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Trade Union Division

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I. THE UNIONS AND EUROPE

NEW PROGRAMME FOR FREE UNIONS OF THE SIX

Amsterdam, 22 October 1964

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Secretariat, to which the free trade union confederations (ICFTU) of the six countries of the Community are affiliated, met in Amsterdam on 22 October 1964 under the chairmanship of Ludwig Rosenberg, Chairman of the DGB (Germany).

The Executive Committee decided to renew its efforts to ensure adequate trade union representation within the future single European Executive. In parallel with the steps to be undertaken by affiliated confederations at national level, a delegation from the Executive Committee will make a direct approach to the Chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers.

The Secretariat has worked out a T.U. action programme on which a long discussion took place and the broad outline of which was approved. At its meeting on 3 and 4 February 1965 the Executive Committee will draw up the final text of this programme. Member Confederations will examine the possibility of including the main points of this action programme in the manifestos they issue for 1 May 1965.

The Executive Committee gave lengthy consideration to the disturbing developments in the trade union situation in Greece. A resolution was adopted which will be sent to the Greek Government and to the appropriate bodies within the Community.

The text of this resolution is as follows :

The Trade Union Situation in Greece

"The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Secretariat, having heard a report on the trade union situation in Greece, has adopted the following attitude :

- It regrets the fact that successive Greek Governments have repeatedly prevented the free and democratic development of the Greek trade union movement by means of interference and other measures which violate the principles of free and democratic trade unionism. The system imposed by the Government foundation ERGATIKI ESTIA has always been and still remains today at the root of the difficulties encountered by the Greek trade union movement;
- It considers that the measures taken by the present Greek Government, in particular the banning of the conference of the Greek General Confederation of Labour and the appointment of a governing body by the Royal Court, have

done nothing to create better conditions to permit the development of the free trade union movement in Greece; on the contrary they are a violation of the basic principles of democratic trade unionism;

- It declares that the trade union organizations of the EEC countries will not accept the evaluation of the Greek General Confederation of Labour unless the latter is run by an administrative body freely elected at a duly convened National Congress;
- It appeals to the Government of Greece to cease the course which it has undertaken to impose a new administration on the General Confederation of Labour; such methods must inevitably lead to the imposing of trade unions run by the Government. The Executive Committee calls on the Greek Government to take the necessary measures to enable the statutory congress of the Greek General Confederation of Labour to take place in accordance with the proposals made by the ICFTU mixed delegation;
- It instructs the General Secretary of the European Trade Union Secretariat to bring the Executive Committee's decision and its growing anxiety at trade union developments in Greece to the attention of the Greek Government, the EEC Council of Ministers, the EEC Commission, the European Parliament, and finally the Greek General Confederation of Labour.

"The Trade Union Confederations affiliated to the European Trade Union Secretariat undertook to pass on this Resolution to their respective Governments".

MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE IFCTU
EUROPEAN ORGANIZATION

Agenda : Social Policy, and
Merger of the Executives of
the Communities

"The Committee of the European Organization of the IFCTU (International Federation of Christian Trade Unions) held its sixteenth meeting on 23 October 1964 under the chairmanship of A. Cool at Amsterdam in the Royal Institute for the Tropics. During this meeting A. Cool, Chairman of the Federation of Christian Trade Unions in Belgium, was re-elected Chairman of the European Organization of the IFCTU".

"J. Alders (NKV - Holland), G. Esperet (CFTC - France) (1), E. Bangerter (SVEA - Switzerland), E. Machielsen (Craft Internationals), were elected Vice-Chairmen.

(1) CFTC now known as CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labour)

"The Committee then examined the development of social policy within the European Community and the merger of the three executive organs and the three Treaties setting up ECSC, EEC and Euratom.

"The Committee confirmed the attitude already adopted earlier on the need to create a combined Executive of fourteen members within which there would be guaranteed representation for Labour organizations. It considers such a merger of the executive organs to be desirable as a step towards rationalisation which will increase the effectiveness of the three Communities. It considers in addition that a merger of the Executives must be followed by the merging of the three Treaties setting up ECSC, EEC and Euratom.

"During their examination of the social policy followed by the EEC, the Committee's attention was focussed particularly on the question whether it is possible and desirable to undertake economic and social programming and, to this end, to set up a European labour foundation. There was also a discussion on ways and means for a European employment policy and on the need for a European policy for regional development.

"As regards the different trade sectors, the Committee declared in favour of setting up a European Commission on a basis of parity for the various branches of activity.

"Taking note of economic developments in Europe and of the efforts currently being made to re-established the economic balance within the Community, the Committee reaffirms its view on the need for co-operation between the social partners and the Governments. For this reason it welcomes the decision taken by the EEC Commission to arrange in December for consultation with the trade unions on this topic. It expresses the hope that this contact will not be merely on an occasional basis but will, on the contrary, mark the beginning of regular consultation. It further considers that such discussion should not remain limited to contacts between the EEC Commission and the trade unions, but should also include Governments' and employees' organisations with the overall aim of creating a humanitarian and democratic Europe."

"FIVE QUESTIONS FOR EEC"

A letter from CISL (Italy)

Under the title "Five Questions for EEC", "Conquiste del Lavoro", organ of the Italian CISL, number 41 of 18.10.64, page 10, reproduces the text of a letter addressed by Mr. Storti, General Secretary of the organization, to Mr. Levi Sandri, Vice-Chairman of the EEC Commission, presenting and explaining the Italian CISL's position, in face of the political line which is laid down by the EEC Commission on matters of the economy and of distribution."

The following is the full text of the letter :

"The presentation to the European Parliament of the Seventh Report on social developments, the prior attitudes adopted by the EEC on questions of wage policy and the recent declarations of Vice-Chairman Marjolin, have provoked lively reaction in our ranks.

"We should like to state at once that we are far from denying the timeliness and value of any evaluation based on an overall consideration of the complex interplay between social policy and economic policy. What we mainly oppose is the general body of the conclusions, I would almost say the philosophy, which the Commission has worked out on this subject.

"The introduction of the last social report seems to provide us with further confirmation in this direction. What we regret above all is the fact that the search for causes which can be considered as responsible for the serious current inflationary pressures has allowed only one such cause to appear, one on which the Commission's entire attention appears to be concentrated : notably the increases in monetary incomes by comparison with increases in real resources. We do not deny that in the last analysis this may appear to be the last symptom of an established process. Insufficient attention has, however, been paid to all the other causes which have led to this conclusion, and which have led to the present deplorable imbalance.

"As a result the Commission concentrates its entire attention on the pressure of wages, stating clearly its anxieties on this score at the very moment when it is being almost universally suggested that there must be a wages policy capable of ensuring an overall balance between the pressure of the distribution of monetary incomes and the pressure of material resources.

"We believe that if the analyses undertaken are to be based on only some of the aspects of this complex reality - a procedure involving grave disadvantages to the workers and their unions - there is not only a risk of prejudicing the interests of the majority in society but also a risk of limiting the action to be taken precisely as to the aims we wish to achieve, notably development with stability.

