



**european  
community**

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*Trade Union Division*

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## I. THE TRADE UNIONS AND EUROPE

### THE 4th GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

#### Opening session and addresses

The 4th General Assembly of the ICFTU unions of the Six was held in Paris at UNESCO headquarters on 11, 12 and 13 March 1964(1).

R. Bothereau took the chair at the opening sitting, which was addressed by A. Bergeron, Secretary-General of the French Confederation "Force Ouvrière", Harm G. Buiter, Secretary-General of the European ICFTU Secretariat, and by representatives of the European Executives - M. Chatenet, President of the Euratom Commission, M. Finet, member of the ECSC High Authority, and M. Mansholt, Vice-President of the EEC Commission. M. Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin, spoke on political problems.

Stressing the importance of free unionism in the building of a new Europe, André Bergeron said that the European Community, although now confined to six countries, "is not exclusive. It must be extended to all the other nations of our continent who will accept its rules and for whom democracy is not an empty phrase." Bergeron added that Europe cannot be based on economics alone. "The economic and social issues involved in the building of Europe must lead on to a political Europe. Although the economies of our six countries are from now on inextricably interwoven and although our object is their integration, it is obvious that integration can neither be worthwhile nor lasting without a Community political power. In a world in which there is no going back from the interdependence of nations, absolute national independence, as still entertained in certain quarters, is a pipe-dream."

Introducing the Secretariat's official report, Harm G. Buiter said that "unless Europe wants to degenerate into a continent at the mercy of 'technocracy' and of monopoly and cartel bosses, we believe that a European political, economic and social life must be organized around the European Executives. These must make every effort to encourage

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- (1) The following confederations are affiliated to the European Secretariat of ICFTU unions:
- DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Germany)
  - CGT-FO (Confédération générale du travail-Force ouvrière, France)
  - FGTB (Fédération générale du travail de Belgique, Belgium)
  - NVV (Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen, Netherlands)
  - CISL (Confederazione italiana sindacati lavoratori, Italy)
  - UIL (Unione italiana del lavoro, Italy)
  - CGT (Confédération générale du travail, Luxembourg)

In addition to delegations from these national confederations, representatives of the various ICFTU industrial committees of the Six also attended the General Assembly.

the creation of such a new order. The trade-union movement is ready for this development". The trade-union movement, he said, claimed among other things the right to participate in the working out of a medium-term economic policy and in work on harmonization of social security arrangements. Reaffirming that the ICFTU stood shoulder to shoulder with the European Parliament "in its campaign to democratize the European structure and therefore to gain wider powers", Buiter added that the trade-union movement also claimed the right to be represented on the future single Executive.

Referring to the breakdown of the negotiations for the accession of the United Kingdom and other European democracies to the EEC, he went on: "We have condemned and shall go on condemning the veto which slammed the Community door in the face of these applicants: we believe that their membership would mean the strengthening of the democratic machinery of a unified Europe. ... This negative attitude to the extension of EEC to other democratic countries is all the more disturbing when contrasted with efforts that are being made to bring countries into our Community whose political structures are in flagrant contradiction with the requirements and objectives of the Treaty."

The President of Euratom, M. Chatenet, then took the floor. "The nuclear age", he said, "has already begun, and it is imperative to make a start on essential tasks here and now - not only in the fields of science and technology, but also in those of investment and industry, economic programming and in the study of the social impact of these new developments. In countries like ours, attached to a certain concept of democracy and progress and possessing a great and long-established trade-union tradition, economic programming and the social impact of new developments are problems that cannot be tackled without close co-operation, from the earliest stages, with the organizations responsible for expressing the workers' point of view and protecting their interests. This is especially important in the case of such a new departure as nuclear development, where the trade-union organizations must play a major part in the education of those who are to carry it into effect as workers and to benefit from it as consumers." On the subject of the building of Europe, "considered as a late twentieth-century political project", M. Chatenet said that it "must make allowances for the special features of the new form which democracy is assuming, very gradually, in our time. Whereas in the preceding centuries the main problems concerned political philosophy and the institutions which guarded freedom, today - though of course the ground won by earlier generations on these battlefields of yesterday must not be ceded - today, economic and technical considerations are paramount, and this has led to a transformation of the activity of the body politic. This change has evoked a new order in modern democracy, and new methods of expression are required in consequence. This economic and technical upheaval, and its repercussions on the action and even

the structure of the body politic, are now giving trade-union organizations a role which for a long time was the exclusive perquisite of groups which in motive, nature and function were purely political."

M. Finet, member of the ECSC High Authority, followed. Recalling that when the ECSC was founded, the trade unionists were in two minds as to whether they should back the European venture or not, he said that they had succeeded in having specific assurances written into the Treaty "concerning the improvement of living and working conditions, particularly with regard to employment". He continued, "Today, twelve years after the inception of the first European Community, I think it is fair to claim that experience has shown we were right. Changes which have since supervened in the coal and steel industries, whether as a result of the establishment of the Common Market or of the far-reaching alterations in the structure of the market, have caused the least possible harm to miners and metalworkers, thanks to unemployment benefits and aids to retraining. Living and working conditions taken as a whole have appreciably improved, particularly as compared with the progress made over the same period in countries outside the Community. Both in terms of real income and housing conditions, the results obtained are satisfactory. Some of these measures, such as retraining, were provided for in the Treaty; others, such as unemployment assistance or workers' housing, are the outcome of a go-ahead interpretation of the Treaty. We have still some way to go, but much has been done to attain our social objectives."

