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# INFORMATION MEMO

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## I. THE TRADE UNIONS AND EUROPE

### COMMENTS BY THE TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE COMMUNITY

#### Executive Committee of the Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in the six Common Market countries

On 30 September 1965 the Executive Committee of the Free Trade Unions in the six Common Market countries met in Brussels to consider the present situation in Europe.

In a communiqué issued after the meeting, the free trade unions "regret that negotiations on financing arrangements for the common agricultural policy and on the associated proposals put forward by the EEC Commission should have been broken off on the night of 30 June 1965, without any serious attempt to discuss these problems thoroughly. They deplore wholeheartedly a manner of proceeding which is contrary to the Treaty and the rules of democracy involving the use of press conferences for publishing unilateral decisions concerning the very existence of the European Communities without previously consulting other Member States. As in the past, the free trade unions will continue to consider the Treaties of Paris and Rome as the firm and unshakeable foundations for all efforts to unite Europe politically and economically in order to improve the living standards of its peoples and at the same time safeguard peace in Europe and throughout the world."

The communiqué continues: "The free trade-union movement regards the Treaties of Paris and Rome as inviolable. Thus it has called upon Walter Hallstein, President of the EEC Commission, who addressed the Executive Committee on 30 September, as well as upon the entire EEC Commission to continue in their rôle as guardians of the Treaties and to remain the stimulating force within Community policy."

The Executive Committee stressed that the free trade unions would do everything in their power to defend the provisions of the Treaty and the supranational powers exercised by the Community Institutions.

The communiqué concludes: "The free trade unions are firmly resolved to oppose by their common action any attempt to return to an outworn system of bilateral and multilateral agreements between governments by way of a weakening of the structure of Community institutions and of the men working within these institutions. They address an urgent appeal to all governments and all progressive forces in Europe to muster every effort to bring the present crisis to an end

as soon as possible and to safeguard the future development of the Community in its present form. Accordingly, the free trade unions consider the Memorandum put forward by the EEC Commission on 22 July 1965 as the most appropriate basis for resuming negotiations within the Council of Ministers on the financing of a common agricultural policy."

Committee of ITF Transport Workers' Unions in the EEC - Brussels, September 1965

The Presidium of the Committee of ITF-IOFTU Transport Workers' Unions has also held an extraordinary meeting, after which a statement was issued in which "the transport workers' unions regard with grave concern the crisis within the EEC and the unilateral opposition of the French Head of State to the process of European integration, which opposition is endangering the Treaty of Rome. They are unanimous in feeling that the present world political situation calls more than ever before for the political union of the peoples of the Community and of the other free peoples of Europe."

European Transport Workers' Committee (IFCTU)

During a meeting held on 17 September 1965 in Munich (Federal Republic of Germany), the European Transport Workers' Committee (IFCTU) expressed "grave concern at the crisis which the EEC has been undergoing since 30 June 1965 and which is jeopardizing any future efforts to build a united Europe as well as measures that have already been approved in the sphere of the common transport policy and social harmonization. In view of the fact that workers in general and transport workers in particular have considerable interests at stake, the European Transport Workers' Committee puts forward an earnest plea that the work of bringing about European integration should be continued without interruption in accordance with the principles to which the various countries have subscribed in their ratification of the European Treaties."

Third Conference of ICFTU Agricultural Workers' Unions in the EEC

ICFTU Agricultural Workers' Unions of the EEC countries held their third European Conference at Bari (Italy) on 18 and 19 September 1965. An account of the proceedings is given in the section of the "Information Memo" devoted to "Statements by Industrial and Trade Committees". However, in view of its particular character, we are reproducing below the text of the policy resolution adopted by the Conference:

"With the establishment at the end of 1964 of a common price for cereals, a serious prospect emerged for setting up a Community agricultural policy. This decision was to be followed by a great increase in

the scope of Community agricultural policy, including the provision of financial resources for assuring continuity and permanence of action taken.

"The events of 30 June 1965 brought to a halt the pursuit of Community efforts. The recent statements by the President of the French Republic seriously endanger the whole basis of the Treaty setting up the EEC.

"The third Conference of the ICFTU Agricultural Workers' Unions of the EEC countries subscribes to the statement made on 15 July 1965 by the economic organizations created at EEC level, emphasizes the need for constructive efforts to overcome the present crisis and confirms its desire to pursue the aim of European integration.

"In particular, the Conference expresses satisfaction with the manifesto of the French Confederation of Labour, "Force Ouvrière", calling up the French Government to abandon the "empty-seat" policy and take part in the work of the EEC Council of Ministers, in the interests of France and of Europe.

"Whereas

- (a) the present-day problems of agricultural policy cannot be resolved in isolation and may no longer be solved on a national basis,
- (b) considerable achievements have been made in the integration of agriculture in the EEC,
- (c) the peoples and all those working in agriculture in the countries of the EEC fervently desire complete implementation of European integration,
- (d) and the free trade unions are vitally interested in having the institutions of the EEC placed under effective democratic control,

"The Conference calls upon all Governments of Member States to uphold the supranational principles of the EEC and to seek a constructive solution to the present political crisis within the EEC.

"The free trade unions of agricultural workers and the trade union organizations of the EEC will do everything in their power to support such efforts.

"The Conference considers it desirable that negotiations broken off within the Council of Ministers on the financing of a common

agricultural policy and the powers of the European Parliament should be resumed on the basis of the Memorandum of the EEC Commission of 22 July 1965".

Christian Agricultural Workers' Trade Unions of the EEC - Antwerp,  
September 1965

At the end of a meeting of the Committee of the Christian Agricultural Workers' Unions in the six EEC countries which took place recently in Antwerp (Belgium), a resolution was adopted, the text of which is given below:

"The Committee of Christian Agricultural Workers' Unions in the six countries of the European Community, meeting in Antwerp, has given detailed consideration to the situation arising from the breakdown at the end of June 1965 of negotiations within the Council of Ministers concerning the proposal put forward by the European Commission on the financing of the common agricultural policy.

"They deeply regret the decision of the French Government not to attend meetings of European bodies, thus bringing to a halt progress towards the unification of Europe and, in particular, the establishment of the common agricultural policy.

"They feel that this halt in the difficult but none the less inevitable evolution towards European integration may have grave consequences for the well-being of the peoples of the member countries and, more particularly, for the urgently necessary improvement in the living standards of agricultural workers in the Community.

"Consequently, the Christian Unions feel that they must on this occasion explicitly confirm their allegiance to the very principle of European unification, the consequences of which will not be limited to the member countries but which will inevitably extend to other countries in Europe and even to other continents.

"They are convinced that the proposal for financing the common agricultural policy, as modified by the European Commission in July 1965, constitutes a reasonable basis for the fruitful resumption of negotiations between the Governments of Member States. The Christian Agricultural Workers' Unions in the EEC reaffirm most emphatically the importance which they attach to all efforts directed towards the evolution of a regular and effective process of consultation between workers and employers in the agricultural sector.

"They reiterate their view that the construction of Europe must be effective in thwarting the penetration in Europe of international economic forces which are contrary to the interests of workers and that it must

result in a necessary improvement in the living conditions of agricultural workers parallel with economic development. This presupposes that agricultural workers should have a real voice in the establishment of a common agricultural policy, which shall be arrived at by the democratic process, as well as real supervisory powers with regard to the implementation of this policy, with the aim of strengthening international solidarity of workers, weakening the forces of nationalism and reinforcing those that make for peace.

"Consequently, the meeting requests agricultural workers' unions in member countries of the EEC to inform their respective governments of their firm desire for the continuation of action in search of European integration. Affiliated organizations are invited to co-ordinate, wherever possible, their efforts with those of other organizations of different allegiance."

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The present situation within the Community has also received attention from national organizations.

Thus the Bureau of the French Democratic Confederation of Labour (CFDT), adopted the following resolution at a meeting held in Paris on 9 July 1965:

"The CFDT :

- (a) notes that the dispute which has arisen on the technical plane overlays serious disagreement with regard to the whole conception of financial and political structure which is coming to light as the final realisation of the Common Market draws near;
- (b) believes that the governments of the six countries are all responsible for the mistakes that have been made and for the new uncertainty regarding decisions already made; one may question whether certain statements are in conformity with the policy really advocated or carried out by those making them;
- (c) affirms that the construction of the European Economic Community has now reached such a stage that there can be no possibility of revising it. Even if its complete achievement is to be delayed, it must be implemented and enlarged;
- (d) emphasizes that the position presently adopted by the French Government involves the risk of increasing the already excessive influence exerted by financial powers on the economies of the six countries.



"Appeals to European trade union organizations to increase co-ordination of their actions with a view to bringing into being a Community which is subject to democratic control and which effectively promotes the social advancement of workers, a question which has been accorded too little attention.

"Requests the French Government to resume talks as quickly as possible.

"Appeals to trade unions of the six countries to request their governments to promote an honest and frank discussion of the financial, budgetary and political problems which must be solved in the forthcoming years."

Subsequently, the National Committee of the CFTD at its meeting held on 2 and 3 October 1965 in Paris, confirmed the views expressed by the Confederal Bureau on 9 July and approved a document in which it :

- (a) "affirms that the European Economic Community has now reached a stage in its construction from which there is no going back so that if delays are experienced with regard to its complete attainment, it will be completed none the less and will be enlarged as a matter of necessity;
- (b) "emphasizes that certain positions adopted by the French Government involve the risk of reinforcing the already excessive influence exercised by financial powers on the economies of the six countries and of bringing about the economic isolation of France outside a wide free-trade area dominated by the United States;
- (c) "requests the Government to resume, as a matter of urgency, negotiations with a view to reaching a settlement of the present crisis;
- (d) "affirms its desire to work for the finalization of a European Community which will be developed in accordance with democratic planning, a process necessarily involving the strengthening of trade-union organizations and their action at the level of the Common Market."

