

ENGLISH

ATHENS PACT

16th World Trade Union Congress
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**16TH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS
ATHENS, 6-10 APRIL 2011**

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DIRECTIONS – PROPOSALS – RESOLUTIONS

**WORKERS RISE UP!
AGAINST CAPITALIST BARBARISM,
FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
FOR A WORLD WITHOUT EXPLOITATION**

INTRODUCTION

Dear comrades and friends,

Dear sisters and brothers,

The 16th World Trade Union Congress is being held at a crucial period.

Millions of our members and friends in all countries of the world expect from us, from their delegates and observers who participate in this Congress, the decisions which will open new roads, new horizons and new prospects for the global working class.

We don't have many options. We have to trace new paths and move on. To move faster, more decisively ahead!

The responsibilities of each and every one of us here are immensely important. We must analyze the situation, draw up the right conclusions, look at the strengths and weaknesses and outline the main directions for the international class oriented trade union movement. All of us, the delegates and observers who are here, do have lot of experience, knowledge and determination to achieve our mission. The most militant, most consistent, most honest and most internationalist cadres of the World Trade Union movement are gathered here, in this Congress.

Fighters who have dedicated their entire lives to the struggle against capitalism, fighters who have lost their jobs, who have been unjustly fired, who have been imprisoned because of their just struggles, who have been exiled from their countries, including those fighters who now are martyrs for having fought for the interests of their toiling peoples are here.

Many of our comrades and fellow fighters from Colombia, the Philippines, Honduras and Palestine are missing here today, because they lost their lives in class struggle, because they were murdered by anti-worker policies. We are proud of all our comrades who lost their lives and we declare a commitment to continue our struggle, with even greater impetuosity, for democratic and trade union freedoms, for the right of every people to fight and decide our present and future.

Comrades and Friends,

Delegates, observers and all those invited to attend this Congress,

It is now 65 years since the establishment of the WFTU on October 3, 1945 in Paris. Its foundation was identified with the end of the Second World War. It was identified with the defeat of fascism and the need to organize and gain organizational and political entity of the global trade union movement. The course of these 65 years had been very rich and full of class oriented actions, and internationalism, and of workers solidarity. The WFTU has always been the organization playing a leading role against the imperialists and their dirty attacks against the peoples of the world. From Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal, Greece, of the heroic civil war facing Guatemala, Angola, Grenada and Chile, South Africa, Congo, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Egypt, the Syrian Golan, Lebanon, Iraq, India, Indonesia, East Timor and Western Sahara, amongst others.

There is no corner of the world where the WFTU has not been present, standing always on the side of the weak, always on the side of the people, always with the working class, in the struggles against capitalist exploitation.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 65 years of its rich history, our trade union organizations have big and significant successes in the sphere of International movements and their demands having been aimed at many governments, world over.

Today we are proud of the history of WFTU. We are proud of the history of the international class oriented trade union movement. We rejoice the achievements of these 65 years. While we recognize the achievements, also learn from the mistakes, from the weaknesses, the deficiencies which were due to objective and subjective conditions that prevailed. While judging the mistakes and failures of WFTU's history in the last 65 years, we were not distracted by the circumstances of each era, the ideological and political conditions of each period. We need to remember that there were difficulties of communication, technical and logistical support, consequently there were "light years" which added to the difficulties of collectivity, coordination and sharing of information.

At this point, let me congratulate some comrades who have written books and pamphlets on the history of these 65 years. All books are useful and must help the militant, revolutionary trade union movement in order to promote its policies and objectives. All these historical books, of course reveal the objectives and goals of the ruling classes who ventured to the rewriting of history, to reverse the historic truths, and producing of unfounded 'facts' for filling the heads of young people with lies and fabricated stories.

CHAPTER A

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR WORKERS AND PEOPLE

The 16th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions is taking place at a time when the global capitalist system is in the middle of a deep and multifaceted economic crisis of the system itself.

Everywhere around us we see markets clogged from goods and wealth beyond imagination concentrated in the pockets of few, we see destruction of wealth-producing forces and depreciation of the main producing force which is the working class. We see rapidly rising unemployment, declining of GDP and world trade and of course an ever-growing poverty and misery for billions of people on the planet, both in developed capitalist countries, as well as (even more) in the so-called developing economies, though the enormous potential of science and technology which could provide a general popular prosperity. And any honest and conscientious worker, every union functionary who respects himself and his colleagues he represents cannot in such circumstances evade or fail to adopt the conclusions of the great thinker of the working class, Karl Marx, that evidently proved that the "capitalist mode of production is not eternal and that historically has been exceeded."

Marx revealed through his work that "the economic crisis exposes the basic contradiction of capitalism - the contradiction between the social character of production and the capitalist form of ownership of means of production and the appropriation of its results. In crises the whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production kneels under the pressure of the productive forces which capitalism itself has created." As aptly stated by Engels, "the productive forces rebel against the relations of production which they've surpassed, they left behind (...). Means of production means of maintenance, available workers, that is to say all factors of production and social wealth are super abounding".

Our organization, WFTU, timely discussed the international financial crisis at the World Trade Union Conference we organized in Lisbon in December 2008, where we analyzed to the new situation and defined our new role. At the Lisbon Conference we highlighted that in 2009 the most synchronized global recession that has taken place in the last 30 years broke out. The decline in output reached -5% in strong imperialist countries such as Germany, Japan, Britain and earlier in 2008 the U.S. (-2.5%). The world economy experienced a decline estimated between -0.6% and -1.2%. The GDP of the EU was decreased by 4.6% in the first 9 months of year 2009.

Despite the notes of optimism which the representatives of the capitalist system skillfully convey whenever there is a "minimum" positive sample in one or another economy, and although their estimates for positive growth in world GDP in 2010, the economic crisis of capitalism continues its destructive course. The common component of the estimation of imperialist centers and agencies is their anxiety for the weak recovery path in the Euro zone and the U.S.

In all reports it is indicated that the "fragile" recovery, mainly in the U.S. and much less in the Euro zone, is only a temporary result of a major state support towards capitalist enterprises, a support that cannot go smoothly for a long time. These anxieties of the ruling classes explain also the differences within itself about the nature of the economic policy to

be followed (restrictive or expansionary policy). From the standpoint of the working classes interests, any such differences are the two sides of the same coin. No "managing" policy taking place on the territory of capitalism can remove the inherent contradictions of the system or can bring concessions and victories as before when the conditions were different.

The data for the depth of the current crisis of capitalism are absolutely indicative: The U.S. trade deficit this year is foreseen to be \$ 150 billion, higher than last year and is expected to reach \$ 1.6 trillion - the highest since the end of World War II - or 11% of U.S. GDP. The total debt is around U.S. \$ 12 trillion or 98% of the GDP! The number of problematic banks in the U.S. continues to grow and at the end of the year 2009, 702 banks were considered to be in a problematic situation. It is estimated that 581 small (for the U.S. measures) banks are at risk of collapse by 2011. Governments worldwide will have to provide \$ 6 trillion this year to finance packages of "salvation" for problematic firms and their deficits. Economies such as of Germany, which were considered the "engines" of European capitalist development, are facing the specter of a sharp increase in government debt (from 60% of GDP in 2002 to 77% in 2010).

A series of smaller capitalist economies (Greece, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Portugal, Ireland etc.) show rates of public external debt which is close to or exceeds much more the 100% of their GDP. The public debt of Japan reaches 10 trillion \$ or in other words 2 times the GDP of this huge imperialist power!

All problems are presented as "national problems", thus hiding the class nature of the crisis. They hide which social classes bare the real burdens of the crisis. Despite the systematic efforts of the ruling class to show the economic crisis as a "national" problem and as something that requires a "joint effort by all", and the current crisis of capitalism proves once again that the capital is always trying to exit the crisis by loading its burdens on the working class and other poor popular stratas.

So in a period of sharp rise in unemployment, dramatic shrinking of the real income of workers, reduction of social spending budgets, raising of the retirement age, a series of facts show the parasitism and the decay of the capitalist system.

In Britain the income of the rich saw an increase of 30% last year. The billionaires increased from 43 to 53, with 9 of them increasing their wealth by 1 billion or more in the last 12 months.

The luxury goods market is still very thriving. For example the sales of expensive cars, watches and champagne rose sharply in 2010.

Building on the tremendous financial support packages which they got from the governments and the increased potential for acquisition of weak competitors in a crisis, the monopoly enterprises increase their profits with fast pace while at the same time numerous working households groan under the burden of the dosage of the loans. They continue their various profit making activities (games with shares, with rates, prices of real estate, etc.), which shows that these activities are not a morbid outgrowth or excess of capitalism, but a component of the very existence and functioning of the capitalist market.

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WAGE EARNERS

At the same time the working masses across the globe are faced with a soaring rise of unemployment rates, price increases in staple foodstuffs and other essentials, with cuts in social services such as Education, Health, Welfare, with the loss of assets (houses, etc.) because of debts to banks. Capitalism reveals its true face, not only in developing countries of the so-called "Third World", but also in the imperialist centers.

Recent developments in all continents are the big, militant, popular demonstrations of toiling masses indicate the sharpness and the depth of the problems.

In the U.S. 6.7 million jobs had been lost during the interval from the onset of the economic crisis in December 2007 until August 2009. The official unemployment rate (which of course hides those who have now lost all hopes of finding a job) is currently 9.5% - 10.2 million Americans are now receiving unemployment benefits. If we add all those working part time jobs because they cannot find full time jobs and have now stopped looking for work to the official unemployment rate, then 30 million Americans - 19% of the total workforce - are daily confronted with the specter of unemployment.

Even the vast majority of those who work fail to maintain the previous standard of living due to reduction in wages or working hours. Thus, although the average hourly pay for 80% of the workforce appears to have increased by 2.5%, in reality the weekly average earnings have increased by only 0.7% (below the level of inflation) because employers have drastically reduced the total of weekly hours.

In Europe, the official unemployment rate has reached 9.3%, with unemployment having risen at 20.7% for young workers between the ages 15-24. The unemployment rates are much higher than that of a number of countries, including Spain, Greece (12%, with prognoses for 20% at the end of 2010), Portugal, etc. In England actually there are 2.5 million officially registered unemployed, and 6.6 million part time workers.

The number of hungry people worldwide increased to more than 1 billion in 2009 according to data from the UN (FAO), as more than 100 million additional people joined the ranks of the impoverished who cannot obtain the necessary means of maintenance from the beginning of the crisis and thereafter. Hunger is not limited to the countries of the "Third World". More than 49 million people in the U.S. have no access to the necessary nutrition and suffer from malnutrition. 17 million children in the U.S. - one in five - live in households unable to provide daily meals, while the number of children who sometimes were left with no food at all for one day or more jumped from 700,000 to 1.1 million within a year.

And of course, widespread poverty and starvation are not due to lack of means food on the planet, nor the excessive growth of world population, as the various spokesperson of imperialism try to convince us. These very cold facts **show that the necessary resources and the expertise for increasing global food production** by 50% by 2030 and 70% by 2050 exist so that the needs of the population of the planet which is expected to reach 9.1 billion in 40 years **can be covered**.

The contradictions of the capitalist way of development that are manifested in all their sharpness at the time of the economic crisis, can only result in a sharpening of inter-imperialist antagonisms, as each bourgeoisie is trying to get out of the vise of the crisis and recover previous rates of profitability, not only at the expense of the workers whom they exploit, but also at the expense of their capitalist competitors.

Different expressions of reinforced antagonism of these may be the implementation, directly or indirectly, of various protectionist measures for domestic production by the bourgeoisie governments, of various forms of "trade wars" but also the use of military means for the burnout of competitors, cutting them off from sources of raw materials and markets. The diplomatic war scenarios and plots that the U.S. and its allies are preparing against the peoples of Iran, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, the conflict for the sources of oil and gas and their respective pipelines, are the living reality of capitalism which does not hesitate at nothing as long as it exits from the crisis. Without the pioneering and active intervention of the labor movement against these plans, without changing the correlation of power in each country and the world as a whole, imperialism will continue at all times to threaten the world with new rivers of blood, with the slaughters of people even more brutal than we've seen in the "limited" wars in Afghanistan and Iraq today.

THE CRISIS AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

In the WFTU's salutation at the COSATU's Congress which took place in South Africa in September 2009, we had indicated the following: "The Unionised movement and the working class movement in general, must raise up a strong ideological front of resistance against voices that seek to obfuscate the workers' minds with regard to the causes of the financial crisis and the way out. Of course, that try to hide the truth and show supposedly painless ways to come out of the crisis, ways that shall combine the capitalists' interests with the workers' interests, do not constitute some new phenomenon in the working class movement/ history. From the very beginning of this movement, from the time of the first capitalistic financial crises, such supposedly rational voices appeared in order to exculpate capitalism from bearing the responsibility of the financial crisis and to discourage the working people from realizing that the crisis shall be their inseparable fellow traveler and torturer unless capitalism is overthrown and left behind.

In today's reality, the equivalent sirens of submission appear to condemn the "predatory" banking capital and its golden boys, withholding that capitalism in the stage of imperialism is characterized by the dominion of the monopolies, as well as the merger of banking-industrial capital that creates an oligarchy of the financial/pecuniary capital. From the beginning to the very end the crisis is presented as financial and it is implied that the problem does not start from the productive base of capitalism in each country separately and in the European Union in general, but from the "promiscuous activity" of the banking capital. They talk about the "failed neoliberal politics", but they do not mention, not even once, that the crisis is a crisis of the capitalist system and even more important, that struggle is to be towards total overthrow of this system.

Their efforts to mislead the people are obvious. History of previous decades itself

has clearly revealed that the existence of national monopolist enterprises within the frames of capitalism served particular needs in the capital's reproduction and naturally it did not manage to ward off neither the appearance of the financial crisis nor the dismantling of the workers' popular rights and victories.