In a community (and here I am drawing on my experience of the last twelve years) there is no such thing as a solution satisfactory to everyone; we always have to conciliate, to compromise and in a word to choose. The single Community of tomorrow must have this power of choice, together with the authority and the independence needed to exercise it. ... Neither the Communities of today nor the single Community of tomorrow will establish a body of European labour law. Alas, labour problems are much less to the fore in Community preoccupations than agricultural, economic, monetary or financial problems. The harmonization and improvement of living and working conditions are long-term projects; they will be far more the fruit of the understanding, the knowledge and the goodwill of men and management and of the Community Governments than of decisions, for which in any case no provision is made in any of the present three Treaties. What is essential is that the unity of European workers should continue to gain strength and make itself felt in practice."

M. Sicco Mansholt, Vice-President of the EEC Commission, said that at present the Six were not agreed on the structure of a political Europe and its place in the world. "As against the idea of a Europe

of fatherlands", he said, "we are the champions of an integrated political Europe co-operating very closely with the United States in the framework of an Atlantic partnership. In view of these differences of opinion, it would seem a hazardous venture at the present time to set up new bodies alongside the European institutions to organize co-operation between the Six in foreign policy and defence. The merger of the Executives will be no more than an administrative measure if it is not backed by a strengthening of democratic control over Community decisions. ... Important decisions are now being taken in Brussels without any control by either the national parliaments or the European Parliament." Despite these difficulties, the Community had made noteworthy progress in 1963, particularly in the agricultural sector, by its decisions of 23 December. But a decisive step forward will not be made until the Six have agreed on a common price for cereals. A decision on this point is a matter of urgency. It is vital not only for the attainment of a genuine agricultural policy, but also so that the Community can make an active contribution to the success of the Kennedy round.

It is the custom at the Assemblies of the ICFTU unions to invite a leading figure in European affairs to address the delegates. The guest speaker at the Fourth Assembly was M. Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin, who made a speech at the opening sitting. The citizens of Europe, he said, were faced with four tasks:

- "1. The unification of Europe by an amalgamation of the existing Communities and an improvement of their democratic structure;
2. The unification of Europe on the basis of a fresh political venture embracing foreign policy, security and culture;
3. The unification of Europe by an extension of the Community to those countries which are ready to co-operate;
4. The unification of Europe by decisive steps along the road of Atlantic partnership.

In pursuit of these objectives", he added, "the unions have a special job to do, for in the last analysis what really matters in Europe is the individual, his social situation in the wider sense - to which there must be given a fresh political and social content."

Several prominent figures were present at the opening sitting. They included M. Grandval, French Minister of Labour, who was representing the EEC and Euratom Councils, M. Elvinger, Luxembourg Minister for Economic Affairs, representing the ECSC Special Council, M. De Groote, Member of the Euratom Commission, M. Jean Monnet, M. Birkelbach, Chairman of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, M. Roche, Chairman of the EEC and Euratom Economic and Social Committee and representatives of the British TUC, the American AFL-CIO and of Israeli and Spanish unions in exile.

Taking part in the debate on the afternoon of 11 March, M. Levi Sandri, member of the EEC Commission and President of the Social Affairs Group, discussed the democratization of Europe. A first step in this direction, he said, would be to elect the European Parliament by universal suffrage and make the Community institutions truly responsible to it. It was however obvious that in modern States democratic life was not created only by institutions - there were also the political parties, the "social partners" and the trade-union movements. The European free trade-union movement was the mouthpiece of the working class. It was therefore important that these unions should strengthen their organizations at European level. For the moment all that existed was European secretariats forming an initial nucleus. But a real European trade-union confederation would be needed in the future.

"Social policy is a vital component part of Community policy. In this sphere, the EEC Commission is anxious to maintain co-operation with men and management and the Governments. We believe that the ideal would be tripartite co-operation (Commission, Governments, industry), but in certain cases this kind of co-operation is not feasible. In these cases, the Commission has decided to move forward, so to speak, on two fronts, co-operating separately with the Governments on the one hand and the social partners on the other. Under the difficult conditions you know of, the EEC Commission has succeeded in developing its social work and in pursuing its dialogue with the social partners. It is wrong to allege that the Commission lacks initiative in the social field; it has organized conferences - for the first time at European level - on social security, on housing, and on social policy in transport; the second regulation on the free movement of workers has been approved and wage surveys have been carried out.

As for the future, the EEC Commission is determined to press forward two vital matters: occupational training and the harmonization of living and working conditions in the Community."

A. Gailly spoke on behalf of the ECSC-ICFTU miners' and metal-workers' 'Intersyndicale', of which he is President. He said that there were still too many gloomy aspects of the social policy of the first European Community, that there was too wide a gap between what was expected of Europe and what it had yielded so far. In a speech reflecting both social and political considerations, M. Gailly briefly reviewed the work of the ECSC over the last twelve years.

Discussing the Community's social policy and progress in the social field, he said that the arrangements for trade-union representation in the European institutions were inadequate. But he added that

the real income of the workers in the two industries (coal and steel) had advanced by about 30%, which was much the same as the increase in the United States and well ahead of the improvement recorded in most other European countries. In workers' housing and in aid to redundant workers, the High Authority had even gone beyond the requirements of the Treaty. Two new principles in social law - industrial conversion and retraining - were regarded by the trade unions as real victories in the campaign for improved social conditions in Europe. Retraining was now accepted and practised in all the ECSC countries. It was impossible in the Europe of 1964 to close down an industry without planning to put something new and worth while in its place.

M. Gailly felt that two factors in particular had made these victories possible: the financial independence of the ECSC and trade-union vigilance. ECSC autonomy and the right to trade-union representation were two principles for which the unions would have to fight hard if they wished to ensure that the single executive of tomorrow and later the single Community should not mean retrogression from what had already been achieved.

#### Report from O. Brenner

On Thursday 12 March, O. Brenner, President of I.G. Metall (German metalworkers' federation), presented a report on the "Tasks of the trade-union movement in integrated Europe".