The Bureau of the Confederation, "Force Ouvrière" (France), noting "the decision of the Government with regard to the procedure to be adopted by France within the European Communities", affirmed in a document issued on 13 July that "the Confederation "Force Ouvrière" cannot fail to be concerned by the consequences of this decision which may gravely compromise the future of European construction. It is fully aware that the Common Market can only live and develop to the extent that each of the nations concerned is able to disregard some of its own interests, as was not apparently the case during the recent negotiations in Brussels. Be that as it may, the Confederation, "Force Ouvrière", takes the view that the measure of disagreement now in evidence does not constitute a

valid reason for the Government's policy of withdrawal since it is now more necessary than ever before for France to take part in the work of the European bodies".

Mention should also be made of a statement by the Confederal Committee of the French Confederation of Executive and Supervisory Staff (Cadres) which "regrets the interruption of negotiations in Brussels on the financing of the common agricultural policy. The Committee emphasizes that the partners in the Europe of the Six must realize that for France it is just as necessary to establish a common agricultural policy as it is to set up a customs union for industrial products. The CGC hopes that agreement will be reached with regard to the financing of the common agricultural policy and that efforts to consolidate and finalize the EEC will be continued in the interests of all."

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In Italy, the Confederazione italiana sindacati lavoratori (CISL) has expressed, in a statement put out by the Confederal Secretariat at the beginning of July, "the surprise, indeed the concern felt by all democratic Italian workers and endorses the substance of the statement made on 7 July by H.E. Buiters, General Secretary of the Free Trade Unions of the Six (See "Information Memo", No. 5/65, p. 1.). The CISL is convinced that the EEC constitutes one of the most worthwhile experiments ever attempted with a view to integrating nations. Much remains to be done and it is generally realized that effective integration in the economic and social sectors of European political unification are the objectives which are most difficult to attain. Although the CISL is aware of the irreversible nature of the process of integration, it also realizes that the process of integration may be obstructed with regard to what has already been achieved, although this amounts to no more than one stage in the process of unification. The CISL therefore appeals to the governments of the six countries to continue discussions with the Commission of the EEC, through the medium of the Community institutions, on the problems requiring solution and not to shrink from the historic responsibilities with which Europe is confronted now more than ever."

On 15 September 1965, the National Secretariat of the Unione italiana del lavoro (UIL) asked the Italian Government "to uphold in concert with the other partners in the European Community the view that the Rome Treaties are sacrosanct and to continue to apply them even in the event of a prolonged absence of French representatives in the executive bodies.

"The UIL Secretariat feels that European workers should continue their struggle for the implementation of the Treaties, particularly for the holding of direct elections on the basis of universal suffrage to the European Parliament, this constituting the sole guarantee for ensuring that the will of the people is expressed and proper political control exercised in the face of any trend towards administration of the Community's

affairs by technocrats. The mobilization of all living European forces, common efforts by the trade unions and democratic parties to create a community of peoples dedicated to social progress, liberty, the struggle against under-development and poverty, are, in our opinion, the permanent aims of our country which must at all events give early consideration to steps which may be taken in the event of any halt in the community process so that an alternative process will be available if required."

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M. BRUNO STORTI ELECTED PRESIDENT  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF  
FREE TRADE UNIONS

M. Bruno Storti, General Secretary of the Italian CISL and Vice-President of the European Trade Union Secretariat, has been elected President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions during the 8th ICFTU Congress held in Amsterdam from 7 to 15 July 1965.

M. L. Rosenberg, President of the DGB (Federal Republic of Germany), M. L. Major, General Secretary of the FGTB (Belgium) and M. A. Bergeron, General Secretary of the CGT-Force Ouvrière (France), were elected Vice-Presidents.

M. Omer Bécu was re-elected General Secretary.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has a total membership of 60.4 million workers in 122 affiliated trade-union organizations throughout the world.

SOCIAL HARMONIZATION IN THE EEC:  
THE DGB WELCOMES ACTION BY THE  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

"DGB Nouvelles", the French-language publication of the Foreign Affairs Department of the DGB (Federal German Republic) carries the following reference to social harmonization in the EEC in No. 6-7/1965:

"The DGB welcomes the action taken by the Social Affairs Committee of the European Parliament with a view to assisting the process of harmonization of working conditions and social provisions in the EEC. The DGB is thinking particularly of an appeal addressed to all governments to implement Article 118 of the EEC Treaty. It shares the view of the Social Affairs Committee that contacts between contracting parties must constitute a cardinal factor in all these endeavours.

"The proposal to set up a priority programme and bring about a true co-ordination of all steps towards achieving harmonization of social provisions are also indispensable for the work of the joint committees of workers' and employers' representatives with the EEC Commission".

#### CISNAL OPENS AN OFFICE IN BRUSSELS

According to a report published by "Agence Europe" on 6 September 1965, the Confederazione italiana sindacati nazionali lavoratori (CISNAL) has decided to open an office in Brussels to represent the organization with the EEC.

TRADE UNION CONGRESSES

17th Congress of the Confédération générale  
des cadres (France)

Close on 700 delegates of executive and supervisory staff belonging to the CGC and employed in private industry, the nationalized undertakings, public administration, agriculture, education, medicine and commerce throughout metropolitan France and French overseas departments attended the 17th Congress of the CGC which was held in Paris on 11, 12 and 13 June 1965.

The following passage is taken from the explanatory report delivered to Congress by R. Millot, general delegate of the CGC:

"In turning to the attempts to build up a united Europe, I want above all to draw to your attention the responsibilities which fall on us in our capacity as executive officers. Victor Hugo said that 'the world is a huge engine which cannot turn without crushing somebody or other'. The construction of Europe which we consider necessary will not be done without difficulties and without tears. We must be particularly aware of all the problems arising out of mergers which often harm the interests of supervisory and executive staff. We must keep a close watch on the setting up of the institutions of the European Community, knowing full well that the long-term result will be favourable and equally well that there will be delicate problems to resolve in the immediate future.

"The participation of our President in the Economic and Social Committee and the considerable influence he has in that body are very valuable for French supervisory and executive staff. The links that we have had for more than sixteen years with our counterparts in other countries of the Community through our membership in the International Confederation of Supervisory and Executive Staff may also help us in resolving certain difficulties but it is essential for us to attach more and more importance to events in the making: the Europe of the Six is no longer a far-off event; tomorrow it will be with us - and executive staff in the CGC will have to take due note of this. They will have to realize that from now on their main problems have a European aspect, whether we like it or not."

At the end of the congress, the following were elected to serve on the Management Committee for the period 1965-1967:

President	: A. Malterre
General Delegate	: R. Millot
General Secretary	: G. Nosse
Assistant General Secretary	: R. Gondouin
Vice-Presidents	: M. Foy, J. Lapostolle, A. Lecompte, H-P. Le Ferme, J-N. Murate, M. Tissot
Treasurer	: M. Lechat
Assistant Treasurer	: H. Benoit-Guyod
Members of the Bureau	: C. Calvez, P. Girault, J. Luzuric

21st Congress of the International Federation  
of Christian Textile and Garment Workers

The 21st Congress of the International Federation of Christian Textile and Garment Workers, held at Scheveningen on 15, 16 and 17 June 1965 received and considered the report of the General Secretary concerning "the European Textile Round Table" and on "a comparative study of wages and working conditions".

A resolution was adopted on this subject emphasizing the satisfaction felt by Congress "at the establishment within the European Economic Community of contacts between textile employers' and workers' organizations, particularly through the "round table".

The document, analyzing the possibilities for similar co-operation in the garment sector and also with ICFTU organizations, continues:

"The congress wishes similar co-operation to be established on the economic and social plane in the garment sector as well as in those represented within our International. It urges in particular the establishment at the EEC of social committees for the industrial sectors with which our International is concerned. The congress feels that it is necessary to bring about co-operation with the ICFTU textile and garment workers' federation and requests the Bureau to take steps with a view to establishing such co-operation.

"Affiliated organizations are requested to prepare themselves for these negotiations which are in the course of development, particularly, by formulating social aims which can be achieved over a relatively short period. Congress refers to the Federation's European Programme and to the 'comparative study of wages and working conditions' as a basis for formulating an adequate programme.

"The congress requests the Bureau to examine the possibility of organizing a third European conference to establish this programme."

5th International Conference  
of Steel Workers (IMF-ICFTU)

The 5th International Conference of Steel Workers took place from 28 June to 1 July 1965 at the Cercle Municipal in Luxembourg.

Trade-union representatives from 24 countries unanimously adopted two statements and one resolution.

The following passages dealing with European problems are taken from the text of the General Statement:

"(...) thus, the initiative taken by the ECSC in convening a world steel conference between competent representatives of steel combines, governments and trade unions is whole-heartedly supported by the affiliated organizations of the IMF-ICFTU.

"In the context of these endeavours of world-wide significance, regional economic groupings with the full participation of trade unions play a decisive role, particularly in bringing about rapid industrialization and accelerating social progress in the developing countries.

"The first supranational possibilities established within the ECSC for positive action in the steel industry - exemplary in many respects - must not, consequently, be limited under any pretext by the forthcoming merger of the European Communities. On the contrary, it is necessary to strengthen them in the direction of increased democratization.

"Judicious planning in the steel producing sector is the conditio sine qua non of effective economic planning in general. Investment policy must be adapted to the long-term requirements for steel and a situation must be avoided in which employment in this sector is subject to constant cyclical fluctuations."

8th Ordinary Congress of the IG-Metall (DGB)

The 8th Ordinary Congress of the IG-Metall (DGB-Germany) took place in Bremen from 6-11 September. It was attended by 408 delegates and many fraternal delegates.

The General Report, presented by O. Brenner, President of the IG-Metall, was devoted partly to the consequences for workers of automation and other modern techniques. The Congress also considered 598 motions and 18 draft resolutions.

The Congress adopted the following resolution on Europe:  
"This Congress condemns any attempt to restrict the influence of the trade unions in Europe and to devalue existing supranational institutions. It demands participation by trade unions in drawing up the future unified treaty and advocates consolidation of the democratic structure of Europe."

At the end of the congress, O. Brenner was re-elected First President of the IG-Metall.



