is based on public ownership of the means of production and on the socialist system of management. The Soviet Constitution and other legal acts define the legal framework for such cooperation. Typically, no legislation has ever been passed in the Soviet Union that has restricted the rights of trade unions. On the contrary, their authority has steadily grown.

The socialist state provides wide-ranging assistance to trade unions in the area of managing production. Questions regarding worker participation in the production process are the joint responsibility of state bodies and trade unions. The corresponding rights of citizens, work collectives and trade unions, the duties and responsibilities of state economic bodies and their officials, are all legally protected by the Constitution, Labor Code and other legislation of respective socialist countries and are spelled out in the Rules of trade unions and in the resolutions of their central organs.

One indicator of true democracy in exercising the functions, rights and practical activities of trade unions is that matters affecting only the trade unions themselves and questions of

internal democracy (the internal structure of trade unions, the rights and duties of their members, jurisdiction, the forms and methods of work, etc.) are regulated only by the norms laid down by the trade unions themselves in the form of the Trade Union Rules, the Rules of particular occupational unions or by other trade union reglamentations. Enforcement of these Rules and reglamentations lies not with the state but with trade unions, which may impose disciplinary measures in the event of their violation.

The socialist state does not meddle in the affairs of trade unions but even provides legal guarantees of their right to independent decision-making. Thus, as can be seen, trade unions under socialism are built and operate on a genuinely democratic foundation.

Soviet trade unions, with a membership of more than 138 million people, are the single largest mass organization in the country. They bring together on a voluntary basis members of work collectives of industrial and agricultural enterprises, of agricultural cooperatives and state institutions as well as students of higher and secondary special and vocational educational institutions, irrespective of ethnic background, sex or religious convictions. Soviet trade unions are made up primarily of members of the working class. In recent years collective farmers have accounted for an increasing share of trade union members.

Trade unions are built along the lines of democratic centralism. Under this system, all trade union bodies—central as well as primary—are elected by the trade union membership and report to it. This also means that trade union organizations decide all union matters in accordance with the trade union Rules and the decisions of higher union bodies. Decisions of trade union organizations are considered adopted if they receive the approval of a majority of the organization's membership; lower trade union bodies submit to the decisions of higher trade union bodies.

Trade unions are arranged on an occupational principle. This means that workers of the same enterprise, institution or cooperative belong to the same trade union.

Primary trade union organizations (in enterprises, institutions, etc.) are the main organizational unit; they are run by elected union committees.

In addition to occupational trade union bodies, regional organizations exist, permitting regional peculiarities in trade union work to be more fully accounted for. In socialist countries trade unions are headed by central trade union councils (in the Soviet Union, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions).

As a primary constituent of the political system in socialist society, trade unions carry out the following main functions:  
economic—that of influencing economic

growth and the resolution of economic and production tasks, a result of the all-round development of the democratic principles of managing production and heightening the labor activity of broad segments of the population;

protective—that of improving social relations, showing concern for the legitimate interests and rights of workers and for bettering their work and living conditions;

educational—that of carrying out measures to improve the general education and raise the cultural standards and skills of workers;

international—that of fighting for peace, fostering international cooperation, participating in the international working-class and trade union movement.

### **Involving Workers in the Management of Production**

Communist and workers' parties and trade unions in socialist countries pay particular attention to broadening the participation of the working class in the management of production.

The trade unions are increasingly involved in the development of socialist public self-management, an idea that is being widely encouraged in the socialist countries. Lenin defined self-management under socialism as a

system under which "the people are their own rulers."<sup>1</sup> Worker participation in the management of production is a form of developing democratic principles in the management of production and at the same time intended to bring about better efficiency of production. All this falls within the realm of trade unions.

Many forms of worker participation in the management of production are practiced in the socialist countries. This participation may involve attendance of enterprise trade-union meetings or other union conferences or participation in socialist competition, the inventors' and rationalizers' movement or technical research. In some socialist states production conferences are held to adopt decisions on current production matters and working people's everyday conditions. In Hungary, for instance, union representatives take part in production management through conferences, and in Bulgaria and Romania, working people's councils are convened. Special groups may also be formed, comprised of workers and other employees, engineers and technical staff to decide current financial or production matters.

Another key function of trade unions is to assist in the *planning of social production*. This participation relates to nearly every aspect of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Petrograd City Conference," *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1974, p. 146.

socio-economic development and takes place at all levels, from the compilation of enterprise plans to the drafting of a national economic plan.

Drafts of enterprise production plans are reviewed at general meetings of workers, who may propose alterations in the plan. State and economic bodies give consideration to the opinions of trade union representatives when discussing draft plans. Trade unions not only initiate the discussion of draft plans in work collectives but also assist in collecting and summarizing the proposals of workers.

Diverse forms of worker participation can be observed in the drawing up of plans. This goes for the drafting of individual plans of workers, the coherent plans of teams and the creative plans of specialists as well as for the adoption of socialist obligations and counterplans.\*

In most socialist countries a radical shift has been made in economic policy in order to boost production through acceleration of technological re-equipment, a restructuring of the economic mechanism and the introduction of the cost-accounting system, a method of planned management of the socialist economy under which an enterprise's production costs are compared with its output level and

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\* A counterplan is a plan adopted at the initiative of the work collective designed to increase the output of goods and improve their quality and raise labor productivity.



economic results. Accordingly, all costs must be covered by revenues, allowing the interests of society as a whole to be satisfied simultaneously with those of a specific work collective and individual worker.

The changes in economic policy were naturally followed by shifts in the activities of trade unions. Trade unions are strenuously working to bring about radical changes in the way workers and work collective relate to the quality of their output. In the Soviet Union, for instance, up to 80 to 85 percent of all output will match world standards by the year 1990, as will nearly 100 percent of all newly-developed products.

To promote this trend, trade unions have set up in every enterprise quality control groups, show concern for raising the skill level of workers, and hold contests between workers and establish occupational training schools drawing on the experience of leading enterprises and work brigades.

*Socialist competition* is a key component in the mechanism for managing the country's economic and social processes. Organizing socialist competition, defining its terms, summing up its results, conferring awards on the outstanding workers and work collectives and disseminating advanced experience—all this is part of the duties of trade union organizations and their central bodies.

Socialist competition is carried out according

to three principles which were formulated by Lenin. They are: broad publicity about the competition, comparison of its results and the dissemination of advanced experience.

The discussion of counterplans and socialist obligations and the course of their fulfillment are widely publicized at meetings attended by workers; workers are informed about the work collectives' obligations and about the criteria for judging the competition. Workers are regularly informed about the course of the competition and the fulfillment of obligations and about the competition's moral and material incentives. Wall newspapers and poster displays at enterprises, as well as city and regional newspapers and radio are widely employed for this purpose.