Coming to some conclusions from the developments of the last few years and shaping our future duties, we couldn't help but noticing and underlying the great blame on ITUC (International Trade Union Confederation) and all the reformist-yellow trade unions with regard to the financial crisis. For years before the outbreak of the new round of capitalist financial crisis, these trade unions played a role of undermining and weakening the massiveness of the working class trade union movement advocating growing involvement and "cooperation" of the trade unions and the International Monetary Fund, by not participating in substantial militant initiatives (strikes, demonstrations etc), by transforming the trade unions into bureaucratic structures, by often taking the side of the employers in the breaking of every militant voice at the primary level- factories, enterprises, working places. They signed plenty of agreements/contracts, not only below the actual needs of the working class, but also below the level of inflation, and as a result they contributed to the further intensification of the exploitation of the workers, whom they supposedly represent. By all these means, they created an atmosphere of fatalism and acceptance of the "lesser evil", for example the acceptance of the reduction of the payments or of working hours in order to avoid job losses. So, it came naturally, that with the outbreak of the capitalist financial crisis an important part of the workers who followed such trade unionist leaderships either because of habit or because of fear or prejudice, were left dismantled, with no arrows in the quiver, unable to react to the sweeping attack of the capital against their rights. The yellow trade unions followed, as it was expected, their course the line of retreat during the years of the crisis as well. Such examples are plenty in Greece, Denmark, Great Britain, Germany, Spain etc.

It is once again proved, looking at the position of various forces concerning the capitalist financial crisis, that the working class of any country cannot prosper, cannot shape its own independent/self-sufficient course towards the satisfaction of its needs, without a decisive conflict and a break with the forces of compromise and defeatism within the trade union movement. We must not deceive ourselves that the leaderships of the yellow trade unions can change route, neither they can be pushed by the working masses towards a positive direction, nor that they can lead the class struggle. It is necessary that all the honest workers who still follow them are to be convinced by the above, in order to make a step forward and join us, to unite inside and by the side the class trade unions within a unified front of the working class, to join the World Federation of Trade Unions that has opened its arms and doors to everyone who wants to struggle. To unite with us in action, in our aims and principles.

The financial crisis along with the aggravated troubles that it brings against the working masses, constitutes a great, composite opportunity for the workers to realize their strength, to organize their own struggle, to bring forth their own priorities and their own needs, for their own path of social and economic development.

It is an opportunity and a serious potentiality for the historical limits of the capitalist system to be attained, the anarchy of production, the opposition between the social productions and consumption which aggravates as the working class' standard of living is

worsened and its consuming ability is limited.

It is an opportunity for the vital need of socialization, central production planning and working and social control to be realized. The crisis is truly a very good opportunity for the reorganization of the workers movement, so that decisively and militantly it will bring forth its claims and impose measures and politics that will be against the administrative logic and the arithmetic of the owners of the social means of production, struggling for the workers' power.

The workers movement must be the prime mover of the overthrow and not the fireman. Major condition for that is the change of the situation in the workers movement, through the defeat of those political and union forces that promote employer-friendly trade unionism, reformism and opportunism, forces that until now have not stopped acting in order to secure capital's profitability and the reinforcement of the power of the enterprising companies.

DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Twenty years after the subversion of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, life itself is disconfirmed in a deafening way by all those who supported that those changes constituted "positive developments" and that they opened the way towards a world of "peace and prosperity".

International Law is no longer what the people had known during the period of the active presence of the socialist system in international affairs. It has been trampled over everywhere in the planet by the imperialist boot. It has been substituted completely by the imperialist dogma of the "pre-emptive strike", the "anti-terrorist" campaign.

Military expenditure increased all the time. According to the published documents, in 2008 there was a new total record in military costs that reached worldwide, an amount of almost 1.5 trillion dollars. The aggravation of military expenditure in the last ten years has reached 45%. The United States with the pretext of "fighting off" terrorism, have moved forward to great military operations-invasions and bondage of countries, like Iraq and Afghanistan, whilst at the same time they are already planning new fortune-hunter adventures against new countries and peoples, like Iran or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

NATO, the political-military machine of the Euro-Atlantic imperialism, is expanding and readjusting all the time and it is already being used in the bloodthirsty and criminal plans against the peoples all over the planet. It builds new bases in Latin American countries. In Ecuador, these very same reactionary forces were hiding behind the coup that tried to overthrow President Rafael Correa. In Ecuador they failed. But in Honduras they succeeded. In Tunisia they manage to control the developments. In Egypt also, the imperialists are trying to monitor the developments and to proceed in limited changes in staff turnover, but by continuing the same policy followed for 30 years by the regime of Mubarak.

European Union cannot in any case constitute a peaceful reliance for the peoples. As an alliance of capitalist states, through the Common Foreign Policy and the Security Policy it has created the so-called "euro-army" and opens its own round of imperialist invasions, in admirable cooperation with NATO, as we already saw for example in Balkans.

Russia, as a strong and arising imperialistic force, along with the political-military alliances that are made, moves towards the same direction in order to protect its own interests against its competitors.

The “defensive dogmas” of all the imperialist countries, larger or smaller, readjust and turn openly into aggressive military dogmas. So, as a result, nowadays there are “humanistic wars” and “wars against terrorism” in progress.

A few months ago, in the Summit of NATO in Lisbon, the imperialist mechanism shaped its new strategy which harmonizes with the contemporary needs of the United States and its allies.

In this new strategy, the central aim is the effort to legalize NATO’s invasions against the peoples, to act in the so-called “pre-emptive wars”, to reinforce its ability for the “first nuclear hit”, to expand its role in the control of the markets, to intervene in the interior of states and regions, to reinforce its military operations throughout the world and to try and replace the United Nations in the international arena.

All these developments come to underline a general conclusion: that today’s balance of forces give birth to difficulties for the working class and all the workers. **Whilst after WW2 a balance was created between the two sides and that balance gave a boosting power to the workers-it was a power for the people and their struggles- now, the current balance are against the peoples and the workers. Today’s balance of forces clearly affect the life and the action of the international trade union movement in many diverse ways.**

Nowadays, it has to be clear, in the camp of the working class that with the current balance, the inter-imperialistic competitions, which develop for the raw materials, energy and its roads of transfer, the share of the market, shall not stop. Monopolist competition is what leads to local or global military invasions and wars, as imperialist forces use any means to promote the interests of their own monopolies. International agreements in any level express the momentary correlation of power, the momentary agreement of various forces on the sharing of the “cake”. They can never be permanent, neither steady, nor inviolable because the correlation of power will always change due to the uneven development of capitalism and naturally there will always be new requests for new agreements. They can never be peaceful, because no matter how many or which imperialist forces have the leading role each time in the international organizations, the military means, the competitions and the exploitation of the workers will always constitute the butter on the capital’s bread.

Nowadays, workers movement cannot confront UN or International Law with the same measures or the same standards as we used to confront them earlier in the days of the Soviet Union and the socialist system. That was so because in the past there was some restraint and inhibition of some imperialist plans.

We should not forget that even the positive decisions that UN took in the past, might have been a reference point for the peoples, might have eased their struggle, but they were not always put into practice by the imperialists. We know for example, that just decisions of the of UN Security Council for the Cyprian issue, the Palestinian question etc remained so, only written on a piece of paper and were never substantiated because they were in conflict with the interests of the USA or other great imperialist powers. Of course, any UN’s positive decisions along with the existence of the Soviet Union could not have transformed on their own, without radical developments within the various countries, the netting of dependence and interdependence that continues to characterize the worldwide imperialist system.

The integration of the former socialist countries (land, raw materials, and work-force) in the worldwide imperialist system, having been cut off the global capitalist economy for decades, increased the inter-imperialist competition and naturally, worsened incomparably the situation for the workers' movement globally. That's why International Law has become radically worse in the last twenty years. Since International Law is shaped only by capitalist states and not as a correlation between capitalist and socialist countries, the consequences can be nothing but worse for the working class and the people.

The present workers movement must take into consideration these changes and not get trapped in requests for a "democratic" UN or International Law. The thesis of certain forces that characterize imperialism only as the "monocracy" of the USA while seeing the reinforcement of the EU a counterweight to the USA, is false. Such points of view seems to forget that the EU since the time of its constitution, was designed and built as a union of capitalist countries. The adoption of Lisbon Treaty despite the "NO" of the people, promotes policies at the expense of workers and the welfare state, restricting political rights and citizens' freedoms, marks the coupling with NATO and the United States both in foreign policy and security and the commitment for increased expenditures on military equipments.

The reactionary, imperialist character of the EU cannot be transformed no matter how many countries will join and no matter how many changes of appearance it will show. The peoples around the world have nothing good to expect from the EU, as its position in all international matters has proven all these years (Iraq, Afghanistan, sanctions against Cuba, etc).

In conclusion, the workers' movement must say "NO" to the imperialist centres regardless of their geographic headquarters, and continue its struggle for the direct interests and needs of the workers, without losing its perspective, which is the need to overthrow capitalism, and abolish exploitation of man by man. It is the only way that can prospectively allow the development of balanced and just international relationships, for the people's benefit and for the establishment of societies with economic and social development and equitable justice.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on what we have mentioned so far, it is necessary and useful to codify some basic conclusions so that organizations, members and friends of W.F.T.U. will have an essential aid:

The capitalist economic crisis is not something sudden and unexpected. It is neither the first nor the last. The capitalist mode of production cannot exist without the violent manifestation of increasingly larger and more destructive crises.

Overcoming the current crisis, if and when it occurs, will be anemic and temporary and simultaneously will prepare the conditions for a new and a deeper crisis. This is the irreversible course of the facts.

Every new crisis will accentuate with mathematical precision and accuracy based on the most basic contradiction of capitalism and will lead to a huge concentration of wealth and means of production into fewer hands in every country and every continent on the one

hand, and, on the other hand, poverty, mass unemployment, absolute and relative for the working class, for the broad popular strata both in the metropolitan cities of capitalism as well as regionally.

These effects, and results will not be temporary. It is the lasting impact of the modern capitalist mode of production.

This conclusion we cannot afford to ignore. It should therefore be incorporated in our guidelines and thus form the basis of WFTU's basic policy and of each affiliate separately. Speaking about the economic crisis and its consequences we need to separate and highlight two issues of vital importance that are intertwined with the basic causes of crises.

The first is the **uneven development** of capitalism in the countries, regions and sectors. It's an objective development. What importance does it have in terms of line struggle and clustering of the labor movement? That in the capitalist mode of production there can be no convergence of economic and social achievements. The examples in all continents confirm it.

The economic crisis confirms this conclusion in the strongest manner. It has exacerbated the disparity and the conflict of capitals for expansion and domination at the expense of weaker countries and peoples. For example, the only common and uniting element in the directions of the EU is the crash of the achievements of the labor movement. From this fact, derives also the need for a united tactic of the labor movement. United struggle in each country not just for convergence, but to overthrow the power of monopolies and convergence of the movements for another way of development, for solidarity and coordinated struggle. In this line of struggle, gains could be achieved.

We must oppose the so-called united and decisive struggle put forward that "the EU can be founded right from the beginning or that it can be transformed into something better". The same conclusions are valid for other continents as well as Latin America Africa or Asia etc.

The second is the great intensification of the contradictions between the imperialist interests of countries or whole sectors of the economy. The crisis and the preparation of a way out were and will accentuate most of the contradictions and conflicts for the markets, the spheres of influence and domination. We see it alive today.

It would be tragic and with severe consequences if the labor movement is not able to see these contrasts. It is a real danger that must be tackled decisively so as to avoid being drifted and enlisted on the side of one or another imperialist in each continent or country against the other imperialists, to be drawn in one country or another in the pursuit of competitiveness. The contrasts which are born are able to trap the struggle on the wrong track, if this phenomenon is not interpreted correctly. This trend is all pervasive with capitalist globalization and liberalization.

Not to underestimate the strength and the experience of powerful imperialist centers to break and integrate the labor movement into their strategies.

We cannot ignore the damage it has been done for many years by integrating the movement in the powerful imperialist centers, both in Europe and America. It is a big problem. Not only we learn, but also undertake our responsibilities. We should not allow this to happen in the movements of other countries.

This year we have experienced great struggles in response to the crisis such as in Greece, Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Asia, Africa and Latin America; In Mexico, the

CHAPTER A - INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

United States by immigrants who live there. Also recently in Madison Wisconsin, with the mobilization of public employees who are fighting to defend the collective negotiations and their salaries.

Some conclusions must be extracted.

They are: major processes, opportunities of empowerment and awakening for the working and the popular masses are created, the rise of class struggle. The examples in Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Bahrain, Libya, Yemen, Iran, Jordan, Pakistan etc. confirm this. The revolt of the people of Egypt, regardless of its outcome, is to show that people are the real protagonists of history.

These positive developments coexist with equally serious problems. These steps must be stabilized and completed to change the balance of power in class clustering and orientation.

A decisive factor is the situation in the leaderships of many trade unions at national level and the correlation of forces and the lack of a single line of struggle.

To exploit the new possibilities which are made available and for the movement to pass to another level of struggles and to counter attack, we need to critically assess all these developments and to devise effective tactics to eliminate the barriers in every country. We owe to draw conclusions from struggles in the previous periods.

For example, what are the lessons from the great crisis in Argentina a few years ago? They were unable to create conditions for the development of class struggle with decisive struggles and reversals, emerging as a result the temporary domination of the spontaneous movement of the masses and some series of utopian slogans and demands.

Again, what happened earlier in France, Ireland and other countries where the "NO" in the various referenda on the EU strategy were wining battles? These militant beats were left somewhere in the middle or were incorporated?