ATTITUDES ADOPTED BY TRADE AND  
INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES

3rd Conference of Agricultural  
Workers' Unions (ICFTU) in the EEC

The 3rd Conference of Agricultural Workers' Unions (ICFTU) in the EEC was held at Bari (Italy) on 18 and 19 September 1965. H. Schmalz, President of the German Agricultural Workers' Union, presided over the conference and was assisted by A. Rossi, National Secretary of the UIL-Terra and C. Cruciani, Secretary of the Italian CISL.

Delegates from agricultural workers' unions (ICFTU) in the six countries attended together with representatives of the Workers' Group of the EEC Economic and Social Committee and of members of the European Parliament.

The conference considered the report on activities which was introduced by Miss A. Lulling, Secretary of the Working Party of Agricultural Workers' Unions (ICFTU) in the EEC. The agenda also included: reports presented by M. Vredeling, member of the European Parliament, M. Lojewski, Secretary of the German Agricultural Workers' Union, M. A. Rossi, Secretary of the UIL-Terra (Italy) concerning, respectively, market, social and structural policy in the context of the common agricultural policy.

Opening session: Speech by M. Mansholt and the attendance of  
M. Ferrari Aggradi

During the opening session, M. S. Mansholt, Vice-President of the EEC, addressed the conference and emphasized the seriousness of the present crisis in the Community. Without wishing to be contentious, M. Mansholt affirmed that international collaboration in Europe founded on simple collaboration between governments was now out of date. In this connection, he recalled endeavours made in the past within the OEEC, the Council of Europe, etc. M. Mansholt continued:

"In particular, economic union and a common agricultural policy cannot be achieved without organic ties and in the absence of community institutions such as those provided by the Treaty of Rome."

Without under-estimating the dangers presented by the present crisis, he expressed his firm belief that it will be possible to find a solution allowing those concerned to pursue European economic integration, an irreversible process "on the basis of common policies and not by employing free-trade principles which, by their very nature, are incapable of resolving the agricultural, social and economic problems facing society today".

The conference was also attended by M. Ferrari Aggradi, the Italian Minister of Agriculture, who outlined the importance of the driving force and stimulus exerted by agricultural workers' unions in the six countries of the Community, both at national and international level.

Addressing M. Mansholt, the Italian Minister drew attention to the services which the latter had rendered during the course of the long difficult negotiations concerning European agricultural integration.

"The patience and perseverance of Vice-President Mansholt," said M. Ferrari Aggradi, "has cleared many obstacles from our path and we hope that he will be able to continue and intensify his work so as to overcome the present difficulties."

Address by M. J.D. Neirinck,  
Director-General for Social Affairs, EEC

M. J.D. Neirinck, Director-General for Social Affairs in the EEC, addressing the opening session, underlined the extent to which, in the agricultural sphere, social and structural policy were interwoven. Thus, structural policy was practically synonymous with social reform. Accordingly, the Commission was aware of its social responsibilities in every aspect of the common agricultural policy. M. Neirinck went on to outline work already accomplished, measures proposed by the Commission or in the course of preparation, with particular reference to safety and health of working, the protection of young workers and maternity protection for women workers and to the extension of the scope of the Social Fund. Finally, he rendered tribute to the Joint Consultative Committee which deals with the social problems of farm workers and which has already submitted to the Commission specific, detailed proposals with regard to vocational training, working hours and wages.

Second day: address by M. Levi Sandri

M. L. Levi Sandri, Vice-President of the EEC Commission, took part in the session of 19 September.

M. Levi Sandri began by touching upon the problems presented by the difficult situation at present confronting the process of European integration. Although disagreement had arisen during negotiations on agricultural questions, the real kernel of the problem was to be found in the diversity of political views regarding the methods and aims in constructing the new Europe.

We were aiming at a Europe where the respective national economies, the social, agricultural and commercial policies of the six countries would be integrated to the point of being welded into a single whole. These aims would not be realized by simple methods of international co-operation which had, in any case, already been tried out on a large scale. There was a need for appropriate modern machinery and methods such as those provided by the Treaties of Paris and Rome.

The originality and main characteristic of the integration processes were to be located, M. Levi Sandri continued, in the existence of bodies which were independent of governments, bodies such as the High Authority of the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom Commissions. These embodied and interpreted the common spirit of Europe; they had within them the seeds of that supranationality which characterized the Communities.

Through serving the cause of the European Community, these executive bodies were defending the real interests of the six countries. If they were to go or have their powers restricted, the Community would disappear and with it the possibility of creating the agricultural policy which had been developed by the very initiative of the EEC Commission.

M. Levi Sandri pointed out: "Those who want the common agricultural policy finalized with all speed and at the same time propose to weaken the institutions of the Community are, thus, contradicting themselves. The present situation is extremely delicate. There is a need for all those with responsibilities in the Community to join forces in order to safeguard the letter and the spirit of the Treaties. In this action, a major role falls to the democratic trade unions, both at national and European level. Workers would be the first to suffer from the effects of a renaissance of nationalism. There is no doubting the strength of purpose of the unions. Our certainty in this respect is confirmed by the evidence of this conference where representatives from all the countries of the Community are, without exception, taking an active part in the business."

M. Levi Sandri then went on to deal with the most topical aspects and problems of Community social policy, with particular reference to the agricultural sector.

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Those attending the conference also took part on the evening of 18 September in a public demonstration by agricultural workers of the region. This rally which was organized at Canosa was addressed by M. Mansholt, M. Rossi, M. Schmalz and M. Cruciani.

The conference adopted a resolution, from which we reproduce below the section dealing with social and structural policy, common market policy and organization problems. The policy resolution is published under the heading "The trade unions and Europe" in this number of the "Information Memo".

#### COMMON SOCIAL POLICY

"The conference feels that the future development of the Common Market must proceed in step with the establishment and implementation of a general social policy, within which there must be a place for agriculture to enjoy legal rights without discrimination.

"The conference endorses the views of agricultural workers' unions and agricultural producers' organizations, viz. in this context, a common social policy in the agricultural sphere must of necessity form an integral part of the common agricultural policy of the EEC.

"The EEC Commission, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee have also upheld this point of view on a number of occasions and it is also contained in the resolutions adopted by the bipartite conference on the social aspects of the common agricultural policy held in Rome from 28 September to 4 October 1961.

"The conference condemns all attempts, employing hair-splitting legal arguments and an erroneous interpretation of the text of the Treaty of Rome, to hinder the development of a common social policy in the agricultural sphere in the EEC. In view of the interdependence of economic and social measures and the common incomes policy followed, in the interests of agriculture, through marketing, commercial and structural policy measures, it would be clearly nonsensical to leave complete authority to governments in all matters relating to social policy.

"Furthermore, equal chances in competition and equal conditions cannot be guaranteed in the common agricultural market of the EEC in the absence of action to harmonize social provisions in the agricultural sphere, such harmonization contributing also to harmonization of costs.

"The conference therefore considers it indispensable to institute in the agricultural sector a social policy which shall be progressive and run parallel to the implementation of marketing, commercial and structural policy, by means of:

- (a) the conclusion of collective agreements establishing minimum standards in respect of wages and working conditions of agricultural workers throughout the EEC;
- (b) the establishment of Community regulations on social conditions of all workers in agriculture.

"The conference gives priority to the following demands:

#### Wages

"The wages of agricultural workers should, in the short run, be brought into line with those paid to comparable workers in industry and commerce. As a basis of comparison, consideration should be given to wages paid in those sectors of the economy doing work comparable to that done in agriculture as far as equivalent professional qualifications are concerned. In the long run, the wages of agricultural workers should be placed within the general salary structure in such a way as to take account of the increasing economic product of agricultural work, since constantly increasing mechanization and rationalization make increasingly greater demands on the agricultural worker.

#### Working hours

"As far as working hours are concerned, wage-earning agricultural workers in the EEC should enjoy the same conditions as those which apply in other sectors of the economy. Overtime and work which has to be done at weekends and on public holidays should be paid for in the form of additional payments and compensated for by the granting of days off.

#### Annual leave

"The arduous character of agricultural work and the increasing demands made on workers who have to handle increasingly complex machinery make it necessary for agricultural workers to have an adequate period of annual leave of the same length as that applying for comparable workers in industry, together with a holiday bonus allowing them to benefit properly from the rest and relaxation of their annual leave. Where necessary, arrangements should be made in common so as to allow for the replacement of workers taking their annual leave.

#### Job security

"In the interests of the social security of wage-earning agricultural workers, it is necessary for them to have permanent work guaranteeing them employment all the year round. Only agricultural workers who are employed the whole year round are in a position to be sufficiently qualified to increase productivity and assure profitable

working in agricultural enterprises. This guarantee alone can provide agricultural workers with the requisite incentive for accomplishing their work and maintain the necessary recruitment for the future.

### Social security

"All social security provisions, particularly those relating to unemployment, sickness, disablement and accident assurance, old-age pensions, family allowances, accident prevention and safety of work, should be brought into line with those applying in other sectors of industry."

### STRUCTURAL POLICY

"The conference feels that measures intended to increase efficient running of agricultural undertakings as well as those concerned with structure generally which contribute towards an improvement of general living conditions in rural areas should be regarded as a task for the Community in greater measure than has hitherto been the case.

"The agricultural workers' unions reaffirm the views stated at their second conference on 25 and 26 May 1960 in Rome, viz. that structural policy, in particular, should guarantee agricultural workers full employment in modern undertakings regrouped in units of a viable size under social conditions corresponding to those applying in industry.

"Agricultural structural policy should also assist in bringing cultural amenities in rural communities into line with those applying in urban areas. These measures also benefit workers employed outside agriculture and living in rural areas.

"In order to increase the productivity of agricultural undertakings, including family-run undertakings of viable size, the trade unions lend their support to all measures aimed at promoting common use of machinery and the establishment of co-operatives for the purchase and marketing of products.

"In conformity with these views, they support the proposals of the EEC Commission designed to stimulate the establishments of producers' associations where these feel that it is necessary to improve their market position by concentrating supply and taking any other action which would prove economically advantageous.

