TRADE UNION NEWS

from the European Community

No 11 Spring 1973

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European Communities
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In a move of great significance for Europe and the international trade union movement, 18 national trade union centres from 15 countries decided on 8 February to set up the European Trade Union Confederation as a successor to the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions in the Community and the EFTA Trade Union Committee. At the Founding Congress of the new organization the next day, Victor Feather, general secretary of the TUC was elected its first president.

The ETUC will represent 29 million workers - one in three of Europe's employees - and has the potential to be a powerful force in European life. The founding members are ÖGB-Austria, FGTB-Belgium, LO-Denmark, SAK-Finland, TOC-Finland, FO-France, DGB-Germany, TUC-Great Britain, AI-Iceland, CISL-Italy, UIL-Italy, CGT-Luxembourg, NVV-Netherlands, LO-Norway, LO-Sweden, TCO-Sweden, SGB-Switzerland, UGT-Spain.

Several major reasons favoured this new grouping of trade union confederations, negotiations for which started seriously in the spring of 1971. Most important of all, as many trade union leaders have stressed, is the economic integration which has been proceeding apace throughout Europe these last few years, and which is not confined to the European Community. Other problems also demand as united a front as possible on the part of the trade unions: the necessity for representation in the Community's institutions, the challenge of the multinational companies, the environment and the need to press forward towards industrial democracy, to name but a few. Indeed, it was the urgency of these questions which ensured the creation of the new body in the face of considerable initial disagreement over its aims and composition.

The most delicate of these problems was perhaps the relationship of the ETUC with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which all the founding members are affiliated.

Basically, many ICFTU members, particularly in the Third World, fear that the rich and powerful Europeans are simply wanting to cast off their responsibilities to trade unionists in the rest of the world. They, and the ideological purists, would have liked an explicit link between the two bodies. On the other hand, one of the aims of the new European organization was to be as representative as possible; any formal ties with the ICFTU would automatically have ruled out the possibility of recruiting as future members the continent's Christian trade unions - who share much the same views on the development of Europe - let alone the large communist organizations in France and Italy.

In the event, the ETUC constitution does in principle open membership to other democratic national trade union confederations, and the question of relations with the ICFTU will evolve in a pragmatic way as the two organizations work side by side. This is symbolized by the adoption of a totally neutral name for the new body, excluding the "free" which some organisations wanted inserted.

Other difficulties during the preliminary discussions centred on the question whether the new body should limit itself to members from within the European Economic Community, and how the industry committees - the groupings of trade unions or federations of unions within particular sections of economic activity, like the European Metalworkers' Federation, for example - should be represented. At the Founding Congress, it was agreed to include the Spanish UGT, which works underground in Spain, among the initial members.

The fact that agreement was finally hammered out on all these questions does not mean that there will be no controversy within the ETUC in the coming months, Indeed, at the Congress itself there were clear indications of differences among members over the priorities of the new organization. For some. the role of the ETUC is mainly political, simply that of representing affiliated organizations within the institutions of the Common Market. Others obviously hope that its achievements will be made at the industrial level; Jack Jones, of the U.K. Transport and General Workers' Union, for example, argued in a forceful speech that "our combined strength can push this new organization to massive achievements" in industrial democracy. Mr. Jones is a member of the ETUC Executive Committee. Bodies such as the ETUC, he went on, should be judged on the relevance of their results to the shop-floor. They should be engaged in practical work without preconceived notions; and this was the way, he felt, for a united trade union movement in Europe to strengthen the working class throughout the world.

Meanwhile, Heinz Vetter, head of the German DGB and president of the Old European Confederation of Free Trade Unions in the Community, appealed to the TUC to take its allotted seats Community bodies, which most British trade unions are currently boycotting, though without ever having taken a formal decision on the matter. The bodies in question are the Economic and Social Committee, to which the European trade unions have consistently sent their top leaders and whose reform they have strongly supported, and the Standing Employment Committee. The latter is acknowledged to have done useful work in its short life - it was set up in 1971 - and is an integral part of the strategy of the European trade union movement for gaining more influence at Community level.

It remains to be seen how the election of Vic Feather as president of the ETUC will square with TUC hostility to the Common Market. For example, later this year there is to be a quadripartite (Commission, governments, trade unions and employers) conference to follow up the social initiatives of the Paris Summit last October. The ETUC will undoubtedly be represented - presumably by its president. But will the TUC be there as well, at what after all could be a most important influence on future social affairs in the Community, or will it simply hope that Mr. Feather can get the TUC message across without the latter having to be represented at all?

It is also far from clear how applications from potential members among non-affiliates of the ICFTU will be received in practice. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, which is not affiliated to any international, would almost certainly be accepted. Whilst the Belgian and Dutch Christian organizations probably present little problem - indeed, the Dutch socialist and confessional unions are gradually working towards a merger anyway - the tough and militant French CFDT would undoubtedly meet strong opposition particularly from Force Ouvrière, one of the ICFTU's ideological hardliners. Even more long term will be any idea of membership by the Communist organizations, the French CGT and Italian CGIL, although some European trade union leaders argue that their new confederation will never wield its full power as long as it excludes two such important bodies.

WORKER DIRECTORS FOR BRITAIN?
TUC AND CBI REACTIONS TO COMMISSION PROPOSALS

The European Commission's current proposals on worker participation in an enlarged and harmonized Community (discussed in an article on the whole subject in TUN No. 10) have produced markedly dissimilar responses from the two sides of British industry. Whilst the TUC, following recent trends among the trade unions of Europe, has in principle come out in favour of the two-tier board system, incorporating worker directors at the supervisory, or non-executive, level, the Confederation of British Industry is firmly against both workers on the board and the whole idea of a supervisory body to vet the conduct of a firm's affairs by the normal management board.

The TUC's qualified "yes" - and it is the first time the TUC has taken an official stand in favour of this form of worker participation - comes in a memorandum explaining to the Heath government its views on forms of worker participation which have been advanced in two draft EEC documents: the proposed statute for a future European company and a draft directive on the harmonization of European company law. But it adds that the proposals should be changed in a number of ways to cater for different industrial relations conditions obtaining in Britain.

Thus the TUC recognizes that the EEC proposals ought in principle to give work-people influence over strategic areas which have hitherto been uncontrolled - details of

new plant, close-downs, mergers, takeovers, for example - and, if the German experience of worker directors on supervisory boards is anything to go by, would provide the trade unions with useful information for collective bargaining purposes. But, the TUC goes on, "there are undoubted weaknesses in the Commission's present proposals in relation to supervisory boards". In particular, the TUC would insist that worker representatives on the supervisory board be appointed through trade union machinery, not the works councils prevalent on the continent, whose members may or may not be trade union-Most importantly, directors so appointed would maintain their representative function and be responsible "to trade union members employed in the firm rather than to the annual general assembly of shareholders".

If necessary, the TUC goes on, "the basis of responsibility of the Supervisory Board, which is still - under the German system - primarily responsible to the shareholders' general meeting, should be changed."

It also believes that the number of worker representatives on boards should be increased from one third (which is what, in line with German practice, the Commission is proposing) to 50%. These members should have the right of appointment or veto of certain members of the management board. In addition, the TUC considers that the supervisory board system should apply to all companies with more than 200 employees, not 500 as suggested by the Commission in its draft directive on the harmonization of company law.

On the other hand, the TUC rules out the standardization throughout Europe of works councils on the German pattern as inappropriate to the system of industrial relations as practised in Britain: "The establishment of works councils by statute," it says, "independent of trade union organization and the development of collective bargaining, is not an effective method of extending industrial democracy."

However, it makes a possible exception for the limited case of a European company, where "it might be appropriate to accept the works council idea on a statutory basis, since it could give some multinational union control over those multinational corporation decisions reserved for agreement with the works council". Again, though, appointments to it would have to be made via the normal trade union machinery in this country - the joint shop stewards committee or equivalent - and not through national works councils.

In contrast, the CBI states bluntly in its booklet "A new look at the responsibilities of the British public company" that "the sense of collective responsibility for the conduct of the business is best preserved where all the directors meet in a single board. For this reason we are firmly opposed at this stage to the introduction of any form of mandatory two-tier board structure... We believe that the requirements of Draft Directive No.5 of the EEC

Commission can be better met by the best British practice."

It objects that the formation of supervisory boards would be cumbersome and inefficient, that it would take away from the management board the stimulus of ultimate and total responsibility for the affairs of their company, and that it would weaken links between shareholders and management.

Nor does the CBI accept that worker members of a supervisory board would be a good channel for the presenting of worker interests. It stresses that board members have a duty to take account of all interests - those of shareholders, employees, customers, creditors and the country in which it is operating - and that no member should serve one interest only. It adds that representation at board level cannot be a substitute for adequate industrial relations arrangements at all normal levels within the company.

"We have considered the stress laid by the EEC Summit Meeting of October 1972 on involvement and participation as a matter of policy ... If such changes are to come in Britain there are a number of pre-conditions, which will take years to establish if pretence is to be avoided and if business decisions are not to be adversely affected, with damage to the performance of companies and national competitiveness," the CBI concludes.

The Commission's draft directive

The draft directive prepared by the Commission on the harmonization of European company law proposes that all limited companies with over 500 employees should adopt the two-tier boardroom structure which already exists in certain member states.

Under the proposals, there would be a management board, responsible for the day-to-day running of the company, reporting regularly to a supervisory board which would retain responsibility for all major company decisions regarding new investment, opening and closing plants, extensions of activity, etc. The supervisory board would also have the power to appoint and dismiss the management board. No individual would be able to sit on both management and supervisory bodies, and members would be appointed for a (renewable) six-year term.