We should also not underestimate the risk of instead of having a solid and class-oriented movement to have various outbursts or spontaneous movements that will quickly be deflated or manipulated. Without persistent and consistent approach to the solid fight against monopolies and imperialism and their associations and without showing a complete alternative perspective, it is possible and easy for the movement to redeploy its forces and pass to counterattack.

The crucial issue is the struggle against the logic of either crisis management or the capitalist power. The trade union movement cannot hope to conquests, if it limits its action into defensive struggles, if it doesn't proceed to struggles that question the sovereignty and the power of monopoly capital in each country and support such struggles in any other country; From the base to give strength and perspective to the struggle. We must undertake this responsibility and reject all those voices that pull the movement back in the name of 'unity with capitalists' or 'with the lesser evil.'

Unity without class base and joint action with forces that seek to modernize and humanize capitalism or they search settings of the capitalist barbarism sow confusion in the minds of employees and ultimately create serious difficulties for the class trade union movement.

From all the above, there are two basics axis of these conclusions. One axis is the OBJECTIVES and the strategy of the capital and the other is the OBJECTIVES and the line of WFTU under

these current conditions.

1. The capital confronts the crisis with a united aggressive strategy against the working class and the workers, with elaborated, **coordinated** strategy alongside with the accentuated rivalry and the contradictions of imperialist centers in **branches, countries, regions**, with the radical capsizing at all levels and increase of the exploitation.

This strategy has been elaborated in the earlier periods, from the mid '70s, and was implemented in one or other country depending on the degree of resistance from the workers movement, to confront the contradictions and the difficulties in the reproduction of capital, the declining of the average percentage of profits, etc.

In this period of crisis, capital has become more aggressive and sweeps fundamental achievements and aims to:

- The deeper exploitation of working force
- Depreciation of working force with sweeping anti-labor changes
- Increase of productivity with contemporary or newer technology
- Mergers-repurchases in all essential branches and gigantism of monopolies
- Intensity of rivalry for control of raw materials and spheres of influence
- Putting the burden of the crisis on the workers and on the weaker countries
- Generalization of limitation of social allocations

After World War II and especially in the last decades, capital has no longer the ability to make concessions as it did in previous years, not only because the correlation of forces changed, but also because of internal contradictions and increased difficulties with regard to the reproduction of capital.

Moreover, there are no margins for the metropolis of capitalism, as there were before, to buy off sections of their own working class, allotting them a part of their profits from the overexploitation of people.

2. The WFTU must know that the attack will continue either with the pretext of stabilizing, strengthening of competitiveness or in the pretext of reduction and control of debts and deficits.

The current "war" conducted against the working class by the capital is not only economic and doesn't aim only at the greater and deeper exploitation of the workforce. It is a generalized war, ideological, political, cultural, social and environmental one.

The labor movement is confronted with new waves of attacks and persecutions. The struggle of the people is classified as terrorism and this is a specific element of the strategy of capital.

The satisfaction of basic needs of the working class, of the popular strata, the defense of democratic rights and freedoms, require another way of development; Clash, rupture with the monopolies and the imperialists in every country; coordinated struggles on regional level, branch level and international level. No illusion and at the same time ideological, political and organizational preparation for hard class struggles.

There is difficulty that comes from lack of united direction. We are facing the strong

force of reformism which as its main tactic has the submission of the working class interests to the capital interests in each country, it disrupts, it corrupts and entraps the working class to corporatism and class collaboration and at the same time it has adapted the general strategy of the capital. It actually supports the competitiveness and the involvement of the working class in the rivalry of the capital.

It would be different, if coordinated struggles had taken place, with united direction before the crisis and much more after the crisis. What happened, for example, in Europe? Here the militant moods of the working class are not missing, but they are "castrated" by social democracy. It creates difficulties and puts brakes in the struggles.

Therefore, WFTU must deepen its central direction and enrich it with new experiences:

- Decisive, unyielding trade union struggle against the monopolies, unified in each country, branch, region
- Unification of the working class on class basis
- Of course, the characteristics, the national features will be evaluated , but be integrated in the united struggle of the global working class
- Politicization of trade union struggle with the objective of changing the correlation of forces, with the perspective of defeating the slavery pursued by the monopolies and imperialism
- More coordinated struggles with other movements like the peace movement, the youth movement, the women's movement etc.
- WFTU must, de facto, take on a role of rallying and mobilizing for action and struggle the working class and its allies
- To organize a decisive front against reformism in all corners of earth
- We must open up a front in a clear and intensive way against the attempts of equalizing fascism and communism, persecution of parties and the murders of trade unionists.

In this framework, we should try to improve the fronts of struggle that will be enriched in each country, branch and region.

- Permanent and stable work for all - protection of the unemployed people. This is a common duty for every country. Implementing this right, demand planned development, change of power.
- Universal and public social protection. Defense of life and health of working people.
- Social needs- opposition to all privatizations.
- Nutrition problem- opposition to multinational food companies.
- Correspond to contemporary social needs in health, education, housing and clean water.
- Abolition of child labor.
- Environment, life quality, working conditions.
- Democratic rights and trade union freedoms.
- Struggle against armaments, disengagement from NATO and its abolition.
- Alliances with the rural masses, small employers, self-employed and the landless.

CHAPTER B

THE ACUTE LABOR PROBLEMS

UNEMPLOYMENT

This is the greatest problem for the working class at international level. In the whole capitalist world unemployment is huge and expands continuously. **In countries of the European Union, official records are presenting 10.7% unemployment. This percentage is the largest of the last twenty years. In Latin America the equivalent percentage is 8.2%, in Africa it is about 9.3%, in Asia it is calculated to be 7%, in the US it is 9.7% and of course we all know that the official records are hiding the truth,** hiding also the refusal of the EU countries to classify all the young people who occasionally may work only once per month, as unemployed. Also we are aware of the fact that the number of unemployed will rise continuously since millions of poor farmers and self-employed lose their jobs in every continent.

The worldwide table of countries with the highest unemployment rates is indicative:

1. **Tunisia** 30 percent unemployment
2. **South Africa:** 25.3 percent unemployment
3. **Spain :** 20.3 percent unemployment
4. **Croatia:** 18.8 percent unemployment
5. **Lithuania:** 17.8 percent unemployment
6. **Greece:** 14.8 percent unemployment
7. **Latvia:** 14.3 percent unemployment
8. **Ireland:** 13.8 percent unemployment
9. **Slovakia:** 12.5 percent unemployment
10. **Egypt :** 12.4 percent unemployment
11. **Poland:** 12.3 percent unemployment
12. **Colombia:** 11.3 percent unemployment
13. **Turkey:** 11.2 percent unemployment

Unemployment is a social phenomenon inherent in capitalism. Unemployment is a serious obstacle to the action of the trade unions; the unemployed are not only used in many cases as a strike-breaking mechanism, but also to keep the salaries of workers low and restrict further conquests.

For the WFTU, our members and friends, the imperative need is the survival of the unemployed which is our primary duty. So we have to demand from the governments to subsidize the unemployed until they find jobs. Special care should be provided for the young and old unemployed. For all unemployed we have to demand free medical, pharmaceutical and insurance cover. A crucial issue is that unemployment does not disappear with "investments". Under capitalism, with or without investments the live work is continuously reduced.

LABOR RELATIONS

After 1990 full time work has slowly been replaced by part employment and part-time jobs. Stable salaries have started being replaced by «bonuses» and by linking «salary with

productivity». Regular working hours have started being replaced by work all day long without extra salary. Many workers are obliged to work unpaid for several months. For economic immigrants and refugees the conditions are even worse.

So in the name of “competitiveness” a work scenario of the Middle-Ages is recreated. With “flexicurity”, underground labor, work without rights.

For the WFTU the demand for full and permanent work, with stable service conditions, full social insurance, working and wage rights, remains timely, pertinent and necessary. Only jobs with these features can be characterized as “decent work”.

We suggest the 16th Congress to decide a large open international militant campaign for:

- **35 work hours per week**
- **5 days x 7 hours per day**
- **Better salaries / Living Wage**

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

There are many countries in the world that don't have Collective Bargaining Agreements and the conditions of payment and work in fact are determined exclusively in an anti-workers manner by the employers. There are also many countries that have Collective Agreements for the wage earning workers, but during the last years they are not put into practice by the employers or by the governments. In particular many governments utilize the international financial crisis in order to vote for laws that abolish Collective Agreements. Reactionary governments jointly with the monopoly capital are trying to impose “individual contracts” with very low individual wages.

WFTU supports the Collective Agreements institution through free collective bargaining. Minimum wage, minimum salaries, working hours and all the financial and institutional demands of each branch must be determined through the Collective Labor Agreements.

Collective Labor Agreements are a basic, elementary, pre-requisite for some of the workers' needs so that they can reproduce their working force, even if the Agreements don't abolish exploitation. We are opposed to individual agreements because each worker alone is weaker in opposition to the employer. On the other hand when workers bargain collectively, they are stronger.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Social security was maybe the most important achievement of the Working Class in many countries during the 19th century. Today, after the setbacks and downfalls during the period of 1989-1991 and the international negative correlations, capital makes its own huge counterattack to get revenge. So in almost all countries of the world the retirement age is increasing, pensions are being reduced, health is becoming a commodity, medicines are

getting more and more expensive, the insurance obligations of employers are paid by the state through the tax increase of the people.

Mostly in Europe, the USA, Canada, Japan, the rights to Social Security that were conquered with hard and bloody struggles, are now either being abolished or reduced dramatically. Private insurance and speculation are expanding continuously.

The WFTU and the class trade union movement have supported the struggles of workers in all countries that were claiming their rights to Social Security. In current conditions, with the rapid progress of technology and science, with the rapid increase in productivity of work, we are demanding the existence in every country of a public, universal, obligatory system of Social Security, with full cover, free Medicare, with reduction of the retirement age and increase in pensions. Only in this way workers will be able to live with dignity after their retirement.

PRIVATIZATIONS

In all continents the privatization of the public sector is causing unemployment, intensification of the exploitation at the expense of the workers, financial scandals and predatory profits for the multinational companies.

In many countries through the privatization of their wealth-producing resources, through the privatization of important and strategic sectors, they are captured financially and politically by huge capitalist groups. In many cases privatization transforms social rights and goods to commodities.

For the WFTU the strategic sectors of the economy such as Energy, Communication, Health, Education, Transportation, etc. must belong to the State and not to private companies or individuals. They have to function based on people's needs.

TRADE UNION FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS

Despite the decisions and Conventions adopted by the International Labor Office (ILO) and the UN in the last twenty years, democratic freedoms and trade union rights are limited. There are countries like Colombia and the Philippines where trade unionists are murdered by paramilitary organizations supported by multinational companies. In many other countries the establishment of unions is prohibited and also, in some countries of the capitalist world, many trade union representatives are imprisoned, fired from their jobs, bullied, harassed and threatened. There are also examples in countries of the capitalist world where trade union leaderships and big trade union organizations are bribed either by governments or by the employers and this is yet another way of conditioning and obstructing free and independent trade union Movement.

The WFTU is constantly struggling, from the first day of its foundation, in favor of free and independent trade union action, and for the trade union and democratic freedoms for all workers.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

According to the official records of the ILO, every year more than 2 million workers lose their lives by causes that are correlated with their work. Every year more than 270 million work place accidents are reported. Deaths from occupational diseases are continually increasing and the number of disabled is rising. The recent example with the trapping of 33 heroic miners in Chile confirms this.

The basic cause of this unacceptable situation is the thirst of employers for growth of their profits and their refusal to take the necessary occupational and safety health measures in the work places. *(See the Special Document of the 16th Congress on the subject)*

EDUCATION

In parallel with the steady effort to readjust the education systems that are being privatized, there has been an effort according to the capitalists' alternate needs to configure a convenient workforce for the specific sectors where the capital lusts to invest. Especially now, in conditions of crisis, education appears to be the Exit Door for the capital to come out of the crisis as well as a very profitable field for capital.

Education is being readjusted in order to play a significant and imperative role to the reassurance of the capitalist system substance and reproduction.

There are still countries where illiteracy remains an unsolved problem, but also in most countries a new kind of contemporary operational illiteracy, which is starting to flourish. It is imperative that working class asserts public, free compulsory and qualitative education that will mould accomplished characters with scientific knowledge and critical way of thinking, according to the people's and working class needs.

HEALTH

Even though there have been significant technological progress, capital commands and the governmental funding determine when to accelerate or decelerate it.

Health systems are being downgraded and cannot cover the needs of people, especially the poor ones and the workers, because of the attack against the social insurance and its competition against the private initiative. Extinct diseases are reappearing, diseases that we could abolish are not combated and people suffer because of their lack of access to proper treatment. HIV plagues especially the African Continent.

Child mortality is one of the biggest problems of the society. The WFTU demands that there must exist in each country a quality, public, universal and free health system that should fully cover the people's needs.

DRUGS

According to the statistics of the “Drugs and Crime Office” of the UN, during the year 2007 worldwide, cannabis users were 142-190 million, opiate users were 15-21 million, cocaine users were 15-21 million, amphetamine users were 16-50,5 million and “ecstasy” users were 11,5-23,5 million.

It is no coincidence that the increasing use of narcotic substances emerges from the increase of poverty, unemployment, uncertainty and insecurity. Furthermore, remarkable is the fact that Afghanistan is the country with the biggest opiate substances production which is well guarded and preserved by the American and allied troops.

The fact that despite the growing rate of users of narcotic substances, especially amongst the youth, along with the recorded deaths resulting from the use of narcotic substances, the debate about this existing problem in the EU and in other countries, does not concern the treatment of this social problem, but only the preservation of the addicted people throughout substitution programs, is suspicious. Mainly, it is suspicious that it is the same politicians who are carrying out the most atrocious and anti - popular policies that are supporting the legalization of drugs.