According to Brenner, European unification had not, as some would believe, reached a stage of stagnation in the economic field, but was being undermined by political discord. It was now up to the trade unions to shoulder the important task of revitalizing by joint action the idea of European unification. The unions must show firmness, despite obstacles and setbacks, in their efforts to give the European integration movement fresh impetus.

Recalling the major European demonstration organized by the DGB in Dortmund, he said it should serve as an example to be followed in the concerted action of the European trade-union movement. In future, arrangements should be made for even closer co-operation between the national trade-union organizations with a view to the building up of a genuine European trade-union movement. Already the European trade-union secretariat set up in 1958 had become a sort of focal point for joint action. It must, even more than in the past, function as a co-ordination centre in the framework of the EEC Economic and Social Committee. Groups of workers, even in a minority, should not hesitate to express their views on questions of principle.

Brenner added that a common approach was needed in the work being carried out jointly by the industrial trade-union committees recently



set up at Community level. Closer contacts should exist between the trade unions and the European Parliament. In addition to direct contacts with the European Executives, there should be regular and systematic relations with the European Parliament.

As more remote objectives of a common European action programme for the unions, Brenner mentioned the strengthening of union organization in the EEC member countries and the extension of joint action. This might take the form of a common union propaganda fund, combined training seminars and joint conferences on problems arising in certain industries. In any event, European trade-union co-operation, which was very close and fruitful at the top, must develop on a wider basis and penetrate union life as a whole in the member countries.

Brenner also suggested the organization of an informatory meeting of European trade-union leaders responsible for collective bargaining and the establishment of a standing information committee on collective bargaining policy. There were already many common objectives in the field of collective bargaining. In all the EEC countries the unions were fighting for a 5-day, 40-hour week, longer paid holidays, higher wages and benefits, equality of status between floor and office workers and equal pay for women and young workers; they were also campaigning for objectives such as outline-planning in the economic field, co-determination and co-ownership.

On this common basis a European trade-union action programme, embodying the aims and objectives of greatest importance in coming years, must be put in hand before the next General Assembly. It must include an undertaking to spare no efforts in the pursuit of policy aims. In this way the unions could leap across national frontiers and unite in the Europe of tomorrow, in a single European trade-union movement.

#### Final resolution

In conclusion, the Assembly approved the following resolution:

"The free trade unions (ICFTU) of the six Member States of the European Communities held their fourth General Assembly in Paris on 11-13 March 1964.

"On behalf of their 12 million affiliated workers they reaffirmed their unswerving determination to pursue the building of a democratic United States of Europe, which, as an equal partner of the United States of America, will make a decisive contribution to the creation of a better world order.

"1. The General Assembly reaffirms its unfailing support for all efforts to establish a politically, economically and socially integrated Europe open to all democratic countries accepting the rules and the spirit of the Treaty of Rome.

The General Assembly recalls its condemnation of the unilateral attitude of France, which was motivated by political considerations and which - apart from Great Britain's own hesitations - was the main reason for the failure of the negotiations for her entry into the Common Market.

The free trade unions will continue their efforts to extend the Community to all the democratic countries of Europe and they will accordingly maintain very close contacts with sister organizations in the countries concerned.

Despite the crisis provoked by the events of January 1963, the building of the European Community has continued. The rate of development has not, however, been as rapid as could have been expected.

"2. Association with the Community must enable standards of living to be improved. The strengthening of democracy and the defence of the workers' interests in the countries now associated - Greece and Turkey - will have the full support of the free unions. They accordingly claim the right to participate in the implementation of the association treaties.

The interests of certain non-European countries whose economies are closely linked with that of the EEC must be safeguarded. The General Assembly is, in this context, strongly in favour of a special agreement with the State of Israel.

"3. On the other hand, a community built on justice and on freedom has no room for countries governed by dictatorships such as Spain and Portugal, nor for countries under totalitarian rule.

"4. The General Assembly welcomes the conclusion of the Convention of Association with the African Republics and Madagascar, regarding it as a valuable contribution to the harmonious advancement of the developing countries. It trusts that conventions of the same kind will be concluded with all countries which so request.

"5. A Europe not supported by the people, in which decisions are taken without democratic control, is doomed to failure. The democratic machinery of the Communities must therefore be strengthened and any authoritarian aspirations must be resisted.

The General Assembly therefore calls for wider powers for the European Parliament, notably in the budgetary field, and for the strengthening of its right of democratic control over the EEC Commission and above all over the Council of Ministers. The direct election of the Parliament would enhance its authority. The merging of the three Executives (Common Market, Euratom and the Coal and Steel pool) would consolidate the strength of a single Executive.

The General Assembly claims appropriate representation of the European trade-union movement in this joint Executive.

"6. Beyond integration - enlarged to embrace the whole of Western Europe - lies the problem of closer links with the United States, i.e. the problem of mutual understanding in a western world pledged to freedom and progress. These links must be sought on the basis of equality and not subjection. The General Assembly hopes that the coming negotiations in GATT and the World Conference on Trade and Development will make possible more balanced trade with the United States and the underdeveloped countries, so as to mitigate antagonisms which otherwise will inevitably harm the free world.

"7. The efforts made by the European Economic Community in the economic and social field have left unaffected certain structural disequilibria. The General Assembly stresses the need to solve these problems without delay, failing which they are likely to aggravate present strains.

In this connection agriculture, the distribution of goods and the volume and pattern of public spending call for priority action.

An economic policy worked out in association with the employers and the workers, and to which the Governments of the six countries and the Community will be committed, is therefore a matter of urgency. The trade-union movement declines, however, to subscribe to the incomes policy proposed by the Governments and the Commission, because such a policy would inevitably hamper wage claims, if not actually freeze wages.

"8. The General Assembly reaffirms the need for a long-term economic programme drawn up by a European planning commissariat.