The second principle involves comparing the results of work of individual workers in adjacent work collectives for which nearly identical criteria of socialist competition have been established.

Dissemination of advanced experience includes the sharing of information on labor achievements and technological innovations, the rendering of assistance to lagging work collectives or enterprises and the demonstration of advanced experience at exhibitions, during occupational contests and production conferences and in employee associations.

Trade unions summarize the advanced experience of innovators and front-rank workers

and propose concrete ideas for utilizing this experience. They arrange for advanced experience to be studied at seminars and at small informal gatherings of groups of workers, engineers and technical staff who are thus able to update their skills and knowledge. They dispatch individual workers or entire work teams to other enterprises, conferences and so forth to study advanced experience. And they make recommendations on ways to materially and morally stimulate workers who have successfully disseminated or utilized advanced experience.

Trade unions strive to come up with more and more effective kinds of competition for stimulating scientific and technical ingenuity and applying these ideas in industry. Some of them include encouragement of competition among inventors and rationalizers, the holding of shows and contests to find solutions of scientific and technical tasks, assigning individual projects to specialists on raising the technological level of industry, and the signing of cooperation agreements between production associations and enterprises on the one hand and research institutions and educational establishments on the other.

In the Soviet Union, socialist competition is aimed not just at raising labor productivity, but at raising it to the highest level for the given industry; not only at economies of material resources but at achieving an increase in

output through resources-saving; not only at boosting the manufacture and above-plan production of goods but at upping the share of high-quality goods among total output and ensuring the mandatory fulfillment of all contractual obligations.

Trade unions make every effort to foster *technical ingenuity among workers*. Various public associations exist for this purpose. Among them are innovators' councils, public design bureaus, complex creative teams and public institutions of advanced experience. The activity of these associations is geared to the development and application in industry of scientific and technological innovations that help to raise labor productivity and improve the quality of goods.

In socialist countries the state has a vested interest in promoting scientific and technical ingenuity and encouraging the activities of inventors and rationalizers. In many of these countries programs have been launched to speed up progress in science and technology and codify existing legislation concerning inventions and streamlining proposals with the ultimate aim of providing innovators with more rights.

Trade unions are also involved in the effort to engage workers in a creative pursuit. They encourage a wide category of workers to display creativity in finding ways to raise the technical level and improve the organization of

production. They contribute to the acceleration of scientific and technological progress by utilizing inventions and streamlining rationalizers' proposals in the economy as quickly as possible and reward the creative pursuits of workers with moral and material incentives. As a result, workers show greater technical ingenuity and their ideas have a bigger effect on the economy.

The efforts of innovators are steered primarily toward the search for complex solutions which would bring about substantial changes in the technological basis of industry and produce the largest possible economic effect.

One of the criteria used to evaluate the activity of work collectives engaged in socialist competition is the specific contribution of inventors and rationalizers toward lowering the cost and raising the quality of output and boosting labor productivity, economy and thrift. Also taken into account are successful attempts at lowering production costs, economizing on manpower and increasing the share of high-quality goods produced through the introduction of innovations.

In the Soviet Union the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators (VOIR) has a membership of around 14 million people. Besides this there are another 24 scientific or technical societies representing various occupational groups with a total membership of 12 million.

In Bulgaria, innovators are prodded to discover economic solutions by means of the introduction of personal thrift passbooks, and holding of competitions for the right to bear the honorary title of "millionaire" (conferred on workers or management personnel whose proposals saved the economy more than a million leva), and the broad discussion of the best streamlining proposals.

In Hungary, an estimated 7 to 8 percent of all industrial profits in the country were achieved as a result of the utilization of proposals by inventors and rationalizers. Thanks to them, energy and raw materials costs have been reduced by 25 percent, and the country's trade unions have set a goal of eventually reducing these costs by 60 percent, which they hope to accomplish through the broad introduction of the experience of the most productive work collectives and the mounting of exhibitions of innovators' contraptions.

In the GDR, the number of innovators has been growing at an annual rate of 8 to 10 percent; today one in three workers is a rationalizer.

As for Czechoslovakia, it ranks sixth in the world in the sale of patents on inventions. Each enterprise and research institute has its own program for promoting technical ingenuity and utilizing the ideas of inventors and rationalizers. Each program specifies a particu-

lar level of technical innovation that should be aimed for.

Joint creative pursuits are taking on increasing significance for socialist economies. Experience shows that teams comprised of specialists and workers possessing a broad range of skills are exceedingly capable of meeting even the most perplexing technological challenges.

Workers, engineers and technical staff in the GDR, for example, have a high sense of creative cooperation. This is largely due to the fact that before the socialist obligations of work collectives are adopted, they are first coordinated with the individual work plans of engineers and technical staff. In addition, various types of work teams are assembled in which workers, engineers and technical staff work together to solve scientific or technological tasks. There are more than 600,000 different types of innovator collectives in the country. The economic effect achieved from implementing the ideas developed by these collectives is 6 to 7 times higher than that achieved through utilizing proposals by individual innovators.

Complex brigades of rationalizers have received broad development in Czechoslovakia. Today there are more than 17,000 of them, uniting 165,000 workers, engineers and technical staff.

In Bulgaria, the government launched a nationwide program to boost the socio-

economic effectiveness of the inventors' and rationalizers' movement. The program is aimed at expanding the ranks of innovators and the number of ideas proposed by them, thus boosting the economic effect from them. The program also envisages teaching workers to act creatively and disseminating broadly the positive experience of innovators. Twelve schools have been opened in the country to teach methods of technical ingenuity, and a national research center has been established to study problems related to the scientific and technical ingenuity of workers.

In Hungary, governmental and trade union bodies sign contracts with regional trade union councils and the State Bureau for Inventions, as a result of which innovators' contests are held between factories and inventors' rights protection weeks are proclaimed in various cities whose ceremonies are attended by officials of the State Bureau for Inventions and economic bodies. At the enterprise level, trade union committees help in the formation of innovators' collectives and ensure that the necessary conditions exist for carrying out creative work, and the enterprise management keeps the trade union organization informed about the results of the fulfillment of contracts and coordinates with it the conditions and procedures for offering incentives to innovators.

In Romania, the most widely practiced



method for spurring technical ingenuity at the enterprise level is the formation of teams of innovators, whose work is supervised by the enterprise trade union committee. Together with other committees on which sit engineers and technical staff, these teams draw up development plans and keep inventors and rationalizers up to date on the latest innovations in science and technology.