"Increased financial resources are required from governments as well as the Community in order to carry out the vital tasks of the agricultural structural policy, which latter will also assist in providing the entire population with foodstuffs at reasonable prices.

"The conference feels that the proportion of assets of the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund devoted to the Guidance Section is inadequate and that a greater proportion should be allocated in order to assist in bringing about structural improvement.

"The conference feels that, as a general rule, adequate provision should be made for improving the living standards of farm workers, within the framework of structural policy, through specific measures adapted to regional development plans, for instance by promoting the construction of dwellings for agricultural workers (as far as possible, in residential communities), by promoting vocational training and modernizing living conditions in workers' homes.

"The conference emphasizes the need to strengthen the Consultative Committee which deals with questions of agricultural structure policy by extending its powers."

#### COMMON MARKETING POLICY AND COMMON COMMERCIAL POLICY

"The agricultural workers' free trade unions recall the view expressed by their second conference that common marketing organizations should be set up where required and advocating that there should be a common pricing policy, as liberal as possible, in the market for agricultural products within the EEC.

"The conference reaffirms that prices should play their role with regard to the volume of production, in guiding and influencing production trends and specialization of production and that the establishment of prices should be done in such a way as to take due account of the interests of consumers.

"As far as the common commercial policy is concerned and in so far as this is conditioned by the common marketing policy, the agricultural workers' unions still feel that commercial policy in the agricultural sphere should be properly related to world economic conditions in such a way as to avoid an unjustified expansion in the EEC agricultural economy at the expense of third-party countries, particularly the developing regions.

"On the other hand, the common commercial policy, in so far as it is conditioned by the common marketing policy, must not lead to the

ruin of agriculture in the EEC, thereby benefiting only the export of industrial goods. In order to protect their territories from dependence on foreign sources of supply of foodstuffs in emergency situations, Member States are obliged to produce at home a reasonable proportion of their consumption of foodstuffs.

"The conference feels that urgency attaches to the rapid creation of common marketing organizations, particularly for sugar, oils and fats, taking care to avoid unnecessary protectionism.

"Moreover, the conference feels that all necessary measures should be instituted to set up - not later than 1 July 1967 - a common market for all agricultural products and to fix, for the same period, true common prices for the most important agricultural products at the very least."

#### RESOLUTION ON ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS

"The 3rd Conference of Agricultural Workers' Unions (ICFTU) in the EEC, meeting on 18 and 19 September at Bari, expresses agreement in principle with proposals contained in the report of the Secretariat and submitted to the Conference with a view to preparing preliminary measures aimed at the integration of unions at European level. The Bureau of the working party is authorized to begin preparatory work towards this end."

#### INFORMATION MEETING OF ICFTU MINeworkERS IN THE IRON MINING INDUSTRY

An information meeting for ICFTU trade-union leaders from the iron mining industry in the countries of the Community was held in Massa Marittima (Italy) on 18, 19 and 20 June. The meeting was organized by the Joint Information Service of the European Communities with the collaboration of the ICFTU-ECSC Trade Union Liaison Group.

The meeting was devoted mainly to aspects of European integration affecting the professional, economic and social situation of mineworkers in the iron mining industry.



Address by M. D. Del Bo,  
President of the ECSC High Authority

At the end of the information meeting on Sunday 20 June, M. Del Bo, President of the ECSC High Authority, addressed several thousand miners from different centres in the area who had assembled in the main square of Massa Marittima.

After emphasizing the close collaboration that exists between the democratic miners' unions at European level, M. Del Bo referred to those workers who, toiling under difficult conditions, had often paid with their life-blood towards the development of the mining industry and the industrial civilization based on it.

"The High Authority of the ECSC", observed M. Del Bo, "has from the beginning of its work devoted particular attention to solving the problems of workers in the coal and steel industries, even though it has only limited powers in the social sphere.

"Among these efforts we should note that relating to the Miner's Code, for which the European miners are at present courageously campaigning and which is due very largely to the work of Paul Finet, former member and President of the ECSC High Authority, to whose memory the speaker invited those present to pay tribute.

"We wish to place on record our gratitude to the Italian Government for the understanding it has shown in being the first to declare its readiness to recognize the Miner's Code and, at the same time, we appeal to the other Governments of Member States to follow suit, even though we are aware that these latter, by virtue of the greater significance of their mining industries, will have to make greater financial sacrifices. However, your manifestation," continued the President of the ECSC, "over and above the problems particular to your sector, is part of the larger problem involving the creation of a Europe which will be united economically and politically. Since 1952, the ECSC has decided to bring about a radical transformation of the situation. Coal and steel must cease to be instruments of war and become instead symbols of peace and guarantees of security. In this the workers are a very important factor.

"For this to come about, however, the voice of the workers must be heard at the very highest level. For this reason, the High Authority, although it may no longer act as such following the merger several months ago of the Community Executives, considers it necessary to fill as soon as possible the place vacated by Paul Finet and feels that there must also be a representative of the trade unions on the single Executive.

"The world of labour," went on M. Del Bo, "must make its weight felt, not only to solve its own problems, but also to build up the united Europe which will not come into being until we have one foreign policy, one defence policy and one cultural policy.

"A politically integrated Europe," the President of the ECSC concluded, "will fully meet all the present and future needs of the countries of which it is made up. It can be achieved without denying national traditions; in fact, it will have to merge these traditions as it pursues this unity.

"This united Europe will also be in the best position to guarantee at last the recognition of all workers' rights."

THE AIMS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY OF  
THE FREE METALWORKERS' TRADE UNIONS IN THE  
EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

On 30 and 31 January 1965 the ICFTU metalworkers of the six countries of the ECSC held their Conference in Luxembourg. At the end of its proceedings, the Conference authorized a working party to draw up, on the basis of proposals put forward during the discussions, a document laying down a programme of future action by the trade unions and constituting a first step towards co-ordinated action at European level.

A press statement issued on 1 July 1965 begins with a preamble reaffirming the close and careful attention which the free metalworkers' unions are devoting to problems of European integration. It goes on to note that the social advantages resulting from a wider economic union will not flow automatically from the working of the Common Market and, consequently, underlines the need for bringing about harmonization and improvement of living and working conditions by means of a dynamic social policy resulting from general economic planning.

Within this general framework the press statement outlines a series of proposals and aims in both the economic and social spheres. As far as the economic sphere is concerned, the statement emphasizes the need for co-ordination of economic policy, particularly through greater attention by the High Authority to such matters as the supervision of investments, inspection of practices in the iron and steel industry which are likely to distort competition, modification of the pace of structural changes and of the processes of production in the interests of workers and the development and elaboration of general objectives in regard to steel.

Particular attention is given to all questions relating to the reconversion of industry and structural policy.

Concrete proposals are also set out with a view to bringing about a true democratization of the economy. In this respect, the metalworkers' unions point to the inadequacy of the provisions of the ECSC Treaty for preventing agreements between undertakings having the nature of cartels and, whilst envisaging a process of economic democratization to be accomplished through the transfer to common ownership of the basic industries, propose in the meantime an extension of co-determination in iron and steel undertakings.

The second part of the document, which is devoted to social policy, is concerned, over and above a similar emphasis on objectives, with problems relating to full employment, wages, working hours, annual leave, social security, vocational training and migration.

The section dealing with "full employment" notes that any attempt to improve living and working conditions must be based on a policy of full employment and goes on to demand a wider application of the corresponding provisions of the ECSC Treaty, particularly those relating to assistance towards retraining, mobility of labour, protection against the adverse consequences of technical progress and the harmonization of economic measures.

In the sphere of wages policy, the document noting that wage negotiations at national level are often affected by the situation in other countries of the Community, underlines the need for co-ordination of wages policy at European level aiming at general application of the principle of equal pay for equal work so as to obtain for workers in the iron and steel industry a guaranteed wage which must then be progressively changed into a guaranteed annual income.

M. ZONDERVAN ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN  
COMMITTEE OF ICFTU METALWORKERS' UNIONS

The Metal Committee (ICFTU) met in Brussels on 6 July 1965.

The agenda included the following questions: shipbuilding in the countries of the EEC: present political aspects of integration; the car manufacturing industry in the EEC.

The Committee noted the resignation of its President, M. I. Baart, and elected M. Zondervan, President of the Netherlands Metalworkers' Union (NVV), as his successor.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
INTER-TRADE-UNION GROUP OF MINERS AND  
METALWORKERS (ICFTU-ECSC)

The Executive Committee of the Inter-Trade-Union Group of Miners and Metalworkers (ICFTU-ECSC) met on 24 September in Paris at the headquarters of the French National Miners' Union, "Force Ouvrière", under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Gailly.

The Executive Committee considered inter alia problems concerning the merger of the Communities, which was also to be examined by the Consultative Committee in Rome on 8 and 9 October.

In the context of this merger, the Inter-Trade-Union Group ICFTU-ECSC will demand more vigorously than ever the application of the letter and the spirit of the Treaty setting up the European Coal and Steel Community, the safeguards and the application of workers' rights which it contains and representation of workers in the Community Institutions.

The Executive Committee expects the new Europe to be something other than a "Europe of homelands" and capitalist rivalries, that it shall be, above all, a Europe of work and workers.

7TH SESSION OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN SALARIED STAFF, TECHNICIANS AND  
SUPERVISORY STAFF

The 7th Session of the European Council of the International Federation of Christian Salaried Staff, Technicians and Supervisory Staff took place in Namur (Belgium) on 28 and 29 September 1965.

Delegations in attendance expressed satisfaction at the institution, after eight years of approaches and discussions, of special consultative organizations with the ECSC High Authority to investigate the problems of white-collar workers.

The delegates of the International Federation of Christian Salaried Staff, Technicians and Supervisory Staff hope that these Joint Committees will be able to carry out their business under conditions making for effective working.

The 7th Session of the European Council of this International Federation has also followed with attention the general evolution of European questions and the creation of European machinery having an effect on the organization of the Federation.

The proceedings of this 7th Session of the European Council were conducted under the chairmanship of M. Paul Seiler, President of the Christian Trade Union Federation of the Federal German Republic.