"As a result we believe that the commercial analyses must provide answers to the following questions and must propose appropriate measures:

- If the demand for labour is the cause of wage increases and increases in costs of production and prices, is this demand itself determined by particular causes? Is the excessive demand for labour localized or is it general throughout the Community? What role is played by the concentration of investments and the low mobility of capital taking into account particularly the fact that EEC has achieved within its boundaries the highest geographical mobility of labour of all time?
- If the development of demand causes wage drift, understood as the difference between effective gain and contractual wage levels - which are rising - to what extent can trade union behaviour be called into question? In this respect should there not be a reconsideration and highlighting of the problem created, in conditions of near full employment, by the influence of competitive forces on the labour market?
- What confidence can there be in a policy of distribution such as that favoured in the report (Redistribution of the increase in productivity in the form of price reductions) when it has been clear for decades that the consumer goods market shows an obvious lack of flexibility in prices which is particularly due to growing monopolization? Why not attempt to evaluate the economic bearing of this factor as a concomitant cause of the inflationary process?
- What factual evidence is there to show that linking the dynamic of wages to the dynamic of productivity in the different sectors of production would cause "imitative" wage increases and at the same time inflationary pressures? Apart from factual evidence, which does not seem clear, how could this occur in cases of salary adjustments geared to productivity, if these adjustments could be made in the various industries, as is the case at present, by means of collective agreements?
- Finally, what would be the value of a wages policy (which presupposes total control by the contractual agents and by the representatives of the state over the effective course of remuneration for every factor of

production) if causes of a structural nature were not left out (excessive demand for labour due to the geographical concentration of investments, imbalance in the wages offered in the agricultural sector, ineffectual measures to help competition) - causes which affect prices independently of the distribution of money incomes? In other words, of what use would be a wages policy which is not based on effective economic programming aiming to counteract all the causes of imbalance?

"Finally, it seems to us necessary to underline the ambiguity and superficiality of the current idea of a wages policy as formulated within the Community and also, moreover, within each of the Governments of the Member States.

"These serious gaps could be filled at least as regards intelligibility, if the following points were developed :

- a) The relationship between wages policy, productivity and the levels of negotiation, taking into account the fact that it is impossible to propose a policy for centralizing negotiation of salaries;
- b) Examination of the extent to which a wages policy, by saving manpower, can favour the accumulation process needed to help the general aims of planning;
- c) The relationships between wages structure and employment structure which are intimately bound up, in a policy of planning, with the most effective use of the labour force;
- d) Internal relationships between different salary scales so as to ensure maximum equality between professions and different branches of production.

"These in our opinion are the questions which have been too long ignored in the Commission's social reports ; unless these questions are tackled it will be useless to seek common agreement for any proposals aimed at stable development, a fact which is proven regrettably by the harmful developments which, in various ways, are now affecting the economies of our six countries and the economy of the Community as a whole.

"We consider that appropriate negotiations (study meetings, consultations between the Commission and the social forces in the different Member States, and discussions at Community level) should be taken, to work out the measures to be applied and decide on a course of action which is at once effective, non-discriminatory and fully adapted to the scope of our aims.

"Such initiatives must be based on broadminded research, taking into account the various aspects which we have put forward and yet other aspects which we have mentioned, I repeat, in order above all to help meet objectives which they profess to wish to achieve.

"I ask you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to accept these reflections as our organisation's earnest contribution to objectives with which we are vitally concerned".

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION
IN THE COMMUNITY

Position adopted by the Executive
Committee of the DGB (Germany)

The following note was published in "DGB News" of October 1964, issued by the Foreign Affairs Department of the German Trade Union Confederation (French Edition):

"In a letter addressed to the EEC Commission in Brussels the Executive Committee of the DGB protested against the affirmation, contained in the introduction to the social report, to the effect that "inflationary tendencies" were worsened by increases in industrial wages. The DGB stresses on the contrary that the Commission's report itself contains evidence contradicting this idea.

"The DGB's statement of attitude has been caused not only by this affirmation but also by the procedure which allowed the addition of this curious introduction to the report in question. When the report was discussed with trade union representatives on 2 June 1964 in Brussels this introduction did not exist. The DGB would be glad if, in future discussions, its representatives could be provided with full documentation."

CFTC BECOMES CFTD
FRENCH DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION OF LABOUR

At its extraordinary Congress in Paris on 6 and 7 November 1964 the French Confederation of Christian Workers decided by 70.11 per cent of the votes to change its name and change the Christian references in its statutes.

It is worth stressing the following passage on Europe from the report presented by Eugene Descamps, the Secretary-General :

"Let us ask a few questions - said Eugene Descamps : When, in the Europe of the Six, will we face the problem of creating trade union structures at European level - preferably before it is too late? At what stage can we reasonably prepare to change over to a higher level (the level of the whole of Western Europe)? If we want to make a reality of trade unionism at an extra-national level, we must accept a limitation on the autonomy of national confederations - a limitation which could progressively lead to their becoming national sections of a European trade union :

- Will national trade unions be capable tomorrow of ignoring national interests in order to defend international solidarity?
- In face of the worldwide growth of neo-capitalism can we hope that, tomorrow, trade unionists will be prepared to campaign at the same level?
- Will the idea of international labour disputes at European level remain merely a far-off hope, or can we envisage in the near future collective action by wage-earners of different countries, acting together against this or that international company or international capitalist trust?"

"FOR AN UNITED EUROPE"

A resolution by the Confederal
National Committee of
"FORCE OUVRIERE" (France)

The Confederal National Committee of the French "Force ouvrière" Confederation adopted a resolution on European problems during its last meeting in Paris on 21 and 22 November.

The text of this document is as follows :

"The CNC emphatically reaffirms its solid support for the building of a Europe integrated at economic, social and political levels, open to all democratic countries, based on the principle of supra-nationality and making possible co-operation, on the same basis with the United States of America.

"At the present moment the CNC wishes to express its anxiety in face of stagnation in Europe and in face of the all-too-frequent return to nationalistic ideas. In this context, and however logical the French position may be as regards a common agricultural policy, to which it unreservedly subscribes, the CNC has grave doubts about the real intentions of the French Government with regard to general European integration. It hopes, none the less, that nothing will compromise or retard the growth of the European Community. The consequences would be disastrous not only for the

workers, but for the whole of the populations of the countries concerned and it would endanger world stability. Anyone causing any setback for the European Community would have a heavy and grave responsibility to bear.

"The CNC again proclaims the imperative need for firm and determined trade union action, and welcomes the fact that all the free trade unions of Europe have strengthened their mutual bonds and have achieved greater co-ordination of their common efforts to compel the building of a united Europe."

FIFTH WORLD CONFERENCE OF AUTOMOBILE WORKERS
OF THE IMF

Frankfurt-on-Main, 16-19 November 1964

The Fifth World Conference of auto-workers belonging to the International Metal Workers Federation (IMF) took place in Frankfurt-on-Main from 16 to 19 November last. Trade union delegates from the free TU organisations of 28 countries took part. Together they represented more than two million workers from the automobile industry.

The Conference examined all the problems facing auto-workers in a world of constant change. The debates were mainly concerned with trade union tasks arising from the world-wide concentration of the car industry, the structural changes following on integration in various parts of the world, the effects of technical progress and the prospects of further development in the car industry.

Working parties consisting of TU representatives from the big international consortia studied the economic and social situation inside these organisations and discussed measures to be taken to achieve better trade union co-ordination at world level.

The discussion which followed, in which trade unionists from different areas of the world took part, showed up the different frameworks within which trade unions from different countries carry on their struggle to improve wages and working conditions and ensure full employment.

A resolution adopted by the Conference in the form of a recommendation to the IMF Executive reaffirms the intention to strengthen international trade union co-operation at every level. The conference once again stressed the need to create world councils within the framework of IMF so as to counteract the power of the international consortia i.e. the big

international companies such as General Motors, Ford, Volkswagen, Daimler Benz, Fiat-Simca-Chrysler and Rootes. It asked the IMF Executive to note this need and work out ways and means for effective IMF action in this field.