The Commission's recommendation for a medium-term economic policy is the first step in this direction. The General Assembly emphasizes that this policy will certainly fail if the unions do not participate in all stages of the work.

"9. The General Assembly acknowledges the progress made in the development of the common agricultural policy. It sees, in the new common organization of agricultural markets and in the proposal for a single cereals price, factors essential to a European agricultural policy. Harmonization of the cereals price at an average level in a single operation as proposed by the Commission is a measure that should be adopted without delay. The General Assembly points to the danger of pursuing a European agricultural policy in such a way that traditional trade with other States, notably with the developing countries, is jeopardized. It is opposed to methods by which agricultural policy is conducted at the expense of the consumer.

Reorganization of agricultural structures and the social adjustments arising therefrom must be carried out without delay to supplement a policy concentrating too heavily on marketing.

"10. Without wishing to embark on a detailed analysis, the General Assembly cannot overlook the obvious inadequacies and omissions of the Commission and of the Council of Ministers in the vital fields of the common energy policy and the transport policy. It also deplores the lack of any effective measures to deal with the cartels and monopolies which are constantly being developed.

"11. Drawing attention to the social objectives of the Community, the General Assembly regrets that the measures of social policy so far taken have not complied with the time-limits laid down in the Treaty.

The prospects opened up by the Commission's Action Programme for the Second Stage must be made a reality.

The rules of social harmonization in the Treaty of Rome form a starting point from which the Commission can embark on broader ventures. The General Assembly strongly disapproves of obstacles raised by the Governments.

"12. The General Assembly regrets the delay in introducing equal pay. It calls on its member organizations to support, notably in collective bargaining, the Commission's efforts to effect the introduction of equal pay for women by the time-limit set (31 December 1964).

It also recalls the procedure recommended in 1962 with a view to promoting Community action, in particular by means of meetings between employers' and workers' organizations to discuss specific social problems. The common standpoints arrived at in this way, notably as regards the protection of young people at work, have not yet led the Commission to propose Community standards.

The General Assembly also reminds the Community of its duty to facilitate the exchange of young workers and the need for occupational training by Community arrangements. It feels strongly that prompt action is needed. It points out that no action has yet been taken on the recommendations of the European Conference on the harmonization of social security schemes, which took place in December 1962.

"13. The General Assembly invites the Commission to use the experience it has gained to consolidate arrangements for consultation of employers and workers on the basis of a detailed work programme and time-table. Consultations must also be instituted in certain sectors and certain branches of industry.

"14. The free trade-union movement, aware of its responsibilities in the building of Europe and convinced that the workers will gain nothing without a struggle, must spare no effort to make that struggle victorious.

It is ready to co-operate with all the democratic forces of progress to attain its objectives. Since one of its main objectives is the strengthening of democracy, it refrains from all contact with organizations affiliated to the communist World Federation of Trade Unions.

With a view to defining a common economic, social and trade-union policy, the free trade-union movement must also adopt a structure suited to more intensive operations, must exchange the experiences of its organizations and plan a programme of joint action on the basis of suggestions made in the Brenner report.

The General Assembly also recognizes the need to set up a standing committee - at the initiative of its Executive - for discussion and comparison of programmes, claims, trade-union achievements and collective agreements.

Common objectives would cover in particular:

- (i) The application of the 5-day, 40-hour week;
- (ii) The improvement of paid holiday arrangements;
- (iii) Equal status for floor and office workers;
- (iv) Equal pay.

The ICFTU unions, which cover the great majority of organized workers in the European Communities, will not falter in their struggle for peace, well-being and freedom. They call on all European workers to rally to their ranks and share their triumph."

#### Officers

The newly-appointed officers of the Executive Committee of the European Secretariat of the ICFTU unions of the Six are as follows:

Chairman, Ludwig Rosenberg (DGB, Germany), Vice-Chairmen, B. Storti (CISL, Italy) and A. Krier (CGT, Luxembourg). The General Secretary is H.G. Buiter.

## Press reports

The trade-union press devoted a number of articles to the ICFTU's Paris Assembly. Here is a selection:

"GEWERKSCHAFTEN WOLLEN IN EUROPA MITREDEN" (The unions want their say in Europe), by W. Fr. in "Welt der Arbeit" (DGB, Germany), No. 12/64, pp. 1 and 4.

"NICHT OHNE GEWERKSCHAFTEN" (Not without unions), by H. St. in "Grundstein" (DGB, Germany), No. 6/64, pp. 1 and 2.

"GEMEINSAME ZIELE" (Common aims) in "Metall" (IG Metall, DGB, Germany), No. 6 of 23 March 1964, pp. 1 and 4.

"SYNDICALISME EUROPEEN" (European unionism), by D. Major in "Syndicats", (FGTB, Belgium), No. 11 of 14 March 1964, p.1.

"APRES PARIS" (After Paris), by L. Major in "Syndicats" (FGTB, Belgium), No. 12 of 21 March 1964, p.1.

"L'EUROPE DU TRAVAIL EN MARCHÉ - 50 000 MINEURS MANIFESTERONT A DORTMUND EN JUIN PROCHAIN" (The workers' Europe on the march - 50 000 miners will demonstrate in Dortmund next June) in "ACTION" (FGTB, Charleroi, Belgium), No. 12 of 28 March 1964, pp. 1 and 5.

"UN CONGRES DE L'EUROPE SOCIALE" (A congress of social Europe) in "Force Ouvrière" (COT-FO, France), No. 936 of 18 March 1964, pp. 6, 7 and 8.

"FIDELITE EUROPEENNE" (Loyalty to Europe) by A. Leval in "La métallurgie syndicaliste" (COT-FO, metalworkers, France), No. 110, March 1964, p.1.