## II. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

### ACLI (ITALY) EXAMINES THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE COMMUNITY

The Central Presidium of "Associazioni cristiane lavoratori italiani" met on 17 July 1965 in Rome and considered the present situation in the Community.

Below, we reproduce certain parts of the documents adopted at the end of the meeting :

"(The Central Presidium of ACLI),

- (a) considers that the slow progress on economic and social integration gives rise to a grave risk of stagnation, a recession of the development of the continent and, consequently, constitutes a future threat to employment and progress of the peoples;
- (b) regards the abandonment of the long-term aim of a supranational Community as a capitulation to tendencies making themselves felt on repeated occasions towards conservatism, national self-sufficiency and a rejection of such values as co-operation, mutual respect and understanding among people;
- (c) reaffirms the allegiance of Christian workers to the ideal of political unification of Europe and the undertaking made by the Movement to support any attempt to achieve the final objective represented by the effective promotion of the working classes and their attainment to the position of responsibility which is theirs by right as well as their participation in the new European society;
- (d) appeals to all Christian and democratic trade unions and social organizations to intensify practical co-ordination of their efforts to establish wider agreements on principles and a common platform for action to safeguard the democratic evolution of European institutions and the pursuit of real social and economic progress".

ADDRESS BY M. LABOR, PRESIDENT OF ACLI (ITALY)  
TO A CONGRESS OF EUROPEAN YOUTH

At the Seminar for European Studies held at Rimini (Italy), M. Labor, President of ACLI (Associazioni cristiane lavoratori italiani), presented a report on the subject of: "The problems of youth in the European Community". The meeting was organized by the Italian European Movement for young members of affiliated organizations including members and leaders of "Gioventù Aclista".

M. Labor emphasized the fundamental needs of European society as they had been discovered and examined by young members today: they realize that they have to have a part in economic and social progress not only in claiming a fair share of prosperity but also in order to exercise effectively their right - which is also a duty - to define what they mean by this idea of progress and what it implies.

"In our society, the pace of economic and social development is so rapid that young people run the risk of being faced with certain decisions which have already been made and which entail certain conditions being met", said M. Labor who went on to note that "the older generations naturally tend to keep for themselves the right to exercise this choice whilst industrial society, on the other hand, which is based on a series of entirely new values, proceeds on its way and introduces a whole range of dehumanizing factors

"Since the interdependence of European countries is a marked and irreversible trend, the challenge of industrial civilization is addressed without distinction to all young people, Europeans and non-Europeans alike".

The choice then presents itself with regard to a vision of the future Europe regarded as "a higher form of human cohabitation aiming at the integration of national communities by respecting their essential values".

The President of ACLI pointed out to the young members and leaders of the European Movement that the peoples of Europe have shown that they are the most mature group for putting into effect this kind of integration which must indeed lead to a supranational system.

EUROPEAN SEMINAR OF THE WORKERS' LIBERATION MOVEMENT (FRANCE)

Montry (Seine-&Marne), 20-25 September 1965

A six-day seminar on Europe held at Montry (France) was attended by some forty national leaders invited by the leadership of MLO for a close examination of European construction.

After a number of general papers presented by M. Jean Durix, one of the MLO leaders, devoted to European questions, officials of the Communities and speakers from the CEDICE presented the majority of papers on: the development of industrial Europe; the social and economic policy of the Common Market; the Common Market and planning; the Common Market and political union; trade-union and working-class movements in the Europe of the Six.

In view of the interest aroused by this enterprise, the MLO has decided to prepare a national programme of European activities for 1965, particularly designed for regional and branch membership.



### III. FROM THE TU PRESS

#### POLITICAL PROBLEMS

"LA CRISE DE L'EUROPE" (European crisis) by A. Bergeron - "Force Ouvrière" (FO, France), No. 1004 of 14.7.65, page 1.

In his weekly editorial, the General Secretary of the French CGT-FO writes: "We have every understanding for the reactions provoked by the failure to respect undertakings already given. However, no doubt because we are accustomed to contract negotiations, we can also understand the desire to improve and polish documents whose far-reaching implications are well known.

"The Confédération Force Ouvrière", A. Bergeron goes on, "has always given its approval to any enterprise with a view to speeding up and smoothing the process of economic, social and, finally, political integration of Europe in the direction of supranational principles. However, today, we can only take note of the brutal effect; it is deplorable, even though it is the logical consequence of the evolution of things. The Government has instituted measures, the result of which is to block the work of the European bodies.

"The withdrawal of an ambassador can, no doubt, be interpreted as a symbolic gesture but the order forbidding officials to continue taking part in current work in all spheres, in addition to that concerned with purely agricultural matters, is in our view much more serious. This decision goes beyond what some people call the hardening of the French attitude. We deplore the way in which the Government has acted in this case (...). In any case", A. Bergeron continues, "the Confédération Force Ouvrière will do everything in its power to keep alive the hopes engendered by the European idea. The workers in their unions have undertaken to proceed along the path towards unification of Europe. They do not wish to abandon this idea (...) they are aware that Europe will only be brought into being through much perseverance and hard work. They are also aware of the dramatic consequences of a final failure on the economic plane which would also extend to the social plane. They and the peoples of Europe want a united Europe. This Europe must and will be brought into being."

"L'AVENIR DE L'EUROPE" (The future of Europe) by A. Bergeron - "Force Ouvrière" (FO, France), No. 1013 of 22.9.65, page 1.

Here, A. Bergeron stresses the anxiety caused among trade-union members by the crisis in the Common Market.

"It is not only the behaviour of our partners which is questioned", he writes, "but the very basis of the Treaties setting up the ECSC, the Common Market and Euratom."

After criticizing the attitude taken by the French Head of State in his press conference of 9 September 1965, the General Secretary of Force Ouvrière writes: "We believe in the need to strengthen supranational bodies and not in restricting their authorities. Is not the cause of the inadequacy imputed to the Communities to be sought in the way that states, all states, have often conducted themselves? Taking this path would involve considerable risks for the construction of Europe in which we believe. It has enabled, and will enable in the future, improvements to be made in the living conditions of European workers. It is more than ever necessary for world peace. For this reason we wish to see a rapid resumption of the talks broken off in Brussels."

"President de Gaulle has let it be understood", concludes A. Bergeron, "that France was ready to negotiate and take steps of its own accord. Let this be done quickly, taking care not to shatter that which has been built up with such difficulty."

"DE QUOI DEMAIN SERA-T-IL FAIT?" (What will it be made of tomorrow?) by A. Malterre - "Le Creuset - La voix des cadres" (CGC, France), No. 464 of 22.7.65, page 1.

A. Malterre, President of the Confédération générale des cadres (French Confederation of supervisory staff) touches upon the future of the European Economic Community in his editorial.

"What would happen", writes A. Malterre, "if by some stroke of ill fortune, the European Economic Community ceased to exist tomorrow for one reason or another? Our country would find itself in the following situation: we would have to decide whether to continue the liberal policy on international trade which we have been following since 1958 or, alternatively, to revert to a policy of national self-sufficiency based on customs barriers."

"Is the first alternative at all possible? Theoretically, yes, since countries much smaller than France such as Sweden and Switzerland have successfully followed this course of action. However, one must not forget that these two countries are accustomed to peace and that their territory has never been occupied by foreign powers in the last 150 years. Unfortunately, this is not the case with France which has, accordingly, had its economic development interrupted and slowed down considerably. Nobody denies this. One may ask whether the French market is large enough to allow our industry and our agriculture to withstand international competition from other countries which are at present members of the Community and from the United States. Would it not be necessary to develop a sort of free trade area with other countries? But with which countries? This is clearly a problem of politics as well as economics."

"The second solution", continues A. Malterre, "has not been helpful to France in the past. High customs barriers have led to the evolution of a Malthusian organization of industry, commerce and agriculture and to the maintenance of this archaic form of organization. Let us not forget that this policy, as pursued by France between 1930 and 1938, is very largely responsible for the twenty-five per cent decrease in industrial production between the beginning of the economic crisis and the first year of the war."

Finally, the President of the CGC points out that, after the present set-back has been overcome, the ideal would be for the European Economic Community to be brought into being on the terms laid down in the Treaty of Rome. "This implies", A. Malterre points out, "that all parties keep to their undertakings and that this Treaty, whatever its imperfections, be applied in letter and spirit. Failing this, it is necessary to keep in mind that the development of the EEC has been the very basis of French economic policy since 1958. The breakdown of the Common Market would thus entail radical changes which our economy would have great difficulty in standing up to. The expression "austerity policy" would most probably stage a come-back.

"L'EUROPE CONTINUERA" (Europe will go on) by A. Laval - "La métallurgie syndicaliste" (FO, France), No. 124 August-September 1965, page 1.

The General Secretary of the French Metal Workers (FO) comments in his article on the declarations by the President of the French Republic at his press conference on 9 September 1965.

"The opinions expressed by the President of the French Republic", writes A. Laval, "confirm us in our conviction of the need to take action wherever we can so as to ensure, in the face of all opposition, the continuing construction of Europe and the continuing working of the Community Institutions.

"We are Europeans by reason of our emotions and by our reasoning. We know", he adds, "that all the major economic and social problems facing us today cannot be solved in isolation on a narrow national basis. Are we not anxious to see European action in the car manufacturing industry and many other large-scale industries, a start made on organization, programming, investment guidance, on the model of what the European Coal and Steel Community has done for steel, thus avoiding many of the disorders inherent in laissez-faire for which the workers always had to foot the bill? Even if the social and democratic Europe that we want is still a long way away, nobody can deny the tremendous progress achieved within the Community with regard to the well-being of workers (...). The upward harmonization of their living conditions makes

continued progress every year with regard to earnings, the shortening of working hours, paid annual leave, safety and health of work. Community facilities have enabled the setting of exemplary precedents with regard to the re-alignment and readaptation of industrial resources and in the retraining of workers.

"But, for the free trade unions, the greatest achievement has been the services rendered to the cause of peace and the brotherhood of men by the construction of Europe so that, only a few years after the most terrible and murderous encounters between neighbouring peoples, a repetition of those dreadful events is no longer possible. (...)