With the expansion of democratic management of socialist enterprises the work collective has taken on added significance. The work collective's duties are spelled out by a *collective agreement*, a bilateral agreement between the enterprise management and the trade union, which acts in the name of the work collective. The collective agreement defines the mutual obligations of the management and the work collective relative to plan fulfillment, the organization of socialist competition and the economies of raw materials and energy. All points agreed in the collective agreement are financed out of enterprise funds.

The work collective holds *general meetings* attended by workers and management personnel which furnish workers with the opportunity to take a direct part in the management of production. At these meetings members of the work collective evaluate the performance of the enterprise, criticize any existent shortcomings and offers suggestions for overcoming them. These proposals are studied by the

management and the trade union committee, who then decide whether and how to act on them. These meetings also provide an occasion for financial and trade union officials to report to the work collective about the measures being taken to improve the living conditions of workers and management personnel, organize their leisure and raise their educational level.

In the GDR, permanently functioning production conferences are comprised of representatives of the management and Party, trade union and youth leaders, engineers, technical staff and leading workers. Workers make up from 60 to 70 percent of the conferences. Members of these conferences are involved in the compilation and discussion of production plans as well as plans for accelerating scientific and technological progress, introducing high tech, improving conditions of work, etc. They outline measures to eliminate shoddy workmanship and the wastage of job time, ensure the more efficient use of equipment and improve work conditions and job safety. They also discuss proposals for raising the skill level of workers and improving the placement of personnel.

At the initiative of the trade unions and with the approval of the Party leadership, a system has been established in the GDR, under which workers keep special notebooks in which they make comments on how the enterprise is run. These range from comments on why job

time is lost and why equipment breaks down to suggestions on how work and the production process can be better organized. These comments are systematically analyzed at special commissions on which one of every three trade union members sits. The commissions must not only examine each comment but make a written evaluation of it and determine whether it merits adoption or should be further elaborated.

Hungarian trade unions have successfully launched a new scheme intended to raise quality and reduce shoddy workmanship which they call "work without mistakes." At each enterprise the implementation of this program, which affects a wide range of production matters and includes more than a hundred points, is supervised by a council headed by the enterprise trade union committee leader that works in conjunction with the enterprise management. The council is charged with formulating a plan for implementing the "work without mistakes" program, which stipulates various measures to ensure the strict compliance with technological standards and improve the quality of repair and maintenance work.

In Bulgaria, general assemblies of workers or representatives acting on their behalf are authorized to make decisions on general questions of enterprise development. At these assemblies an economic council of the enter-

prise is elected, having a mandate for two years. The council, comprised of from 15 to 21 members, no more than half of which can be engineers or technical staff, determines the structure of the enterprise and its management, approves the enterprise budget, examines the course of plan fulfillment, and, together with the trade union committee, settles disputes over the evaluation of economic performance. The council reports back to the general meeting of workers or their authorized representatives.

In Romania, enterprise management is exercised through the vehicle of the general meeting of workers, or, at large enterprises, of worker representatives. The assembly approves the socialist obligations adopted by the work collectives and the plan of organizational and technical measures for realizing them and also the collective agreement. The meeting elects workers to sit on the enterprise's collective management body—the Workers' Council, which is charged with approving annual and five-year plans, determining the organizational structure of the enterprise and deciding supply and sales matters.

Collective enterprise management bodies exist on a wide scale in Hungary. One such body, the director's council, is made up of the enterprise director, who chairs the council, his deputies, the heads of production divisions, and two workers chosen by the trade union

committee. The director's council is empowered to make decisions regarding the enterprise management system, the sale and pricing of part of the enterprise's output, settlements with other enterprises and production associations, adoption of the basic indices of the annual plan and the balancing of accounts, and the purchase and sale of goods abroad.

The adoption in the Soviet Union of the Law on the State Enterprise significantly broadened the duties and authority of trade unions. Under this law, which grants legal protection to new forms of self-management based on a combination of planned production and cost accounting, any surpluses in the wage fund of an enterprise can be used by the enterprise to reward the hardest working members of the work collective. If output targets are met using a smaller number of workers than provided for in the plan, these unspent wage funds can be used to give pay rises to the workers who contributed the most to the fulfillment of the plan. Under socialism, where unemployment is non-existent, it is the workers who benefit from such schemes. All these measures are regulated by the trade union committees, who take into account the opinions of the work collectives.

The Law on the State Enterprise and the Law on Work Collectives expand the influence of the work collective—a key component of the political, economic and social system of

socialism—far beyond production matters. The Law on the State Enterprise, for example, provides for the election of managers by the work collective and the open discussion of candidates. It also grants work collectives the right to participate in the drafting of the enterprise's production and social development plans, thus promoting involvement of its members in public and political affairs. The greater participation of work collectives in management enables the proper balance to be reached between the interests of society, the work collective and the individual worker.

Work collectives exercise their various rights and duties relative to the management of production at general meetings and conferences, which are the highest representative organ of the work collective. These rights are exercised without infringing on the rights of the management or the collective's public organizations, which meet regularly to seek out and act on the views and proposals of the public.

Special significance is attached in the Soviet Union to the participation of workers in the supervision of production and distribution. Trade union organizations call on workers and other employees to help supervise the fulfillment of production plans, the meeting of housing construction and municipal services development targets and monitor the work of trade, public catering and municipal services

enterprises. More than three million public inspectors and members of the corresponding commissions of the trade union committees are involved in the monitoring of labor protection and job safety standards.

Increasing reliance on workers to manage production in the socialist countries is prompted by objective factors. Changes have occurred in the nature of work, and today's workers are more educated and have more training than their predecessors. As a result, workers are now capable of understanding production matters, and have a greater interest in and feel more responsible for the end results of the enterprise or production association and modernizing production.

Soviet trade unions are deeply involved in organizing and improving the work of cooperative organizations in the production and services sectors and in instituting the family contract system in agriculture. Trade union committees of industrial enterprises help workers to set up personal subsidiary and collective orchards and gardens. Workers who join gardening cooperatives are allotted plots of land free of charge (all land in the Soviet Union is socially owned), and trade union organizations provide assistance in the purchasing of building materials, garden tools, seeds, etc., the harvest grown on these plots are the property of those who raised it.