In recent years, the legalization of drugs and mainly cannabis is a highly debated issue; essentially with arguments defending that the legalization of drugs and their taxation will aid the government’s economics and will be a blow to the parallel economy. Besides, in Netherlands, where the legalization of cannabis is applied, there has not been any positive step towards the solution of the drugs problem as many supported before, but on the contrary the problem was aggravated and Netherlands has become a drug tourism destination for the youth.

Those attitudes and arguments have nothing to do with the workers.

The working class and their children need sound minds, sound consciousnesses and power to fight back the problems caused by the current situation, to demand a better future and organize their struggle for a world without exploitation. Working class should be emancipated from every factor that keeps it inside the putrescence and the rust of the current system. Unity and solidarity are the dominant ideals of the working class and have nothing to do with isolation and individualism promoted by the adoption of the drug philosophy.

ENVIRONMENT

The aggravation of the environment caused by the capitalist’s decisions is an issue that affects everyone’s life dramatically. The biggest environmental problems are the uncontrollable operation of factories, the uncontrollable and catastrophic garbage/waste deposition, the water resources over wasting and contamination and the catastrophic imperialist wars that affect both the environment and the people. The aforementioned problems are concerning the workers for a long time now and must also concern the class oriented trade union movement for it is an issue of high and crucial importance. *(See the Special document of 16th Congress, on the subject)*

MILITARY EQUIPMENTS

The increasing military expenditure has been accelerated by the international economic crisis, as the monopolies are attempting to find a way out of the crisis. It is characteristic that countries with the biggest and most severe economic problems, the so-called developing countries, are increasing their defense budget and war expenditure. Despite the millions of people dying from hunger, it's the poorest countries that are forced, by the biggest imperialist powers, to spend money on military equipments.

At the same time, these imperialist powers are the biggest weapons producers. An idiomorphic kind of extortion is taking place between the poor countries and the rich ones, and military equipment plays a significant role. If the poor countries want financial assistance from the rich ones, they must also buy their weapons. We can distinguish the example of Pakistan, where despite the great disaster and the millions of homeless because of the flood, the Pakistani government just 2 days after the disaster, considered the investment of 1, 28 billion dollars in order to buy military equipment from USA, more important than the consolation of the population.

According to the documents of SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), military equipment sales have increased by 22% during the period 2004-2008. Additionally, these documents mention that the developing states are on a dangerous race for military equipment. An idiomorphic kind of extortion is taking place between the poor countries and the rich ones which are linking the military equipment with the economic aid to the first ones.

Regarding the war industry performance, according to 2007 documents, the five biggest and most profitable war industries (Boeing, Bae Systems, Lockheed, Northrop and General Dynamics) increased their net profitability by 12, 8 billion dollars.

The WFTU demands: "Stop every military equipment race. The money should cover the needs of the poor and the unemployed". All foreign troops must leave the occupied territories. All nuclear weapons must be banned. People must dismantle the imperialist military alliances. NATO to be dissolved. The imperialist interventions to stop. No to war, yes to Peace.

NUTRITIONAL PROBLEM

Speculation of food multinationals always puts at risk the lives of billions of people around the world. After the big price increases of 2007 - 2008 in all major agricultural products, now once again in a few months time, prices on wheat, corn, sugar, cocoa and vegetable oils have increased in more than 35 countries as for example in Tunisia, Egypt, India, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, Jordan, Morocco, Chile, Haiti, etc. These new price increases gave rise to large demonstrations in some countries. FAO said that from December 2009 to December 2010 prices in key agricultural products are increased by 25%.

Prices of food and water are defined in reality by the vast food processing industries such as NESTLE, PEPSI Co, UNILEVER, KRAFT, BUNGE, DOLE FOOD, JBS, etc. From their games with high prices they speculate at the expense of the people.

In recent years, companies from the U.S. and UK promote the solution of "modified" products.

They develop the technology, they are experimenting and they plan advertising campaigns with key slogan "The end of cheap food era", "Change eating habits", "You can't fill the world without using genetically modified products". Thus, multinationals that possess the technology of mutant products (such as MONSANTO, CARGILL, DU PONT) have completed their plans for maintaining and enhancing the profitability of capital.

It is necessary that WFTU reveals the role of speculators, the games played by governments and multinationals to the detriment of poor farmers and the global working class. To strengthen the voice of class trade unionism inside FAO and in each country. To promote joint action of workers' trade unions with organizations of poor farmers, of landless and indigenous peoples. To demand the land to belong to farmers and not to capitalists. To motivate everyone in the joint struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production. To coordinate the activities of our sectoral organizations (TUIs) and to organize our reply with demonstrations, initiatives and any kind of struggle for cheap foodstuff and free clean water for all.

EXTERNAL DEBT

The external debt of many countries, especially of the Third World, becomes the reason for the massive violations of labor, salary, social security and labor rights.

Through complicated mechanisms the powerful capitalist states, in cooperation with the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization show and demand from many countries the payment of huge debts accumulated after centuries of colonial exploitation and plunder.

Using as pretext the need for repayment of these debts, the IMF and other international financial institutions are imposing unpopular anti-labor programs.

The World Federation of Trade Unions condemns these mechanisms and all policies of austerity, poverty, privatization and looting of wealth-producing sources imposed by the IMF against the heavily indebted countries.

We reiterate our firm position that **the debt of Third World countries should be cancelled now. This debt does not exist. It has been repaid many times.** The real debtors are all those who exploit the people and the rich resources of the Third World countries.

In the name of the so-called repayment of external debt these exploiters, the monopolies, the multinational and imperialist schemes are keeping the Third World in poverty and destitution.

These are really responsible for the following picture currently given in many countries on the average life expectancy:

- In Afghanistan, the average life expectancy is 45 years
- In Angola, the average age is 47 years
- In Central-African Union is 47 years
- In Chad 49 years
- In Congo 47 years
- In Lesotho, 47 years

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- In Mozambique 49 years
 - In Nigeria 49 years
 - In Rwanda 49 years
 - In Sierra Leone 48 years
 - In Somalia 49 years
 - In Zambia 49 years
 - In Zimbabwe 49 years
 - In Guinea Bissau 48 years
 - In Mali 49 years
- and 37 more countries with an average life expectancy between 50-59 years

(Data provided by United Nations, December 2010).

This is the truth. And the truth is that from moral, political, economical and social point of view indicates that the external debt of these countries has been repaid.

CHAPTER C

OUR ACTIVITY

5 YEARS OF ACTION!

CHAPTER C - OUR ACTIVITY, 5 YEARS OF ACTION!

Comrades and friends,

Our main duty at the 16th World Trade Union Congress is to debate and judge the progress made from the 15th Congress that was held the 4th and 5th of December 2005 in Havana, Cuba. We should discuss and decide about our tactics and our strategy for the next 5 years. We should set in order of precedence and agree about our fundamental goals concerning each continent, region, as well as each working sector.

Comrades,

In Havana, the newly elected leadership was given a clear mandate from the Congress:

- To organizationally reconstitute the WFTU at international, sectoral and regional levels, as well as to enhance the value of unity and internal democracy within our Organization.
- To enhance the militant characteristics as class oriented trade – union organization that can unite the workers in the struggle against capital.
- To practically aid the workers' struggle worldwide, for their everyday needs.
- To develop actions, as well as to make felt its presence everywhere in sectoral, regional and international level.
- To support the Peoples struggling against imperialist wars and territorial occupations, in order to enhance its internationalist characteristics.

Those duties were complex and difficult. The difficulties were emerging from the negative international correlation of power, along with the deadlock period that our organization faced after the downfall of 1991. The new WFTU leadership acted under complicated and difficult circumstances. From the very early beginning it had to confront the issue of its Headquarters accommodation in a country that could support at all levels this new attempt. In Prague, capital of Czech Republic, the political and trade – union entourage was very hostile against WFTU. We needed better entourage to support the new leadership in its new ambitious restructuring. Hence, the Presidential Council decided, with one abstention, to move the Headquarters to Athens, capital of Greece. The Headquarters transfer resulted in the renewal of the personnel of WFTU. With new and young personnel, we have set sail for a new journey.

At present, the last five – years' progress is estimated as positive. This is explained through our work, our action and the results often. All members of the Presidential Council contributed to this positive development (except for 3 – 4 members who did not meet the requirements of their position). The majority of our members in the regional offices, in the TUI's and in national trade – union organizations, the friends of WFTU in Greece gave their full support since the moment the Headquarters have been transferred to Greece.

Five years have elapsed since the last Congress and the Presidential Council has been in session for at least ten times, in Belgium, Sudan, Cyprus, Vietnam and Greece and 5 times in Geneva in the month of the Annual Conference of ILO. The Presidential Council's role was rather important since with its decisions it defined our Organization's directions and offered proposals and guidelines to our members and friends throughout the world.

During those five years, the President Brother Mohammed Shabban Azzouz has played a very important role in WFTU's effort for reconstruction, a process which started

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after Havana's 15th Congress, showing the appropriate amount of solemnity, fraternal understanding, and feeling of solidarity, uniformity and factual sympathy. The majority of Presidential Council's members actively participated during the last "quinquennium". The majority of the comrades always made proposals and suggestions, they stated their opinions in a very open and democratic way and criticized as well as offered solutions for all substantial issues we had to work out every time. We thank them for their contribution.

There is a comprehensive report "REPORT of 2006-2010" which presents all core activities by subject and chronological references and refers to the rich action developed by the WFTU during the past quinquennium 2006-2010.

Study the REPORT in order to have a full and complete picture so that your criticism, comments and suggestions are based on the specific facts in order to provide essential aid to our new effort which begins with the 16th Congress.

Here we make a comprehensive and conclusive report of our action for the past five years:

1. **Proper functioning of the collective groups.** The Presidential Council, the Secretariat and this specific action was based on the Constitution and Regulations and on the accumulated experience of the class oriented trade union movement. In our meetings and actions everyone was free to express their opinion, to answer every question, make criticism as well as agree or disagree. Through this mode we have gradually succeeded in the collective, open and democratic functioning, countering the phenomena of bureaucracy and stagnation. We still have a lot to learn. It is necessary in the present circumstances to strengthen the principles of 'comradely rivalry' to offer 'criticism and self-criticism'. In particular, self-criticism still remains absent from our group's actions at all levels, at the central level, the Regional Offices and TUIs. Also to enhance the collective functioning in the leadership of the Regional Offices and TUIs. There are observations and criticisms because the degree of collegiality in the Headquarters of the Regional Offices and Headquarters of TUIs still remains low. It is inappropriate decisions to be taken only by one comrade at a Regional Office or in a TUI. This is a mistake and it must be changed now. Improving the functioning of the WFTU institutions, has given us and still gives us the opportunity to focus our discussions on the substance and content of our action and goals.

2. The **International Days of Action** organized by WFTU in 2009 and 2010 were two new qualitative and quantitative steps caused by elevated forms of class struggle with demonstrations, protests and strikes. In 2009 the participation of Trade Unions from 49 countries and in 2010 in 56 countries. This shows our capabilities and weaknesses. We are critical of our members who despite their abilities do not choose to be active and we consider it as a serious mistake that 2-3 members of the WFTU unions participated in similar activities of ITUC which accentuated a content of capitalist "modernization" and cooperation with the G-20, the IMF and other capitalist world international institutions! **We appeal to all members and friends of WFTU to understand that the support of all our key initiatives, participation in our activities, in our demonstrations, is a crucial duty for all of us and for all the trade unions that want a real class oriented movement, fighting big capital with "single thinking".**

3. We have tried to raise the trade unions as well as our members' and friends' ideological level through decades of **Trade union training seminars** organized in all continents. The WFTU seminars of our Regional Offices and TUI's are not "trade union tourism and excursions". Instead they always try to find answers, solutions and tools to solve new and old problems which the world working class has to face. We organized a total of 40 Seminars with many interesting topics such as: the role of the mass media, the role of TV, decent work, the establishment of unions, trade union rights, labor relations, debts of third world countries, the problem of food, water, the role of International Organizations, 120 years anniversary of the 1st of May, climate change, health and safety conditions, etc. The need to educate our cadres and functionaries is great importance and we have the duty to multiply and strengthen our efforts.

4. We organized **10 very important International- global trade union conferences** on some very relevant issues. Some of them were:

a. Conference on the international economic **crisis** and the role of the Trade Unions which was held on 15th -16th November 2008 in Lisbon, Portugal, where we discussed the crisis in time, as well as its consequences for working people and our proposals.

b. Conference on the role of the **working women** and WFTU's thesis, which was held in Brussels, Belgium on 13th -14th September 2007, containing rich discussion and appropriate decisions.

c. Conference on the **Economic Immigrants**, was held on 29th May 2006, where we defined our trade union positions.

d. Common meetings between ICATU and WFTU that encouraged and continue to encourage the strengthening of the relations with the Arab working people, besides reinforcing practical, internationalist solidarity towards the peoples of Palestine, Syria and Lebanon.

e. Conference on the 1st World Working Youth Conference that was held in Lima, Peru on 18th – 20th November 2009, wherein an atmosphere of enthusiasm and a fighting spirit amongst the young working people from the five continents were discussed, singed, decided on an action plan.

f. We congratulate the Youth Secretariat of the WFTU for the regional initiative they took for the self-employed young people in the countries of Central America, and for cooperating with the Regional Office in organizing a seminar in Panama on 9th -11th December 2010.

g. We also congratulate the 120 young trade unionists who participated in the event we organized on the 15th of June 2010 in Geneva, on the celebration of the 65th Anniversary of the WFTU's foundation.

h. The international meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam, on 26th – 29th July 2009 that was jointly organized by VGCL and WFTU, giving an important opportunity to analyze the international situation and the consequences of globalization.

5. WFTU, ACFTU, OATUU and ICATU, organizing jointly the **Annual TRADE UNION FORUM in Beijing** that gives the opportunity to exchange thoughts, experiences and propositions. The different thesis and the presence of a large number of national Trade Unions during the past years, gave the opportunity for important international contacts.