TRADE UNION CONGRESSES

VIIIth STATUTORY CONGRESS OF
THE GERMAN MINERS' UNION

Wiesbaden, 13-18 September 1964

The eighth congress of the German Miners' Federation (IG-Bergbau und Energie, DGB) took place in Wiesbaden from 13 to 18 September 1964.

300 delegates represented the 500,000 members affiliated to this organization.

Numerous personalities from the political world and the world of economic and trade union affairs were present at the opening session, among them the Federal Chancellor, Ludwig Erhard, the SPD Chairman, Willi Brandt, the Chairman of the German Trade Union Federation, Ludwig Rosenberg and Messrs. Finet, Hellwig and Hettlage of the ECSC High Authority.

More than 600 resolutions submitted by local sections were up for discussion by the delegates.

The report presented by the various members of the Executive dealt with the following problems : co-management, fuel and power policy, wages policy, organizational and administrative problems, members' education, miners' social security, and European problems.

Speech by Dr. F. Hellewig, member of the ECSC High Authority

Dr. Fritz Hellewig, speaking in the name of the ECSC, offered his good wishes for a successful outcome to the work of the Congress, and thanked the leaders of the German miners' trade unions for the contribution they had made to the common debate and discussion.

Dr. Hellewig also informed the delegates of the protocol of agreement on fuel and power questions signed on 21 April 1964. "This protocol - he stressed - is not merely a declaration of intent as regards the future development of the common fuel and power policy; it also expressly recognizes that the Community's coal mines must have their proper place reserved within the common fuel and power policy, and that the necessary instruments must be created at community level to safeguard that position, namely a system of direct and indirect aid enabling the coal mines to adapt their

policy to the new fuel and power situation, help in re-training, social assistance of all kinds and at the same time an undertaking to work gradually towards a common commercial policy, even if limited at the beginning merely to consultations and agreements on import policy. We shall continue to work in this direction and we are absolutely sure of your support and that of the other European miners' organisations whenever there is a need to uphold the community spirit and the contracts entered into for a common commercial and power policy, even in face of Governmental opposition.

Dr. Hellewig also touched on the problem of merging the three executive organs of the European Communities. He recalled that the High Authority had expressed support for the merging of the Executives but he stressed that this merging must not be an act taken in isolation; it must be the first step towards a real merging of the three Communities, a real combining of the Treaties.

Dr. Hellewig also stressed that the High Authority had insisted on the need to preserve supra-national rights aimed at safeguarding the Communities' scope for action, and that of their various organs, in face of opposition at national level.

"The High Authority - Dr. Hellewig added - has also declared that this merger must be accompanied by a strengthening of co-operation and of parliamentary control within the framework of the European Parliament."

He subsequently commented on some aspects of the social activities undertaken by the High Authority and ended his speech in the following terms: "We hope, in your interest and in our own interest, that this Congress will be a new and important stage along the road to European solidarity, not only from the trade unions' point of view but also from the economic and political standpoint".

Report by Mr. H. Guterwuth

Mr. Heinrich Guterwuth, retiring President of the German Miners' Federation, presented the report on European questions. In his speech he declared: "We must not hide from ourselves the fact that the employers in the Common Market offer a remarkably united front, that the three Executives will in the coming years form a single united authority with an enormous field of action, and that the Council of Ministers will continue to be a rallying point for conservative and nationalistic ideas. By this fact alone we can already measure the importance of the problems which await us, problems which can only be resolved through the adoption of a unanimous and united policy. "It is quite understandable - he declared - that the trade unions will judge the new single Community according to its attitude towards the just and necessary claims of the workers."

Repeating a part of the declaration which he made at Dortmund during the ICFFU Miners' demonstration on 4 July 1964, Mr. Guterwuth declared : "A Europe in which the interests of producers and consumers are given free play but without taking into account the social interests of the workers is useless and without interest for us. We do not want a "Europe of Fatherlands", as desired by General de Gaulle; what is needed is a Europe of the peoples within which national frontiers will become a thing of the past. Meanwhile, our task is to contribute to the achievement of the objectives laid down in the Treaties of Paris and Rome which aim at an improvement in living and working conditions .

"... It is understandable that at the moment national problems still interfere in supra-national problems. But as well as the tasks which await us at national level we must face the duties imposed upon us by the need for solidarity. If the trade union movement does not wish to lose its international dimensions, if the idea of association is not to remain an empty notion, then, in future, trade union activities must be carried out at the level of the whole Community. I am profoundly convinced that this widening of the trade union horizon is the only basis which can permit the workers, by means of a united effort, to play an important role in united Europe. Only if the trade unions speak with one voice and establish a common line of action will they be able to act as equal partners, conscious of their power, with employers, Governments and Parliaments within the Community. Since Dortmund these are no longer empty dreams. European miners have firmly taken the lead.

"Direct co-operation now exists among the various trade union federations within numerous committees concerned both with trade union affairs and with European integration. It is more or less based on the issues which have been thrown into discussion either by the Treaties themselves or by the European authorities. This work is necessary because trade union ideas have often influenced the common measures adopted. Let us think only of the ECSC field. In many cases the High Authority has taken measures not expressly laid down in the ECSC treaty, for example as regards housing construction, financial aid for payment of salaries to Belgian miners etc. There were many social achievements which were due to the decisive attitude adopted by the unions. In course of time, through systematic co-operation and regular exchanges of views, the unions must create a common platform for trade union action. It is not sufficient, as is often done now, merely to bring together what is called a preparatory conference of workers' representatives with the aim of defining, in a relatively short space of time, a common position for workers in six different countries. What comes out of meetings of this kind is very often, let us say it quite frankly, the worst kind of compromise. The common point of view cannot emerge unless there are constant exchanges of information and of views; unless certain common measures are applied in organisational matters, and the principal points of guidance are laid down in common".

The German Miners' new Executive

During his closing speech Mr. Walter Arendt, the new President of the German Miners' Federation, demanded among other points the rapid development of a common fuel and power policy in Europe and the adoption, as a matter of urgency, of a European miners' statute.

In conclusion, the delegates elected the members of the new Executive of the Federation, Mr. Walter Arendt, and Mr. Heins Wetter being elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively.

Resolution on European Policy

"The VIIIth Congress of the Miners' Union meeting at Wiesbaden from 13 to 18 September 1964 :

- pays tribute to European integration as a proof of the progressive will for a definite victory over nationalism in thought and in deed;
- recalls that the Miners' Union has always favoured the economic and political unification of all the free and democratic States of Europe;
- continues to support active co-operation in the work of building Europe;
- stresses the great political importance of the European Communities (European Economic Community, European Coal and Steel Community, European Atomic Energy Community) for the unification of all the free States of Europe;
- calls especially on the Governments of member countries of the European Communities not to neglect any possibility for allowing democratic States to join or associate with the Communities;
- declares most categorically that there can be no place within the Community for dictatorial States.

"The VIIIth congress :

- notes with satisfaction that encouraging progress has been made towards closer co-operation in the different sectors of economic and social life;

- regrets nevertheless that it has not yet proved possible to lay down rules for a common fuel and power policy;
- in this respect draws attention to the new prospects for a common fuel and power policy opened up by the protocol of the Council of Ministers on 24 April 1964;
- expects that the Council of Ministers will now take such measures at Community level as will :

1. permit on the long term the stabilisation of the fuel and power market, and
2. will enable national resources to be used in the first instance to cover energy needs, an essential part being reserved for coal.