"We want to see a continuation of work on this ennobling edifice. We also want to see its extension to the other democratic nations of this continent."

"LES COMMUNISTES ET L'EUROPE" (The Communists and Europe) by A. Bergeron - "L'ouvrier des mines" (FO, France), No. 918 of 22.8.65, page 2.

The General Secretary of the CGT-FO writes: "The communists are trying to deceive the workers when they claim that the Common Market has increased contradictions between the six countries concerned and that competition has been increased so as to benefit the strongest, best-equipped monopolies, mainly those of the Federal Republic of Germany. They know very well that clashes of interests and rivalries caused by competition have always existed.

"The very object of the Treaty of Rome", he continues, "has been to reduce differences by providing for the pooling and co-ordination of the resources of Germany, Italy, the Benelux countries and France, to press on to found an economic union and, as we hope, a political union which will be able to hold its own against the considerable potential of the United States on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other, without thereby creating a situation where a united Europe would represent a threat to anybody at all.

"It must be agreed", adds A. Bergeron, "that the European institutions have very largely accomplished the aims they set themselves. The Treaty of Rome has provisions, already referred to, the object of which is to counteract monopolistic abuse (...). The communists are lying when they assert that the existence of the Common Market has led to an exacerbation of social contradictions. The very opposite is the case. The free trade unions of the ICFTU in the six countries are doing everything they can within the European institutions to speed up progress towards the harmonization we want. Moreover, they have recently established a common programme of demands with this very end in view."

In conclusion, the General Secretary of "Force Ouvrière" stresses that "the CGT will, naturally, follow in the footsteps of the Communist Party. This will not stop it from demanding, like its sister

organization in Italy, the CGIL, representation within the institutions of the Common Market in order to wage war on them from within."

This article was also reproduced in the "Welt der Arbeit", the publication of the DGB (Federal Republic of Germany), No. 36 of 3.9.65, page 4.

"EUROPE - DU REALISME POUR LES HOMMES" (Europe - Realism for men) by Gérard Espéret - "Syndicalisme" (CFDT, France), No. 1044 of 24.7.65, page 1.

Commenting on the disagreement in Brussels, G. Espéret, Vice-President of the CFDT, writes: "One feels like an onlooker at a game where each player tries to force the next man's hand, one insisting on previous decisions, another on legalistic arguments and yet another on principles. In fact, nobody puts his real cards on the table.

"Whether we like it or not, Europe will be made by and composed of people who do not think alike, neither in politics nor in economics and not in social matters either. But this", G. Espéret adds, "we have known for a long time. Our experience in working together has made us tangibly aware of this, at the same time allowing a number of changes to be made which are not altogether valueless.

"For some people Europe has been a myth, a mystique. Today, it is a fact. There can be no going back. Even if one of the governments wanted to "smash" the EEC, it would not be able to do so. It could suppress the institutions or the administrative superstructures representing the general interest but the vacuum would be filled by those who are financially strong and whose apparatus is already set up. This would mean an ever more marked trend towards a capitalist Europe dominated by cartels.

"Do the governments realize this situation? Does the Commission? The workers", continues the Vice-President of the CFDT, "care nothing for tactical subtleties or errors. Europe is there. It has forced them to make sacrifices, adapt themselves to new circumstances and make considerable changes to bring it into being. We have to go on in this direction. If we do not, too many things will be plunged into uncertainty: the organization of firms, sales, the flow of trade, economic plans and co-operation with associated countries.

"We have preferred not to avail ourselves of arguments based on feelings or doctrine. We are not forgetful of these, but we wish to look at this problem as it really is. The EEC will be brought into being, whether we like it or not. It depends on us whether it will serve the people or narrow, selfish interests. We ask the governments to note: firstly, that they are gambling with their future role in the integrated economies that will certainly come into being; secondly, that the workers, who will certainly be the victims of any organization

of a "regional" character without representation of general interests, would be obliged to take up a hard, ruthless fight."

Concluding, G. Espéret writes: "Another lesson which the workers must learn from their experience up to now is that the European trade-union movement has so far frankly co-operated and achieved results within the institutions without as yet thinking out its plan of campaign at European level. It is high time this was done, time to arm ourselves so as to be in a position to sustain those of our representatives who have been called upon to defend the interests of the working class and build a wider, more democratic Common Market, such as that which we desire and are determined to create."

"LE MARCHÉ COMMUN - EST-IL CONDAMNÉ?" (Is the Common Market doomed?) by Jean Boissonnat - "Syndicalisme Magazine" (CFDT, France), October 1965, pages 22 and 23.

Jean Boissonnat recalls the different stages of European unification and sums up the present situation.

Arising from a disagreement on agricultural policy, "the present dispute that has been going on since June is", the writer feels, "without doubt the most serious since the very beginning of the Community.

"General de Gaulle", Boissonnat feels, "is using the failure of our partners to keep strictly to the time-limits set out in the agricultural time-table to cast doubt on the future of the institutions and machinery established by the Treaty of Rome (...). More seriously, he is charging our partners with aligning their foreign policy with that of the United States rather than with that of France."

J. Boissonnat then strikes the balance with regard to the action of the Community and notes that "in the agricultural sector, the French farmers had placed their hopes in Europe, a natural market for their surplus production. The African countries, for their part, are now receiving assistance from the whole of Europe and not just from France.

"Does this mean that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds and that the Common Market brings nothing but fortune and prosperity?" Boissonnat has a number of anxieties on this score and points out in particular that "international concerns are able to shake off state restrictions in a market which wipes out frontiers. American capital is able to settle in Europe, a continent which is now as large as its own: Simca is taken over by Chrysler and Bull by General Electric. But what is actually being threatened by the present crisis in the Common Market? Certainly not the opening of the frontiers which is in accordance with the widening of markets to the size required by modern techniques. Even if the Treaty of Rome is torn up tomorrow or shelved, the countries of Europe will not thereby automatically close their frontiers. In all probability, the EFTA countries, the other

European countries which are not members of the Common Market and the countries of the EEC will draw closer together."

Boissonnat feels that "this would be perfectly acceptable to the Dutch and the Germans (...). Economic frontiers would continue to be thrown open (...). On the other hand, the unique distinguishing feature of the Common Market, the establishment of an area which has a common policy, would rapidly disappear. The Germans, in particular, would never again accept an agricultural policy which from their point of view combines everything that is unwelcome: reduction of farmers' earnings and increases in the prices paid by consumers. They would, moreover, soon withdraw from any attempts at European planning. Thus, the choice is not between the Common Market and a return to national economies but between free trade on the Anglo-Saxon model and the building up of an area in which common policies are pursued.

"We run the risk", adds J. Boissonnat, "of finding ourselves in the following paradoxical position: if France blocks the Common Market because its partners are looking too much in the direction of Washington, she will provoke others into setting up a free-trade area influenced even more by America.

"(...) The creation of the Common Market will not magically solve all the problems of our age: more justice and responsibility for workers; the mastery of technical progress; the defence of peace; the provision of aid to the poor. It does, however, place these problems on their true scale which is no longer that of a country of fifty million inhabitants. The essential question is whether the old nations of Europe are able to set up a power and conceive a policy which will bring their means up to the level of their ambitions (...). This is not a matter which concerns only governments. An industry-wide strike throughout all the firms of a particular industry in every country of Europe would do more than a Treaty to help on the process of unifying the old continent and more than a national strike would do for improving the lot of the workers."

The author puts forward the view that "a strike at the Peugeot works is going to have less and less chance of succeeding - whether there is a Common Market or not - without simultaneous strike actions by Opel and Fiat workers".

"L'OPPOSIZIONE DI DE GAULLE NON E' TECNICA MA POLITICA" (De Gaulle's opposition is political rather than technical), interview given by Aride Rossi - "Il lavoro italiano" (UIL, Italy), No. 30 of 25.7.65, page 5.

The article reproduces the record of an interview given by Aride Rossi, General Secretary of UIL-Terra (Italy) to the magazine "Terra e Vita" concerning the breaking off of negotiations in Brussels on the financing of the common agricultural policy.

questioned on the causes which have brought about the present situation, Aride Rossi is convinced that the failure of the negotiations is primarily due to the opposition of France to the building of a supranational Europe. After pointing out that the European agricultural policy is of particular benefit to France, Rossi goes on to note in this connection the criticism directed at the Government by the French farmers' organizations and excludes any possibility of being able to solve the problems confronting French agriculture by action confined to France.

"IL LAVORO ITALIANO", the official publication of the UIL (Italy), No. 37 of 10.10.65, devotes an entire page (p.7) to the Extraordinary Congress of the European Movement which was held in Cannes from 1 to 3 October 1965. The journal publishes the texts of the resolutions adopted, the addresses by M. Dalla Chiesa and M. Corti, Secretaries of the UIL and commentaries signed by C. Benevento and Contigliozzi.

"I SINDACATI DI FRONTE ALLA CRISI DEL MEC" (Trade unions and the crisis in the Common Market) by M. Lispi - "Rassegna sindacale" (CGIL, Italy), No. 69-70 of 5.9.65, page 26.

The author begins with an analysis of the causes underlying the process of integration and what he calls "monopolist concentration" in the countries of the Common Market. He stresses that this trend will continue and become more marked, in spite of the present situation in the Community, unless the labour movement generally and the trade unions in particular are able to commit themselves whole-heartedly to the task of giving tangible expression to what is described as the "democratic European alternative".

Pointing to the inadequacy of the reactions shown up to now by Brussels trade-union circles and even by workers' organizations of the left, particularly the French left-wing organizations which are still wedded to campaigns conceived on specifically national issues, the writer emphasizes that the Brussels crisis presents an excellent opportunity for opening up the whole question of creating, as an alternative to the Europe of the monopolies, a democratic workers' Europe. In this context, the author writes: "The Common Market crisis gives us an opportunity, over and above the need to do so, of bringing up to date and studying thoroughly our entire strategy on Europe by adding to and enriching the analysis which was begun some time ago of the phenomena of European economic integration."