6. **WFTU's publications** in these five years were very successful. Hundreds of

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announcements, press releases and publications were brought out. The secretariat adopted specific decisions in time on every current issue. Further in these 5 years 23 posters were published. These posters are usually beautiful and also with essential message. We all should take advantage of them, exhibit them on places where they can play the role and fulfill the goal for which they were made. Books, brochures, leaflets were brought out in all basic languages, giving the content, spirit and the thesis of our organization. The edition of "**REFLECTS**", WFTU's magazine, in 4 languages (English, French, Spanish and Arabic) is an important effort, which will have even greater success if our member and friendly organizations send articles, news and their activities.

The publications made by the Regional Offices of America, Asia, Europe are also important and positive. It is necessary that the Regional Offices of Africa and Middle East follow their example.

7. We still do not meet our fullest needs as far as the **use of new technologies** is concerned. Although we have made the new central web site, although some Regional Offices and some TUIs also have their own web sites, we are yet to meet the full requirements. This needs to proceed quickly; the needs of communication grow bigger and faster every day. We do not fill the requirements for the "electronic war" and the reasons are not only financial. We think that this is a matter of direction. We need to realize the importance of direct intervention using the abilities of new technologies. The positive examples of our comrades from Brazil, Chile, from the Metal and Transport TUIs show that when we have the right direction, we also have the ability and capacity.

8. Our presence in **International Organizations** has become more intense. Our representatives in the UN, the ILO, in UNESCO and FAO made important efforts in these fora. We presented in these Organizations on several occasions and sent the protest letters and the demands of trade unions from around the world. We took advantage of our presence in these Organizations and we placed proposals and reports; we demanded concrete resolutions. However the situation in all International Organizations remains difficult and complex. The international correlation of forces is against the class oriented forces and against the peoples who fight against Imperialist aggressiveness. The United Nations Organization actually legalizes USA, EU and their allies' aggressive foreign policy. In the International Labor Office (ILO) there is a monopoly and dictatorship of the ITUC, which after 1991, along with the capitalist governments and the employers have converted the organization into a "tool" that removes labor rights. In the five year period, 2006 – 2010, we strongly criticized this through our interventions in Geneva, in the annual general meetings and in the meetings of the Board each November and March, at the Regional meetings of the ILO, in Torino and everywhere, and strongly demanded this unacceptable situation to stop.

The fact that Cuba and Venezuela are constantly slandered, and at the same time the government of Colombia is acquitted is unacceptable. It is unacceptable to exclude WFTU and independent National Organizations from the main organs of ILO. It is unacceptable that the ITUC gives orders and commands to the ILO, it is unacceptable that some functionaries of the ILO threaten member organizations of WFTU; the way the ILO seminars and training in the center of Turin are shared is unacceptable. WFTU will continue to condemn these anti-democratic phenomena. We will not stay silent in front of this, while we will fight against the

perceptions of class collaboration and compromising, on a national and international level.

9. As we had decided at the 15th Congress in Havana, we established **WFTU's Friends Council** which convenes in Geneva every year, in June. This gives our friends the opportunity and democratic right to have direct contact with the leadership of WFTU, to submit their proposals, make criticism and be fully and essentially informed on every common issue.

10. During the period we examine, WFTU has tried to respond to all calls, to participate in our members' and friends' activities. We have also invited and hosted dozens of Trade Union high level delegations, for bilateral contacts and discussions, such as Delegations of the ILO, the ACFTU, the OATUU, the ICATU etc.

11. There is still a problem with the financial situation of WFTU. This issue is serious and causes serious difficulties in our operation and action in these new circumstances. The organizations that have financially supported the WFTU these five years are very few and specific. We want to congratulate the organizations such as FTE Mexico, CENAPRO Ecuador which contribute every year 200 or 300 euros and GAWU Guyana that sent 500 USD every year. The amount of money was small, but the strength they gave us was great. WFTU's financial situation is not merely an economic issue. It is primarily an ideological, political, trade union issue. We think that some people who can afford to give (financial) assistance to WFTU did not do it for specific reasons. Some others support the new WFTU course in words, but not practically. **There are members of the Presidential Council whose organizations have not given financial support neither in the past five years, nor for meeting the expenditure of the 16th Congress.**

At this point, we would like to underline that the collective agreement on WFTU's new course raises the requirement for collective financial support so that the collective decisions we make for diverse action can be supported and be put in practice.

12. All this wealth of experience had also significant **Organizational Results**. During the period 2006-2010 we established 4 new TUIs: a) **Metal**, b) **Transport** c) **Banks and Finance** d) **Hotels - Tourism**. The establishment of these 4 TUI's give new possibilities concerning the presence of WFTU in their relevant sectors and multinational companies. It is necessary, after the congress, to re-discuss our organizational presence in other important sectors such as the services sector, the media etc. The WFTU Secretariat should be closer to the function and action of TUIs so that there is mutual support, while avoiding serious problems such as those presented in the relations between the WFTU and TUI Construction Workers.

13. **Eighty nine new organizations** have joined WFTU as a result of WFTU's action, ideology and presence in the trade unions.

We once again welcome the new members to the WFTU's family. We all know that the reasons that brought these 89 new members to WFTU are WFTU's militancy, its principles, its direction, its rich action and internationalist character, as well as the dynamism shown by our organization in these five years, the democratic functioning and collective effort.

14. **We expressed workers solidarity, our support and internationalist assistance to all**

those who needed it. We travelled wide and we were close to the workers who struggled for their rights. We issued a large number of Declarations and Press Releases.

15. During this period the Secretariat met twenty eight times and particularly to put the decisions of the Presidential Council into effect. We consider the role and work of the Secretariat as positive. In the new circumstances the Secretariat as well as the Presidential Council needs to be renewed and reinforced.

The criteria for the election in these two central organs should be particularly challenging:

- “The ability to realize the new complex conditions and enrich our goals and tactics according to our current needs.
- The ability towards participation in the development and formulation of our strategy and tactics;
- The stability and loyalty to the principles, values and culture of the world class-oriented trade union movement, to the objectives of the working class, the determination in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.
- The determination to act and work with the grassroots of the trade union movement where specific action and initiatives are required.
- Concrete results from our work. We need to judge the cadres from the results of their work rather than their words.
- The willingness to accept sacrifices as far as the individual’s personal and family life is concerned but also the need to show collective spirit and tolerance to criticism; the use of self-criticism; the fight against bureaucracy and routine work.

Dear comrades,

We believe that many militants/fighters in the family of the World Federation of Trade Unions have these characteristics and fulfill these criteria.

We have the duty of judging strictly, objectively and to elect a Presidential Council and Secretariat that will work on implementing the decisions of the 16th World Trade Union Congress.

The first page of the WFTU Constitution states that “the WFTU is a class-oriented union”. This means that it represents, supports, and goes along with the interests of the international working class, goes along with the struggle for the everyday problems that wage earners in all sectors and all countries have, while consistently striving for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, for the abolition of capitalist exploitation.

We know that the opponents of the class-oriented trade union movement exert pressure and use all means to hit the WFTU. They are trying with money to buy trade unionists and have been attempting to block the development of the WFTU. It is the common duty of all of us to fight them back decisively, to thwart their plans, to try our best to recruit new forces for the WFTU. This is a key task for all of us in central, regional and sectoral levels.

CHAPTER D

OUR AIMS

These are our direct goals, according to the principles of WFTU and the contemporary needs:

WORKING CLASS UNITY

An essential prerequisite for the success of our struggles is to promote and construct the unity of our class regardless of religious, racial, gender, linguistic or political differences. The working class in every country and every sector, regardless of which union center the trade union belongs to, has the same interests against the capital and against exploitation. Our task is to unite all workers under the banner of our common goals.

The working class, when united on a class-basis can bring to their side the poor farmers, the self-employed, small tradesmen and have allies in the conflict against the monopolies and big capital. They can construct their own alliances. We need to bear in mind that the opponents and enemies of the workers are also trying to unite forces under their own goal, their own umbrella.

Issues of "UNITY" were, are and will be discussed because each class does want allies and concentration of forces on their side in class struggle. The controversy remains at all levels and with all problems. See for example the Palestinian problem. The Palestinian people want unity and allies to achieve their goals, while Israel and USA want allies to achieve their own imperialist aims. Take the example of Cuba where the CTC (General Cuban Workers Confederation) seeks to rally all trade unions in Latin America for the defense of the Cuban Revolution, while the ITUC is trying to buy and rally forces for its own objectives, against the Cuban Revolution.

Therefore, the question "who to unite with, and for what purpose" is always important.

In the past five years, WFTU has tried to unite all the unions at the base in action against capitalist exploitation and against the consequences of the economic crisis. The international days of action of WFTU in 2009 and 2010 united forces in action and struggle, under the right demands, with class oriented content.

ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS TO THE UNIONS AND THE STRUGGLE

The massification of the trade union movement with the recruitment of new members gives new dynamics and new momentum to the life and activities of the trade unions. During the period 1990-2000 many workers in capitalist countries have abandoned the trade unions and stayed at home. Today, however, the acidity of the crisis and the consequences led a major part of the working layers to radicalization, they desire to participate more actively. The great struggles in Europe, Asia and Latin America confirm this.

Members and friends of the WFTU need to pay attention to the participation of young people and women in unions. They should also pay attention to new sections of the working class that new technologies bring; they should meet the progressive intelligentsia,

workers of spirit and culture. The fact that young people joined our union's life and activities supported the struggles and class struggle. Through grass-roots struggles, greater and more concrete results will come out.

Starting tomorrow and until the next Congress we must give greater attention to the organizing and the participation of workers in trade unions, in the struggle. To work consistently, steadily and build unions, base committees, steering committees and any other forms of participation that would help to the activation of the masses; Concentrate more on the different workplaces. At the same time, the care of WFTU for the trade union movement of pensioners should be strengthened since the governments by their policies are making the daily survival of pensioners much harder.

INTERNATIONALISM

In several articles of the Constitution, the importance of proletarian internationalism, the Workers Solidarity and international solidarity among the parts of working-class on every continent, country and sector is underlined. Internationalism was, is and will be the key step, the solid base that our organization stands on. The historical experience from 1945 until today confirms this. Fighters survived murder attacks were released from prisons, lay-offs and prosecutions and were attacked for having stood for internationalism, international action and coordination. These include Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal, in Guatemala, Greece, Cuba, Indonesia, Grenada, Pinochet's Chile, Honduras, Venezuela, Colombia, South Africa, Egypt, Middle East, Iraq, Yugoslavia etc. The list does not end. Especially in conditions of capitalist globalization and sharpening of imperialist aggression, internationalism acquires new quality, characteristics and features, especially among workers of multinationals, monopolies and cartels. Today, therefore, the need for coordination and international solidarity is greater than even before.

In the context of the needs of internationalist assistance among the members of WFTU, the leadership that will be elected during the Athens Congress should consider the possibilities of reopening the "Solidarity Fund" established by Article 8 § 6 of the Constitution of WFTU. Although today our economic abilities are very limited, however, we should support, even symbolically, organizations that exist under particularly difficult circumstances.

IDEOLOGICAL "TOOLS" OF TRADE UNIONS

Current conditions are complicated and difficult. Under these conditions, trade unionists, friends and fighters that collaborate with us must have the ideological and trade union level that is demanded. Today willingness to offer heroism and stability are not enough. Of course they are important. But the propaganda of capital and its governments is elaborate and crafty. The monopolies and the multinational companies train their people.

For us there is a continuous and increased need to strengthen ideological and trade union tools. The trade-union seminars, the lessons, the trade union schools, the exchange of experiences must be designed to educate our trade unionists, the workers in order to be capable of analyzing the world today, the modern conflicts and determine our strategy and

tactics.

The contact, the knowledge, the achievement of Marxist theory, give the capacity to the trade unionists and our leaders in every country, every sector to be in the vanguard of the class struggle.

Within these modern needs we must take advantage of trade-union schools, the institutes, the teams of work that any organizations and WFTU members may have in their countries.

USING OF ALL FORMS OF STRUGGLES

In the 66 years since the establishment of the WFTU, we have used all forms of struggles. From the most simple form such as a protest, a note of protest, to squats and strikes. We support the right of all people to decide on the struggles and the forms of struggle. The selection, each time, of the appropriate forms of struggle is decided by taking into consideration the specific circumstances in the region, or the sector, the correlations, and must prepare the next steps and ensure alliances and solidarity. We must study many struggles launched by our trade unions the last 5 years in order to gain new experience and useful conclusions. The struggle of the workers in the public sector in South Africa, of Construction Workers, of Metal Workers in Peru and Chile, the united general strikes in India, in Mexico, Greece, Portugal, France, the struggles in Columbia and Philippines, the struggle in the factory of Ford in Russia, the Basque protests, Italian workers, Belgians etc give us the possibility to analyse and draw lessons from the positive and negative sides.

In each case WFTU and generally the militant trade unions we must continue carefully, seriously and with militancy and use each time the most appropriate forms of struggle, in order to promote both the content of the struggles and gain more specific, positive results. Without excluding any form of struggle, we must show method, stability and determination.

DEMANDS BASED ON THE MODERN NEEDS

The capability of determining the contents, the demands, and the goals of the struggle each time have their own importance in the conduct of the class struggle. There are both positive and negative experiences on these issues. There are many discussions every time about what is realistic and what is possible. We believe that the safest criterion for the working class and the masses is to demand the satisfaction of the current needs, for the survival of the workers and their families, the needs such as salary, education, entertainment, reproduction of the labour force. The trade unions must determine their goals based on these needs.