"The VIIIth congress :

- expresses its satisfaction with the social aims of the European Treaties;
- none the less strongly underlines that the idea of European unification can have no meaning for workers, and that workers will not be prepared to recognise the European Community, unless their social objectives are achieved and the principles of social justice implemented;
- regrets having to note that the miners'unions'claims concerning the position of miners at the top of the salary scale are not always met;
- firmly demands the rapid adoption of a European miners'statute;
- condemns most severely the incomprehensible attitude of certain member Governments and certain coal owners;
- approves the positive action taken by the European Parliament and the High Authority on the subject of the adoption of a European miners'statute.

"The VIIIth congress :

- expresses its support for a merger of the three European Executives, the said merger representing the first step towards a merging of the three European Communities;

- stresses that it is essential to focus attention on the special problems which exist in the mining and steel industries;
- hopes in consequence that the supra-national powers of the High Authority will in no circumstances be diminished;
- demands that the future Executive should include at least one member enjoying the confidence of the trade unions".

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CONGRESS OF
THE BELGIAN MINERS' FEDERATION (FGTB)

Hasselt, 17 to 19 October 1964

The Belgian Miners' Federation held its 75th anniversary congress at Hasselt (Limbourg) on 17, 18 and 19 October last.

Numerous personalities and delegates from sister organizations took part. Mr. Paul Finet, a member of the ECSC High Authority, and Mr. Frans Vinck, Director General of the labour and retraining branch, represented the coal and steel industry. Numerous important speeches were delivered. Mr. Walter Arendt, Chairman of the German Miners' Federation, stressed in his speech the need to struggle at European level to obtain a European miners' statute.

Mr. Balesse, the General Secretary of the Federation, commented at length on the general report, recalling the various activities undertaken by the Federation during the past three years. During his speech the General Secretary stressed the following points, particularly : membership position; members' education; grade salaries; occupational disease; hours of work; TU and political mandates; the coal problem; and the miners and engineers TU inter-group within ECSC.

After presentation of this report many delegates took part in the debate. The report was approved unanimously.

At the end of the Congress a number of resolutions on subjects dealt with by the General Secretary were adopted either unanimously or almost unanimously.

As regards problems facing the Coal and Steel Community the Congress adopted the following resolution :

"The Congress of the Miners' Federation meeting at Hasselt, on 17, 18 and 19 November 1964 under the chairmanship of Comrade Joseph Dedoyard :

- calls on the High Authority to strengthen its social policy;
- reaffirms its desire to obtain an European miners' statute, at least within the Community;
- recalls the miners' desire to witness as soon as possible the achievement of an united and democratic Europe, which would be a guarantee for social progress and for peace;
- demands that the workers be suitably represented within the European Executives or in the new Executive."

The Congress elected its officers. The Executive Committee is composed as follows :

Presidents of Honour :	Nicolas Dethier and Joseph Dedoyard;
President :	Evariste Dubois;
Vice-President :	Augustinus Husson;
General Secretary :	Robert Balesse;
National Secretary-treasurer :	Leonard Thomas;
National Secretary :	Jan Olyslaegers;
Members :	G. Laurent, J. Colpin, N. Neffe

VIIth CONGRESS OF "FORCE OUVRIERE" MINERS

Lille, 14-16 November 1964

More than 200 delegates, representing the different French mining basins, met at Lille on 14, 15 and 16 November 1964, for the seventh triennial Congress of the National Miners' Federation of "Force Ouvrière".

Mr. André Augard, General Secretary of the Federation, presented the general report laying down the main activities of the Federation since its last Congress in October 1961. The General Secretary also reaffirmed the support of "Force Ouvrière" for the building of Europe.

Speaking on behalf of the guests and of the Mineworkers' International (ICFTU) Mr. Guterath demanded a co-ordinated fuel policy guaranteeing a large place for coal in order to prevent nations becoming too dependent in this field and to keep at bay coal's competitors which were "trying - he added - to create a monopoly which would be financially, economically and politically dangerous".

Mr. Cortot, Assistant General Secretary, commented in detail on a report devoted to European problems. Mr. Morel, the Treasurer of the organization, presented a report dealing with problems of miners' social security.

At the end of the Congress the delegates adopted a number of resolutions. The following is the text of the resolution on European problems :

"This Congress :

- calls for the setting up of a European labour office to harmonize the services dealing with labour problems within the three Communities;
- considers that a European miners' statute laying down career prospects, wage levels and detailed benefits for workers, and including harmonization of social security schemes within the coal industry, is the only means of ensuring for the miner the place which is his due, namely top place in the hierarchy of trades;
- instructs its representatives to demand application of the European miners' statute voted in the Parliament at Strasbourg and unanimously adopted by the mineworkers of ECSC countries at Dortmund on 4 July 1964;
- supports the initiative taken by the German Miners' Federation calling on the High Authority to include within the framework of harmonizing living and working conditions the provision of a grade bonus equivalent to their own - free of tax, this problem to be dealt with in the context of a European miners' statute;
- invites European workers to strengthen still further their close links of solidarity and their own aims and common action along the lines and in the spirit of the first demonstration of European mineworkers which took place at Dortmund on 4 July last;
- insists on the need for setting up trade union structure geared to European level so as to permit the harmonization of trade union activity and harmonization of members' benefits. A European Congress should help to promote the achievement of these aims. Workers will not be able to participate in the building of Europe except to the extent that they constitute organized groups within a free European trade union framework, which is alone capable of defending their interests."

At the end of this Congress the Federal Bureau of the organization was elected as follows : General Secretary : André Augard; Assistant General Secretary: Charles Cortot; Federal Secretary : Victor Bradefer; and Treasurer: Horace Moreau.

XXIIIrd CONGRESS OF THE BELGIAN CONFEDERATION OF
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (CSC)

Brussels, 27-29 November 1964

The 23rd Congress of the CSC, held at the Palais des Congrès in Brussels on 27, 28 and 29 November 1964, brought together more than 1,500 delegates from the 34 regional federations and the 18 trade groups affiliated to the Confederation as well as many national and international guests. Mr. Coppe, a member of the High Authority of the ECSC represented the College of the Coal and Steel Community.

The Congress was opened by a speech by Mr. A. Cool, Chairman of the CSC, who declared among other points: "Today in 1964 we can feel, almost physically, Europe has become a reality. The six countries affiliated to the Common Market live in the same climate; they are confronted by the same problems; perhaps these are more serious in some countries than in others. The problems themselves are the same everywhere, even if they are different in degree.

"Europe has achieved full employment in its six member countries. Sometimes there may have remained here and there a reservoir of unemployed manpower, we think for example of Southern Italy. But this reservoir has been absorbed by the other members and indeed by the industrial regions of Italy itself, to such an extent that the countries of the Common Market saw themselves obliged to turn to third countries like Spain, Greece, Turkey and North Africa, for essential manpower. Ten years ago - the speaker continued - the dream of full employment in the six countries seemed difficult to achieve. But this dream has become a reality and now that reality actually poses problems. How can we reduce the pressure on the labour market; where shall we find the necessary labour? There is only one conclusion, my dear friends; we achieved full employment together, now we must take pains together to solve the new problems which have arisen. We must together find a solution to the problems of the welfare state. Europe is no longer just a theory; it has become a reality at least from the economic point of view".

Mr. Louis Dereau subsequently commented in detail on the CSC's report on activities, on which there were also numerous speeches by delegates.

Mr. D'Have, head of the CSC Research Bureau, presented a report entitled: "Enterprise and Trade Unionism". The proposals contained in this report were voted by unanimous agreement less 16,000 votes.