On worker participation or co-determination in decision-making at these levels, the Commission is proposing to lay down general principles and minimum standards which the member states would fill out in the light of their differing industrial relations systems. It offers two alternatives:

 At least one-third of supervisory board members to be appointed according to the wishes of workers or their representatives, with the rest nominated by the annual general meeting of shareholders. National legislation may stipulate representation of other outside interests.

 Members of the supervisory board to be coopted, with both workers and AGM possessing the right of veto. The appointment may however be confirmed by an independent body under public law if the opposition is unjustified.

The draft included rules on the civil liability of members of the two boards.

The proposals provide for the coordination of rules on the rights, obligations and authority of the annual general meeting of shareholders, call for managements and banks to divulge the names of proxies held, and stipulate the majorities needed for various decisions at the AGM;

The present draft is the fifth in a series on company law in Europe. The others tackle items such as the form of company accounts, minimum capital required, mergers and the informations to be provided in annual reports.

The "European" company

The draft directives should be clearly distinguished from the proposed statute for a new standard type of firm, the European company. There have so far been few attempts to create large and genuinely European transnational enterprises. The most notable are Agfa-Gevaert (Belgian-German), Fokker-VFW (Dutch-German), Fiat-Citroen (Italian-French), Dunlop-Pirelli (British-Italian) and Hoesch-Hoogovens (Dutch-German). The problems encountered by these firms and the contortions required for them even to come into being highlight the need for a European company statute if Europe's industry is to compete with the Americans on level terms. The Commission's proposals for a regulation (directly applicable in each member country) for the European company date from 1970. They include the following provisions:

- European company status to be restricted to existing limited companies with registered offices within the Community, and then only in the event of a transnational merger or a holding company being set up by two companies in different member countries.
- The company to have legal personality recognised in each member state; its seat would be transferable from one member state to another. A register of European companies would be kept.
- Capital (minimum 500,000 units of account, or 250,000 for a joint subsidiary) to be divided by shares.

- As in the fifth draft directive, power within the firm to be split between management board, supervisory board and shareholders' AGM. The worker members of the supervisory board would be elected by a central works council, itself elected by local councils. The central works council would have the right to be informed about the company's economic position and its consent would be needed by management in so far as its decisions affected the workforce.
- Balance sheet, profit and loss account and financial report to be published after independent audit; relations with other companies to be fully disclosed.
- No special tax advantages; to prevent evasion, the company would not be able to move its national domicile more than once every five years.

In addition to the European Company, the Commission has proposed to recognize two other forms of cooperation - the "groupement d'intérêt économique" (GIE - company group) and the "joint undertaking".

Views of the Economic and Social Committee

In an opinion on the draft articles of association of the European company, the Economic and Social Committee recommends that its status should be made available to medium-sized companies and firms in non-member countries. The Committee is not unanimous in its views on the composition of the supervisory board, some suggesting that it should be split three ways between workers, shareholders and representatives of the general interest. The big communist-led trade-union federations in France and Italy (the CGT and the OGIL) reject the whole draft, particularly the provisions on worker representation in management. They argue that such participation is an illusion and a snare for the working class.

Francois-Xavier Ortoli, the new President of the Commission presented to the February session of the European Parliament, an outline of the tasks and priorities of the Commission during 1973. Below is the section of his speech dealing with regional and social policy.

Regional Policy

"Regional policy is an essential feature in the establishment of a balanced social and humanitarian European realm. Here, the first steps to be taken are to increase the coordination of national policies and to define common criteria for the granting of aids. The Commission's report on regional problems in the enlarged Community, drawn up in accordance with the conclusions of the Paris Summit Conference and which the Commission hopes to complete without delay, will be centred in particular on this theme.

"Such coordination and joint action will be given a new stimulus when the Regional Development Fund, financed from the Community's own resources, is set up; this is to take place by 31 December 1973. We are already dealing with the matter.

"Studies are also in progress on the use of 50 million u.a., financed from the budget of the Guidance Section of the EAGGF, for the creation of industrial employment in depressed agricultural areas; on the setting up of a Regional Policy Committee; and on the creation of a Regional Development Company for the purpose, in particular, of guaranteeing industrialization loans at Community

"The Commission is convinced that regional policy is a major factor in realization of the economic and monetary union. This policy, which can be conceived only as a supplement to national policies, must of course be applied to declining agricultural and industrial regions. But it must also enable the more prosperous regions of the Community to improve their quality of life.

"In my opinion, this question of the quality of life must be taken into consideration more and more as the Community edifice rises. For we must build a Europe with a human face, in the service of man.....

Social Policy

"To speak of a Europe in the service of man means, first and foremost, wanting to put into effect a broad social policy and playing an active part in trying to safeguard and improve the environment. But it also means setting out to make our peoples participate, in various ways,

directly and indirectly, in the work of building Europe.

"The Heads of State or of Government reminded us that vigorous action in the social field cannot be dissociated from achievement of the economic and monetary union. They invited the institutions of the Community, after consulting labour and management, to draw up before 1 January 1974 a programme of action in the social field.

"The Commission will therefore step up still further its activities in the field of employment and of living and working conditions.

"The Commission has a very important means of intervening in employment matters, namely, the reformed Social Fund. The Social Fund is intended to make it possible to implement a policy for the solution of existing difficulties; but it has an even more important function, and that is to prevent such difficulties from occurring at all, by means of a suitable policy bringing Community solidarity into play whenever the common policies or the Community economic situation give rise to quantitative or qualitative employment problems. Decisions have been taken, in particular, to help agricultural workers leaving their farms and to help workers in the textile industry, where employment difficulties were largely due to the restructuring of that industry. The Social Fund is therefore seen to be an important instrument of industrial and regional policy as well as of social policy.

"In order to implement successfully a policy of full and better employment, substantial progress must be made in the harmonization of vocational guidance, training and retraining if the men and women of Europe, and especially young people, are to be prepared for the occupations which are most useful both to them and to society as a whole.

"In the field of living and working conditions, the Commission believes that it is particularly necessary to harmonize layoff procedures - a draft Directive has been submitted to the Council - and that, following appropriate procedures, measures must be laid down for mitigating the social effects on workers of company mergers and of the growing number and extent of combinations in industry.

"Extending the action already undertaken by the Community, and with a view to improving the quality of life, the Commission proposes to help in working out measures and standards concerning the health and safety of workers, both at their place of work and in their life in general.

"This year will be a particularly important one from the social policy point of view because it will see the establishment of the draft action programme provided for in the Final Declaration of the Paris Summit Conference.

Without going into details I can tell you that our programme of social action will concern not only employment questions, in the broadest sense of the term, but also improvement of the quality of life both at places of work and elsewhere, as well as the democratization of economic and social life in the Community.

"Questions of the quality of life obviously bring the Commission to consideration of the environment. Before 31 July the Community institutions are to draw up a programme of action accompanied by a precise timetable.

"We have to implement a programme for control of pollution and nuisances affecting air and water in particular, and we must seek the most appropriate technical and economic ways of achieving our ends."

• Portfolios in the new Commission.

The new 13-member Commission agreed on January 6 on the distribution of special responsibilities among its members. Overall authority for Commission policy in any particular field rests with the Commission as a whole.

President

Francois-Xavier Ortoli (French; Gaullist)
General secretariat
Legal service
Spokesman's Group
Security Office

Vice-Presidents

<u>Wilhelm Haferkamp</u> (German; Socialist) Economic and monetary affairs, including ECSC credit and investments

<u>Patrick John Hillery</u> (Irish; Fianna Fail) Social Policy

Carlo Scarascia Mugnozza (Italian; Christian Democrat)
Relations with the European Parliament
(in conjunction with the Commission President)
Environmental policy
Consumer protection
Transport policy
Press and information

Henri Simonet (Belgian; Socialist)
Taxation; financial institutions (banking and insurance); harmonization of company law Energy Policy
Euratom safeguards and control
Euratom Supply Agency

Commissioners

Albert Borschette (Luxembourg; Former diplomat) Competition
Personnel and administration.

Ralf Dahrendort (German; Liberal)
Research, science and education; dissemination of
technical and scientific information; mutual recognition
of diplomas
Joint Research Centre
Statistical Office

Jean-Francois Deniau (French; Former diplomat)
Development aid and cooperation policy
Community budgets
Financial control

Finn Olay Gundelach (Danish; Socialist)
Internal market (includes removal of technical barriers to trade; right of establishment and freedom to supply services; harmonization of economic legislation; European company law)
Administration of customs union

<u>Petrus Josephus Lardinois</u> (Dutch; Catholic) Agriculture

Altiero Spinelli (Italian; Socialist) Industrial and technological policy

Regional unemployment in the Community

Rapid changes in production and industrial structures can cause large-scale unemployment and result in a depressing sense of insecurity throughout whole sectors and regions in the Community. Redevelopment is apt to bring with it all sorts of difficulties.

In reply to a recent question in the European Parliament dealing with this problem, the Commission has accepted Community responsibility for active intervention to create new jobs in less developed areas, and agrees that "it is economically and socially desirable that workers made redundant should as far as possible be employed on the spot in new economic activities and benefit from aids for their retraining".

On ways and means of carrying out regional development programmes, the Commission mentioned its draft decision of 1969 on the "organization of Community means of action for regional development", the draft regulation on a European regional development interest rebate fund (1971), and last year's resolution on a regional development company.

In addition, there is a move to use the EAGGF (the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund) for redevelopment in rural areas and the renewed European Social Fund has come into operation with more scope and wider terms of reference.

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Apart from ECSC and European Investment Bank resources, the Commission is planning to spend 50m. u.a. a year for the first five years' operations of each of the EAGGF and the interest rebate fund.