Today the huge increase of the labor productivity, the use of new technologies in the production, the educational and cultural level attained by the workers show grate margins for the satisfaction of our needs. People must live more and live better. This is our goal.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA- COMMUNICATION

In the century of technology and communication the role of the MEDIA has a great importance and a great influence. If we see how the imperialists used the media in 2002 in the coup against Chavez in Venezuela, in 1989-1990 in the reversals in the socialist countries, in 2003 in Iraq, in 2010 in the attack of the forces of Israel against the Turkish activists we will come to this conclusion: The class oriented trade-union movement must use better and be more resourceful about the media, to better defend the workers and the promotion of their strategic goals. We need education and training for our organizations and our trade unionists. The seminars that begun this year in Athens for the training of trade unionists from Africa with the use of electronic and print media is far behind the modern needs.

The new leadership of the WFTU that is going to be elected in the 16th World Trade Union Congress will create a direct and specific program about all the issues that are related with the media and the workers in the media.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF STRUGGLES

There is no solution for the problems of the workers outside the class struggle. The struggle, the unity, the determination of the working class with goals that meet the modern needs of the people, will rally masses of workers in the movement.

It can also be a school for the workers, generally the new workers, for the worth, the ideals of the class struggle, the worth of collectiveness and the dynamics of empowerment and organization. As it has been historically proved the class struggle can have significant results in the improvement of the position of the working class. There is no right that wasn't a goal of struggle and as a result of painful and bloody movement, sometimes supported by the popular labor movement. From the achievement of 8 hours of work, with the big wave of strikes and demonstrations that swept the United States to the right to form trade-union organization in the factory, the sector, in national and world level, the Sunday holiday, the defence and increase of the salary, the collective bargaining and contracts, adjustment of wages to the price index, the right to work against unemployment, the social security, the conditions of health and safety in the work places, the right to leave and recreation, the right of women to work and equality with men, the prohibition of child labor, trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

The class struggles are also those that set obstacles in the imperialistic wars, that create difficulties in the operation of the imperialistic machine.

There isn't any victory that was won in a dialogue in a common table of workers, governments and employers. The courage, the bravery of the labor movement, the fear caused by its dynamic are the real and only "negotiating advantages" of its representatives.

Indisputably the struggles have results at many levels. But we should not forget and it must be clear that during the class struggle, the attack against the rights and the conquests of the working class do not stop, the class movement must strengthen, mature, draw the right conclusions, deepen its political analysis and focus its arrows against the real causes of the problems and not to their consequences. It must be clear to the workers of the entire world

that without a reversal in today's correlations of forces, difficulties will remain. That without radicalization in the conscience of the working people the development of struggles will meet difficulties and the results of these struggles will only be temporary. And it is general and the right conclusion that the margin for capitalist concessions to the workers is increasingly narrow.

Over and above the contradictions of this period, we add as the results of our struggles positively the fact that millions of young people, women, immigrants, poor farmers, indigenous and peasants realize that the solution for them and their children is outside this exploitative capitalistic system.

In each case there may be a huge time period between the struggles and their result, however we will see the benefits sooner or later. Because no fight can be avoided.

YOUTH

Many examples in all the continents and our own experience confirm that there is a low level of trade union organization of the working youth. We can understand from the sectors where huge percentages of working youth are gathered that the majority of the youth are not organized, keeps a distance from the collective action, the struggles. Most of them are until today outside the trade unions. In addition the youth becomes the target of a multifaceted exploitation, not only because at work they perform the more precarious, casual and low paid jobs, but also because they are targeted by the spread of drugs, the shame of child prostitution, illiteracy, etc.

The leading action and initiatives of class forces can show in action path way, the need of existence and action of trade unions, the need of class direction. The path of massification of trade unions is the only way to change the negative correlation in the trade union movement. We should not forget that we are talking about young people not organised in trade unions, away from the history and the experience of the trade union movement, so we must explain why such a negative correlation was created and the fact that the current developments and the continuing deterioration of living conditions of the working class have the stamp of the existing correlation. We need to reach out with confidence to young workers to join the camp of class struggle in order to attack and not to remain as spectators, to play a decisive role in revitalizing the trade union movement of the working class.

Our work in the trade union movement is a basic factor for the militancy of the new generation, for the right direction and unity in its action, the development of an awareness that is revolutionizing for the alliance with other oppressed popular forces.

First, WFTU must wage the battle in order to have the youth organized in the trade unions. There is suspicion objectively in young workers concerning the unions, collective claims. This situation was created by opportunism and the compromised leaderships and is negative. We need to redouble our efforts to make the new employee understand, regardless of political affiliations, that the union is the first form of organization of the working class and that fit us all. We want the new committees of trade unions to help in bringing together young workers in unions, raise the values of the labor movement in general, and to reply with a diverse action to the need, to create - sports – culture – entertainment. The action of the new committees, ultimately, may help to better oriented class associations on the

CHAPTER D - OUR AIMS

problems of young people in the industry. Along with the main struggle, to meet the basic problems of youth and especially the fight against child labor, it is necessary to enrich this fight with demands such as free sport stadiums, sites for cultural events, etc. And in the field of cultural creativity we have many forms such as movie-theatre groups, music-dance forms. Through these initiatives we can organise alternative events and sidetrack the sports and cultural actions organised by multinational companies under the aegis of the capital that create the concept of "corporate family".

Especially in the trade unions we must take initiatives of creating libraries, organising lectures-classes, presentations of books, initiatives that will bring young people closer with the book. Educational seminars, seminars of history and contact with the traditions of the popular and trade union struggles.

With our action in the trade unions and under the responsibility of our leaderships we can organise:

- lectures about unemployment, working time
- talks on youth about issues that concern young people such as racism, drugs, massive-popular sports etc
- events (excursion - musical tribute) to highlight the importance of trade union collective action through the union's history and the general trade union movement.
- Discussions about the specific issues of each industry or themes (trade union rights, health and safety, salaries, etc) and explain the differences between the two main lines in the trade union front.

The challenge is to make the start having confidence in youth. There will be new ideas and proposals for multifaceted action starting from the formation of an editorial board and publication of a newspaper or a column in the newspaper of the union, to the creation of a page on the Internet. All these tasks require individual initiative and collective responsibility, ideological equipment and combative attitude, not subservient to the difficulties of everyday, routine or fraudulent personal search solution, which is all about the great struggle of the working class and the new blood of it.

The WFTU Secretariat for Youth, which was established through the significant and successful first International Trade Seminar Youth on 18-20 November 2009 in Peru, has taken its first small step. The seminar organized in Panama by the Youth Secretariat of WFTU from 9 to 11 December 2010 was another positive step. The massive participation of the youth in June 2010 to celebrate the 65 years of the establishment of WFTU held in Geneva shows the interest of young people in the trade union movement and collective action. We have in front of us our major duties in the field of organising Youth.

WOMEN

For the, WFTU, the class oriented trade union movement, the role of the working woman is extremely significant. The role of the woman in the process of production, in the trade union, in the political struggle are vital to strengthen the popular struggles for the present and the future. The class oriented trade union movement had always taken a strong position and fought for the equal rights for women, for the equal position of woman in life and work. It

fought and continues to fight against slavery and the buying and selling of women, for the rights of women to vote, for the rights of women to participate in trade unions, in political parties, in governmental positions, for the participation of women in social and culture life.

Many of these rights had been achieved in many socialist countries, where working women won the role they deserved.

Today in all the capitalist countries working woman face cruel exploitation. They work especially on part-time, insecure, uncertain, casual jobs. They get paid less than men. They get lower pensions. They are the first in unemployment. In many countries violence against women increases, prostitution spreads; economic immigration takes away from the mother her kids, her husband, and doesn't give her the right to education, culture and entertainment. All these are consequences of capitalist globalization, of the aggressiveness of the monopolies and the multinational companies against people.

According to data from the EU (Eurostat), in 2007 from the 800 millions of illiterate children, 2/3 are women. 3 in 5 children who do not go to school are women. According to the same data 31% of working women in Europe work part-time. Those statistics also show that 1 million people every year become victims of trafficking and 900.000 of them are women and girls. 10% are men and boys.

The conditions of women are bad in all the continents. In Africa HIV spreads among the women population; in India 2.000 unborn girls are killed just because families want boys. 90% of the victims in the armed conflicts are civilians and the majority of them are women and children; 75% of the refugees, consequent to the armed conflicts are women and children.

Those facts and figures speak for themselves. They show us the real picture concerning the women's issue.

Some say that the women's issue is an issue between the two sexes, between men and women. This is a huge lie. The same forces support that the causes for the position of women are biological and psychological. Also a huge lie.

The women's issue is a historical social issue that embraces economical, political, cultural discrimination against women in all the sectors of social, family, and personal life. First Marx and Engels with their studies and analysis proved that the basic cause of the uneven social position of women is the production mode. It lies in the system of exploitation: the system of private property. The position of women changed in each age depending on the social system.

In the **primitive Community** system where there was no private property, the position of women was equal. Motherhood even gave the women a social advantage. It was the period of 'matrism'.

In **feudalism**, the women were considered property-ownership of man. The male owner had the right to abuse his wife to sell, be transferred to the covenant.

In **capitalism**, the massive entry of women in the factory, the industry being its base, the progressive element. This work provides the basis for the emancipation of women. But despite the struggles and significant achievements of the popular movement it was proved that women's equality cannot be achieved in capitalism.

In **socialism we saw that in the 20th century** with the socialization of the means of production, came the foundations for the promotion of equality. Women gained full rights to work, education, housing, sports, health, politics.

Based on this, it is obvious that when we talk about the women's issue we talk about exploitation and oppression of the woman in society because of her sex (social and racial discrimination). These distinctions have spiritual, cultural and ethical implications as women are prevented from developing and win their full equality. These negative effects are similar for working class women, poor farmers, self-employed. Women of the bourgeoisie find the means and possibilities to solve these problems. The attention and interest of the WFTU for working women will continue to deserve great attention.

SELF-EMPLOYED

The self-employed are a popular layer on the side of the working class. Their interests are closely linked to the needs, the rights and the status of workers. For this reason we consider them as an ally layer. It is a fact that the picture, the economic and social situation of the self-employed differs from region to region. It depends on the path of capitalist development in each country.

The accumulation of capital in ever fewer hands, the growing monopolization of economic sectors, are leading to the extermination of these layers and lead to their proletarianization as they cannot afford the economic competition.

It is sure that nowadays all over the world this ally layer is been hit by the brutal consequences of the capitalist crisis. The survival of self-employed becomes more difficult and the consequences are the rise of unemployment, the uninsured labor, immigration, poverty and child labor.

In Europe and the countries of the Western world, the self-employed are crushed under the action of the monopoly groups and the concentration of production.

In the Third World the situation is even worse for the self-employed who are working either at home or at the street lights or in rural areas.

In Latin and Central America, for example, a segment of the population is working as "independent."

In Asia and Africa also in the sector of self-employed belongs a large proportion of women facing serious problems of poverty and tries to contribute to the survival of their families.

Overall we find that globally these workers have no social security rights, they are working in appalling conditions of health and safety and have exhausting hours. The majority are immigrants, minors and women.

Among other actions, the WFTU has to demonstrate that within the framework of the leading role of the working class is also to defend these workers, bring their problems in international fora and coordinate the common struggles of workers and self-employed.

IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND HOMELESS PEOPLE

Immigration is a phenomenon that concerns the geographical movement of part of the population. In most cases, especially those that concern us, the reasons for movement are

economic and social ones and primarily economic immigrants. Otherwise they are political and economic ones or then they are political refugees. In any case approximately 200 million people are expatriates either permanently or periodically looking for work, and the current crisis will create new waves of immigrants. Immigrants are the most harshly exploited part of the working class, they are very easy to be conducted, and the most vulnerable to terror, to pressure, to not be organized in trade unions, to the fear of assertion.

In the current scenario, immigrants entering a country take the jobs rejected by the indigenous population. The appalling working conditions are routine. The fear of the threat of deportation is predominantly used by employers. Immigrants are victims of adventurous and dangerous elements who consider their legalizing papers as games, something that every state, and not random, delay, deny or ask for exorbitant amounts to legalize immigrants who work in their country. Racism and xenophobia, attacks and threats are part of life in all capitalist societies that exploit the phenomenon of migration as a cause and scapegoat for the consequences of unpopular policies and the need of capital for profits.

In fact, the migrant workforce is even used in international legislation, like in Europe with Bolkestein, etc, as a ball in the hands of employers. Whenever there is some economic growth, and the workforce, either quantitatively or qualitatively do not meet the requirements of the international or multinational monopolies, there is a growth in the inflow of immigrants, either legally or illegally, often with interstate agreements or even without them.

In most cases wage agreements are violated and immigrants are paid lower wages, sometimes even below the minimum wage; they have no labor rights, insurance or healthcare. Immigrants are often victims of threats and intimidation and are not even aware of their rights in each host country, or how to come into contact with the trade union movement. The example of Japan, whose development coupled with the low birth rate required the entry of skilled workers is characteristic.

Also in Australia due to lack of skilled manpower in the previous decade there was a large influx of migrant workers or workers who were temporarily in that country to meet some of the needs of the capitalist development of the transnational monopolies. In some Gulf countries, for example, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar etc. the economic immigrants are people with no rights. In USA, the big struggles of immigrants show the size and the gravity of the problem.

Otherwise, in conditions of recession and intensity of the unpopular attack on workers' rights and the concomitant effort to reduce labor costs, immigrants are redundant and chased out.

In Europe, the example of France is the most blatant. France has been an imperialist colonial power with predatory conquests in almost half the African continent for decades. The rich deposits of Africa have fueled the growth of France, the country which had been called in the past the "engine of capitalism." The waves of immigration from the African colonies to the "cathedral" were long anticipated. The last decade, that shaped political reality of the French government for this ghetto population is getting worse day by day. Europe has become a "walled fortress", with a "police-like" and "securitizing" attitude towards immigrants, instead of adopting much needed inclusion and solidarity policies.