Thus, in socialist countries, trade unions, to

promote the active involvement of workers in the management of production, focus their energies on the following points:

increasing the role of trade unions in expanding the participation of workers in the drafting and fulfillment of economic and social development plans. This is being achieved by combining centralized planning with planning "from below," providing workers with details on current state plans and perspective development plans of the enterprise, the adoption by workers of annual and five-year socialist obligations, public influence on the collective's scientific, technological, and social development plans, the proper application of the work collective's vast array of resources, and the development of a system for reviewing plan targets at the initiative of the workers;

establishing genuine worker control over the production process and all economic activities. This is promoted by the systematic evaluation of daily, ten-day and monthly socialist competition results, the disclosure and elimination of shortcomings in the course of the work, trade union control of the compliance with executive, labor and production discipline, and the public evaluation of the professional, ethical and political qualities of management, engineers and technical staff;

heightening public influence on the measure of labor and remuneration. This is accomplished by evaluating the labor contribution of



the work collective and of individual workers in the overall economic performance of the enterprise and by differentiating the size of bonuses on the basis of indices that assess the job attitudes of individual workers;

creating a system of public management bodies at enterprises, increasing trade union control over this system, boosting the role of collective agreements in the economic life of enterprises, and drawing up long-term as well as yearly agreements covering a wider range of activities;

utilizing widely the experience of trade unions in socialist countries in developing initiative among workers and their active involvement in economic management.

### Perfecting Social Relations

Participation of workers in the management of production implies more than just the solving of production tasks. A large part of work of trade unions is devoted to protecting the interests of workers.

Workers' interests are protected by trade unions through controlling work quotas and wage rates and material and moral incentives; enforcing compliance with labor legislation and job safety standards; seeing that favorable working conditions exist and that hazardous, unsafe and manual labor is minimized by

means of mechanization and automation of production; supervising the social maintenance system; initiating health-building measures; ensuring the fair distribution of housing; raising the standard of municipal services; controlling the work of trade, public catering and services enterprises; enforcing compliance with labor discipline and the rules and norms of socialist society.

Primary trade union organizations possess considerable rights in the setting of work quotas and wage rates. Only the trade unions institute the way of enumerating labor, raise or lower the skill category rating of workers and laydown the rates and rules for paying bonuses; institute new or alter existing work quotas (schedules), authorize the combining of professions and additional payment for this, and approve estimated outlays for housing construction, cultural and public activities and the procedures for distributing material incentives funds.

Why are trade unions involved in the setting of work quotas? Rapid advances in science and technology today have brought corresponding changes in job conditions. As new equipment is installed and old equipment refurbished, advanced technologies are introduced, production processes mechanized or automated and job organization improved, new work quotas are introduced. Work quotas can also be reviewed if the production process is reorganized and

job responsibilities are changed, or if the job skills or professional abilities of workers rise. The revision of work quotas and wage rates is the responsibility of a special commission whose work is supervised by the trade union committee. The commission is staffed by workers, engineers and management and technical personnel.

With the declaration of a new economic policy based on the principle of cost accounting which has brought enterprises greater autonomy, Soviet trade unions have begun to monitor more closely the introduction of pay rises and a more rational use of public consumption funds. Under the new policy, deductions from enterprise profits are used to form various material incentive funds, whose distribution is controlled by the work collective.

While exploitation of man by man, unemployment, and ethnic or social rightlessness are non-existent under socialism, trade unions nonetheless have to perform a protective function. Why, we might ask, do the workers' interests need to be protected if the government, the Party and all other public institutions act in the interest of workers? The answer is, workers need protection from bureaucrats and other individuals who infringe labor legislation. Some examples of violations are unwarranted overtime work, poor job safety and delays in reviewing complaints by workers. Trade unions supervise the compliance by enterprise man-

agement with labor legislation, offer workers legal aid and explain to them the meaning of various laws.

Trade unions play a large role in ensuring safe work conditions. All job safety regulations must be approved by the trade union committee of the enterprise where they are instituted. Such regulations cover a wide range of areas, including the locating of enterprises, the heating, ventilation, lighting, waste disposal and water supply systems, noise and vibration levels, and the provision of lounge and shower facilities.

Labor protection regulations have legal force. Charged with enforcement are inspection commissions which are assisted by voluntary public inspectors and also labor protection commissions attached to trade union committees.

The amount of resources to be allocated for improving work conditions is established by the collective agreement. Workers are issued special protective clothing and safety gear free of charge according to fixed norms. Workers are also familiarized with safe job practices and job safety standards as well as sanitary and hygiene regulations.

The shift toward two- and three-shift work schedules to derive maximum use from plant equipment has compelled trade unions to focus their energy on reorganizing the work of public transportation, the trade and services

industries, and school and pre-school institutions.

Under this plan workers who work evening and night shifts will get added pay. As an added incentive, workers of all shifts will have access to hot meals and lounge and shower facilities.

The changeover to multi-shift work benefits above all workers. If advanced machinery and technology are loaded to maximum capacity, outmoded or hazardous machinery can be removed from operation quicker. Also, money earmarked for building new factories or industrial shops can be reallocated for housing construction and the development of public services.

Trade unions are also involved in the administering of social security. In socialist countries, state social security programs provide material maintenance in old age, in case of physical disability and in other cases provided for by law. The social security system is financed by the state out of public consumption funds—no deductions are made from the paychecks of workers. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the social security system is administered by the trade unions.

Trade unions see as one of the primary tasks of social security the prevention of general and occupational illnesses and injuries. Preventing illnesses means above all ensuring good work conditions. Under socialism, the wide-scale mechanization and automation of production

not only results in higher labor productivity, but also is conducive to better job safety, the rational use of human labor, the elimination of many occupational illnesses and a lower incidence of on-the-job injuries.

In an effort to prevent occupational illnesses, Soviet trade unions have been instrumental in creating for industrial enterprises a network of preventive treatment clinics known as prophylactic sanatoria. Without having to use their annual vacation time, workers go to these clinics after their working day at the enterprise to rest or undergo treatment in conditions similar to that of sanatoria. Prophylactic sanatoria are built with enterprise funds and are open to all enterprise employees. All maintenance and treatment expenses are covered by the enterprise.

Sanatoria and rest homes play a considerable role in protecting and fortifying the health of workers. Sanatoria are special prophylactic and medical treatment centers in which patients are treated mainly by natural means such as drinking mineral water, taking mineral baths and therapeutic muds in combination with other methods. For those not in need of medical treatment there exist rest homes which offer comfortable lodgings, meals and cultural and sight-seeing services. Each year more than 50 million Soviet workers and members of their family spend time in rest homes and sanatoria.

The bulk of the cost of staying in rest homes and sanatoria is covered by social security funds. In the Soviet Union, ten percent of the stays in rest homes and 20 percent of those in sanatoria are paid in full by trade unions. As a rule office and factory workers and collective farmers pay only 30 percent of the cost of such stays; the rest is picked up by the trade unions. Also, social security funds are used to provide some 3 million people with special diets.

Trade unions also administer an entire network of Young Pioneer, sport and other camps which host children over the summer holidays. The Young Pioneer camps range from sanatorium-type camps, where rest is combined with medical treatment, to sport camps and camps where young people both work and rest. Another area financed out of social security funds is tourism. Trade unions are responsible for developing this industry.