"CONGRES EUROPEEN - POUR UN PROGRAMME SYNDICAL D'ACTION A L'ECHELLE D'UN CONTINENT" (European Congress - Towards a trade-union action programme at European level) in "Le réveil des mineurs" (FO, France), No. 97, April 1964, p.6.

"PARIS: ASSEMBLEE DES SYNDICATS EUROPEENS C.I.S.L." (Paris: Assembly of EEC ICFTU unions) in "Syndicalisme" (CFTC, France), No. 975 of 28 March 1964, p.6.

"LA COMUNITÀ INTEGRATA" (The integrated Community) by F.E. in "Conquista del lavoro" (GISL, Italy), No. 12 of 22 March 1964, p.15.

"UNA ALTERNATIVA DEMOCRATICA ALL'EUROPA DEI BUROCRATI" (A democratic alternative to a Europe of bureaucrats) in "Il lavoro Italiano", (UIL, Italy), No. 12 of 21 March 1964 pp. 1 and 6.

"EEG-VAKBEWEGING HEEFT BELANGRIJKE TAAK" (The union movement in the EEC has an important task), by Drs. H. Ter Heide in "De Vakbeweging" (NVV, Netherlands), No. 6/64, pp. 84 and 85.

The general press in the six countries also reported the Assembly.

## PROGRAMME OF THE THIRD

### EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS

As already announced, the Third European Conference of Christian Trade Unions will be held in Strasbourg on 15, 16 and 17 April 1964.

The Conference will be opened on Wednesday morning 15 April by an address from A. Cool, President of the IFCTU European Organization; this will be followed by speeches from representatives of the European Executives - M.R. Reynaud, a member of the ECSC High Authority, M. Levi Sandri, a member of the EEC Commission and M. E.R. von Gelden, Director-General in Euratom. M. Pflimlin, President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, will also address the Conference.

In the afternoon, J. Kulakowski, Secretary-General of the IFCTU European Organization will present the organization's progress report.

Three other reports will also be presented for discussion: "Towards a true European democracy" (G. Esperet, Vice-President of the CFTC (France)), "A European social policy" (F. Dohmen, President of the International Federation of Christian Mineworkers); "European Integration and Europe's place in the world" (E. Schmid, Secretary of the Swiss Association of Protestant Trade Unions).

On Thursday, 16 April, M. Bogaers, Netherlands Minister of Housing and Construction, will address the Conference.

A summary report of this Conference will appear in a later number of the "Manpower Bulletin".

### TRADE-UNION CONFERENCE OF THE IFCTU EUROPEAN ORGANIZATION

The European Regional Organization of the IFCTU, which has a membership of twenty-two national organizations in 18 European countries, will hold a regional Trade-Union Conference in Turin in September 1964.

It was decided to organize this Conference at the last meeting of the Organization's Executive Committee. The agenda includes Atlantic partnership problems, the role of the unions in the organization of aid and technical assistance to the developing countries, and the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.



#### FOURTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN UNION OF LABOUR

The Fourth National Congress of the Italian Union of Labour (UIL) was held from 1 to 4 March 1964 in Montecatini.

Part of the general report presented to the Congress was devoted to international problems and in particular those connected with European integration.

On this last question, the UIL agreed a number of guiding principles including: opposition to the "Europe of the fatherlands", "open door" to Great Britain and other democracies, particularly those of northern Europe, wishing to join the EEC, and "closed door" to countries, like Spain, which do not grant their citizens freedom of speech and association; the UIL also looks forward to the merging of the European Executives, election of the European Parliament by universal suffrage, and the development of the integration process by the implementation of common policies in the economic and social fields.

Conveying the good wishes of the EEC Commission for the success of the Congress, M. Levi Sandri stressed the role of the trade-union movement in the process of European integration.

The trade-union movement, said M. Levi Sandri, must make a positive contribution, by concrete and realistic proposals, to solving the most important Community problems, not only in the social sphere but also in all sectors of European integration. It must stand for the real demands of the working classes and peoples, thus helping to pass beyond the purely technocratic stage in which the European Institutions ran the risk of being bogged down.

In this way, the speaker went on to say, the trade-union movement would help to build a new Europe by making a genuine democratic contribution. But before this could come about, the Community structures of the movement must be strengthened and the present secretariats transformed into real European confederations.

The Congress re-elected Senator Italo Viglianesi as UIL Secretary-General.

FRENCH SUPERVISORY STAFFS UNION (CGC)  
IN FAVOUR OF MERGING THE EUROPEAN EXECUTIVES

Meeting on 4 March 1964 in Paris, the Steering Committee of the CGC issued a statement supporting the merger of the European Executives which has just been decided on in Brussels.

The CGC expects that this will lead to improved co-ordination of economic policies, and notably of energy policy. This improvement, it feels, is a growing need. It is anxious, however, that the merger should not lead to a watering down of the real powers of the European Executive, which should be brought as quickly as possible under the control of a European Parliament genuinely representing the economic, social and political forces of Europe.

The CGC would also like to see the composition of the EEC-Euratom Economic and Social Committee broadened to make more room for representatives of managerial and supervisory staffs. It should also play a larger part, taking up of its own accord any problem falling within its terms of reference.

In accordance with the decisions taken at its last Congress, the CGC decided to study the real social and economic impact of an "incomes policy". In this field the CGC shares the view of the European Community and others that a special effort is needed to stabilize and even scale down all public expenditure not leading to an increase in consumer needs.

## II. STATEMENTS BY INDUSTRIAL AND TRADE COMMITTEES

### 48th STATUTORY CONGRESS OF THE FEDERATION ("CENTRALE") OF BELGIAN METALWORKERS' UNIONS (FGTB)

On 14-15 March 1964 delegates from the FGTB Metalworkers' Unions met in Brussels for their National Congress.