The role of the trade union movement at European level

Finally closing the Congress Mr. Cool delivered a speech in which he drew delegates' attention to the need for recognition of trade unions at European level. In particular he declared ;"Another very important event took place this year. On 1 May last, in fact, free circulation of workers was achieved within the Community. It is surprising to see the way in which this event took place almost unnoticed"

Having recalled the detailed contents of the regulations the speaker stressed three points in particular :

1. the forms of discrimination under which workers formerly suffered, but which did not generally apply to capital, have been eliminated. Thus, free circulation has become a new source of solidarity;
2. free circulation makes a big contribution to achieving the idea of European unity;
3. free circulation does however raise certain problems for the trade unions at national level and for workers and the union movement at European level.

In Belgium the Christian trade union movement has already achieved quite a few benefits for foreign workers but we are still essentially a Belgian trade union movement and we should ask whether the change over to a truly European movement should not be speeded up.

Mr. Cool again stressed the importance of European unity in social matters and the importance of workers' participation in European economic planning. He believes that the powers of the Economic and Social Committee are insufficient.

"We are recognized - he said - at national level but we are ignored at European level. We should like to see something like the following methods adopted and applied : There should be discussions by trade groups on a basis of parity at European level in order to draw up a balance sheet. Consequently, we should examine what can be done in order to harmonize, not unify, the conditions of work and the social benefits conferred on the workers. Thirdly, we should examine how to co-ordinate progress, and how to improve the existing situation. Fourthly, we would consider how to work out European conventions".

ATTITUDES ADOPTED BY TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES

THE CHRISTIAN WHITE-COLLAR UNIONS OF THE SIX
DEMAND A SPECIAL STRUCTURE WITHIN EEC
FOR NON-MANUAL WORKERS

The Hague, 18 September 1964

The fifteenth Congress of the International Federation of Christian white-collar Unions took place at The Hague from 15 to 17 September under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Seiler (Germany). The Vice-Chairman, E. Kabesch (Austria), the Treasurer, A.C. Bensen and J. Roisin were re-elected to membership of the bureau. J. Tessier (France) continues as General Secretary.

Following this Congress, the European Council of the same international federation held its sixth session on 18 September under the chairmanship of A. Bapaume. The Council heard a report by Mr. Lesne on pension rights of employees who have worked in several different countries of the EEC.

The Council adopted a resolution calling on the EEC to create a special division or directorate for non-manual divisions within its services.

"The European Council of the International Federation of Christian employees, technicians, commercial travellers and supervisory staffs unions, meeting at The Hague on 18 September 1964, at its sixth session:

- considering that non-manual workers now represent about 40 per cent of all wage-earners within the countries of the EEC;
- considering that, following the growth of economic development due to the integration process created by the Treaty of Rome, there is every reason to believe that non-manual workers in the Community will be more numerous than manual workers within the next 10/15 years;
- considering that as regards the many problems involved in implementing the economic and social policies of EEC, there are certain specific aspects which concern non-manual workers and require appropriate solutions; that

this is so particularly as regards professional training, social security, free circulation of workers, European diploma rights, equivalent recognition of diplomas, effects of automation, comparative enquiries and studies on salaries etc., all these being issues on which our Federation has addressed or submitted technical memoranda to the Commission;

- noting that since 1946 a non-manual workers' division has existed within the International Labour Organisation and that the usefulness of this division has been recognized by all Member States of ILO even though in the majority of States, which are still developing countries, office workers, technicians, skilled workers, engineers and supervisors are still few in numbers;
- stressing that, during its second session in 1960, it sent a resolution to the President of the EEC Commission requesting the creation of a suitable administrative body to study problems of interest to non-manual workers, but that to date this resolution has not been acted upon;
- reaffirm emphatically the demand for the creation of a special division or directorate for non-manual workers within the framework of the General Directorate of social affairs in the Commission".

WFTU UNIONS AND THE COMMON MARKET

PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
DISCUSSED AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF WFTU

Budapest, 19-24 October 1964

The General Council of the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions) held its 13th meeting in Budapest from 19 to 24 October last.

The work of the conference was based on a report presented by Mr. L. Saillant, General Secretary of WFTU.

Among the various themes discussed, that of European integration was particularly raised by the delegates of CGIL (Italy) and CGT (France).

We reproduce below some texts concerning the attitudes of these two organizations.

Declaration by CGIL delegation

On its return from Budapest, the CGIL delegation, composed of Messrs. Novella, Santi and Lama, CGIL secretaries, and of professional unions, Messrs. Masetti and Ansanelli, made the following declaration on the work of the WFTU General Council :

"In accordance with the directives given to the delegation by the CGIL executive, we put forward vigorously certain fundamental points, application of which would mean a complete reversal of the policies hitherto pursued by the WFTU.

"The problems we raised were the following : the nature of the mass union within WFTU and autonomy vis-à-vis States and political parties; organizing WFTU on a regional basis, taking into account the kind of problems and economic and social structures existing in the different countries; recognition of the objective nature of the economic integration process under way in various parts of the world, and the need for active and co-ordinated intervention by the unions to face up to the activities of big monopoly groups in the Common Market and the rest of capitalist Europe; the effect on workers' problems and on the activity of unions in the socialist countries; the efforts of WFTU and its affiliated national organizations to achieve trade union unity at national level and also agreement among unions of different kinds at international level.

"These points were supported in all the speeches by the CGIL representatives, Novella and Santi, and in the declaration on the vote made by Mr. Lama.

"As regards our attitude we feel that we made progress towards having it considered during the debate, and especially in the concluding remarks of the General Secretary, Louis Saillant. These concluding remarks made it possible for our delegation to abstain from voting on the whole of the report and the conclusions, and also on the document containing the General Secretary's resolution.

"Even so, there clearly remains a whole series of equally important problems over which polemical discussion arose between CGIL and the WFTU leadership. These problems concern mainly problems of adapting the structure of trade unions and also their attitude to the process of economic integration especially in the Common Market. In conclusion the declaration states that on these problems the CGIL will continue to develop the Italian line, both inside WFTU and also by means of bilateral contacts with other trade unions, whether affiliated to WFTU or not. CGIL also reserves the right, in the near future, to take specific initiatives in the spirit of workers' internationalism, and with the firm intention of protecting the interests of Italian workers".

An article by Mr. Lama, Secretary of CGIL

Mr. Luciano Lama, Secretary of the CGIL, who took part in the WFTU Council at Budapest, published an article on 6 November 1964 in "Unita", official organ of the Italian Communist Party, in which he reaffirmed his organization's point of view. The following is the text of the passage relating to European problems :

"As far as Western Europe is concerned, the CGIL maintains that there is a need to set up a regional organization of the WFTU trade unions. Starting from the belief that the process of economic integration is objective in character and is of world-wide importance - for with EEC, EFTA, Comecon and the new attempts in Africa to build up a continental market, there is an increasing tendency towards ever larger economic units - we have always defended the belief that the struggle against the monopolies now dominating the Common Market can no longer be waged solely inside each country or solely "from outside". On the contrary, it is vital to work out in common the claims and the economic policy of the unions and co-ordinate their activities at an international level so as to compel the democratization of Community structures on which, as even the ICFTU unions admit, depends to such a great extent the influence of the big employers' groups - so powerful today.

"WFTU must concern itself with these questions. It should not neglect the general problems of peace, co-existence and so on, but it should not make these the main, or worse still, the sole reason for its existence.

"Comrade Saillant answered our arguments ; he said he agreed that WFTU must become more and more clearly a trade union body and accepted the usefulness of special contacts among unions within a single economic grouping; he agreed with the proposal to begin discussion on trade unionism and trade union activities in the socialist countries, but he rightly disagreed most vigorously with the sectarian arguments of the Chinese and the Indonesians on peaceful co-existence and unity of action.