In the Soviet Union the provision of pensions is one form of security for the aged and physically handicapped. Pensions are defrayed entirely out of social security funds or out of the funds of public (collective farm) organizations. Women are eligible for a pension upon reaching the age of 55 provided they have worked not less than 20 years (or 25 years for childless women), and men can collect a pension upon reaching the age of 60 provided they have worked not less than 25 years.

Trade union organizations are naturally interested in seeing that state social security funds are spent according to their designation—for helping those who are really in need. That is why trade unions work tirelessly to ensure that these funds are spent frugally, relying on various forms of control.

The success of the trade unions in administering the state social security system is attributable to the fact that trade unions have at their disposal vast powers and are authorized to act as the initiator of legislation—in particular, to submit for the approval of higher bodies drafts of laws, decrees and resolutions on major social security matters. Trade Unions are also charged with drafting and issuing instructions and regulations pertaining to procedures for estimating social security incomes and outlays, assigning and disbursing benefits and awarding free stays in sanatoria and rest homes and with resolving matters concerning the organization of health resorts and prophylactoria.

Trade unions administer the state social security system using non-paid volunteers. Virtually every social security question arising in primary trade union organizations is resolved without calling in paid staff members. In trade union groups, such work is assigned to delegates specializing in social security matters, who are charged with supervising measures to improve job conditions, assisting health work-



ers in carrying out examinations of workers, certifying the validity of temporary sick leaves, participating in the drafting of illness and injury prevention measures and visiting sick employees at home.

Trade union committees are also involved in housing matters. All housing built with enterprise funds is distributed in accordance with a waiting list that is approved jointly by the enterprise management and trade union committee. The enterprise trade union committee keeps a list of the workers most in need of housing and distributes housing according to this list.

The trade unions also monitor the distribution of housing built with state funds to protect the workers' interests against possible infringements. Trade union representatives sit on housing commissions attached to local Soviets of People's Deputies. Officials who violate the accepted procedures for distributing housing may cause the public to lose confidence in them. In 1986, on the demand of the public more than 500 officials in the Soviet Union were reprimanded for committing violations in the distribution of housing, around a hundred of which were removed from office.

The urban housing fund in the Soviet Union is characterised by a high level of modern conveniences: 90 percent of all houses are equipped with running water, 88 percent with a sewage system, 87 percent with central heat-

ing and 79 percent are supplied with natural gas. Nearly two-thirds of the maintenance costs of housing and public utilities are paid for by the state. Add to this the low apartment rents in the country. While Americans spend up to 30 percent of their income on housing, the British around 25-30 percent and the Japanese around a third, in the Soviet Union housing rental costs represent only about three percent of the average working family's income.

Trade unions are represented on government housing commissioning boards, where they exercise full authority. Local trade union committees help to supervise housing construction financed from the enterprise's housing construction and social development fund. This fund is formed by deductions from enterprise profits, which encourages workers to work harder, for the harder they work, the more money there will be for building houses and satisfying other social and cultural needs.

Trade union committees provide assistance in the construction of individual and cooperative housing and youth housing complexes. Material assistance is provided for such projects from enterprise incentive funds.

Trade unions are also involved in the development of trade and public services. With trade union support, the network of trade and service outlets located at places of work is steadily expanding. These include laundry reception points, small workshops for repairing

such things as shoes, clothing and household appliances, etc.

Trade unions also exercise control over the quality of services. All service and trade enterprises are under the jurisdiction of trade union committees of factories and institutions. Public inspectors are appointed from among workers. Their work is supervised by the trade union housing and public services commission, whose task is to ensure the smooth running of public service outlets.

### A Worker's Upbringing

The building of a new society assumes not only the creation of a modern material and technical base of society but also the formation of a harmonious, publically active citizen distinguished by his spiritual richness, moral purity and physical perfection. In this respect, much importance is assumed by the activity of trade unions directed at developing and utilizing the human factor.

The human factor is one of the basic characteristics and qualities of human labor—the primary productive force of society. Greater emphasis of the human factor—manifested in the creation of conditions under which workers can apply their creative abilities to the maximum—has caused workers to fundamentally rethink their attitude toward work.

The intensification of production now being carried out under socialism cannot be achieved unless each worker takes an interest in his job, works conscientiously and with initiative, unless each worker has the desire and the ability to think in a new way. Trade unions are called on to play a special role in the greater emphasis of the human factor.

The task of the Party, the state, the trade unions and other public organisations is to instill in citizens the proper political, ideological and moral principles and the work ethic and develop their ability to be active participants in public life. The dissemination among the masses of Marxist-Leninist ideology, knowledge of the laws of social development and the ability to apply them in the building of socialism and communism play a large role in the upbringing of workers.

With the active participation of trade unions illiteracy was wiped out in the Soviet Union in an historically short period of time. A national system of education was created which guarantees every Soviet citizen a free education. Universal compulsory secondary education was introduced. The enrollment of secondary special educational institutions and higher educational institutions grows with every year. Many workers are enrolled in evening courses or correspondence courses, continuing their education while working.

The ideological educational work of trade

unions encompasses almost every aspect of workers' lives. In the Soviet Union six million trade union activists are involved in this work. They have at their disposal over 22,000 clubs and cultural centers, and 326,000 other facilities located in factories and residential districts where they can hold lectures or organize performances of amateur artistic groups. Together with ministries and government agencies, the trade unions publish 10 newspapers and 26 political educational or trade journals with a total circulation of more than 40 million copies.

Trade unions control a vast network of people's universities in various branches of knowledge. Enrollment in them is open to all workers irrespective of their previous educational training. Another important source of political and economic knowledge is the system of schools of communist labor and economic management, where workers can learn the latest methods of socialist economic management. Millions of workers and collective farmers take advantage of these opportunities for broadening their knowledge of economics, which is combined with practical knowledge acquired on the job.

Job training is a main area of trade union work. A key direction in job training is the introduction of new forms of collective labor. At present the bulk of the Soviet labor force work in work-teams. These teams are responsi-

ble for planning job tasks and setting work quotas, and assigning job responsibilities within the team, ensuring quality and distributing wages according to the personal labor contribution of each worker. Under such a system, each worker benefits from working hard.

A key point in the collective agreement concluded between the management and the work collective is the obligation to comply with labour discipline. Work collectives may take disciplinary action against lax workers who have violated this obligation. The violation may be examined at an informal comradesly court, and if sufficient grounds are found, the worker may be deprived of a pay bonus, etc. The work collective has at its disposal a wide choice of means to strengthen discipline at the work place: it may cajol, encourage or condemn, or even punish.