In the case of the Social Fund, the advance draft of the 1973 budget amounts to some 200.9 m. u.a, not counting 60m. still available for the support of the old fund.

Comparisons with credits granted last year - a total of 97.5m. u.a. - clearly illustrate the intentions of the Commission in this field, although the initiative for the operations must come from applicants and member states.

Commission Aids Redundant Steelworkers in Lorraine

The European Commission has allotted an initial sum of 22.5 million French Francs (approximately £2 million at current exchange rates) for the first stage of a programme designed to help workers affected by closures in the Lorraine steel industry to find new jobs. The programme is scheduled to last for five years, ending in 1975.

According to a Commission reply to a written question in the European Parliament, three-quarters of this sum has been earmarked to finance periods of paid professional training for redundant workers. The rest will be used to pay transport and removal expenses for the roughly 1,200 Lorraine workers who have volunteered to move to the Fos area. It is hoped that the original timetable for the removal of the volunteers will be broadly adhered to.

As a further measure to ease the consequences of the closures, workers who reach the age of 60 before the end of 1975 can if they choose take an early retirement. In this case, the costs are borne exclusively by the French authorities.

Under the terms of the ECSC Treaty, the Commission is also helping with the financing of new investment projects in Lorraine put forward by the French government. Nearly 6,500 new jobs have so far been created with this aid and a further 6,000 are expected to follow. It is too soon to assess the total economic effect on the area of the jobs now being created, but the new industries being set up (engineering, cars, chemicals, rubber, etc.) have a more wide-spread multiplier effect than the basic industries which they replace.

The British government is at the moment discussing with the Commission how and to what extent ECSC funds can best be

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used to help in the planned reorganisation of the British Steel Corporation.

• New moves to help workers in textile sector

The European Commission has recently proposed new measures to help textile workers in the Community to adapt to the changing structure of their industry (the table below shows employment trends in the six over the years 1966-1970).

The proposals involve extending the coverage of the European Social Fund to Community textile workers with a view to promoting their retraining and helping them to find new jobs. The idea has already been approved in principle, with some adjustments, by the Ministers of Social Affairs.

The Commission is also suggesting measures to improve information services in country and semi-rural areas. The service's main job would be to provide rural workers with proper vocational guidance and information on further training and retraining possibilities.

Year	Textiles	Garments Footwear Bedding	Chemical fibres	Total three categories	% of manpower in community industry as a whole
1966 1967 1968 1969 1970	1,761,500 1,692,600 1,610,400 1,632,400 1,687,800	1,535,800 1,498,000 1,459,400 1,506,300 1,573,300	128,800 127,700 128,400 135,100 135,800	3,426,100 3,318,300 3,198,200 3,273,800 3,396,900	12.9 12.7 12.3 12.2 12.3
Diff_ erence 1970/ 1966	73,700	+37,500	+7,000	-29,200	

(These statistics apply only to workers in firms with more than ten employees. In the garment industry in particular, there is a large, but not easily estimated, number of workshops with fewer than ten employees, plus homeworkers.)

New interventions by Social Fund

The Commission has approved the first applications for grants under the new-style European Social Fund. A total of 50m. u.a. is to be made available to finance 15 projects, spread over three years. The amounts will be allotted as follows:

- 37.2m. u.a. for operations in regions where there is serious imbalance in the employment situation as a result of slow development or decline in main industries.
- 6.4m. u.a. to ensure that the labour force is qualified to keep pace with technical progress.
- 6.4m. u.a. for projects on behalf of the disabled.

• Limited liberalization in EEC public works contracts

In Britain, government contracts are worth £1,000 million a year, and public purchasing accounts for a full 13% of the gross national product. The figure in Germany is nine per cent, in France and the Netherlands five per cent, and in Belgium three per cent.

These figures underline the Commission's recent reminder to EEC governments that public purchasing of such major items as aircraft, power stations, drugs, computers, railway rolling stock, equipment for state or local authority housing, schools, hospitals and military establishments is a key and often underestimated sector of the economy. And in investment, the proportion a-counted for by the public sector is still higher - over 35% in the UK, 33% in France, 30% in Italy and 18% in Germany.

The great proportion of this spending is still limited by national frontiers. As long as this remains the case, the reality of the Common Market is severely compromised, and the economic interests of the member countries harmed. In the one area which has so far been opened up - public works contracts worth more than 1 m. units of account - potential savings are put in the range of 20%.

Barriers to liberalization are both technical and psychological. Purchasers often have their traditional national suppliers with whom a close relationship has been built up over a period, and suppliers tend to think defensively, preferring to hold what they have at home rather than launching out into the wider Community market. In addition, governments face strong internal pressures, often from trade unions wishing to safeguard employment in

threatened sectors.

Some improvement in the area of procurement contracts for expendable goods (food, drugs, fuels, maintenance materials, etc.) can be anticipated when the Commission's draft coordinating directive on this subject is adopted, but there is still just as much to be done in the capital goods sector.

A good illustration of the results of uncoordinated development is provided by data-processing. In this field, the dominance of a single non-Community firm (IBM) leaves very little over for European companies: intra-Community trade in computers is small throughout the private, semipublic and public sectors. In this situation, the insistence of some member countries on giving preference to their own manufacturers of data-processing restricts still further the chances of any expansion by the European computer industry.

Whilst some public support for the industry is legitimate at this stage of its development, this can only be effective at Community level, and must be combined with measures of reorganization. The Commission is at present preparing guidelines for a concerted computer policy at European level.

In the conventional and nuclear power plant sector, intra-Community trade is again insignificant, and the Commission is considering ways of increasing it. A draft directive is on the way, and the Commission is also proposing that there should be more meetings between manufacturers with a view to hamonizing safety norms and standardizing major components.

Differences in standards or technical requirements are also met with in the railway equipment sector, and the functioning of the market is further hampered by the use by public authorities of purchases of railway equipment for purposes of industrial, regional, social or market policy.

In telecommunications equipment, trade between the EEC member states has remained very low as a result of the need for compatibility between new equipment and existing infrastructure and of varying specifications. In electronic apparatus for airports, a market worth around \$100 a year in the Six alone, differences in specification are apparently not an obstacle, but imports still amount to only about 5% of the total. The reasons in this case appear to be considerations of industrial and defence policy and the communications advantages of dealing with a domestic supplier.

In the light of these different barriers to trade, the Commission proposes the following action:

- Consultation between major suppliers
- Elimination of technical obstacles to trade
- Elimination of administration and customs obstacles
- Joint definition of new equipment to be developed by purchasing bodies
- Possible Community aid for the joint development of certain new equipment.

Shipbuilding in the EEC

Shipping is a vital element in the economic activity of the enlarged European Economic Community: in 1971, nearly 100% of its crude oil supply, 60% of the raw materials consumed by its industries, 20% of the agricultural products needed for its foodstuffs and 80% of its merchandise exports were transported by sea. Correspondingly, besides being a major employer and an important branch of European industry in its own right - Community shipbuilders currently have turn-over of around 4,200 million units of account (around £2,000 m.) in 270 shippards and repair docks employing 266,000 people - shipbuilding will continue to be one of the corner-stones of the EEC's future development.

However, despite large-scale reorganization, often with government aid, the industry is presently facing considerable difficulties and severe competition from the rest of the world. The major factor in the current problems is the rapid rise of the Japanese since the war to top rank in the world shipbuilding industry through a combination of relative cost advantages, thorough vertical integration, manpower efficiency, availability of long-term credits and the exclusive right to carry out multiannual programmes for the expansion of the national fleet. In 1958, Japanese shipyards' share of world production was 22%, against Europe's 64% and the rest of the world's 13%. In 1971, out of a total gross tonnage which had nearly trebled, whilst the rest of the world was roughly the same at 12%, Japan's share had rocketed to 51%, squeezing Europe down to 36%.

Furthermore, recent successes have prompted Japanese shipbuilders to step up their investments to bring their 1975 production potential up to twenty million gross tons,

compared with a <u>world</u> total in 1971 of 24.5 million gross tons. This would mean a world over-capacity of something around 5 million gross tons, according to present estimates, and would give Japan over 70% of the world market. For ships over 150,000 gross tons, Japan alone would be able to supply all world needs.

Faced with this prospect, European builders of large ships (including the British and Scandinavians) have formed a body with the primary aim of arriving at an "orderly marketing" type of agreement with their Japanese counterparts, so far without effect on the expansion of Japanese capacity.

The European Commission has now taken up the problem and is currently preparing a harmonized Community position for the shipbuilding sector on the basis of its view that a quasi-monopoly situation is dangerous and that the Community should continue to produce the tonnage needed for its economic requirements.

The best safeguard for Community shipbuilding is its competitiveness on a world level. Aid should therefore be devoted to modernizing and reorganizing Europe's shippards so that they can compete effectively. The assumption is that aid would gradually be reduced as the aim was achieved, though the means and timing would depend on a parallel ending of discriminatory aid in rival shipbuilding countries.

x Unit of account = US \$ at pre-devaluation rate. At present rates £1 = rather more than 2 u.a.

• EEC labour costs and the working week, 1969-1971

Labour costs in the Community of Six rose more sharply during the period 1969-1971 than in the previous three years, and at the same time the difference between the highest and lowest (Germany and France in 1971) widened considerably, basically as a result of intervening parity changes. This is one of the facts which emerge from statistics on labour costs, gross hourly wage increases and working hours recently published by the Statistical Office of the European Communities (Social Statistics, No. 5/1972).