"By common accord we all considered these conclusions highly interesting though we did not hide from ourselves the fact that there are still deep disagreements as regards trade union action inside the Common Market and, more generally, as regards the necessary recognition of processes under way; these questions require a re-thinking of WFTU attitudes worked out during the Moscow Congress. These are now inadequate from numerous points of view. However, certain interesting facts came to light at Budapest and these will promote a further development of our initiative inside WFTU.

"Some people maintain that all this is just talk. But apart from the obvious fact that at a conference one can only talk and that deeds can only come afterwards, I believe that the general line followed by CGIL has, because of the very fact that it is the correct line, a real chance of success.

"It is not a matter of "causing a vertical split" in WFTU. It is a question of making its policies, structures and statutory principles correspond with the realities of trade union life today in the various regions of the world, taking into account the different social regimes in force. This effort at adaptation coincides with the need to give a concrete meaning to united union action by abandoning the mere propaganda posture which has too long dominated the activities of WFTU and the international ICFTU.

"We have undertaken this task and we will persevere, convinced that to get an organization representing 120 millions of workers moving in this direction is a tremendous objective, and one to which we should devote all our energies.

"And now a last word of advice to our detractors and to those commentators who adopt an attitude of suspicion ; let them seek and find in ICFTU or indeed in the two Italian federations affiliated to it, the "white blackbird" which can do for their international organization what we are doing in ours".

Speech by Mr. B. Frachon, General Secretary of the CGT

During the work of this Council Mr. B. Frachon, General Secretary of the CGT (France) made a speech explaining his union's attitude towards the European Communities.

"It is not in these organizations - he said - nor in the mock parliament at Strasbourg that the decisions and the direction to be taken are worked out. It is in the boardrooms of the big banks and among the leading upper circles and the monopolies that everything is decided according to one immutable principle - that of serving the interests of the modern potentates and even smashing every kind of resistance. The highest placed civil servants and the representatives of Governments obey these directives. Projects and plans which do not correspond to their criteria have not the slightest chance of being applied, because it is the monopolies and the Governments themselves who are mandated to apply them.

"For our part we have not the heart to create new illusions among the workers. Fresh disappointment would discourage them. Our task on the contrary is to galvanize their efforts.

"Does this mean that we cannot exploit the presence of representatives of workers' organizations inside the machinery of the Common Market and that we think they should pull out?"

Mr. Benoit Frachon replied :

"Not at all. The CGT has never ceased demanding the representation to which it is entitled as the most representative of all the organizations. It has been doing so since 1956.

"... we shall go on demanding that the CGT should have its rightful place inside the Common Market so that it can defend there the rights of the workers. We should be glad if the representatives of trade union bodies who are seated there would support our position.

"Nor are we opposed to the demands made by ICFFU unions for an increase in the number and powers of workers' representatives. We can make use of this platform and of such persons in order to put forward precise demands. The only condition we make, so as to ensure that our presence would not be ineffective, is that we should not be content to accept refusals by the monopolies, but should take every question before the workers themselves. The representatives of all our organizations should urge the workers to act in common accord to demand by every means at their disposal and in every country the achievement of aims which the monopolies will never grant of their own free will."

As regards the United States of Europe, the General Secretary of the CGT considered that they "would be nothing but a reactionary association

of exploiters, uniting their efforts to keep the peoples under their domination and preventing the development of society towards socialism and a genuine fraternal co-operation of the peoples.

"There is certainly no doubt - continued Mr. Frachon - that the present conditions of production, and the need for social and economic progress call for co-operation and understanding from the people

"The monopolies have exploited this to establish their domination over the six countries of the Common Market. They have merely created a still greater servitude and new difficulties for the peoples. We can and must change all that, and create the necessary conditions so that there can be genuine co-operation in all fields between the peoples and countries of the Common Market. We think that instead of the rotten system of "transfers" there must be a clear-cut and realistic new order for all the workers in the countries of the Common Market - democratic nationalization of the monopolies, which are the essential basis of production, and of the banks, with the working class and the unions exerting a role of important influence within the administration and over the control of affairs at every level of the nationalized industries."

II. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

ACLI (ITALY) REAFFIRMING THE NEED FOR A "EUROPE OF THE PEOPLES"

A Resolution adopted by the
National Council of the organization

Text of the document :

"The National Council of ACLI (Association of Italian Christian Workers) meeting in Rome on 31 October and 1 November 1964 :

CONSIDERING,

- that the Christian Workers' Movement has adopted the aim of creating European Federation, and is helping to achieve this by co-operating with the European Movement, along with all other forces which contribute to the formation of a major democratic regrouping capable of exerting a big influence on public opinion in the six countries pushing it towards European unification which is both urgent and necessary;
- that the present international situation makes it more urgent than ever to define a genuinely coherent European policy, so as to overcome the disruptions caused by the conflicting interests of the various parties involved, and overcome also the disturbing developments caused by nationalistic formulas,

CALLS ON THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

- to bring about the strengthening of European policy by initiatives capable of encouraging every effort which can overcome the present crisis, while respecting the letter and spirit of the Rome and Paris Treaties;
- to give a precise undertaking concerning the election of a European Parliament by universal direct suffrage so as to guarantee a wider democratization of the Institutions;
- to arrange the prompt renewing of the Italian delegation inside the existing European Parliament so as to guarantee representation for all the democratic parties.

"The National Council of ACLI, taking note of the irreversible nature of the process of European economic unification and of the will expressed by the Governments of the six countries to achieve a merging of the

Executives - a first step towards the political merging of the existing Communities,

EXPRESSES THE HOPE,

- that the European workers will be represented inside the Community Executive so as to ensure a real share for the workers in the life and democratic development of the Community;
- that a democratic European system of planning will be achieved, within which the various national plans can be harmonized.

"The Christian Workers address an urgent appeal to all democratic workers in Europe to undertake concrete action for Europe, leaving aside separatism and sectarianism, thereby giving a decisive new impulse to the building of a "united democratic and fraternal Europe of the peoples" without which there can be no peace, no social and economic progress and no real solidarity".

"THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE EEC AND THE ROLE
OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE PROCESS
OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION"

A speech by Mr. Levi Sandri, Vice-Chairman
of the EEC Commission,
Rome, 24 October 1964

Speaking in Rome on the occasion of the opening of the work organized by the review "Iniziativa Europea" on "The Social Policy of the EEC and the Role of Trade Unions in the Process of European Integration", the Vice-Chairman of the EEC Commission, Professor Lionello Levi Sandri, stressed the fundamental role of social policy in the European Community which, accompanying the progressive increase in production and also guaranteeing just distribution, at Community level, of the wealth and benefits produced, represents an essential element of the general desire for closer and more intimate integration of the European peoples.

Having examined achievements already obtained in the social field and the progress recently accomplished despite the limits fixed by the Treaty in this sector, progress which was confirmed at the last meeting, the previous week of the Council of Ministers of Labour, Professor Levi Sandri particularly stressed the activities undertaken by the trade unions of the six countries, and the prospects for co-operation between the Commission and the European Secretariats of the various professional and trade union organizations. In this context the speaker declared that they represent a point of departure, and that the aim must be real European Confederations

embracing not only the national Confederations, but also the European Confederations from the professional sectors.

He underlined the effort made by the trade unions of the Six to adapt themselves to new European realities and to guide Europe in a democratic direction in the interests of the working class ; however, only real democratization of the communal institutions will enable the social services at European level to reach the degree of importance they have acquired at the national level; similarly, only a transformation of the European Parliament and an increase of its powers can give the Communities' social policy the role and content which it ought to have.