Trade unions are actively involved in providing young people with job training. This is accomplished through job apprenticeships, whereby experienced craftsmen help young workers acquire the secrets of the trade. At many enterprises there are special committees and councils concerned with young workers. There are also occupational museums, where young workers can meet with leading members of their profession and learn about their successes and accomplishments.

Trade unions devote much of their time to work with women. After women achieved

formalised equal social and job status with men, including equal pay, they became much more interested in working. Society also has an interest in seeing them work in addition to raising children and doing household chores. In the Soviet Union nearly two-thirds of all specialists with a secondary or higher education are women. Nearly two million Soviet working women have been awarded Orders or medals for their work activities, including 5,000 who have earned the title of Hero of Socialist Labor and nearly 1,000 who have become Lenin or State Prize winners. Four in five Soviet women either work or study. The number of women engaged in white-collar work is growing particularly fast. Women are employed in nearly every sector of the economy with the exception of those that pose a special risk to women.

An important area of trade union work is the organization of workers' rest and leisure. By setting up various clubs and hobby groups and sponsoring lectures, debates and conferences, trade unions help to raise the cultural level of workers and influence the psychological climate in work collectives.

Trade unions also organize special appearances by performers at enterprises, sponsor mobile art exhibitions, music, song and dance festivals, literary presentations and poetry readings, and help set up people's theaters and artistic groups.

Another field in which trade unions are involved is physical training and sport. Trade unions own stadiums and sport complexes and direct voluntary sport societies to which millions of workers belong. They also offer travel services which can offer vacation packages to any of the numerous trade union tourist complexes, camping grounds and hotels.

### Cooperation between Trade Unions of Socialist Countries

Under modern conditions the international activities of trade unions in socialist countries and the deepening of cooperation between them are of increased importance. The similarity of their economic and political systems and ideological convictions and the task of building socialism and communism shared by them provide a basis for closer ties between trade unions of socialist countries. Cooperation has become especially close between the trade unions of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Cooperation between CMEA countries' trade unions has become quite extensive and is carried out at all levels—from national trade union councils to the trade union committees of similar factories.

This cooperation especially concerns production matters. Among other things, trade unions



sponsor visits by leading workers and teams to other countries to share their production experience. This form of cooperation is widely practiced. Also popular are conferences at which foreign trade union representatives deliver reports on such topics as social security, labor protection, health and vacation resorts and trade union publications.

Another area of cooperation is the holding of international work competitions, which is being developed under the direct leadership of CMEA countries' trade unions.

This refers mainly to competitions between work collectives from different countries engaged in the joint construction or exploitation of industrial projects built within the framework of long-term economic cooperation contracts between CMEA countries. Also involved in competition are work collectives of enterprises and organizations which make deliveries on a special contract or on a cooperative basis to CMEA member-countries. International competition encompasses in addition work collectives servicing international passenger trains and railway stations, airline workers serving on international flights, employees of international cruise and cargo ships as well as ports handling freight from socialist countries. As a result of socialist competition between the Bulgarian state airlines Balkan and the airlines of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Hungary and Poland, the quality of

service has been improved, flights have become more regular, and more flights have been added, maintenance time has been reduced, and fuel costs have declined. Finally, competitions are held between enterprises manufacturing the same types of goods, and between research institutes.

International socialist competition is a key factor in the broadening and strengthening of the material base and political unity of the socialist commonwealth. International competition promotes the realization of production tasks and at the same time helps instill in workers a feeling of internationalist brotherhood and friendship, a sense of personal responsibility to workers in other countries. International competition encourages workers to think about their socialist community as a whole, and not just about themselves or their own country. This is yet another aspect of the relations between socialist countries.

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*Chapter V* THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE  
UNION MOVEMENT

The international trade union movement is linked with the formation of international trade union associations.

The unity of the world trade union movement is the natural result of the international character of the international working-class movement. The most representative and effective workers' organization is thus the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

The WFTU, founded in 1945, rose to play a major role in the world trade union movement because of the class position it takes on key issues affecting the vital interests of workers and the struggle it wages against imperialism, colonialism, racism

and fascism and for peace, democracy and radical social reforms. The WFTU represents 83 national trade union organizations from 76 countries with a total membership of 206 million workers.

The WFTU Constitution recognizes the following principles: the trade union organizations belonging to the WFTU must be democratic; the member organizations must remain in constant contact and assist one another; they must systematically share information with other organizations on trade union work with an eye to strengthening the solidarity of the international working-class movement; they must coordinate actions by workers' or organizations to further the realization of their international goals and tasks.

The WFTU consistently upholds the interests of the working class, rebuffs attempts by imperialist reaction to weaken the trade union movement and directs the struggle of workers to unite in the face of capitalist exploitation and the policies of monopolies.

The World Trade Union Congress, the governing body of the WFTU, at its Congress in 1986 adopted several resolutions aimed at defending the interests of workers all over the world. In response to the web of problems engendered by the revolution in science and technology, which in capitalist states has intensified unemployment, the exploitation of labor and environmental hazards, the Congress for-

mulated concrete measures to help trade unions control the introduction of new technologies. The measures include the holding of coordinated demonstrations to protest the actions of transnational corporations and blocking the transfer of capital to countries where international labor regulations are violated. The Congress also discussed measures to check the growth of unemployment, reduce the work day and lower the mandatory retirement age to make room for younger workers.

Of considerable influence in the world trade union movement are the Trade Union Internationals (TUIs), associations of trade unions representing specific occupations founded on the initiative of the World Confederation of Labor. There are separate TUIs for the steel, textile, chemical, food and other industries. Members include trade unions from capitalist, socialist and developing countries. Each of the TUIs has its own charter and ruling bodies and hold conferences and exchange delegations. The TUIs work to unite workers of similar occupations in different countries in order to guard their interests; they coordinate the struggle to improve socio-economic conditions and offer practical assistance to trade union organizations in various countries in organizational matters and in fighting for peace and democracy. The TUIs' diverse activities help to bolster the influence of the

WFTU and strengthen the unity of the world trade union movement.

The WFTU works to establish and strengthen progressive and democratic trade unions in the former colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is particularly involved in the defense of trade union rights and social programs and in improving work and living conditions of the population. The World Congress of Trade Unions in 1953 recommended that the trade union organizations of colonial and semi-colonial countries be given assistance in organizing regional conferences. Three years later, in 1956, a conference was held in Damask attended by trade union representatives from Egypt, Lebanon, Libya and Syria at which was founded the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. And at a conference held in Cotonou in 1957, the first association of African trade unions was founded, the General Union of Workers of Black Africa, uniting the trade union organizations of Western and Equatorial Africa.