Nominal wages continued to go up fast in the year from April 1971 to April 1972 - by 14% in Italy, 12% in Belgium 11% in Luxembourg and 10% in Germany. In real terms, these increases correspond to figures of 9% in Italy,

7% in Belgium, 6% in France and Luxembourg and 4% in Germany. There were large variations in different sectors of activity - nominal increases of 16% in the German tobacco industry, 25% in the vegetable and animal fats industry in France, a massive 40% in Italian glass-making and 27% in printing and publishing in Luxembourg, for example.

For industrial workers, the average working week (including overtime) has everywhere continued to contract. It now varies between the 42 hours worked in Italy and 45 hours in France. The general average is influenced by the relatively long hours worked in the building trade (over 50 hours in Luxembourg and 48 hours in France).

Relative labour costs in the Six (Germany = 100):

	1969	<u> October 1971</u>
West Germany	100	100
France	85%	72%
Italy	80%	81%
Netherlands	98%	94%
Belgium	97%	91%
Luxembourg	106%	91%

• Increase in EEC social spending

Expenditure on social security in the Six countries of the original European Economic Community has in general doubled over the past decade. A report by the Commission says that the largest increase was in the Netherlands, where spending rose by over 400 per cent at current prices between 1962 and 1971. Calculated on the basis of 1963 prices, the Dutch figure works out at 267 per cent, compared with a 226 per cent increase in Italy. Next came France (192 per cent), followed by Belgium (175 per cent) and Germany (181 per cent).

• The Social consequences of mergers

The harmonization of social policy measures dealing with takeovers and mergers, procedures and guarantees to be operated in cases of internal company rationalization, and preventive measures to help firms in danger of being taken over, are suggested in a recent report on "Mergers and

Takeovers" prepared by the section of the Economic and Social Committee specializing in social matters.

After reviewing steps either taken or contemplated at European level - including the draft European company statute, aids granted under the provisions of the reformed Social Fund and subsidies and grants given out by the Coal and Steel Community - the report demands more scientific studies on the social consequences of both rationalization and mergers. These studies should be Community-wide in scope and form a hasis for forecasting manpower requirements in the future. The European Commission should also keep an up-to-date inventory of measures taken by the member states to alleviate the adverse effects of industrial integration.

It is on the basis of these documents that the Commission should make concrete proposals to provide for an equivalent degree of protection throughout Europe, with the possibility of supplementing harmonization by grants from the European Social Fund, the report says. It stresses the need to keep everyone affected by mergers and takeovers fully informed, and suggests that the Social Fund and the European Investment Bank could be brought into action to help the self-employed and shaky firms to improve their competitivity respectively.

O European steel production in 1972.

Output of the steel industries of the Six increased by 9.4% in 1972, totalling 113.1 million tons compared with 103.4 million tons a year ago and 109.2 million tons in 1970. Britain's steel production was also up, but only by 4.7%. But the figures for Germany, Luxembourg and indeed Britain, are still below those for 1969 and 1970.

The trends are shown in the table beneath. Figures are in millions of tons.

	Ger.	Fr.	It.	Ne t	h.Bel.	Lux.	Six	U.K.	
1972	43.7	24.1	19.8	5.6	14.5	5.5	113.1	25.3	
1971	40.3	22.8	17.5	5.1	12.4	5.2	113.4	24.2	
1970	45.0	23.8	17.3	5.0	12.6	5.5	109.2	28.3	
1969	45.3	22.6	16.4	4.7	12.8	5.5	107.3	26.8	
% chang	e +8.4	+5.3	+13.4	+9.8	+16.8	+4.1	÷9.4	+4.7	
1971-7	2								

• Bad year for the EEC coal industry.

For the European coal industry, 1972 was one of the worst years since the Community was formed, with production 7.9% down on the 1971 figures and the rundown in underground labour increasing to 8% from the 5% of the year before. In 1972 the average number of underground workers was down to 207.300, compared with 658,500 in 1957.

Even though productivity increased by 4.1% twice the rate recorded in 1971, output went down in all the Six countries, as the accompanying table shows. The Netherlands in particular seems to be moving fast towards complete shutdown of its coal industry.

	Germany	France	Italy	Nether- lands		Six	U.K.
1971	116,885	33,014	256	3,795	10,960	164,910	142,400
1972	108,460	29,762	250	2,907	10,400	151,878	120,400
Chang	e -7.2%	-9.9%	-2.3%	-23.4%	-4.2%	-7.9%	-15.5%

(Thousands of tons)

In all, 13 mines closed down in 1972 with a capacity of 6.8 million tons. Stocks rose by 3.3 million tons, the highest figure since 1966.

Production of furnace coke also fell last year, reaching its lowest level since the early 1950's. The figures (again in thousands of tons) were:

	Germany	France	Italy	Nether- lands	Belgium	Six
1971	34,508	11,469	6,376	1,749	6,350	60,443
1972	31,611	10,492	6,418	1,797	6,570	56,888
Change	-8.4%	-8.5%	+ 0.7%	+3.2%	+3.5%	-5.9%

By the end of the year, stocks of furnace coke had risen to 10.3 million tons, their highest level in EEC history.

Jef Houthuys elected President of the WCL's European Organization.

Jef Houthuys, President of the (Christian) Belgian trade union confederation CSC, has been elected to the presidency of the European Organization of the World Confederation of Labour. He succeeds August Cool, who did not offer himself for re-election and who has been designated Founder-President of the EO/WCL.

At a press conference after his election last November, Houthuys stressed that the build-up of European trade unionism must be done by men who assume an effective responsibility at trade union level. He pledged himself to work for the practical achievement of a social Europe and to contribute to continuing trade union concertation at European level.

• Eurofedop calls for European Statute for Public Servants

At its Congress in Turin last September, EUROFEDOP, the European section of the International Federation of Public Service Employees (World Confederation of Labour), put forward a strong demand for a European statute for public servants. Basing its claim on the mutations which European structures are currently undergoing and the consequent changes, adaptations and new tasks which public service employees are called on to undertake, EUROFEDOP "requests that the competent European institutions undertake a general study of working conditions of public service personnel in Europe", and goes on to outline a general statute of rights and obligations, to be applied irrespective of field of work, capacity in which employed, type of work, race, sex or beliefs and convictions.

The statute - "which must be the outcome of genuine negotiations with the responsible trade union organizations" - ought in EUROFEDOP's view to cover the following areas: recruitment, training and career; pay in case of illness or incapacity; guarantees of job stability; disciplinary measures; harmonization of standards of living at European level; a fully worked-out salary system, with adjustment for cost-of-living changes; equal pay for men and women; holiday and end-of-year bonuses; expenses; health and safety measures and medical services; sick pay; pensions of at least 75% of final salary; the possibility of retirement at 60; a special training department; and the removal of all discriminations against women.

As regards trade union rights, the statute calls for full freedom of association for all public servants, their right to strike, trade union participation in all matters concerning personnel, consultation in other areas, and protection of union delegates in the exercise of their trade union duties.

• Entertainment workers and an EEC cultural policy

The Brussels-based International Secretariat of Entertainment Trade Unions has been in touch with the European Commission on the question of a cultural policy for the enlarged European Community. It considers that if various provisions of the Treaty of Rome, together with existing policies in other areas, were to be applied to culture, as the Commission hopes, the effect on entertainment workers in the Community would be considerable.

For example, one of the first steps in a comprehensive policy in this field would be to apply the "free movement" clauses to cultural "goods", such as books, films and technical apparatus (existing directives have, in fact, already created a common market for film distribution), as well as both performers and technicians in the industry. Secondly, the Community's competition policy could be extended to cover co-productions of films for cinema and television, and the rules of competition could be made to cover the production of such items as cable television and videa-cassettes. There is also the possibility of harmonizing the rates of VAT levied on cultural activities.

Finally, the ISETU thinks that in the context of the renewed commitment to social affairs emphasized by the Paris Summit, entertainment workers could expect to come in for closer attention from the Community than has been the case so far perhaps even in the shape of training or retraining grants from the revitalized Social Fund.

Trade unions reject European railway company proposals

The Community's trade union transport committee, a branch of the International Transport Workers' Federation, has rejected a study made by seven European railway networks with a view to laying down guidelines for a future European Railway Company within the Community and with possible outside participation. The networks involved are the British, Luxembourg, German, Italian, Belgian, Dutch and

French railways.

Reaffirming its basic belief in the idea of a European railway company, the committee objects that this particular project "is fundamentally opposed to trade union views on the subject of the construction of Europe, the proposed structure being technocratic in spirit and systematically isolating the administrative and control bodies of the future company from the important economic and social forces of Europe, particularly in the field of the representation of railway personnel". Such a structure, the committee says, is way behind existing national networks from the social point of view; it is anti-democratic and unacceptable.

The committee decided to take protest measures at EEC level and invited affiliates to take up the matter with national authorities.

• European unions censure Spain

European trade union organizations have been reiterating their opposition to any idea of Spain drawing closer to the European Community. Pointing to recent declarations made by important political personalities regarding the adhesion of Spain to the EEC, the World Confederation of Labour's European Organization for the Metallurgic Industry "wishes to recall and reaffirm its categoric opposition to any rapprochement between Spain, as well as other non-democratic states, and the European Community. This attitude," the European Organization goes on, "is dictated by the basic aim of defending the democratic nature of the European Community, as well as the real interests of the nations and workers of these countries."

In a press release in February, the German DGB issued a sharp condemnation of the Spanish government for its imprisonment of two trade unionists in Bilbao. Reminding the Spanish government that one of Spain's underground trade union organizations, the UGT, is now a full member of the new European Trade Union Confederation, the DGB announces its determination to see that the ETUC leads the opposition to Spain's European entry "so long as basic rights are ignored".

• TUC Claims holiday on New Year's Day.