"DE GAULLE LEGT BOM ONDER EUROMARKT - OVERIGE EEG-LANDEN MOETEN ALTERNATIEF STELLEN" (De Gaulle puts a bomb under the Common Market - the other EEC countries will have to produce an alternative) - "Ruim Zicht" (NKV, Netherlands), No. 12 of 16.9.65, page 3.



Here is an extract from an article written before the French President's press conference of 9 September.

"Anyone who may have still had any doubts on the subject must now realize that de Gaulle has only one thing in mind: to sabotage absolutely what progressive minds have accomplished through their efforts and sacrifices, namely, the true integration of Europe as laid down in the Treaties of Paris and Rome.

"The dispute concerning the proposals made on agriculture by the European Commission has been only a pretext and the true cause of the dispute is that de Gaulle does not want the European Communities to have a supranational character. It is now quite clear that the Community will not come into being with a France ruled by de Gaulle; we have feared this for some time and our fears are now confirmed.

"If, however, it is necessary after all to make concessions with regard to the principle of supranationality, the principle on which the strength of the EEC was based and which gave the Community so much greater prestige and meaning than EFTA, why should we not try to come to some agreement with Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries on the basis of a new EEC, even if we may be required to make do with a little less supranationality (...). We feel that the only solution is to confront France and de Gaulle with this alternative."

"CRISIS IN DE EEG" (Crisis in the EEC) by M. ter Heide - "De Vakbeweging" (NVV, Netherlands), No. 16 of 7.9.65, pages 248 and 249.

In the first part of his article, the author outlines the technical and political background of the crisis which came about on the night of 30 June. Among other things, he explains the meaning of Regulation No. 25, the source of these difficulties, and the reasons why France was opposed to the Commission's proposals.

He continues: "The crisis in the Community is important mainly because questions of principle are involved: integration as against national sovereignty, parliamentary democracy as against authoritarian power.

"In the first place, the crisis is one that involves democracy: without an effective opposition in France, there can be no democracy that will work in Europe. This proves once again that in modern Europe, all countries are interdependent."

The author considers the intentions of the French Government and the means it has at its disposal for putting these into effect. He concludes: "It will be difficult for Europe to manage without France, but France will not be able to manage at all without Europe. We can

tolerate a temporary exclusion of France because of its own faults just as well as we can tolerate a temporary exclusion of Great Britain. However, we have not yet reached that stage. In all the member countries there is still a very strong desire to find a solution and this leads us to believe that it is still possible to get the Brussels machinery going again by leaving the important decisions until later. However, if we are to reach a satisfactory compromise, we shall have to be both patient and firm and not give way to French blackmail."

"NIET GETROUWD" (Not married). This article has appeared in most of the trade-union publications put out by the CNV (Netherlands) at the end of September 1965.

"What we had been fearing for some time came about at the press conference given by de Gaulle on 9 September. France is in effect refusing to take part in the European Economic Community. De Gaulle wants to revise the Treaties of Rome, thus striking a blow which would go to the very heart of the EEC.

"One cannot conceive any event which would be worse for the future of Western Europe. Is it still possible, then, for nationalism to choke the growing European mentality with all the consequences that must follow? Is Europe to return to the situation of 1914?

"The Christian trade-union movement has always vigorously campaigned for the establishment of the European Community because we can expect from such a community social results and economic effects which will benefit European workers. We have to ask ourselves now what we are going to do. We cannot go on as if nothing had happened. Nor can we accept making concessions to France. Indeed, an economic community without European democracy would undermine not only the influence of parliaments but also that of the trade unions. What will be needed is an entirely new round of negotiations between the five countries of the EEC who sincerely wish to uphold the treaties and continue with the work of building Europe. In these negotiations the trade-union movement will have to make its voice heard, as it did when the EEC Treaty was drawn up. We also feel that other countries in Europe should take part in these negotiations. After all, we are not married to France."

"WELCHE VORTEILE BRINGT DER GEMEINSAME MARKT?" (What are the advantages of the Common Market?) by K.H. Friedrichs - "Der Gewerkschafter" (DGB, IG-Metall, Federal Republic of Germany), No. 7, July 1965, pages 247 and 248.

The author refers to the figures quoted by M. Hallstein, President of the EEC Commission, with regard to the national product at constant prices, industrial production and the movement of wages and prices in the EEC. According to these figures, "the average total of wages and salaries per worker has increased by approximately 62% between 1958 and

1964 whilst prices paid by consumers have increased by some 20% in the same period. During these years industrial production has gone up by about 51% in the countries of the EEC, by 43% in the United States and by 28% in Great Britain.

"As striking as these figures are, one's chances of being able to employ them to overcome the scepticism of the ordinary consumer are very relative. One would be able to demonstrate the real success of the EEC only if one knew what the economic development of the EEC countries would have been without the Common Market, and this is obviously impossible.

"Thanks to the EEC, the consumer is now able to choose from a much wider array of goods. This", the writer feels, "is where one can prove the advantage of the Common Market. But here, too, it is more important for the consumer to be able to see the effect on prices. It is pleasing to note", he continues, "that the EEC Commission has now clearly recognized this problem. In its last report on activities, the Commission attempts, probably for the first time, to note the concrete repercussions on the movement of prices of a large number of consumer goods, including durable consumer goods."

Friedrichs ends by noting that "the Commission has been able through this type of analysis to take a major step forward. By giving attention to recording the influence of the Common Market on prices of different consumer goods, one is led to recognize that one has also to take effective action if one is to give greater consideration than has hitherto been the case to the interests of consumers within the EEC. This is absolutely indispensable and must be done soon."

"DRAUSSEN VOR DER TÜR: DER VERBRAUCHER" (The consumer has been left out in the cold) by Apitzsch - "Holzarbeiter-Zeitung" (DGB, Federal Republic of Germany), No. 7, July 1965, pages 14 and 15.

After dealing in a previous series with the European Institutions and the trade unions' work in Europe, the author of this article embarks on an analysis of the different aspects of the question: "the consumer in the EEC".

To the question: what benefits has the EEC brought the consumer up to now and what benefits will it bring in the future, the author feels that one may reply that wage-earners and consumers have "all in all, had precious little benefit".

"One of the chief aims, namely, the sharing by consumers in the economic success of European integration is bedevilled by the profit motive which holds industry and agriculture in an icy grip and is encouraged by the Government of the Federal Republic with its economic policy that runs counter to the interests of consumers."

In spite of the spectacular reduction in customs dues and the increase in supply, Apitzsch continues, the price of basic foodstuffs has continued to increase without interruption up to today. "There is a need to establish the reasons for this, on the one hand, in the inadequate competition within the EEC (...) but also in the establishment of European organizations for the marketing of farm products bringing about an increase in prices."

In conclusion, the author notes that the consultative rights granted to the EEC Consumers' Committee, established in 1962, fall far short of those that would correspond to the economic importance of the group of consumers represented by the Committee.

The consumers, he believes, are not firmly enough organized "to be in a position to participate, as a powerful and acknowledged grouping, in the drafting of economic policy. It is high time that the Common Market came round to respecting the principle that, here too, the customer is always right".

"PROBLEMES INTERNATIONAUX DU MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL" (The international problems of the trade-union movement) - "Syndicats" (FGTB, Belgium), No. 30 of 30.7.65, page 6.

"Syndicats" sets out how the Ordinary Congress of the FGTB held last May looked at organizational problems with regard to trade-union activities and to the European Communities.

The FGTB feels that "a European federation of free trade unions would best meet the needs of our continent which is a complex pattern of interwoven traditions, customs and interests evolving towards unity and which has been in its time the cradle of modern trade unionism".

With regard to organization, "it is scarcely desirable to have in Europe two groups of trade unions, even if they are both represented in the ICFTU European Regional Organization. The ICFTU European Trade Union Secretariat will never be effective and will get bogged down in unilateralism and "Eurocracy" if it is restricted to the Six, which has a number of romantics in its ranks (...). In each country, with the possible exception of the smaller ones, the trade-union movement's attitude is tinged with nationalism. Among the Six, this could lead to a "euronationalism" which would be little better than that shown by the countries of the small free trade area.

"We must insist", the article points out, "that the six countries of the European Economic Community should not make any claims or undertake anything which would make it more difficult or impossible for Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland to join. If they were to come into the Community, the Europe of the 'Six' would become the Europe of democracy and broadly based progress (...). Thus, the trade unions in the Six should not insist on a trade unionist being co-opted as such as a member of the European High Authority.

"This claim", the journal adds, "is inspired by the desire to see trade unions systematically associated with all measures undertaken by the Commission, which will soon be the European High Authority (...). In the first place, having a trade unionist as a member of this High Authority does not in itself constitute a guarantee that the trade-union movement will be closely associated with the decisions. It might well happen that this member would be employed by the High Authority on missions to trade-union confederations to put to them the reasons which have led the High Authority to do this or decide the other and give reasons why the trade unions should endorse such actions and decisions. Whilst the trade-union movement ought to inform the High Authority of the workers' wishes, this High Authority would lay down its wishes to the trade-union movement with regard to what the workers should do."

Still on the same subject, "Syndicats" continues: "There is another fundamental reason which can be put as a question: would you agree that a trade-union leader should, as such and remaining in office as a trade-union leader, become a member of the government of your country? In eleven out of twelve countries, Austria being the sole exception, the answer would be a firm 'No!' In the case of this supra-national government, just as much as in the case of a national government, the trade unions must retain their freedom to disagree and challenge what has been done or is being planned."

Another consideration put forward by "Syndicats" is that "the European Community must be democratic and aim at increasing the standard of living of the masses. All countries which become full members or associates with a view to becoming full members should, in accordance with the true facts, be democratic and progressive like the Six or the Twelve. Greece is an associate of the EEC and has a democratic system of government which is sometimes, however, violated. Events of recent weeks have afforded an instance of this. The working classes have a very low standard of living, which is even lower when compared with the opulence of the wealthy. Turkey is also an associate of the EEC: democracy is at present being built up there although there is a long way to go yet before it is firmly established; the living standards of the working masses are unbelievably low.