In 1961 the first united democratic trade union organization of the African proletariat was founded—the All-African Trade Union Federation. However, a year later, African reformist trade union leaders set up their own organization, the African Trade Union Confederation. This rift lasted until 1972, when with the backing of the Organization of African Unity the two organizations fused into

the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, bringing together trade unions of various directions.

The trade union movement also made headway in other regions of the world. For example, in 1964 in Brasilia the Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers (PCTUULAW) was founded furthering the expansion of relations between Latin American trade unions and trade unions on other continents, and their participation in anti-imperialist struggle. The PCTUULAW supports joint actions in defense of workers' rights, the nationalization of foreign monopolies, democratic agrarian reforms and planned socio-economic development in the interest of workers. The PCTUULAW is comprised of the Trade Union Confederation of Cuban Workers, the Confederation of Columbian Trade Unions, the Confederation of Ecuadorian Workers, the National Confederation of Costa Rican Workers, the National Trade Union Council of Panamanian Workers, the National Confederation of Peruvian Workers, the Unity Trade Union Center of Venezuela and others. Also associated with the PCTUULAW are professional associations created with the help of international trade union associations, the Latin American Confederation of Petroleum Industry Workers, and others.

The International Confederation of Free

Trade Unions (ICFTU), founded in 1949 by British and American reactionary trade union leaders who had split with the WFTU, represents the reformist wing of the world trade union movement. In 1982 it counted a membership of 129 organizations from 92 countries and territories in the capitalist and developing world.

The ICFTU leadership supports a conciliatory policy and a "social partnership" with the capitalists. In recent years, however, the ICFTU has come under fire for its acquiescence in the face of an offensive by monopolies against the social rights and economic interests of workers. This was in part due by the sharpening of contradictions between a wide segment of the working people and state-monopoly capitalism. The need to rebuff the monopolies offensive on the living standards and rights of workers compelled trade unions of various hues to coordinate their actions. Lately the ICFTU has supported the position of the WFTU on a number of issues, and a growing number of trade union organizations affiliated with the ICFTU have begun to establish ties with trade union organizations of socialist countries.

Another major reformist trade union association is the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), until 1968 called the World Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. As of 1982, the WCL represented 85 national trade union



organizations from 82 countries with a total membership of 15 million workers. It has regional organisations in Latin America and Asia. The WCL's political platform is based on class cooperation between labor and capital, although from time to time it has demanded certain socio-economic concessions from the capitalists. On the foreign policy front, the WCL campaigns for peace and disarmament. On some issues, mainly concerning the problems of war and peace, the WCL has joined forces with the WFTU.

In recent years the international working-class and trade union movement has been affected by considerable changes in the power balance in favor of peace, progress and socialism. The necessity of halting the arms race and achieving disarmament has given new momentum to the efforts of the peace-loving public and the international trade union movement.

### The Peace Struggle

The struggle of trade unions for the preservation of peace has deep socio-economic roots. Only if there is peace can the demands of trade unions aimed at improving the living conditions of workers be realized.

Advances in weapons technology are accompanied by a rise in their cost, with each new

generation of weapons costing nearly double that of the generation it replaces. The arms build-up consumes billions and billions of dollars more each year. The burden of the arms build-up is borne by workers, whose standard of living is severely affected by continuous tax hikes and price rises and cuts in social programs. The arms build-up also causes unemployment to increase, for the same amount of money invested in the defense sector produces two times fewer jobs than if this money were invested in the civilian sector.

More than 400 million people belong to trade unions throughout the world. Involvement in the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the arms race has united trade unions of varying political orientations under the same banner.

Playing a major role in the anti-war struggle is the WFTU and other international trade union associations affiliated with it. They campaign for the halting of the arms race, which every minute consumes more than a million and a half dollars. Enormous sums are being spent on the manufacture of arms while in capitalist countries great numbers of people are out of work, more than a billion people do not know how to read and write and 50 million people die each year from hunger and disease. Capitalist countries spend 30 times more each year on the military "needs" than they spend on economic assistance to the

developing world. And now the United States and its allies, sold on the Star Wars program, threaten to transfer the arms race to outer space. The WFTU has issued an appeal to the workers of the United States and their trade unions to join their fellow workers in other countries in the campaign to halt the Star Wars program. The trade unions demand that the money being spent on arms be used for peaceful purposes, in particular, for the creation of new jobs in sectors of the economy where unemployment is especially high.

In our day, not a single rank-and-file trade union member or a trade union leader, irrespective of their political views, can remain apathetic to questions of war and peace. Trade unions have launched a peace campaign under the banner of "Working People and Trade Unions for Peace and Work." The stated objectives of this campaign is to promote the signing of international agreements on an immediate cut in military spending of at least 10 percent, the cessation of all military R & D work, the halting of all nuclear tests, a ban on deploying weapons in space, the halting of the arms race on Earth and cuts in nuclear arsenals to be followed by the complete liquidation of all nuclear and chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

The success of the trade unions' peace initiative depends primarily on how closely these demands will be linked to socio-economic

demands. The campaign, if successful, will indisputably leave the trade unions at an unprecedented level of unity. It is for this reason that progressive trade unions join forces with other trade union organizations irrespective of their class or political orientation in the struggle for peace.

Actively involved in the peace movement are trade union organizations of West Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Norway, and also the National Labor Confederation of France, the Portuguese Intersyndical, the Workers' Commissions of Spain and the Italian National Labour Conference, and others. A Congress of the European Confederation of Trade Unions held in 1985 in Milan came out against the militarization of outer space and the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe, and supported the idea of creating non-nuclear zones on the continent. The calls made at the Congress have already produced concrete results. In Western Europe 250 cities have proclaimed themselves nuclear-free. And one of the largest national trade union associations, the Canadian Labour Congress, jointly with its provincial affiliates condemned the U.S. Administration's Star Wars program. The trade unions of many developing countries also take a consistent line in respect to issues of war and peace.

Peace issues have consistently been raised at regional trade union conferences, bringing

together trade union organizations from the Baltic, the Pacific Ocean, India, Asia and Oceania, the Caribbean and Latin America. At the 26th Working Conference of Baltic countries, Norway and Iceland held in 1985, for example, the proposal was approved of holding regional trade union meetings to discuss the creation of non-nuclear zones and of convening a conference of European trade union organizations to draw up a comprehensive program to promote close cooperation of trade unions in the peace struggle.

At a recent Delhi Conference, a special resolution was adopted to turn the Pacific Ocean into a non-nuclear zone and declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

Another popular forum has been international conferences where workers of the same professions meet to discuss schemes for dismantling the military production and transferring its resources to civilian sectors.

The 11th World Congress of Trade Unions, held in 1986, appealed to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Nations to take immediate steps to conclude international agreements that would halt the arms race, impose a ban on all nuclear arms tests, order the destruction of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and direct the resources thus released into an acceleration of socio-economic development.