Overall, the absolute domination of imperialism, European governments, the World Bank and the IMF have, for thirty years, caused major waves of immigration from Africa.

Another major problem is that of internal migration which in some countries, especially the huge ones, is important and similar to the global migration flows. For example, in India, "intra-state migrants" as they are called, enjoy the same treatment from their employers as well as all other immigrants and fall victims of racism and xenophobia.

Along with the acute problems of immigrants we also have to deal with the problem of homelessness. In the U.S., Europe and Asia, the economic crisis is the cause for many workers to lose their homes. They are homeless, sleeping on the streets and under bridges.

The World Federation of Trade Unions with the authority of its internationalist position **can only answer workers are workers, whether they live in the country where they were born and come from or not, they should have the same labour and social rights as all other workers in the country. Collective agreements should be respected for each worker.** With this demand immigrants will not be used as a battering ram to employment gains of the labor movement, nor will they become victims of employers.

The WFTU **fight with internationalist solidarity for the unity of workers regardless of color, race, sex, nationality, origin. We give priority to the fight against xenophobia, racism and discrimination, exclusion, against all fascist theories. We strive to ensure that immigrants participate actively in the labor and trade union movement, with equal rights as applicable to the national workers and to be elected to positions. Each class trade union federation should have a committee of immigrants** to attend to the migrant workers specific needs in terms of work, legal status and other social or cultural necessities.

The WFTU has been addressing all these issues not only by organizing its own activities, but also by actively intervening conducting lectures, speeches and activities in all international organizations (UNESCO, ILO and United Nations). Our intervention in these organizations can and must become more intensive.

The WFTU demands the abolition of all anti-immigrant law and regulations; to abolish the "workers rental" that recalls Middle age and slavery.

INDIGENOUS

The WFTU is identified with the courageous actions of struggle of the indigenous people movements, living victims since the invasion of settlers of European capitalists. They continue to struggle but at the cost of great sacrifice and loss of lives due to the genocide perpetrated by the neoliberal governments obedient to the big capital.

In recent years, many indigenous communities have intensified their struggle in all regions, as in the case of Latin America and Australia, for winning their rights, to be stripped from colonialism, and the respect for their territories and environment. Today they face the greed of transnational corporations controlled by the pro-imperialist governments, who are invading the territories of these communities for plundering the natural resources such as wood, oil, gas, and biodiversity and to use their waters for commercial purposes, as it is happening in the Amazon, considered one of the world's most important lungs.

It is imperative that the WFTU trade union affiliates and friends strengthen their effective solidarity with the struggle of indigenous peoples movements, for the achievement of their rights, dignity, respect to their territories with all their natural wealth.

We reaffirm our class solidarity with the struggle of the Mapuche of Chile, with other

indigenous movements and indigenous peoples of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Central America, Mexico and other Continents. The WFTU will continue to demand punishment for the perpetrators and those responsible for the genocide perpetrated against many indigenous brothers and sisters in these regions. The WFTU will continue the struggle against the barbarity created by capitalism.

MULTINATIONAL/TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES

As far as the action and the struggles of the workers of the WFTU are concerned, there is a specific, difficult reality that we have to face. In today's social structure of globalization, the interests of the large international capital result in the formation of what we call multinational/transnational companies. The capital accumulation results in the appearance of the multinational/transnational companies and the majority of them are developed as parallel with many sectors.

The multinational/transnationals are stealing the wealth producing sources, are evicting the poor farmers and the indigenous people; they destroy the environment, they are accumulating production and control financially and politically the course of many countries. In some countries they collaborate with paramilitary mechanisms to stop the trade union activity.

The characteristics of the multinational/transnational companies and their negative results- discrimination, work changeability- for the working people, provide us with potentials for action, struggle and with our international trade-union co-ordination we have to manage.

The strategy of our work that we have to develop through the TUI's within these businesses should be connected with the closer interaction with the committees and the trade-union structures of the companies. In this way, our activity will be closer to workers and consequently, we will be able to fight the practice of international reformism.

Practically, it would be significant if every TUI can provide an international list of companies in every sector and in this way, the connection or coordination between the working people in several businesses in the same group of companies in different continents, could be accomplished.

We propose that before the end of 2011, the WFTU Secretariat can organize an international trade-unionists meeting between both of our members and our friends in order to discuss the issue: "Our work and coordination within Multinational/Transnational companies".

CHAPTER E

OUR ORGANIZING POLICY - NEW TASKS

The organizational structure and functioning rules of WFTU are precisely defined by the Constitution, which is respected by all members and our cadres. The statute is a modern, democratic, and functional class oriented road map that contains the accumulated experience of the Federation from 1945 till today. All amendments and adjustments until today have as goal to make the life, the function and the action of our Organization easier with the current requirements tasks as basis. The Constitution is the foundation of the WFTU and gives directions of organizational policy. The need for organizational development is continuous. The need to improve the organizational action is also continuous. The organizational structure, organizational function, organizational strategy and tactics should assist the aims and strategic objectives of the WFTU. So organizational policies are a key tool in promoting the objectives of the WFTU.

In the Organizational Development of WFTU three levels are the most important:

The Regional Offices

The Sectoral Organizations - the TUI's

The National grass root organizations, our members and friends.

These three levels, together with the central leadership, are the heart and body of WFTU.

THE REGIONAL OFFICES

In Article 13 of the Constitution of WFTU it is noted that "in each Region, Central Regional Offices of WFTU are established consisting of national trade union Centres that are members of the WFTU in the region. Their action concerns the relevant region and should be consistent with the policy of WFTU.

Under these guidelines of the Constitution, until the 15th Congress these Regional Offices have been operating in :

1. Asia - Pacific, based in New Delhi, India
2. Africa based in Dakar, Senegal
3. America based in Havana, Cuba
4. Middle East based in Damascus, Syria
5. Europe based in Athens, Greece

Immediately after the 15th Congress and the transfer of the centre of WFTU to Athens, the Regional Office for Europe moved to Cyprus and placed under the responsibility of PEO Cyprus. In 2010 we founded a new Regional Office in Africa in Johannesburg.

In the five years that have passed the Regional Offices of WFTU have had high activity. They worked under complex situations, faced difficulties- subjective and objective- but had important successes. Of course there are still weaknesses and difficulties, with the most significant being in Africa, where we have organizational delays.

The actions of our regional offices are referred to comprehensively and their detailed reports and texts will be given to their members and the participants of the Congress. They will discuss openly, democratically and collectively in a self-critical manner at the Regional Meetings on their actions, the conditions in their continent, their difficulties, weaknesses

and their duties, in the spirit of constructive criticism and self evaluation.

In the current circumstances we believe that the role of the Regional Offices of WFTU was strengthened and that their responsibilities grow. In every continent developments are ongoing and have many different features. So the activities of the Regional Offices needs to be targeted:

- To unite all National Organizations, affiliates and friends of WFTU, in each specific continent around the WFTU's objectives and policy. To promote our strategy and our tactics. To have close cooperation with Central Offices.
- To organize and support the struggle of the working people in the continent and to be close to the ordinary and grass root working people.
- To enable meaningful participation by all our members and friends in the region.
- To have a constant target of recruiting new members from the respective continent into the WFTU.
- To assist when the leadership of a TUI is seeking help and cooperation in the continent.

These are some central axis, which of course according to the existing needs will always be enriched by the Collective organs of WFTU in order to avoid misunderstandings and absolutes.

THE COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONING OF REGIONAL OFFICES

The Regional Offices are all composed of national trade unions which are members and friends of WFTU in the region. The formation is made based on the principles of mutual respect, democratic functioning, collectiveness and also with the acceptance of the organizational autonomy of each national trade union organization as the basis.

Decisions are to be taken after substantial discussion and after considering all the possible consequences of any decision. We must always make the most out of the internal dialogue and the exchange of opinions. The final decisions, when necessary, are taken by voting with the principle of the majority as basis.

Each Regional Office shall elect a Secretary from different countries of the continent, which is responsible for all operations and activities of the Regional Office. Once an year it is useful for the Regional Offices to organize the annual meeting and to discuss the results and action. Every five years during the Congress of WFTU, the Regional Offices also have their Assemblies, where their Secretariat is elected and they discuss all their issues. Each Secretariat can elect one coordinator.

The main task of the Secretariats of the Regional Office is to promote and put into effect the policy of WFTU.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW REGIONAL OFFICES OR SUB-REGIONAL OFFICES

By decision of the Congress of WFTU, the General Council or the Presidential Council may establish new regional or sub-regional offices, according to the requirements of the current needs. The boundaries, limits and other operational issues will be determined by the decisions of either the Congress or the General Council or the Presidential Council.

We recall that such a decision relating to Africa has been taken by the Presidential Council meeting in Vietnam for the setting up of regional and sub-regional offices in Africa, Sudan and South Africa. Till today, due to political developments in Sudan, we have not got the opportunity to take steps on this decision and put the Office into function. The decision remains.

But we moved on in South Africa where comrade Loulamile Sotaka is coordinator and has already taken the first steps - a major effort. Class oriented organizations in South Africa have become members of WFTU. Over the last three years they have been playing an active role in leading this new effort.

Members and friends of WFTU have proposed for the region of Latin America to create sub-regional offices in Central America. We think we can agree and take a collective decision together with all our members and friends from Latin America. The sub-regional offices will be under the supervision and guidance of the Regional Office that is currently based in Havana, Cuba.

We propose to start with the foundation of new sub-Regional Office in Central America with the participation of affiliates and friends from the specific region. The experience and the conclusions from the functioning of that sub-Office to be discussed in the Presidential council.

Similar considerations were made for the region of the Pacific and Asia, but we do not have enough capable and active forces there.

In the five years that have passed WFTU has made significant progress in the organizational field. It founded new dynamic TUIs in key sectors; we welcomed 89 new members from around the world. We strengthened our presence in all continents. This success is recognized by everyone, even our enemies.

Now in the 16th Congress we will decide to organize our presence in the U.S. and in Canada, where until now we did not have regional office. The responsibility will be taken by the Presidential Council and the Secretariat which will be elected at the 16th World Trade Union Congress.

Perhaps the first step would be to create a single regional office for U.S. and Canada with a view to later separate it in two separate offices. This will be a discussion topic with WFTU's friends who live and work in Canada and the USA. In any case we need to know that objective and subjective difficulties are great. This goal is very difficult. But the need for WFTU to have an organized presence in these two countries is timely and important, especially considering that our presence is very weak in countries that are powerful imperialist centers such as the USA, Canada and other European countries.

Some thoughts, not propositions, to think about an organized presence of WFTU in the region of Asia have also reached us from the Asian countries of the former Soviet Union. Today we are not prepared to take decisions for this area. We do not have a complete picture

or forces capable of supporting such a move today. We will assign the new Presidential Council to take this issue and the possibilities in this area under consideration.

All the above shows progress and the current requirements. The Regional Assemblies in each region with the discussions and decisions will illuminate further and allow for more comprehensive capabilities for our regional offices, their crucial role and crucial tasks in our new course that WFTU started in recent years. We are all together in this new course and the positive results are common results of our work and effort.

THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNION INTERNATIONALS (TUI'S)

In Article 12 of WFTU's Constitution it says: "International Trade Unions (TUIs), are a part of the structure of WFTU. These Internationals have also their own Constitutions. These, however, should be in harmony with that of WFTU. The policies of the TUIs should also be consistent with those of WFTU. The Constitutions of the Internationals set the standard of their sovereignty in all spheres of their activities, their policies, their composition, leadership skills and internal administration.

They decide freely, with their organizations and their members, the percentage of contribution needed for their autonomous function."

We believe that this clear enunciation of our statute helps the TUIs to achieve the fulfillment of their important duties.

We want the International TUIs, consisting of the trade unions that are part of the whole WFTU structure, to focus their action, without doubts and according to priority, with the direct involvement of all problems that affect the working class on the specific sectoral level.

The TUIs are expected to be tools which are intended for the total development of trade union activity, and they have to reach those parts of work, developing forceful activity and giving answers to the real problems that affect the workers in companies, workplaces, in their specific sectors.

From the huge fighting experience that has been accumulated over these 65 years of existence of the WFTU, it is understandable that TUI's must consolidate themselves as one of the fundamental props of the work which actuates WFTU itself. The TUIs should have as one of their main duties in their activity, the unbounded propaganda of ideological principles of WFTU, through their direct work and activity, always from the viewpoint of unity, and therefore, without exclusions of any workers regardless of their ideas, religion, or language.

From the thoughts that were expressed in the 15th Congress in Havana in 2005, the TUIs became more capable and were developed through their preparation in order to deal effectively with the permanent attacks of a harsh capitalism. In this 16th Global Congress which will be held in Athens in 2011, the TUIs will have to be organizationally prepared in order to reinforce the new course which is advanced by WFTU, through the direct activity against the apparent and predictable consequences in a period of capitalistic aggressiveness.

DEFINITION OF TUIS

The TUIs are organizing tools of WFTU that aim to strengthen and boost the ideological rearmament of the workers, developing the work for continuous struggle for the rights of working class against capitalism which is dominant today.

TUIs are sectoral structures with international character that exist all over the world and are developed in order to organize the working class on the basis of class principles and international solidarity.

We have to consider TUIs as Sectoral trade unions, firmly connected to the problems and demands of the workers internationally.

The TUI's develop, based the principles of class solidarity which are also principles of WFTU, a consistent and persuasive trade union action that gives the ability for widespread unity within the working class of a particular sector.

For the proper progress of the work that the TUI's have to do, they must be provided with flexible and functional organizing structures, which should be capable to responding to all fronts and places where their intervention is required, with direct action.

THE RELATION BETWEEN TUIS AND THE WFTU

The TUI's are members of the WFTU.