Touching on the representativity of the political forces inside the European Parliament, a problem which the Italian Foreign Minister also mentioned recently, the Vice-Chairman of the Commission said that he had been following for a long time and with great interest the way in which modern democratic theses on the problems of European integration had been developing and asserting themselves inside trade union organizations which, because of certain political conditions and certain ideological considerations had, in the past, automatically disqualified themselves from the work of co-operation and of building a united Europe.

Finally, the Vice-Chairman of the Commission spoke of recent international events and of their repercussions on the process of European integration. He stressed the need to strengthen the links among the Six so as to create an increasingly solid basis for political union.

III. FROM THE TU PRESS

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

"TRADE UNION ACTION IN EUROPE" by L. Major - "Syndicats" (FGTB - Belgium), No. 43 of 24.10.64, page 1.

Referring to the last session of the Executive Committee of the European TU Secretariat of ICFTU, the author stresses the importance of working out a TU programme of action which the free organizations of the six countries intend to develop in the light of decisions taken at the Paris Assembly last March. He dealt in particular with the working out of a programme containing social security and social benefits for the workers.

"The Executive Committee of the European TU Secretariat - observes Mr. Major - now has the task of specifying which points must be stressed, and what will be the programme for the years to come, so as to be able to carry out in the six countries a major solidarity campaign, both to strengthen our trade union movement and to develop maximum co-operation among the organizations. The campaign will be carried out simultaneously and with identical timing in the six countries of Europe so as to ensure that our claims will succeed".

"EUROPE AND FRANCE" by A. Bergeron - "Force Ouvrière" (FO - France) No. 367 of 28.10.64, page 1.

In his editorial, the General Secretary of "Force Ouvrière" deals among other things with the problem of cereal prices. "It is undeniable that the agricultural problem is an important element in the building of Europe. Harmonization of prices is undoubtedly of vital importance to it. France cannot ignore the difficulties of her neighbours in adapting their prices. These difficulties, like her own, are often rooted in political questions. But at the same time she cannot refuse to take account of the anxieties of her own farmers.

"All the same, is the present behaviour of the French Government likely to help matters forward? The negotiations will only succeed if the partners are prepared to make mutual concessions. This is true for everyone, and especially for Germany.

"The French Government's brutal methods probably enabled us to cross one hurdle at the end of last year. But such behaviour will not always succeed in imposing a Community policy; no one denies the need for such a policy, but certain expressions of impatience employed at the Council of Ministers are not perhaps un-connected with the internal difficulties of which we are now all aware."

"EUROPE IN DANGER", by Charles Vaillon - "Force Ouvrière" (FO - France), No. 969 of 11.11.64, page 12.

Analysing the French Government's declaration of 21 October last concerning the fixing of a common price for cereals before 15 December, the author writes : "It is true that an arrangement must be sought. There was no point at all in upsetting people's minds by threatening to quit when it is clearly understood that the interests of our economy urge us to stay. People might ask, "But what if it happened; what if the Community did split up?" Well, if it did happen, it is quite clear that France would find herself isolated". And he concludes : "Free trade unionism has a major interest in European integration. Integration provides it with a new source of strength. Its action takes on new dimensions (...) a threat to Europe would be a threat to the labour movement (...) that is why, conscious as we are of the need to extend our activities on behalf of French workers, we realize that we must fight harder than ever to defend Europe now that she is in danger".

"THE COMMON MARKET AT A CERTAIN MOMENT" - "Conquiste del lavoro" (CISL, Italy), No. 45-46 of 15.11.64, page 9.

The paper examines the different questions now on the agenda at European level. Agricultural policy and Franco-German relations; economic measures by the new Labour Government; economic and trade cycle situation in Italy. In such a situation, the paper thinks, pessimism should be the order of the day, but most likely the Community, its organisations and the Governments of the Six will find a way out. "Everybody - writes the weekly - has more than one good reason for doing so".

SOCIAL POLICY

"MINERS' STATUTE ON THE AGENDA" by W.K. - "Einheit" DGB (Germany) of 15 October 1964, page 8.

"The miner's work is hard, risky and dangerous to health. The important task now is to compensate the miner for these disadvantages which he suffers in comparison with other jobs. The European miners' statute is the best starting point for this". Such was the declaration made by W. Arendt, the Chairman of the German Miners' Federation, to the Social Committee of the European Parliament. Arendt explained again his reasons for mentioning this attitude in the detailed report which he presented at the request of the Social Committee. The article concluded : "The unions are firmly determined to set aside adequate means and take all necessary measures to ensure the speedy introduction of the European miners' statute; they are ready to do this because they are convinced that this statute is an essential if living conditions are to be improved and if there are to be better safety precautions on the job".

"10 QUESTIONS ON HOUSING IN EUROPE" by André Lilti - "Force Ouvrière" (FO - France), No. 964 of 7.10.64, pages 6 and 7.

The weekly journal of the French Confederation "Force Ouvrière" devotes its two central pages to the housing problem in the six countries of the Community. The author raises, and at the same time replies to, 10 questions on this problem which - he says - is becoming "a veritable obsession for the French" and he outlines the present situation in each country, referring in particular to : rents, State aid in this field, the high cost of building land, the preference among Europeans for flats or individual houses, etc. "The prosperity which has existed in Europe for the past 15 years - the author observes - has brought about a revolutionary change in the way of life. Housing has become an essential need of the same kind as the need for a job or for education (...) comfort is no longer considered to be a luxury but an indispensable element of a decent life. By encouraging an increasing standard of living the Common Market has speeded up this development".

"SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE EEC : A LESSON FOR THE NETHERLANDS"
H. Ter Heide - "De Bakbeweging" (NVV - Netherlands), 27.10.64, pages 300-301.

Following the EEC Commission's report on social developments in the Community in 1963, the author draws a series of conclusions. To mention a few of them : "It is not surprising that this report, and particularly its introduction, has led to severe criticism by the trade unions. The Commission's point of view which tends to blame inflation more and more on pay increases has simply increased existing opposition to any kind of wages policy. It must be realized that one cannot pursue a wages policy within the trade union movement, and also that any wages policy which means that the whole weight of controlling the trade cycle falls on the unions is unacceptable for the trade union movement .

"This de facto situation in 1963 - continues the author - is bound to lead to the conclusion that the backwardness of the Netherlands was untenable at a time when trade among Member States was increasing, and that this backwardness, itself a product of pressure on the labour market, led to a wages explosion in 1964. One must therefore realize that it is an illusion to believe that a wages policy can be carried out in the Netherlands independently of developments in neighbouring countries. Whether it be on the short or on the long term we have to align ourselves with tendencies in the other countries. This is a lesson from which we must profit during the forthcoming discussions".

"HIGH AUTHORITY OF ECSC : EUROPEAN MINERS' STATUTE : EFFECTIVE WAY TO RESOLVE LABOUR PROBLEM IN THE COAL INDUSTRY" - "De Mijnwerker" (NKV - Netherlands), No. 16 of 1.10.64, page 5.

The article recalls one or two figures concerning employment of workers in industries within the Community. Detailed figures are given for the foreign workers coming from the other countries of the Community and those coming from countries which are not members of ECSC. The High Authority strongly insists on the fact that a solution to the problems facing the coal industries through lack of labour can only be found by examining anew the various points which make up the European miners' statute. This statute could be a decisive element for social progress and it would help to bring about the necessary adaptation in living and working conditions. Taking account of the continuous future coal production, the coal industry could take on a sufficient number of union workers to meet its needs. The High Authority will go on trying to convince all those concerned to collaborate in working out a European miners' statute.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

"AMERICAN CAR INVASION IN THE COMMON MARKET?" by L. Behr - "Welt der Arbeit" (DGB - Germany), 23.10.64, page 4.