M. Arthur Gailly and M. Josse Mage presided.

M. Gust Wallaert, acting national secretary, introduced the secretary's report. For the first time, this made no allusion either to claims or to future prospects. It was mainly devoted to an examination of the present situation of the "Centrale", and to proposed measures to build up again the ideological unity of the organization and its solidarity in action, which had been undermined by the strikes of 1960-61.

The Congress adopted unanimously a new statement of principles.

Europe was also discussed. Many speakers pointed to the trend towards capital concentration at European level, and emphasized the duty of trade-union organizations to show a common front against this opposing bloc.

On this point the Congress adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"Aware of the growing interdependence of peoples and particularly of the European peoples, the CMB has always supported moves towards European unification, realizing as it does that the main reason for the relative backwardness of Western Europe has been economic and political division.

"It has always considered that the unification of Europe could create the necessary conditions for its economic equilibrium, material expansion and social advancement.

"However, as early as 1952, the CMB felt, while welcoming the establishment of the ECSC, that all necessary practical arrangements should be made without delay to prepare the defence of trade-union interests and to promote the attainment of the social and economic objectives embodied in the Treaty.

"By calling at that time for the institution of a permanent trade-union and technical secretariat for the miners and metalworkers of the six Community countries, our organization emphasized the need to organize and co-ordinate the action of the six trade-union movements.

"Today, strengthened by the experience of several years of the working of the European supranational institutions, the CMB proclaims with even more vigour the imperative obligation of trade-unionists to unite in the face of a powerful and well organized employers' front in Europe.

"It is in this spirit that the CMB is anxious to co-operate with the trade-union bodies which have been set up to keep the cause of European workers to the fore in the Communities and voice their aspirations.

"In so far as this may strengthen the action of workers in the Community, the CMB is willing, on the basis of its beliefs and its pledges, from which it will not depart, to join hands and co-operate with all movements which are in favour of the building of a free, economic and social Europe of the kind the CMB envisages.

#### In the social field

"The CMB remains convinced of the need to harmonize social conditions in Community industries, and, whilst it regrets that the progress made in this field is still inadequate, intends to participate in all the work of the ECSC and to spare no effort to promote, through this institution, the improvement of living and working conditions and their levelling upwards.

"The CMB also welcomes the institution of a European "Metal" Committee with a permanent secretariat to uphold the interests of European metalworkers at EEC level.

"It will do everything in its power to assist in the functioning of this Committee and to make the voice of Belgian metalworkers heard in it against a European background.

#### In the economic field

"The CMB believes that the trade-union movement must take the initiative by demanding - both of the EEC and of the ECSC - the application of a practical policy to convert areas affected by the closing down of industries, the preparation of an economic plan to industrialize depressed areas in Europe, the co-ordination of economic policies so as to avoid over-investment, and in more general terms, the effective participation of workers in directing the economy".

THE GENERAL UNION OF AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

(CFTC) CALLS FOR EUROPEAN PLANNING

The day after its Congress, held in Paris early in March, this union issued a manifesto condemning "over-investment" on the part of motor manufacturers and, as the CFTC had already done a few years previously, calling for planned production on a scale adapted to the Common Market area plus Great Britain.

By such planning - which the unionists wish to be able to check and if need be question - production should take place under the best possible conditions while ensuring employment and a livelihood for the workers.

To gain acceptance for this view, the Congress believes that links must be established between the European unions (which does not rule out contacts with American unions) allowing of combined programmes as a prelude to unified action to introduce a European collective agreement in the motor industry.

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### III. THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

#### THE 46th WALLOON SOCIAL WEEK

##### "EUROPE AND THE WORKERS"

The Christian Workers' Movement of Belgium (MOC) held its annual "social week" this year at Malonne. Four hundred leaders and active members of affiliated organizations and many prominent figures in politics and business attended.

The theme chosen this year was "Europe and the Workers".

Pierre Servoz, of the Information Service of the European Communities, gave a talk entitled "Europe in the making". He said that the terms on which the workers supported the idea of a new Europe were that it should be a Europe in which the working class occupied its rightful place. After a brief survey of the background, he enunciated a number of guiding principles which the workers insisted must be followed in the construction of Europe: democratic planning, economic regionalization, political federalism and world solidarity, all designed to promote greater efficiency and to safeguard the rights and dignity of the workers of the six countries, as of all the democratic countries to which the Community was open.

A. Delperée, Secretary-General of the Belgian Ministry of Labour, reported on progress in the social field in the European Communities and outlined future prospects.

Ch. Walhin, Doctor of Economics, discussed the economic achievements and prospects of the European Communities. Acknowledging the real success of the Communities, he emphasized the responsibilities this new economic power brought with it. He called in forthright terms for Community machinery capable of guiding and planning the European economy.

Jean Kulakowski, General Secretary of the European Organization of the IFCTU, spoke on the workers' position in Europe. He outlined the framework in which the workers' action was exerted, its broad principles and the adjustments necessitated by the new economic structure. He described the power sources behind the integration process: the States, the European Executives, the Community technocratic apparatus and political, economic, social and cultural forces. He concluded with a general survey of the prospects for trade-union action in the European context.

Enrico Medi, Vice-President of the Euratom Commission, discussed cultural problems in the new Europe. Speaking of the importance of education in the modern world, he stressed the need for higher standards and a balance between specialization and the range of general knowledge.

The pooling of the cultural resources of the six countries would contribute, he said, to raising standards.

A. Oleffe, President of the MOC, presented in conclusion a collective report highlighting the need for the political integration of Europe. Pointing to the dangers of economic mechanisms lacking political support, he advocated a federal arrangement based on existing democratic structures.

On each day, meetings of study groups on specific areas or problems provided opportunities for the fuller discussion of papers read and for exchanges of views.