The TUIs are organizing tools of WFTU, so their relationship must be understood as members of the federation.

These trade unions undertake the serious responsibility to be the sectoral trade union structures of WFTU, which are closer and in more direct contact with the workplaces, so that they have to be the closely associated and agitated, on the social and class oriented problems which affect the working class in its environment in the particular sector.

Taking into consideration that WFTU is an organization with class principles, open and fully democratic, the TUIs must effortlessly and efficiently take on, among others, the implementation of WFTU's plans worldwide, also contribute through their experiences for the improved functioning of the organization all over the world. The relations between TUIs and WFTU has to be understood on a national, continental and world level.

NATIONAL LEVEL:

This is the field where a trade union, sectoral or international, must offer the most to reach high levels of recognition and "acceptance", through its activity concerning the specific and daily problems of the working class. The promotion of demands with the right content and claims for collective bargaining, the insistence on better working conditions –including the prevention of occupational hazards and safety measures in companies- the defending of the right to a decent and permanent job, all these are unavoidable issues for the TUIs, which must also act for defending the public services and assets, against privatizations, for stability, fighting on an ideological level as well as against the anti-labor policies and for the non-negotiable protection of the national sovereignty.

The above issues, as well as many others that arise from the specific situations at

national level, are the natural basis for the action of the TUIs, and the principles of WFTU have to be strengthened and expanded by them.

CONTINENTAL LEVEL:

The various activities of sectoral organizations at this level must converge on the most important point of the relation between the TUIs and WFTU.

Apart from the issues and the drawing lines for the national level, TUI's and WFTU have to develop an important and decisive function in coordinating and performing the tasks of global guidance on a continental level.

Our TUIs work according to the decisions of their own leadership. However, many times the leadership of a TUI may be far from a Continent. Or they may not have a complete picture of the continent. Also, there are TUIs that have their central offices for example in Asia but have none in Latin America or others which have their central office in Latin America and are not known in Africa. There are still many difficulties. The 16th Congress has to solve some of these functioning difficulties.

For this reason, we suggest that we decide each TUI should have a coordinator in each continent (some of them already exist). All coordinators of a particular Continent should have one head - coordinator. This General Sectoral Coordinator will organize a meeting of sectoral coordinators every year and he will write a report which will be sent to the leadership of WFTU.

The leadership of WFTU should organize more often common meetings with the coordinators, with the leaderships of the TUIs and the relevant Regional Office.

INTERNATIONAL LEVEL:

WFTU is preparing for a new phase, and of course the TUIs must improve their relations with WFTU. The relations between the TUIs and WFTU cannot be a typical one. All sorts of initiatives and actions that the TUIs take with their responsibility must be a part of WFTU's permanent activity and struggle worldwide. The discussion that will take place at the Congress will have to work on this, among others, and solve them in the best way possible.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE TUIS

Starting from the point that TUIs are key elements for WFTU's action, we must deepen our efforts in what way we will manage these sectoral structures to be established towards the accomplishment of the aims that we place, as WFTU.

The TUI's, as branch organizations of WFTU, cover two fronts of work by means of which there are possibilities that they can accomplish their mission.

A. Trade Union Organizations of branch or sub-branch character, on business and local level.

B. Trade-union sectoral organizations and national or regional Confederations

It is obvious that the two issues that we consider to be significant as they can constitute the bases in which TUI's can be established, and our working abilities as well as our confidence in the enhancement of the principles of WFTU. In this way, it will be determined whether the TUI's will materialize the task given to them in order to become the

basic organizations which will be recognized by the workers in every sector.

We should take into account with regard to the materialization of the goals that we place to them as branch organizations of the WFTU, we generally behold the organizations whose characteristics and principles meet our political, trade-union perception and therefore, they will be positive in their participation within our organization. However, our perception towards our work should be enriched when we analyse all the negative situations in sectors and businesses where reformist trade-unionism prevails and naturally we have to fight against them.

A general analysis of the deficient participation and the unbalanced support that characterizes the trade-union organizations that belong to WFTU and TUI's, is a more significant issue.

THE ACTION AND THE STRUGGLES OF TUI'S

The TUI's, as sectoral organizations of WFTU that are developed to intervene at any level, in sectors and internationally, are used as means of the working class for its actions and its specific struggles worldwide.

The developing action must be planned and organized by the several territorial structures of the TUI's, aiming at the formation and the awareness of the working base that is found in every sector.

The TUI's should plan both national and international meetings and seminars on specific problems and assertions within sectors and sub-sectors. These meetings and seminars should be planned by the Executive Councils which meet every year for the development of our effective action. Their activity should not be exhausted only in Seminars.

The struggles should be empowered and enhanced by the TUI's and they should not be limited because of the inefficient initiatives for public promotion as it occurs often.

The struggles of the working class through the TUI's in every kind of their expression should be understood always as a necessary mean of class struggle and of the inevitable response towards the permanent capitalist attacks. So, these struggles should be developed in any place where social violence coming from the antithesis between the business and peoples is dominant. **The true participation of the TUI's in every labor struggle and the cooperation with the class oriented unionism that can offer alternative proposals to the working class, should provide us with a high level of dependability and political and trade-union recognition.**

All sectors of strategic importance face problems due to the policies the capital follows. Capital tries to use the crisis in order to concentrate all production in the hands of a few, and accumulating capital and gaining from the crisis at the same time.

So in such a situation, the role of TUI's is even more critical. Their role is multifaceted. The key tasks should be:

- To analyze the crisis in their industry based on Marxist theory. To show workers in the industry the ideological, political and social characteristics of the crisis. To give an ideological weapon to employees. To insist on the motto "WE WILL NOT PAY THEIR CRISIS".
- To coordinate the forces of WFTU and friends. To organize the struggle in each sector. To organize the international solidarity actions. To give moral and material support to those

who are already in fights. To embrace all workers, of all specialties in their sector.

- To project thesis with perspective in order to exit the crisis in favor of workers and at the expense of capital. To cultivate the perception that capitalism is rotten, and therefore can no longer provide solutions that could be beneficial for the working class. To submit proposals for immediate solutions, immediate actions, while stressing that the real solution is in a world without capitalist exploitation.

In the last 10 years, there have been serious internal upheavals in the sectors of strategic importance. There have been acquisitions, mergers, alliances, conflicts, rivalries inner-capitalistic, regional rivalries, etc. The TUI's of WFTU, having known as our class organizations should be familiar with their sector, and also in a position to analyze reality and inform their members in time.

As mentioned elsewhere, there is a great and immediate need to act, more effectively inside the multinationals. This is essential in order to coordinate our forces, to be present, not let workers in multinationals face the aggressiveness of large multinational employers individually and isolated.

- To promote and raise the awareness in each sector about the positions of WFTU. To reveal the role and nature of the ITUC; not hide their faces. To highlight the history of class trade union movement and the history of WFTU. To show the arguments and concrete examples of whom we are and why we fight.

- To bring new members to the family of WFTU. This is a core task of TUI's but unfortunately we forget this essential duty too often.

Some of our TUI's work well based on these specific objectives. Some others are behind their demands only. We need to move forward and have better results. Without doubt we have made progress over the past 5 years but we need to make more faster steps with greater boldness. We need to set up new TUI's in critical sectors of the manufacturing process.

THE NATIONAL BASE ORGANIZATIONS, MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

The protagonists in the Organizational policy of WFTU are and must continue being the base organizations, the national trade union Centres and sectoral organizations. Through these organizations the WFTU is present in every region and every sector. Through them, workers, ordinary people meet us, the struggles and our goals. Thus the first picture is the picture of the Base Organization.

The National Organizations within each country must unite all workers, gain recognition and respect from workers and raise the level of class struggle.

Each National Organisation, WFTU affiliate, has the duty to promote and support the positions of the WFTU. The WFTU doesn't ignore the prevailing conditions in each country.

In some countries the national organizations, affiliates of WFTU, are more than one. It is the common duty of all our affiliates to coordinate, to respect each other, to have a fraternal spirit and to facilitate joint action and uniting perspective.

Base organizations have always had critical tasks to achieve and played important role either on a local, regional or sectoral level. In order to meet this role they should be massive, democratic and militant organizations, accepting all workers in their lines regardless of

religious, ideological, gender, racial and linguistic differences. They should unite the workers on the basis of the common interests they have as members of the working class, to educate them and to show them the way for the emancipation and liberation from the slavery of exploitation.

In order for base Trade unions organizations to have the acceptance and respect from the workers, they must have democratic, open actions and be amenable to criticism, suggestions and comments. They have to take into account the opinion of their members, to respect the statutes and to implement them.

WFTU is opposed to undemocratic forms of trade unions at all levels. Since its establishment it has been constantly fighting so that there would be democracy in the life and operation of the unions. The WFTU is contrary to bureaucratic operations, bossy managing method, routine and careerism. The elected trade unionists should be voluntary in the administrations, as these are positions for them to offer to the greater good and fight and not positions to gather power or pursue a career. The working class trade union movement condemns the tactics of reformist and employer-friendly trade unionists who take advantage of their positions in order to gain money and get a good life. These trade unionists are ultimately tools in the hands of capital and multinational interests. They are really dangerous for our cause and deserve our firm combat.

THE WFTU CADRES

The Presidential Council of the WFTU has decided for the 16th Congress to be an open, democratic, class-based organ of the international working class. We take all necessary steps to achieve our goals. Thousands of suggestions have reached our headquarters, hundreds of pages of written proposals, positions, and thoughts are right here for all of you to read.

The documents that have arrived in the Central Offices with proposals, suggestions, positive thoughts and new ideas are more than 1.700 pages! At the same time the number of trade union organizations wanting to participate in the Congress and sent registration forms is also too big. This proves the progress of WFTU and the new, massive interest to join the new course of WFTU.

The struggles that have recently taken place in the countries of Arab Mahreb, in France, Portugal, India, Germany, Brazil, South Africa, Panama, Honduras, Costa Rica, Greece, England, Pakistan and Arab World, Palestine, as well as many other struggles of the last five years, must leave their strong spirit and mark in our Congress.

It is important for us, the class trade union movement, and its representatives to always have clear in our heads what kind of conferences we should organise. For example, last June ITUC held its Congress in Vancouver, Canada. But that was not a working class Congress; it was a conference with mechanisms, bureaucrats, without a democratic voting, no parity, with decisions taken a long time before the conference by 4-5 people. In Vancouver the IMF and World Bank had the first saying, that is the mechanism that cuts the worker's wages, operates their firing, demands privatization, repeals the collective agreements, closes hospitals and public schools, etc.

We, the current leadership of WFTU, along with all members and friends are organizing a real workers Congress, a Fighting Congress where the heart of workers, poor

CHAPTER E - OUR ORGANISING POLICY - NEW TASKS

people, homeless, landless, immigrants, young people and women strongly beats. All these efforts underlines the need that all our cadres at all levels, regional, sectoral, international, to function democratically, open-minded and open-hearted, to love ordinary people and to fight with them.

In the past five years the entire family of WFTU has organized major international, thematic, sectoral and regional congresses. We appeal to all our sectoral organizations and regional offices and their meetings to continue to insist on making the congresses useful, ideological, organizational and major world trade union event. We have to discuss with no restrictions on every issue:

1. Conduct open, democratic and class based Congresses-Meetings of WFTU which will discuss critically their work of the past 5 years and the contemporary problems of workers in the conditions of the capitalist globalization. They should take decisions that reflect the current priorities of the millions of members of their sectors, regions and countries.
2. The leadership should be elected with the objective criteria at every level, sector and region so that our leaders:
 - must be workers, members of each sector, fighters, men and women of all ages, regardless of color, race, etc.
 - must represent large and lively unions that are active unions.
 - must be able to organize activities to be class and experienced cadres.
 - must be democratic, unitary, with a collective spirit, with perseverance and strength to criticism and self-criticism in a spirit of 'noble rivalry', to believe and openly support WFTU.
 - To hit corruption and bureaucracy inside the trade union movement.
 - The WFTU trade union cadres, must, with our attitude, with our personal example, teach the working class. To show firmness facing difficulties, strong in our principles and values. pride, decency, to be simple and low profile. Never to forget our roots.
 - They must take into account the different national and continental, cultural and educational specificities.

At the same time, all our cadres, all of us should be judged and judge everything based on the results of our work; Struggle for specific results, not based on our public relations, friendships, etc.

These criteria will keep us away from subjectivities, mistakes and bureaucracy. These criteria are essential tools for our work. All these mentioned above apply 100% for the Regional Offices, the TUIs, the World Trade Union Congress and WFTU in too. We can make all these to happen because there is accumulated, rich experience and fighting mood.

Dear Comrades & Friends, Brothers and Sisters,

On our way to the next World Trade Union Congress we will celebrate the 70 years of the foundation of the WFTU.

We need to work hard, all together, with method and effectiveness so that the celebration of 70th birthday of WFTU should coincide with the new, important steps of progress. It will be a big success if we could secure Offices of our own, so that Central Headquarters could function in much better conditions.

It would be a great contribution for the next generations if, in honor of the glorious 70 years, could be written in every continent, in each country, books with historic and militant contents to bring to the new generations and the next ones after us in contact with the historic truth. It would be a big success for the International Class oriented trade union movement if we all help together to promote at all levels of WFTU new trade union cadres, men and women, young workers who will get the inspiration from us, they will strengthen the class struggles and will deliver to the next generations a world without exploitation of men by men.

On the basis of these requirements the new leadership of WFTU to be elected in the 16th Congress shall undertake the responsibility to collect, to safe-guard and make use of the HISTORICAL ARCHIVES of WFTU since 1945, till today. In cooperation with the historical institutions and scientists we shall find ways the historic archives be opened to the new militants, who believe in class struggle, its value and the results to strengthen.

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