In a recent letter to Maurice Macmillan, the British Employment Secretary, the Trades Union Congress points out that Britain is the only country in the enlarged EEC which does not recognize New Year's day as a national holiday. With more and more firms giving their workpeople the day off every year, the TUC is pressing for the holiday to be made official. The same also applies to Boxing Day in Scotland.

Women at work in the Common Market

In the European Community, as in Britain, women make up about a third of the labour force though the proportion varies from country to country. Except in the Netherlands, most of them are married. They make their greatest contribution in the service sector. Although the Rome Treaty requires equal pay for like work, women workers tend to be concentrated in unskilled occupations and their earnings remain well below those of men. They are the subject of a substantial body of protective legislation—not yet harmonised among the Six—some of which would seem outdated and undesirably discriminatory in its effect.

Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome

Women workers in the Community enjoy in theory at least an advantage over their British counterparts: article 119 of the Rome Treaty required each state to ensure in the course of the first stage, i.e. between 1958 and 1961, and subsequently to maintain, the application of the principle of equal remuneration for equal work between men and women. Under current legislation equal pay will become law in the United Kingdom only in 1975. In practice, however, are women so much better off in the Community than they are in Britain? The Rome Treaty may have got them equal pay for doing the same work as men; but has it changed attitudes to the part that women could and should play outside the home: have girls as free a choice of career as boys; are some occupations still barred to women, either formally or by custom and practice; do women now have the same opportunities as men to train for manual and intellectual skills; can they compete on equal terms for top jobs; and not least important, have women in the Community reappraised their own potential worth to the labour market? Equal pay without equal opportunity is a miserable prize, hardly worth the winning; but equal opportunities have to be actively exploited. Clearly time is needed to break the near monopoly of political and economic skills that men have built up for themselves over the past two centuries; that the progress of the Community's women to date is somewhat limited is indicated by the fact that, if interpreters are excluded, there is no woman in either of the top two grades of the Commission's civil service in Brussels. Women account for only 5 per cent of all grade A officers, and 49 out of a total of 77 are in the two lowest grades (A6 and 7, where they make up 14 per cent of the total); only 3 are in A3 out of a grade total of 270.

Article 119 had a very limited aim, but even so its initial impact was small; it did little to reinforce the application of a principle already enshrined in the constitutions of France, Italy and Germany or to induce the Benelux countries to revise their customary practices. In 1961, therefore, its meaning was more precisely spelt out and brought into line with the International Labour Office convention 100, already ratified by four of the Six (and now ratified by all but the Netherlands); this calls for equal pay for work of equal value. At the same time it was stipulated that differentials between men's and women's pay should be reduced to 15 per cent by June 1962; to 10 per cent a year later and eliminated by December 1964. A Commission Survey, published last year and relating to end 1968, reported progress, but noted that member states were still

far from having completely respected all the commitments entered upon. In all countries except the Netherlands, a woman, who feels that she is being discriminated against in respect of pay on grounds of sex alone can bring an action in the courts, and there has been a substantial reduction in instances of direct sex discrimination in collective agreements throughout the Six (it still exists, for example, in dairies and cheesemongeries in Belgium, in the German leather industry and widely in the Netherlands); but the Commission deplores the continued absence of such agreements in a number of industrial sectors and geographical regions in every country, particularly in distribution and the service industries and in small businesses. It is also fully alive to the fact that an apparently non-discriminatory collective agreements does not guarantee a woman the same treatment as a man. For example, only in Holland are the rates set in such agreements roughly the same as those actually paid; elsewhere agreed rates are minima, each firm negotiating actual pay scales. Again, the outlawing of the category 'women's work' has solved no problems: such work has been rechristened 'light' in Germany, 'simple' or 'light' in Italy, 'asexual' in Belgium; it remains ill-paid and is undertaken only by women. Yet again, in evaluating jobs male attributes such as strength are rated more highly than female ones, such as dexterity; France is criticised on this count; the Netherlands, on the other hand, is commended for having a very fair system of job evaluation.

Thus, despite the Common Market's 13 years, it is impossible to generalise to any great extent about the position of working women in the Six, let alone to make confident comparisons between their status and that of British women workers; each country tends to maintain its traditional ideas of woman's place in society, modifying long-standing practices only slowly and reluctantly.

The following outlines the part played by women in the Community's labour force and the special legislation that is applied to them as workers. To examine why they play the role they do, and to explore ways in which the labour market might be unified—either on a geographical or on a sex basis—would require a separate volume on each country.

A profile of women at work in the Community 1

In Germany and France, as in Britain, about 40 per cent of women of 14 years and over are at work; in Belgium

1 The statistics used in this article are taken in the main from two Community documents (L'emploi des femmes et ses problèmes dans les états membres de la CEE, rapport de Mano E. Sullecot, July 1970; and Rapport de la Commission au Conseil sur l'état d'application au 31 décembre 1968 du principe d'égalité entre renumérations masculines

about 30 per cent; but in Italy and the Netherlands only about a quarter. If the over 65s as well as the under 14s are eliminated the proposition rises to not far short of a half in France but remains at 26 per cent in the Netherlands. Most women workers are married; the proportion ranges from 62 per cent in Belgium to 28 per cent in Holland and is something over 55 per cent in Britain and France. In all countries except Belgium there are substantial regional differences in activity rates. In Britain the highest proportions are found in a diagonal belt of industrialised country running from the South-East through the West

In West Germany, France and Great Britain women form rather more than a third of the active population, but in Italy and Belgium they represent only 27-28 per cent and in the Netherlands under a quarter. Their status within the labour force varies a good deal both within the Community and between Britain and the Community. In Britain the vast majority are employees; self-employed and family helpers account for only 4 per cent of the total. In the Community, however, family helpers play a substantial role, particularly in Italy, and self-employed women are very

	West Germany	France	Italy	Belgium	Nether- lands	Great Britain
Working women, 1968 - million	7.8	7.4	5.0	1.0	1.0	8.9
of whom: self-employed %	6	9	16	16	4	4
employees %	76	7 5	62		85	96
family helpers %	18	16	22	15	11	
Women as a proportion of the working population %	34	37	27	28	23	35
Activity rates among women of 14 years and over %	37	39	25	29	24	40
Proportion of working women who are married %	52	55	53	62	28	57

Midlands to the North-West; the lowest, in the agricultural areas of the South-West and East-Anglia. In the Community, however there is no such close correlation between industrialisation and women's activity rates; Berlin and Paris, it is true, have the highest rates in the Six—with more than half of all women in the appropriate age groups working—but in the Rome region the proportion is under a quarter and in north-west Italy between a quarter and a third. Against this this agricultural areas of west and central France boast among the highest rates. In the 14-19 age group about the same proportion of boys and girls are at work; but whereas most men between 20 and 60 work, among women the activity rate is highest in the 20 to 24 age group, falling sharply in the next quinquennium and remaining low until the 40's when there is usually some recovery before a renewed decline in the 50's and 60's.

important in Italy and Belgium and to a lesser extent in France and West Germany. Most of these self-employed women are, in fact, small farmers—sometimes widows, sometimes wives whose husbands have left the land for more profitable work in the factories. Throughout the Community women provide a greater proportion of all workers in agriculture than they do of paid workers—in Germany they account for more than half of all agricultural workers, only about a quarter of paid agricultural workers. In Britain the opposite is the case. In other sectors the self-employed and family helpers are less important, and women account for roughly the same proportions of all workers as of paid workers. Their contribution to the work force is greater in the service industries, where in Britain, France and Germany they make up over 40 per cent of the

Women's part in the labour force: proportion of all workers/employees (per cent)

	West Germany				aly	Belgium		Nether- lands		United Kingdom		
	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees
Agriculture Industry Services Total	52 24 42 34	26 28 41 31	34 24 48 37	15 24 48 36	31 21 31 27	26 21 30 24	29 18 39 28	19 36 26	12 14 33 23	7 14 34 24	10 25 42 35	19 26 48 38

et féminines, June 1970) and were collected by the Community's statistical office on a broadly comparable basis; the UK figures are those published by the Department of Employment. The intention is to give a broad picture of the position at the end of 1960s; the importance of minor differences should not be over-rated, and margins of error may be fairly substantial.

total, in Belgium and the Netherlands more than a third; in Italy, however, their share amounts to only 30 per cent. In industry they are least well represented in the Netherlands (only 14 per cent of the work force), while in the major countries they contribute about a quarter.

The service industries, to which women make such a big contribution, in their turn provide women with the greatest employment opportunities: they employ over 70 per cent of all women workers in the Netherlands, about two-thirds of those in the United Kingdom, France and Belgium, and about half in Germany. Agriculture is an important employer in France, Germany and Italy, but negligible in the Low Countries and the UK. Industry takes the highest proportion of women employees in Italy, followed by Germany, with France and Britain next and the Netherlands well behind all the rest

Within the manufacturing industry, women are heavily concentrated in a few sectors and in the lowest grades: they remain as they always have been, a major element in the textile and clothing industries, although in Britain the introduction of sophisticated machinery is depriving them of some of their traditional jobs, particularly in cotton textiles. For the rest, they are mainly in work that has never involved heavy physical labour, that requires little training, or that demands manual dexterity, such as electronic engineering. Within these broad groupings, custom and practice lay down that some work is for men other for women, often on a wholly irrational basis and varying not only between countries but quite locally within countries.

in manufacturing are skilled, but in France and the Netherlands the figure is only 12 per cent and in Germany a mere 5 per cent; unskilled workers make up more than half the total female labour force in manufacturing in Belgium and Germany and nearly 70 per cent in Luxembourg. Only in Belgium and Luxembourg are more than a third of men in manufacturing classed as unskilled.