Trade unions, in their capacity as the most representative organizations of workers, are a key factor in uniting all toilers in the struggle for the right to work, for prosperity and for peace on Earth.

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## GLOSSARY

**ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE DECLINE OF THE PROLETARIAT'S POSITION.** Absolute decline is brought on by a drop in the proletariat's standard of living, rising unemployment and inflation, and more work for less pay; relative decline is a result of the shrinking share of national income and national wealth accounted for by the working class.

**ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM,** an opportunist trend in the workers' movement. Followers of this trend reject political struggle and the guiding role of proletarian political parties, believing instead that trade unions are the highest form of the working-class organization and should therefore control the means of production.

**AUTOMATION OF PRODUCTION PROCESSES,** the introduction of highly advanced and efficient machinery in the production process which is operated by automatic means, reducing workers' functions of control, maintenance and adjustment. Under capitalism automation is used to increase exploitation of workers and results in the growth of unemployment, while in socialist society automation is carried out in a planned manner and in circumstances of full employment.

**BOURGEOISIE,** the ruling class of capitalist society who own the means of production and exploit wage labor.

**CLASSES**, large groups of people distinguished by the place they occupy in the historically definite system of social production, by their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor and, consequently, by the way they acquire public wealth and their share thereof.

**CLASS STRUGGLE**, a struggle between classes whose interests are either incompatible or antagonistic. The struggle of the working class under the guidance of its political party leads to a socialist revolution.

**COMPETITION**, an antagonistic struggle between private manufacturers to increase their profits and gain a larger share of the market. Competition is a result of private ownership of the means of production and under capitalism serves as a spontaneous regulator of social production.

**DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM**, a principle central to the activities of the party, the state and public institutions in administering socialist society under which ruling bodies are elected from top to bottom and must make periodic reports to the organizations they govern, the minority submits to the majority, and all decisions of higher bodies are binding on lower ones.

**DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**, a regime of the working class established after the victory of a socialist revolution for the purpose of building a socialist society that will ultimately result in communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies leadership of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other democratic elements aimed at fostering broad democracy for workers and quelling the resistance of the exploitative classes.

**ECONOMIC CRISIS**, a phase in the economic cycle under capitalism marked by a decline in output, a reduction in production capacities, a rise in unemployment and havoc in the sphere of credit and currency operations.



**EXPANSION**, the broadening of the sphere of domination by monopolies or a capitalist state through economic means (the export of capital, crippling loans, etc.) or by force (armed annexation).

**EXPLOITATION**, the appropriation of the results of someone else's labor without remuneration. Under socialism exploitation disappeared with the eradication of private ownership of the means of production and the exploiter classes.

**IMPERIALISM**, monopoly capitalism, the highest and final stage of capitalism, the eve of a socialist revolution. Under imperialism society is dominated by a financial oligarchy that has concentrated in its hands the joint capital of industrial and banking monopolies. Various factions within the financial oligarchy are locked in a battle for sales markets, sources of raw materials and investment opportunities, and create international monopolies (transnational corporations).

**INFLATION**, a phenomenon peculiar to capitalist economy whereby the overcirculation of paper currency puts upward pressure on prices and causes, the devaluation of currency in relation to gold and the decline of real wages.

**INTEGRATION, ECONOMIC**, an objective process of national economies merging and conducting coordinated inter-state economic policies, a form of internationalizing economic life.

**INVESTMENT**, the long-term investment of capital in an economic branch at home or abroad.

**LABOR INTENSITY**, a measurement of the labor input of a worker per unit time.

**LOCKOUT**, a method of struggle used by capitalists against the working class to quell strikes involving the closing of a business or wholesale dismissal of employees by the employer to pressurise them into obedience.

**MONOPOLY**, a capitalist association having exclusive control over a particular market by virtue of a concentration of material or financial resources for the purpose of deriving monopoly profits and establishing monopoly prices.

**MONOPOLIES, INTERNATIONAL**, large capitalist firms with active assets abroad, or associations of firms of different countries who establish a monopoly over a particular segment of the world capitalist economy in order to derive maximum profits.

**NATIONAL INCOME**, the total value or the part of the aggregate social product in kind corresponding to it, produced in the sphere of material production during one year calculated less the cost of producing these goods.

**NEOCOLONIALISM**, a system of inequitable economic and political relations imposed by imperialist states on developing countries.

**NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER**, an economic policy designed to guarantee every nation equality, the right to self-determination, free choice of an economic and social system, territorial integrity, full sovereignty over its national resources and economy and outlaw the use of force to acquire territory and interference in the internal affairs of other states.

**NON-CAPITALIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT**, a revolutionary process creating the preconditions for the building of socialism in conditions of economic and social backwardness found in many of the former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

**PRODUCTIVE FORCES**, the means of production plus laborer, comprising a system that expresses man's interaction with nature and the mastering and development of its riches.

**REFORMISM IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT**, a political trend rejecting the necessity of a socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, instead urging class collaboration and the institution of bourgeois reforms to turn capitalism into a socially just society.

**RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION**, the sum total of the material and economic relations between people in the social production process reflecting the mode of ownership and consequently determining the distribution of the means of production and also distribution of people in social production.

**REPRIVATISATION**, a policy of bourgeois states whereby once nationalized property such as enterprises, banks, land and stocks are turned over to private control.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION**, a specific stage of historical development. The entire history of society is a process of the development of successive social formations: primitive society is replaced by slave-owning, slave-owning by feudalism, feudalism by capitalism, and capitalism by communism, each of them having its own specific laws of origin and development. Not all countries and peoples must necessarily pass through all of these stages. Today several nations are embarking on the building of socialism bypassing the capitalist stage.

**SOCIAL SECURITY IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**, a state system of material maintenance for the aged and physically disabled; every citizen is eligible. The system is financed from public consumption funds; no deductions are made from paychecks.

**STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM**, an advanced stage of monopoly capitalism under which capitalist monopolies and the state unite forces to preserve and strengthen the capitalist system, enrich the monopolies, suppress the workers' and national liberation movements, and unleash aggressive wars.

**STRIKEBREAKER**, a person who takes part in breaking a strike recruited from among declassed or politically ignorant elements and also from among the unemployed.

**STRIKE PICKET**, a group of striking workers who stand guard outside an enterprise to block access for strikebreakers.

**TRADE UNIONISM**, a trend in the workers' and trade union movement in capitalist states which advocates limiting the objectives of the workers' movement to gaining pay increases and better job conditions and urging the introduction of limited reforms in the bourgeois state.

**WAGES** (under capitalism), a system of remunerating labor under which a part of labor remains unpaid for and which conceals relations of capitalist exploitation.

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