"Renault have big worries. Car producers in Italy, France and the Netherlands are in a state of alert : the EEC partners fear increased competition from the United States of America in the coming years. A considerable attack by American cars is expected following the reduction of customs tariffs within the framework of the Kennedy round. In particular, the big American producers, General Motors and Ford, look on the Common Market, apart from the Federal Republic of Germany, as a profitable outlet".

According to the author Volkswagen would not suffer as a result of this, but this would not apply to Renault products, only 6,000 Renault cars having been sold in the USA in 1963, whereas 100,000 Volkswagen are exported annually.

"AIMS AND METHODS OF REGIONAL POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY" - "Au Travail" (CSC, Belgium), No. 42 of 31.10.64, pages 6 and 7, and "ELEMENTS IN REGIONAL ECONOMY" - "Au travail" (CSC, Belgium), No. 43 of 7.11.64, page 7.

The journal reports the conclusions reached by three working parties set up by the EEC Commission in order to give closer study to certain problems raised during the conference on regional economy organized by the Community in Brussels in December 1961.

"CONGRESS ON USE OF STEEL WITHIN THE ECSC" - "Au Travail" (CSC, Belgium),
No. 44 of 14.11.64, pages 6 and 7.

This contains an account of the "International Congress on Use of
Steel", organized by the ECSC High Authority last October.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DOCUMENTATION

EEC - ECSC.- EURATOM

"EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY" (8096/1/III/1964/5) two volumes - published in French, German, Italian and Dutch - price : 500 Belgian francs.

The European Conference on Social Security held in Brussels from 10 to 15 December 1962 under the sponsorship of the three European Communities - EEC Commission, ECSC High Authority and Euratom Commission - gave rise to a far-reaching debate on the main currents of opinion as regards possible scope for action, and methods and limits for harmonizing the different social security systems within the framework on the Community.

In view of the results achieved it was considered useful to publish this document as "official acts" so that a wider readership could take note of the problems which were discussed by the Conference.

These volumes contain most valuable documentation for broadening the study of social security questions and for closer collaboration among the Member States as recommended by Article 118 of the Treaty.

EEC

"Report on social developments in the Community in 1963" (appended to the 7th General Report of Activities of the Community under Article 122 of the Treaty) - published in French, German, Italian and Dutch - price 75 Belgian francs.

ECSC

"STUDY ON LONG-TERM FUEL AND POWER PROSPECTS IN THE COMMUNITY" published in French, German, Italian and Dutch - price 300 Belgian francs.

The High Authority has just reissued "Long-term fuel and power prospects in the Community", a subject which was already provisionally dealt with in an article in the December 1962 issue of the ECSC Bulletin.

MISCELLANEOUS

"NANTES - SAINT-NAZAIRE : A FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM" by Gilbert Declercq and Marcel Guiheneuf - "Les temps modernes", No. 219-220, Paris, August/September 1964.

The French review "Les temps modernes", devoted a double number in August/September 1964 to a study of current problems facing the labour movement. The article mentioned above written by two active members of the CFDT (CFTC) takes as its point of departure the labour disputes which recently took place in Nantes and St. Nazaire and proceeds to underline the problems of the regional economy. In the closing chapters the authors situate these problems within the overall European framework.

"Whenever one quizzes the EEC about regional economy questions one is at once surprised by the gap between the goodwill professed and the extraordinary lack of means. It soon becomes clear that those who are the driving force of the EEC do not look upon migration problems as being the simple matter which Mr. Pompidou supposes.

"The Common Market's technicians recognize that free trade will accelerate the influx of labour towards production centres. The frontiers between departments and nations are destined to disappear, while "Regions" will appear within the overall European economic and political entity. One thinks immediately of the Italian example : the fact that 2 million Southern Italians have moved to Northern Italy is creating difficult problems today. How in fact can one revitalize a region which has lost most of its young, highly qualified labour force?

"One must recall that the very rapid development of Northern and Western Italy meant that the nation's production went to satisfy luxury demands for the wealthy, while the less profitable duty of meeting essential needs for people in the South was neglected. This raises the whole problem of balanced development in all regions of all sectors. In other words, the problem of planning to meet real needs.

"Nevertheless we are being offered a "market economy" solution for the whole of the western region - a veritable deportation of manpower which will turn the west into a desert.

"Thus it is quite certain that the peripheral areas of the Common Market will experience increased difficulties.

"What can the EEC do to develop the regional economy policy which now seems so necessary? There is a lot of talk of "programming" in order to avoid the word planning which scares the Germans so much. But this programming is very primitive: For the moment it involves nothing more than short medium-

term studies of the economic situation in the member countries.

- Annual information on the foreseeable situation (in which Mr. Marjolin can be seen congratulating himself on the French stabilization plan).
- Studies on public expenditure : education, research etc.
- Study on situation in the regions.
- Nomenclature in the difficult sectors: agriculture, fuel and power, transport, housing.

"Because a four to five per cent expansion of production has been noted between 1960 and 1964 one therefore proceeds to protract it over the five coming years.

"One then refers to labour pressure within the Economic and Social Council, and then again one speaks of the Social Fund whose scope for concrete action is very limited when faced with specific cases like that of St. Nazaire, and which in any case cannot act unless the member countries act as well.

"All this amounts to very little compared with the problems which exist. For from a European point of view any real study of economic development in the west of France would mean a decision to draw a transversal river line from the St. Nazaire to Chalon-sur-Saône, to include it in overall European communications plan, and arrange for international financial backing.

"This would also call for a European policy of setting up steel sites on the waterside instead of the existing competition between Holland and Northern France, or between Genoa and Marseilles.

"We should perhaps agree with those who suggest that despite the fact that steelworks of 3-4 million ton capacity seem more economic, this is a short-sighted view since the creation of 3 or 4 medium factories with one million ton capacity near the sea would guarantee economic development of 3 or 4 big regions.

"The same applies to the heavy chemical industry and to specialized ship-building.

"Programming" of this kind would prevent the powerful international private industries from deciding on the life or death of whole regions.

"If a start were made with large-scale European public investments on infra-structure projects this again would be genuine planning provided it was geared to clearly defined needs.

"Rather than each supporting his own Government, European trade unionists should be capable of establishing an overall plan for economic development throughout Europe.

"It is not uninteresting to see a number of trade unionists taking up positions in the offices of the Common Market. But we must understand that this will be of little interest if it stops there. But if these comrades, instead of risking becoming bureaucrats, can work in close liaison with the "political officers" of European trade unionism, they could play a role of great value in defining an economic, political and social programme for the unions, including the following sections :

- Present level of living standards.
- Capitalist responsibility for regional disparities.
- Need for European guaranteed minimum salary (with complementary social measures).
- Large-scale public investment plans for regional development.
- Housing policy and financing of housing.
- Priority for essential expenditure of a non-profit nature such as provision of health equipment, social services and cultural services, rather than for armaments or private super luxury.
- Liaison with the "hungry countries".
- Trade union rights.
- The need for collective European finance for the major sectors of the economy, complementary to the minimum guaranteed salary covering the smaller sectors.

"This programme, if published in simple and popular terms for the masses, could be a powerful weapon for the European working classes in their struggle against the power of capitalist trusts, whose common international organization goes beyond national frontiers."

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