In the service sector the separation into men's and women's work is no less pronounced: in all countries domestic, personal and welfare services are overwhelmingly female preserves, though with characteristic national distinctions: for example, restaurant workers in Germany are mainly women, in Italy mainly men. In the professions, teaching is predominantly a man's job in Germany and the Netherlands, a woman's in France and Belgium, as it is in the United Kingdom. In Germany most furriers, in France most pharmacists are women. Women have done better in the legal profession in France than they have in the rest of the Six or in Britain; on the other hand there are more women doctors in the UK than there are in France, Germany or Italy. In no Western European country do women engineers approach the importance that they have in the USSR: in France, which makes the best showing, even now fewer than 4 per cent of all engineers are women.

Distribution of the female labour force (per cent)

	West Germany				I	Italy		Belgium		Nether- lands		United Kingdom	
	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	All Workers	Employees	
Agriculture Industry Services Total	14 35 51 100	12 38 50 100	14 26 60 100	2 31 67 100	27 32 42 100	12 42 46 100	6 29 65 100	36 64 100	4 24 72 100	1 26 73 100	1 36 63 100	1 33 66 100	

In general, a third or slightly more of all manufacturing workers in the Six are skilled and roughly another third semi-skilled, but as the enclosed chart shows women make up a near negligible fraction of the total. It is claimed that in Italy 18 per cent and in Belgium 16 per cent of women

Women employees as a proportion of all employees in certain major manufacturing and service industries (per cent)

	West Germany	France	Italy	Great Britain
All manufacturing				
industry	29	31	28	31
Food	44	37	41	42
Textiles	60	57	66	47
Clothing	82	81	74	79
Leather	51	45	43	43
Electrical goods	` 42	40	33	39
Metal goods	21	16	18	18
Chemicals	26	27	23	29
All services	41	48	30	48
Distribution Banking and	54	44	31	55
insurance	44	44	15	45
Administration Miscellaneous	26	40	31	30
services	61	71	51	62

Although in general women probably have easier access to training in the service sector than they do in industry, they are still concentrated in the lower paid occupations and except in women's professions hold very few top jobs. No statistical comparison of men's and women's pay is possible in this sector; but the Commission has attempted to compare the average hourly earnings of men and women in manufacturing. Although the figures are not very up-to-date and are very general they serve to illustrate the very secondary position occupied by women.

Protective—and discriminatory?—legislation

Some of women's difficulties in the labour market visa-vis men lie in legislation which enshrines real or supposed differences between the sexes; but some lie in the failure to acknowledge that men's and women's life patterns are different—and that women have changed very substantially and are still changing. Today's labour market is organised by men for men, and employers continue to claim that female labour is less flexible, less trainable, less reliable and more costly to organise than is male labour.

The legislation can be divided into two groups: that centering round childbearing and that which stems from the image of woman as something frailer and less than a man. All the Community countries protect the working mother, but each in its own way. In general work prejudicial to health (variously defined) is forbidden to pregnant women and nursing mothers; and expectant mothers may not be forced to work for a period varying from three months

Average hourly wage of workers in manufacturing (per cent)

			Rate of	Increas	e	Differential between men's and	
	1964-1966		1966-1968 19		54-1968	women's wages, October 1966	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Skilled Workers Semi- skilled Workers Workers
Germany France Italy Belgium Netherlands	13.9 12.3 10.9 18.9 18.8	17.3 11.3 12.6 21.8 24.2	9.5 22.1 9.8 11.5 17.0	8.8 24.7 10.0 12.1 20.5	24.7 37.1 21.7 32.6 38.9	27.8 38.7 23.8 36.5 49.7	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

⁴ The apparent anomaly by the average being higher than the individual groups is explained by the fact that women workers are concentrated in the unskilled group while men dominate the skilled and semi-skilled groups.

(in Italian industry) to four weeks (Germany) before childbirth—though in Holland there is no obligatory pre-natal holiday. The mother is usually accorded a 4-6 week holiday after a birth, and in Italy this can be prolonged to 6 months without any loss of seniority rights. Women may not be sacked during pregnancy in France, Germany or Italy, or for one month after a birth in Belgium, 4 months in Germany, or until the child is a year old in Italy. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, a work contract may, without offence, specify pregnancy as a grounds for termination of appointment. In Germany sickness-insured women on maternity leave get a maternity allocation in lieu of a salary, based on average pay over the last 3 months; in Belgium they get approximately 60 per cent of their normal pay; in France they get 0.5 normal pay from social insurance (two-thirds if they have 3 or more children); in Italy they get about 80 per cent. But maternity leave over, working mothers sink to being the least privileged members of the labour force; their chances of getting a good job, of being trained, or being in line for promotion are all lessened, while they run the risk of being the first to get the sack if activity slackens. It is assumed that their children's needs will have priority over their employer's. Like Britain, the Six have hardly touched the problem of the care of the pre-school age child; creches and kindergarten (some state run, some private, some provided by employers) cater for only a fraction of the under-sixes. And not much has been done to align school and working hours and holidays.

Other labour legislation applying specifically to women is often antiquated-some dating back to 1914discriminatory in barring them from ever qualifying for the highest pay scales. In Belgium a married woman must have her husband's permission to work, and women are barred from certain branches of public administration, e.g. in the ministry of finance in the Netherlands, marriage is a permissible grounds for dismissal. Elsewhere, however, such illiberal legislation has been repealed; but the heavy and unhealthy work that is generally barred to women has not been redefined in terms of modern industrial techniques. Hours that may be worked—in total, at a stretch, at certain times of day—are always restricted, though not always in the same way. Overtime is variously defined and night-work (forbidden to women in industry) takes place between 6.00 p.m. and 7.00 a.m. in the Netherlands, between 10.00 p.m. and 5.00 a.m. in France, Italy and Luxembourg; Belgium more rationally forbids men or women to work between 10.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m. except in certain listed occupations.

As in the United Kingdom, so women in the Community retire earlier than men and get lower pensions; and although taxation of single women is non-discriminatory, that of married women is not designed to encourage them to work and in many cases, particularly those of highly qualified women, inhibits them from doing so. Only in Germany can a married woman choose between a joint or a separate assessment; in France and Luxembourg husband and wife's income must be accumulated; in Italy some taxes are levied on the separate incomes, some on the joint income; in the Netherlands a wife gets a tax-free allowance of one third of her income, the rest is accumulated; in Belgium, too, a mixed system exists.

What's to be done

Clearly women at work in the Community, as in Britain, continue to suffer a number of disadvantages compared with men. Some of them can be removed by legislation but most of them are so deep rooted in the traditional view of woman's place in society that they can only be eliminated gradually by modifying the attitude of society towards women and of women towards themselves. It is vital that women should realise the implications that changing demographic trends hold for their life patterns: younger marriages, fewer children, borne over a shorter timespan, mean that in future a woman can expect to have a working life of some 30 years after her family has reached school age. To make full use of this she must be prepared to train, to accept responsibility, to take decisions about her own future and to play an active part in organisations where wages and conditions of work are decided, e.g. trade unions, in order to ensure that newer techniques (such as job evaluation) are not misused and women are not fobbed off with equality of pay and opportunity on paper, continued discrimination in practice.

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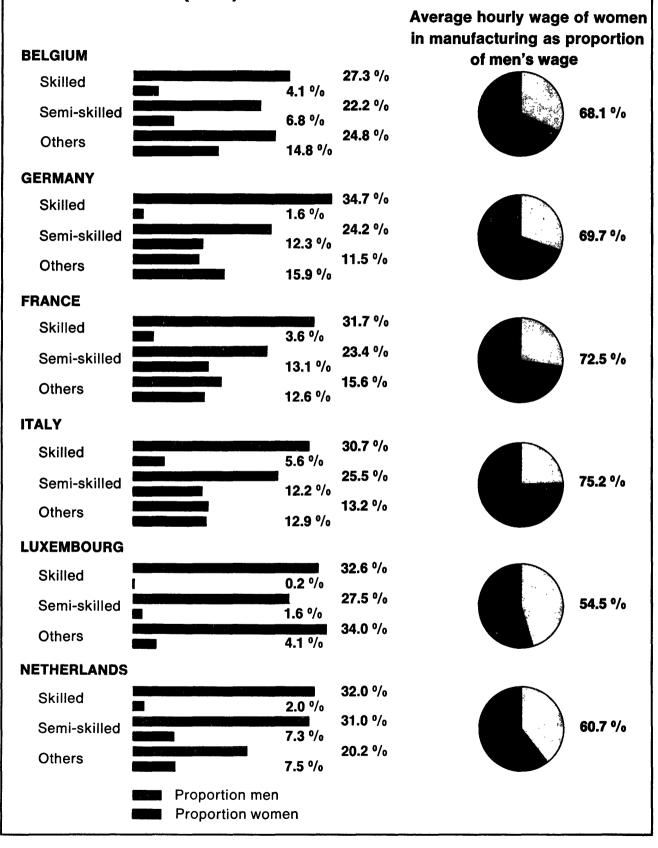
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DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLED, SEMI-SKILLED AND OTHER WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE E.E.C. (1968): PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN



Social security in the Six

Like the United Kingdom, the EEC countries have complex systems of protection for their citizens against loss or inadequacy of income. Predictable risks, such as ill-health or old age, are covered by social insurance schemes for most of the population in these countries, family allowances are provided for all those with a specified number of children, and each system is backed up by meanstested schemes similar to Supplementary Benefits in Britain. Welfare, housing and education services also play an important part in these systems of social protection, so that the countries of the EEC can be considered 'Welfare States' in the same way as can Britain. However, complete and adequate assistance to the entire population has not come about in the Six any more than it has in the United Kingdom. The groups most in need of further protection may vary from country to country, but no state is without some continuing pockets of need.