#### IV. FROM THE TRADE UNION PRESS

##### POLITICAL PROBLEMS

"DAS EUROPA DER ARBEITER - IST ES VERGESSEN?" (A workers' Europe - has it been forgotten?), by Apitzsch in "Holzarbeiterzeitung" (DGB, Germany) No. 9/63, pp. 18-19.

In this article the author puts his finger on the weak points in the development of social policy in the EEC: "The majority of the population, learning of the growing concentration of power and of capital, are disturbed and are beginning to ask the question: 'What's in the new Europe for us?'"

Apitzsch believes that the sceptical attitude of the workers towards the European idea stems from the fact that the small number of social provisions in the Rome Treaty would seem to be more a support to wider economic development than to anything else. What is needed is the establishment without delay of a trade-union action programme for the EEC.

"LES PROBLEMES QUE POSE LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'EUROPE" (Problems involved in the building of Europe) in "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 14, 4 April 1964, p.6.

The summary of a speech by M. Oleffe, President of the MOC, closing the 46th Walloon "social week", which was devoted this year to European problems (see p. 18).

"PROBLEMES COMMUNAUTAIRES A TRAVERS LE 12e RAPPORT DE LA HAUTE AUTORITE" (Community problems in the light of the 12th report of the High Authority) in "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 12, 21 March 1964, p.7.

Long excerpts from the introduction to the High Authority's recently published 12th General Report, which discusses the ECSC's general policy and the broad lines of future development.

"LE SYNDICALISME ET L'EUROPE" (Unionism in Europe); "LES SYNDICATS DANS L'EUROPE" (The unions in Europe) in "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 12, 21 March 1964, p.6 and No.13, 28 March 1964, p.7.

A review of Professor Meynaud's study "Trade-union action and the European Economic Community" (see "Manpower Bulletin" Nos.2-63 and 3-63).

"AVANT L'OUVERTURE DU 'KENNEDY ROUND'" (Before the opening of the Kennedy round); "Bataille préliminaire sur les 'disparités'" (Preliminary skirmish over disparities); "LA MESURE DES SACRIFICES QUI SERONT EXIGES DES SALARIES" (The sacrifices wage-earners will have to make), by Roger Talence in "Force Ouvrière" (CGT-FO, France), Nos. 934 and 935 of 4 and 11 March 1964, p.9.

"IL LIMBO EUROPEO PER IL GENERALISSIMO" (The European limbo for the generalissimo), by F. Baduel in "Conquista del Lavoro" (CISL, Italy), No. 12, 22 March 1964, p.18.

Spain, says the author, is trying to break out of her political and economic isolation and is seeking association with the EEC. Her application is finding support from the argument that this could be a way of bringing down the dictatorship. There may be something in this, says the author, but no concession should be made to Spain before a sweeping reform of the present political system.

"DE WERKER" (Algemene Nederlandse Bedrijfsbond in de Mijnindustrie) No. 6, 20 March 1964, p.2.

This article recalls H.G. Buiter's letters on behalf of the ICFTU unions of the Six to the EEC Commission concerning the failure of EEC institutions to consult the trade-union movement regularly (see "Manpower Bulletin" No. 2-64).

#### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

"LA C.E.C.A. EST-ELLE PROTECTIONNISTE?" (Is ECSC protectionist?) in "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 11, 14 March 1964, pp. 6-7; "ENCORE LA QUESTION DE L'ACIER EUROPEEN" (Once again the question of European steel) in "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 14, 4 April 1964.

These two articles discuss the raising of EEC steel import duties, with reference to the position adopted by the High Authority on this matter.

#### SOCIAL PROBLEMS

"TRADE UNION HELP FOR FOREIGN WORKERS IN GERMANY" by H. Richter in "Free Labour World", official journal of the ICFTU, Brussels, No. 164, February 1964, pp. 11-15.



Nearly a million foreigners are now working in Germany. This article describes what the German unions are doing to facilitate their stay and to help them to adjust themselves to new conditions.

"DEUTSCHE WÖRTER EINGEPAUKT" (an elementary German course), by H.N. in "Einheit" (DGB, Germany), 2 March 1964.

"The safety of foreign workers is jeopardized by their ignorance of the language of the country in which they work". Already 9% of underground mineworkers in Germany are foreigners. The figures on foreign workers speak for themselves: they meet with twice as many accidents as German workers. In certain pits there are workers from 10 different countries and, in one case mentioned, more than 20 countries. "The authorities should enquire whether there is not a case for providing linguistic facilities for foreign workers in the interests of industrial safety".

"VERS UNE POLITIQUE COMMUNE DE L'EMPLOI?" (Towards a common employment policy?) in "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 14, 4 April 1964, pp. 6 and 7.

Summary of a speech on the geographical and occupational mobility of workers under a common European employment policy, delivered in Florence (see "Manpower Bulletin" No. 2-64) by M. Levi Sandri, member of the EEC Commission.

"Ve PROGRAMME DE CONSTRUCTION DE LOGEMENTS AVEC L'AIDE DE LA C.E.C.A." (Fifth ECSC housing programme) in "Le sidérurgiste lorrain" (CGT-FO, France, eastern area), No. 10, March 1964, p.2.

The line the unions should take as regards priority access to house-ownership is that everything should be done to offer the maximum ease and comfort to all who work in iron and steel mills and are subject to their shift systems. Only as the lesser of two evils should the building of immense barrack-like buildings - the source of not a few difficulties - be encouraged. ECSC aid, the article concludes, should help to satisfy for as many as possible the general desire of workers with families to own their own homes.

"DE MIJNWERKER" (Nederlandse Katholieke Mijnwerkersbond), No. 3, March 1964, pp. 62 and 63.

On the occasion of the publication of the High Authority's memorandum on developments in the question of the European mineworkers' statute, this article retraces the background of the question, taking as a starting point M. P. Finet's speech at Aachen in November 1956. The author hopes that discussions on this subject will soon be resumed and that the points of view of the various parties will be brought closer together, given the current economic situation of the European coal industry and the serious shortage of miners in western Europe.

#### AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

"PARITAIR-SOCIAAL COMITE VOOR DE LANDBOUW IN DE EUROPESE ECONOMISCHE GEMEENSCHAP" (Joint Social Committee for Agriculture in the European Economic Community) in "St Deusededit" (Nederlandse Katholieke Bond van werknemers in de agrarische bedrijfstakken, Netherlands), No. 6, 13 March 1964, p.98; "SOCIALE POSITIE LANDARBEIDERS IN DE E.E.G." (The social situation of EEC landworkers) in "Verenigt U" (Algemene Nederlandse Agrarische Bedrijfsbond-NVV, Netherlands), No. 5, 9 March 1964, p.12.

Two articles welcoming the establishment of the Joint Social Committee for Agriculture on 25 February 1964 in Brussels.

#### TRANSPORT POLICY

"WETTBEWERB BEI GLEICHEN BEDINGUNGEN" (Competition on equal terms) by H. Möllers in "Das ÖTV-Magazin" (DGB, Germany), No. 3-64, p.15.

Discussing the harmonization of working conditions on inland waterways in the EEC countries, the author says that identical basic conditions must be established between carriers so that they can complete as far as possible on equal terms as regards labour costs.

The inland-waterway delegates had submitted to the EEC Director-General for Transport a scheme by which harmonization would first be introduced for crews and workers on the Rhine. The author continues, "in future consultations, there should be taken into consideration the results of international talks held under the auspices of the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine in Strasbourg and of the ILO in Geneva. Swiss carriers and workers have given full co-operation. It is scarcely conceivable that an arrangement on Rhine shipping can be worked out without the participation of Switzerland".

"DE VAKBEWEGING" (NVV, Netherlands), No. 4, 3 March 1964, pp. 54-55.

"Common transport policy in the EEC countries" by H. Ter Heide, a detailed study of the problems connected with the EEC proposals for a common transport policy.

The author concludes, "in short, the EEC Commission's proposals on transport must be judged unsatisfactory. They follow no definite line, and even the Economic and Social Committee's memorandum, which proposes many improvements, does not offer an ideal solution. After the European Parliament has rendered its opinion, which is expected shortly, it will be for the Council of Ministers to take decisions. Unfortunately, the Council is unlikely to reach agreement at an early date, which means that the common transport policy will go on hanging fire".

## V. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DOCUMENTATION

### EEC

EEC BULLETIN No. 3, March 1964 (monthly). This number contains a speech delivered by M. R. Marjolin, a Vice-President of the Commission, to the European Parliament, on 21 January 1964 introducing a report on the economic situation in the European Economic Community in 1963 and the outlook for 1964.

Another article is entitled "Background to association with the African States and Madagascar: its scope and content".

On sale in single copies or by subscription, in the four Community languages and in English and Spanish.

### ECSC

Twelfth General Report on the Activities of the Community  
1 February 1963 to 31 January 1964.

Luxembourg, March 1964, Publishing Services of the European Communities, 3446/2/64/1. On sale in the four Community languages and in English.

In its series on "Regional economy and policy" the High Authority has recently published two new items entitled:

"LE FINANCEMENT DES INVESTISSEMENTS ET LES ASPECTS SOCIAUX DE LA RECONVERSION" (the financing of investments and the social aspects of industrial conversion), Luxembourg 1963, Publishing Services of the European Communities, 3323/2/63/1;

"LA CONDUITE SUR PLACE DES OPERATIONS DE CONVERSION INDUSTRIELLE" (industrial conversion on the spot), Luxembourg, 1963, Publishing Services of the European Communities, 3324/2/63/1.

These two studies follow up reports and other papers presented at an inter-governmental conference on industrial conversion in areas affected by pit closures held in 1960 in Luxembourg.

They are on sale in the four Community languages.

## EURATOM

"THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR PROVEN-TYPE POWER REACTORS", by H. Michaelis, Euratom "Bulletin", No. 1-1964, pp. 2 et seq. (the four Community languages and English).

## MISCELLANEOUS

"AUTOMATION UND TECHNISCHER FORTSCHRITT IN DEUTSCHLAND UND DEN USA" (Automation and technical progress in Germany and the United States), Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt, 1963.

An important seminar was held on this subject at America House in Frankfurt on 3-5 July 1963.

Günter Friedrichs has produced a symposium of the papers presented by Solomon Barker, Siegfried Braun, Otto Brenner, James R. Bright, Leo H.J. Crijns, Günter Friedrichs, Everett M. Kassalow, Hans Pornschlegel, Ludwig Rosenberg, Bert Seidman, Ben. B. Seligman, Vidkunn Ulriksson, Frans Vinck and Hans K. Weng.

"LES SYNDICATS EN FRANCE" (The trade unions in France), by J.-D. Reynaud (Collection U, Armand Colin, Paris).

A study of workers' unions, employers' federations, industrial relations (negotiations and agreements), strikes (means and ends), unionism in the enterprise, unions and the state, unions and international life.

The author's conclusions are of considerable interest. There is also a "Documents" section containing statements by the unions on current problems and background documents. The index and bibliography will be found extremely useful.

"L'UNION SOVIETIQUE FACE A L'INTEGRATION EUROPEENNE" (The Soviet Union and European integration), by Bernard Dutoit, Doctor of Laws, European Research Centre, School of Advanced Commercial Studies, University of Lausanne.

An appendix to this study reproduces the discussion of 17 points on the Common Market ("on the creation of the Common Market and of Euratom"), published in "Kommunist" 9-57, pp. 88-102, and 32 points on the Common Market - ("imperialist integration in Western Europe") published in "Pravda", 26 August 1962, pp. 3-4.