There has been a very dramatic increase in the social services of Britain and the EEC countries since the Second World War and especially during the past decade. The earliest legislation came at very different times—for example, Germany introduced some compulsory sickness insurance in 1883 while Belgium did not do so until 1944—but later developments have been similar in all the countries. They all had a spate of legislation in the immediate post-war period and have extended the social services to ever-increasing numbers since then. There has also been a substantial increase in the proportion of national resources which is devoted to these services, an increase which has been particularly marked in the 1960s. By 1968, the proportion of national income spent on social security alone had reached between 20 and 23 per cent in the EEC countries; it was somewhat lower in Britain.

These post-war developments have been very similar in all seven countries, and indeed in most of Western Europe. Each has been concerned to protect as many of its citizens as possible against loss of income, to assist with the cost of children and to ensure that all can benefit from medical care when necessary, but the similarities are greater between the countries of the Six themselves. It is then possible to speak in general terms about social services in the EEC,

provided that one bears in mind that the countries are by no means uniform: they each have their own political and historical heritage and have developed their services accordingly. The comparison is most meaningful if it is restricted to social security, since the countries vary rather more in their education and housing policies.

Social security developed from earlier national insurance schemes and is still very much based on insurance principles. However, it does extend further than this, and the term means different things in different countries. For the purpose of this discussion, it has been defined as those services which provide benefits, usually in cash, to a substantial proportion of the population and without a means-test. Eligibility is determined by insurance contributions or by a specified burden, such as children, rather than by a low income. Old age pensions, sickness benefit, family allowances and unemployment insurance all come into this definition and so, in the EEC countries, does medical care. Housing, education and welfare services, together with cash allowances of the Supplementary Benefits variety, are thus excluded from this discussion, although they form an important part of the overall protection of the citizen.

The nature of the risks covered and the post-war growth in provision are similar in both the EEC and the United Kingdom, but the services themselves show substantial differences. Perhaps the greatest of these lies in the role of the central government. In Britain, it has much direct responsibility, employing its own staff in the Department of Health and Social Security to administer the services. In the Six, the governments exert overall control but are less inclined to play a direct part in the administration. Thus in France, for example, social security is the responsibility of semi-autonomous insurance funds which pay the nationally prescribed benefits and collect the specified contributions. Membership of a particular fund depends on one's occupation: employees in industry and commerce will use the 'General' scheme, while those in agriculture will use anoher and the self-employed one of four others. In the Federal Republic of Germany, sickness insurance is carried out by some two thousand funds with less state control, and individuals may choose with whom they are to insure. This is very different from the British system, where there is a single national scheme covering virtually the entire population.

A further difference is that provision is less uniform in the EEC countries than in Britain. Coverage of the whole population for all benefits has not yet been achieved in any of the six countries. This is most noticeable in the Federal Republic of Germany, where higher-paid whitecollar workers are not compelled by law to insure themselves for all risks: if their annual incomes exceeded £1,700 in 1970, for example, they do not take part in the sickness insurance programme. There may also be some slight variations in the benefits provided by different funds, despite the state's overall control; an example of this is the less generous family allowance provision for the self-employed in France. In general, there is a greater emphasis on the employed worker than on others, as these were the first to gain protection by social insurance; compulsory contributions are easier to exact from those earning a wage or salary. Moreover, this emphasis is not entirely deliberate, being in part due to the desires of the self-employed to remain independent. This was particularly so in France, where post-war plans for a uniform national system failed in the face of opposition from the 'independent workers' 1, a numerically greater group than the self-employed in Britain.

Table 1
Social security: sources of finance (per cent) 1968

Country	Employer	Employee	State
Belgium	50	23	27
France	69	22	9
Germany	49	31	20
Italy	66	17	17
Luxembourg	40	2 3	37
Netherlands	46	39	15
UK (1968-1969)	20	22	58

Source: "The Common Market and the common man" (EEC, May 1971).

Coverage is, therefore, by no means as it is in the United

Kingdom. This is both a result and a cause of the financial arrangements for social security. As Table 1 shows, in no EEC country does the contribution of the central government reach 40 per cent of the total cost and, taking the five largest countries only, the highest figure is 37 per cent. The state's financial role is very much greater in Britain, where the central government bears the entire cost of the family allowance programme and contributes approximately one-third of the cost of the other cash benefits, moreover, its contribution to medical care, the costs of which fall largely to social security in the Six is something in the region of 90 per cent of the total National Health Service budget.

The chief sources of finance for social security in the EEC countries are thus the insured person himself and the employers, and the latter are the more important. Their financial burden varies from country to country but is always higher than that of their British counterparts. In family allowances, for example, they pay a substantial contribution in five of the countries and indeed provide the entire financial resources for this service in France and the Netherlands. Employers bear the full responsibility for industrial injuries benefits in all six countries, unlike Britain where an employee must pay an insurance contribution towards this.

For the majority of citizens—those in employment these two aspects of social security may not be very important. The emphasis on the employed worker and the consequent lack of uniform coverage will be of greater importance to others: some of the wealthier self-employed workers may be pleased not to be included in the schemes, while those with smaller incomes may be adversely affected. Of more interest to the average citizen, however, are his own contributions. These tend to be higher in the EEC countries than in Britain, except for the lowest-paid, because they are earnings-related. In the United Kingdom, there is a flat-rate contribution paid by everyone. It is largest for the self-employed and smaller for women than for men, but it does not vary with income. Above that, an earnings-related supplement is paid by all except the lowest wage-earners. In the EEC countries, contributions are a straight percentage of earnings up to a specified maximum, and there is no flat-rate element. The low-paid worker will thus pay less than his British counterpart. For others, however, contributions are generally high by British standards: even in France, where they are lower than in the other countries, an employee must contribute 6,25 per cent of his earnings below 28 pounds per week. These figures give an indication of the size of the contributions, but they should not be taken to be strictly comparable with those in Britain, since the costs and standards of living are not the same.

Since the contributions are earnings-related, benefits usually follow the same pattern. Some of the countries guarantee a minimum retirement pension, but this—unlike the present British benefit—is not intended to be the norm. Others adhere strictly to the earnings-related principle. The only benefits to be the same for all regardless of contributions are medical care, which is not a cash benefit, and family allowances, to which the insured person does not contribute. There is thus a definite link between earnings and benefits received. A well-paid individual may find this more satisfactory than the British system but someone who is low-paid may find his benefit very inadequate. It is interesting to note here that the British system has been tending towards earnings-related benefits in social security in the past decade.

For the citizen, the greatest single difference in social security provision between the United Kingdom and the Six is concerned with medical care. In all of the EEC countries, its provision is linked, to a greater or lesser extent, with insurance. Those who have paid the required contributions may claim assistance with medical costs for themselves and their dependents. In some countries, the patient must find the full cost himself and will then be reimbursed by the

¹ Independent workers are similar to the "self-employed" category in the UK and are mainly composed of small farmers, craftsmen and shopkeepers.

insurance funds, while in others he may be entitled to free treatment, but in either case the system is very different from the National Health Service with its virtually free treatment for any citizen regardless of contributions. This will be examined in more detail later.

Thus the main features of the social security systems in the EEC which mark them out as different from that used in Britain are the lesser degree of direct state involvement and, especially, the lesser reliance on central government funds; the lack of a single national scheme and the exclusion of certain groups from some benefits; the large employer contributions; the earnings-related nature of the benefits and contributions; and the insurance basis of the medical care scheme. The risks covered by the systems in all seven countries are broadly similar. Within the EEC itself however there are many smaller differences, since each country has developed its social services in a purely national context. Some of these differences will become apparent when the services are examined in more detail.

There are four main groups of social security provision which will now be considered, old age insurance, which normally includes survivors and disability benefits; sickness and maternity insurance; family allowances; and unemployment insurance. Industrial injuries protection also forms part of social security, but it will not be examined in detail since it is less complicated. It is an employer-financed scheme paying medical costs and a pension where necessary to those suffering from an industrial injury or occupational disease. Apart from the absence of a contribution by the insured person himself, it is not very different from the British system.

Old age and related benefits

Retirement pensions in the EEC are very closely related to contributions. Not only are they earnings-related but their size also depends on the number of contributions made. In France and Italy, a minimum of fifteen years contributions is required before any benefit (other than a small flat-rate one in France) may be granted, and all the countries relate at least part of the pension to the number of years of insurance. Thus a man with thirty years contributions may receive a pension twice as large as that of a man insured for only fifteen years. If his income was twice as large as the other's during his working life, the difference between the two pensioners will be even more pronounced.

The size of the pension varies very much between the countries. In the Federal Republic of Germany, it can reach two-thirds of previous earnings, although it is more usually 40 or 50 per cent; in France, the maximum is 20 per cent. However, the latter country has institutionalised occupational pensions schemes, and these now cover almost all employees outside agriculture and domestic service. In general, therefore, the pensions provided by these social security schemes are larger than those in Britain, except for persons with very low wages or few years of contributing to the scheme. Some of the countries have no guaranteed minimum pension and others provide this only on a meanstested basis, and so hardship among the elderly is no less present in the Six than it is in the United Kingdom.

All the countries include survivors insurance in their retirement pensions schemes, and three of them include disability insurance. The others administer this either separately or as part of the sickness insurance scheme. Benefits for survivors are related to the pension to which the head of the family was entitled at the time of his death and are therefore earnings-related to some extent. As in Britain, entitlement to benefit may depend on the age of the widow and may be forfeited on remarriage. Disability pensions

are also earnings-related and may be varied according to the extent of the handicap.

Sickness and maternity insurance

An insured person is entitled to two types of benefit: medical care for himself and his dependents and an earnings-related sickness benefit for himself if he is unable to work. It is the first of these which is most interesting to someone accustomed to the National Health Service. In three of the countries, an individual can be treated wherever he wishes but must bear the full cost himself: the insurance fund will later reimburse some or all of the amount to him according to a fixed scale. This reimbursement may be as low as 70 or 75 per cent in France and Belgium. In the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany, treatment can be obtained only from those doctors registered with the insurance fund, but the patient does not have to pay. In these two countries, therefore, the system is nearer to that used in Britain, but it is still strictly related to insurance. Where a system of partial reimbursement operreimbursement and means-tested assistance may be available for the poorest. This is very similar to the exemption system for prescription charges in Britain.

Maternity benefit is similar, in that the dependents of an insured person are entitled to treatment and a woman insured in her own right is also entitled to an earnings-related cash benefit during her absence from work. Treatment is available under the same conditions as that for illness, except in France, where it is free of charge. Maternity grants are also paid in four of the countries, being included in the family allowance scheme in three of these. Their level is generally higher than that of the equivalent British benefit: for example, it is approximately fifty-eight pounds in France.

The provision of medical care in the EEC is thus substantially different from that in the United Kingdom. Particuraly in the countries operating the reimbursement system, there is greater freedom of choice in that the patient can go to whichever doctor he wishes without being registered. He can also choose his treatment to a certain extent, although anything costing more than the prescribed amount will not be reimbursed in full. However, if he cannot find the initial payment, he may be disinclined to seek treatment, and the greater independence of the doctors can lead to difficulties in planning the service. costs in each country cause as much concern as do those of the National Health Service and contributions must be high to meet these. Even in France, with its large direct charges, the contribution of the insured individual is 3,5 per cent of earnings up to 28 pounds per week.

Family allowances

With the exception of the Federal Republic of Germany, the EEC countries lay greater emphasis on these benefits than does Britain. In four of the countries, an allowance is paid automatically for the first child and this also happens in France if the mother does not go out to work. Benefits tend to be larger than in Britain, for example, nine pounds per month for the second child in Belgium and eleven pounds for the third and fourth child in France, although here again one must bear in mind that costs of living are not the same in each country. Additional benefits and services are provided in some of the countries, such as an extra allowance for handicapped children in Belgium and Luxembourg. France has the greatest number of these

additional benefits, ranging from housing and prenatal allowances to welfare services.

The one exception to this pattern of substantial provision for the family, financed almost entirely by employers, is the Federal Republic of Germany. The system used there is very much closer to that in Britain: entirely financed out of taxation, it provides benefit from the second child only. For this child, the allowance is only three pounds per month, but it is substantially larger for subsequent children. Unlike the British system, automatic entitlement to benefit comes only with the third child and only those with low incomes may receive an allowance for the second, but it may be paid for longer than the British benefit: up to age eighteen normally and 25 in certain circumstances.

Unemployment insurance

There is no great similarity between the countries of the EEC in their provision for unemployment, except that they have traditionally placed less emphasis on it than have British governments. Neither France nor Luxembourg has a statutory unemployment insurance programme, although France has occupational provision for the majority of employed workers. These two countries provided flat-rate benefits to the unemployed, with a means-test in some circumstances. Belgium also grants fairly standardised benefits, but the remaining three countries pay earnings-related allowances. All six, like Britain, demand of the recipient that he be prepared to take suitable employment, and all except Belgium set a limit on the length of time during which benefit may be paid.

Social security provision in the Six thus has broad similarities, but the details of the services are varied, each country has developed its own system over a long period of time to meet its own particular needs. Although the Treaty of Rome makes provision for the countries to 'harmonise' their social services, progress has been slow in this direction. Certain agreements have been made with regard to the contributions and benefits of migrant workers, but these have been essentially administrative: they have not altered the pattern of provision. The expenditure patterns of the different countries have, however, come somewhat closer together in recent years so that some of the differences are being modified. Thus the traditional French emphasis on

family allowances has been lessened in favour of old age pensions, while the reverse has happened in the Federal Republic of Germany. The overall expenditure on social security has also come closer together in recent years, but this may be for reasons unconnected with the existence of the EEC. Any substantial increases in similarity between the services of the different countries seem unlikely in the near future.

Despite the existence of these differences, it remains clear that the social security systems of the Six share certain features not found in Britain. The less direct role of government in both administration and finance is the most significant of these, but for the average citizen the contributions and benefits are more important. The relation to earnings and the frequently higher contributions provide more gene-rous benefits than in Britain for those with average and above-average incomes, but the lowest-paid may be in an unsatisfactory position. The medical care systems are more complex, since a patient's insurance entitlement must always be investigated and there is less control over GPs and hospitals. In the countries operating a reimbursement system, treatment is more expensive for the patient, especially in the short term. In general, it may be said that social security in the EEC caters for the average citizen with a reasonable income and not for the poorer members of society. Family allowances are usually flat-rate and tax-free, other benefits reflect previous earnings, medical provision works on the assumption that the patient can afford to bear part of the cost himself. Those with exceptionally low incomes are catered for outside the social security system. Although many of Britain's means-tested benefits are also outside social security as it is here defined, she still covers lower-paid workers more fully by insurance, with the emphasis on flat-rate benefits and free medical care. However, this pattern is changing slightly and Britain is adopting certain EEC features, such as earnings-related benefits and charges in medical care.

Further reading

Comparative tables of the Social Security Systems in the EEC, Commission of the European Communities, July 1971.

Recent Books and Pamphlets.

A; General material

- Sixth General Report on the activities of the Community 1972

 European Commission 1973. £1.25 (available shortly from H.M.S.O) The Commission's Annual Report to the European Parliament on the activities of the previous year.
- European Community Treaties. Sweet & Maxwell. 1972. £4.00 (paperback £2.85) All the various Community Treaties from the Paris and Rome Treaties to the UK Treaty of Accession, in one volume.
- Community Europe Today. Roger Broad and R.J. Jarrett. Oswald Wolff. 1972. £1.50. A guide to the political, economic and sociel procedures of the Community collectively and its six founder members individually. "The best single book in the field" (European studies handbook).
- Diplomacy & persuasion. Uwe Kitzinger. Thames & Hudson 1973 £2.75. A contemporary historian's account of the enlargement negotiations and the EEC debate in Britain.
- Europe our Europe. David Spanner. Seclar & Warburg 1977. £1.95. A very readable journalistic account of the enlargement negotiations.
- Europe: The radical challenge. Hugh Thomas. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1973. £3.50. Suggests guidelines for future labour policy on Europe.
- Socialism & Europe in the Seventies. Agenor, 37 Brondesbury Road, London NW6. 1972. 15p. Special issue of the monthly left wing review on Europe.

B. More specialised material.

- Report on the development of the social situation in the Community in 1971. European Commission 1972. £1.25

 (obtainable from HMSO). Belated English version of this annual report on employment and social conditions in the member countries. Report on 1972 should also be available shortly.
- Regional Development in the Community: Analytical Survey.

 European Commission. 1971. £0.82% (Available from HMSO). A detailed survey of the economic structure of the Six broken down by region.

- The EEC & Migration of Workers. W.R.Böhning & David Stephen.

 Runnymede Trust. 1971. 75p. Pamphlet giving commentated texts of Community regulations in this field.
- The Migration of Workers in the UK & the European Community.

 W.R.Böhning O.U.P. for Institute of Race Relations.

 1972. £3.00. Analyses Community regulations on free movement of workers and migration patterns in the Six, Switzerland and Britain.
- Vocational Training in the EEC. British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education. 1972. £6.00. Report of a study visit to the Commission and to France, Germany, Italy and Belgium and the Netherlands.
- The Educational Implications of Membership of the EEC. Fred Jarvis. National Union of Teachers. 1972. 25p. Surveys Community plans in such fields as harmonisation of qualifications and vocational training.
- Industrial Relations in the Common Market. Campbell Balfour.

 Routledge & Kegan Pall. 1972. £2.00. A general introduction to the subject (without the statistical detail of the other books listed below).
- Labour Movements The Common Market Countries. Marguerite
 Bouvard. Pall Mall Press. 1973. £7.25. A detailed
 survey of national and Community level union structures
 in the pre-enlarged Community.
- Implications of European Integration for personnel Management.

 Institute of Personnel Management. (Information Report No. 6) 1970. £1.10. Covers briefly all the aspects of Community Policy which have implications for personnel management.
- Labour Relations & Employment Conditions in the EEC. Coventry and District Engineering employers Association. 1972. £2.50. Sections on free movement of labour, collection bargaining, employment and earnings statistics, social security and worker participation. A wealth of statistics.
- Employment Conditions in Europe. Margaret Stewart. Gower Economic Publications. 1972. £7.50. A country by country survey of the employment conditions, social security and industrial relations in the Nine plus Norway.
- Industrial Relations & Working Conditions in the EEC Italy C.B.I. Brief No.19. 1973. 50p. (75p. CBI members)
 Briefs in other countries will be appearing shortly.
- Euro-Booklets. British Institute of Management. 1973. A new series to appear shortly covering industrial relations, employment conditions, social security etc.

- Glossary for personnel administration. European Association for Personnel Management. 1970. (Available for Institute of Personnel Management) A ten-language glossary of technical terms.
- Workers' Participation in Western Europe. Information Report
 No.10. Institute of Personnel Management. 1971. £2.25.

 A fairly detailed survey of composition and role of
 works councils in the various European countries, plus
 a shorter section on worker participation at board level.
- Workers' Participation in Management. The International Institute for Labour Studies (154 Rue de Lausanne, CH-1211 Geneva 22), has done a series of booklets on practice in various countries.