"The 'trade unions in the Six'", the journal concludes, "must ensure that EEC aid and assistance to Greece and Turkey relieve and improve fundamentally the lot of the masses and do not just add to the wealth of the rich."

"NOTRE JOURNEE D'INFORMATION DU 2 SEPTEMBRE 1965" (Our seminar of 2 September 1965) - "Syndicats" (FGTB, Belgium), No. 36 of 11.9.65, pages 8 and 9.

The Central Organization of Belgian Metal Workers (FGTB) held on 2 September a seminar devoted to European questions. Papers were read by M. Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, and M. Th. Rasschaert, Secretary of the ICFTU European Trade Union Secretariat.

M. Rasschaert dealt with the subject of "trade-union activities in Europe" and brought out the reasons for the allegiance of the trade unions to the idea of European integration and those which often led the trade-union organizations to be in an inferior position to the employers' representatives. He identifies the following causes for these difficulties: 1. differences of language and mentality; 2. problems of influence, representativity, temperament; 3. disproportion in the representativity of large national trade-union organizations, whether confined to one profession or covering a number of professions; 4. differences in structure and occasional structural complexities between the organizations represented; 5. differences in the degree of trade-union organization from one country to another; 6. lack of unity in the trade-union movement in certain countries with a number of parallel organizations: socialist, Christian, united, etc.

"In short", the speaker noted, "we have a series of complex socio-psychological factors in which human nature hangs on to its 'indefeasible rights' some of which are negative in character.

"Of course, we have tried to make improvements and sometimes we have had a certain success. It seems that, in future, the choice of 'interest centres' will allow for a better perception of the problems involved and the way of solving them. Industrial relations should be regulated through regular and defined consultation between the parties themselves first of all and then within the Consultative Committee. This two-stage preliminary procedure would have a good effect on subsequent relations with representatives of governments and with officials of the Community."

"HET MEMORANDUM VAN HET VERBOND DER BELGISCHE NIJVERHEID" (II)  
"TEGEN EEN EUROPEES SOCIAAL BELEID!" (The memorandum of the Belgian Federation of Industries (II) Against a Belgian social policy) - "De Volksmacht" (ACV, Belgium), No. 37 of 25.9.65, pages 5 and 6.

This article, which is devoted to the social aspects of the memorandum, refers particularly to what the Belgian Federation of Industries envisages in the social sphere in the European Community. The first part of the article comments on the text of the memorandum dealing with national social problems. The second part deals with the part of the memorandum which is concerned with European social problems and contains comments and criticisms, some of which are reproduced below.

"Certainly, the European Economic Community has brought us social progress since 1958. But can one say that this is due entirely to the application of the provisions of the Treaty and, specifically, to the 'working of the Common Market'? Is it not necessary here to take into account just as much the activities, efforts and fight waged by the workers and the trade unions? Should we not also take account of the

high level of economic activity throughout the world since 1960? And if this expansion were to change into a recession, is it so absolutely certain that spontaneous forces generated by the working of the Common Market would necessarily safeguard harmonization in an upward direction? No, it is necessary to have a social policy specially worked out for Europe.

"The employers' memorandum starts by confusing the concepts of 'harmonization' and 'progress'. Even if there has been social progress generally in Europe over recent years, there has not been the same measure of harmonization. There remain considerable differences in wages paid in different sectors, in the measure of security prevailing in different countries and there are still considerable differences between the different regions of France and Italy."

The article then goes on to specify: "Workers and their unions must first organize themselves as strongly at European as at national level. Then, at national level, they must put claims which are in line with the social development of Europe."

"PRESSIEGROEPEN IN DE EEG" (Pressure groups in the EEC) by P. van Rijsterveld - "Evangelie en Maatschappij", No. 7-8, July-August 1965, pages 185 to 188.

The article is devoted to a report dealing with "pressure groups in the EEC" published at the beginning of 1965 by the European Institute of the University of Amsterdam.

The first part summarizes the report.

The second part is entitled "A valuable enterprise". The author welcomes the enterprise of the European Institute but feels that the study has been carried out on a too restricted scale. It is also claimed that if the report contains certain truths, it also contains a number of inaccuracies. The author is particularly shocked by the negative trend of the report. He also regrets the absence of a clearer definition of what is meant by "pressure groups".

In the third part of the article which contains a number of conclusions, the author states that, in view of the situation in the European Community, it is absolutely necessary to continue and extend this investigation.

"MARCHE COMMUN: LES BANQUES, C'EST AUSSI LES EMPLOYES" (The Common Market: the banks are also those who work in them) - "Vie ouvrière" (CGT, France), No. 1103 of 20.10.65, page 11.

The article, as well as another on the same subject published by "L'Humanité" on 28 September, reports on the second conference of trade-union delegates from the central banks of the countries of the European

Community, held on 23, 24 and 25 September. The conference, held in Paris (the first conference was held in Rome), was attended by CGT, CFDT, "Autonomes" and CGC representatives from the Banque de France, two unions of the Banca d'Italia and, representing Western Germany, delegates from the Employees' Union (DAG) and the Public Service and Transport Workers' Union (ÖTV, DGB). After an exchange of information and views, it was decided, according to "Vie ouvrière", to have regular discussions on specific problems arising from the existence of the Common Market. The next conference will be held in Western Germany some time in the coming year.

#### SOCIAL PROBLEMS

"HYGIENE ET SECURITE A L'ORDRE DU JOUR DE LA SESSION DES DELEGUES MINEURS" (Safety and health of working on the agenda of the miners' delegates' session) - "L'écho des mines" (CFTC Miners, France), No. 420 of 1-15.7.65, pages 1-8.

"L'écho des mines" reproduces the main part of the addresses to the miners' delegate session held in Paris on 8, 9 and 10 June. An entire day of this information meeting was devoted to the action of the High Authority on this subject.

"DIALOGUE DE SOURDS A LA COMMISSION MIXTE DE LA CECA" (Talking at cross purposes in the ECSC Tripartite Committee) - "L'écho des mines" (CFTC Miners, France), No. 421 of 16-31.7.65, page 7.

The author of this article recalls that during the meeting of the Tripartite Committee held in Paris last June, trade-union representatives had agreed not to touch on the entire question of the European Miner's Code but to ask for a debate on two single points, one dealing with the internationalization of the miner's bonus and the other on the establishment of a loyalty bonus.

The talks did not, in the author's opinion, lead to anything very much: many producers and governmental representatives showed evident ill-will. Once again, the talks ended in a deadlock.

"JOURNEES D'ETUDES ET D'INFORMATION SUR LA READAPTATION PROFESSIONNELLE DES ACCIDENTES DU TRAVAIL" (Seminar and information meeting on rehabilitation of victims of industrial accidents)(CFTC Miners, France), No. 423 of 1-15.9.65, page 8.

"L'écho des mines" gives a quite detailed account of the seminar and information meeting held on 21 and 22 June at Strasbourg on the "Technical basis and social implications of retraining", organized by



the Directorate-General for Labour Problems, Industrial Organization and Redevelopment of the High Authority.

"DORTMUND, IL Y A UN AN" (Dortmund one year ago) by Michel Rigourd - "L'ouvrier des mines" (CGT-FO Miners, France), No. 912 of 4.7.65, page 1.

M. Rigourd recalls the aims of the manifestation of ICFTU European Miners which was organized in Dortmund on 4 July 1964. He points out that this impressive international manifestation of workers was the first dazzling sign of the desire of the miners to establish the European Miner's Code. He concludes with the statement that the miners and similar workers want and will be able to build a socially progressive, peaceful and happy Europe.

"L'IMPASSE" (Deadlock) by Ch. Cortot - "Le réveil des mineurs" (CGT-FO, France), No. 112, July 1965, page 1.

The Assistant General Secretary of the FO Miners devotes his editorial to the plenary session of the Tripartite Committee for the Coal Mining Industry which took place on 24 July 1965 in Paris. He recapitulates the various stages of the question of the European Miner's Code and stresses once again the significance of the Dortmund Manifestation of 4 July 1964.

"It is to be regretted", writes Ch. Cortot, "that we could not for the moment embark on a harder line of trade-union action at European level such as a strike that would, of course, have been limited in one sense although it would at the same time have extended throughout the countries of the ECSC. In my humble opinion, we shall only get the opposition to give way by resorting to direct action. The need to act is more and more in the minds of our members and it is not out of the question that they will come to an agreement on this point one day."

In the author's view, "the plenary session of the Tripartite Committee for the Coal Mining Industry held on 24 June in Paris was sterile, to say the least, once again because of the ill-will of certain employers and governmental delegates. In simple terms", concludes Cortot, "the deadlock continues."

"LA CONSTRUCTION DE LOGEMENTS SOCIAUX - UNE SESSION D'INFORMATION DE LA CECA" (Social housing construction - an information meeting organized by the ECSC) - "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 26 of 3.7.65, page 7.

The CSC weekly reports on the proceedings of the information meeting devoted to the action of the High Authority in the construction of social housing. The meeting took place at Luxembourg on 14 and 15 June 1965.

"LE MEMORANDUM DU GOUVERNEMENT ITALIEN SUR LA POLITIQUE SOCIALE DE LA COMMUNAUTE" (The Italian Government memorandum on the social policy of the Community) - "Au travail!" (CSC, Belgium), No. 26 of 3.7.65, page 7.

"Au travail!" reproduces the main part of the Italian memorandum to the Council of Ministers.

"FAIRE L'EUROPE" (Creating Europe) by Dejos - "L'action" (FGTB, Charleroi, Belgium), No. 28 of 10.7.65, page 1.

The author gives an account of the proceedings of the meeting devoted to safety and health of working and industrial medicine held in Strasbourg last June and comments on the address delivered by the President of the Inter-Trade Union Group of ICFTU Miners and Metalworkers in the ECSC.

"President Gailly", Dejos writes, "also made a particular point of underlining the need for increased financial resources in order to activate these inquiries, noting that there was a long way to go before this huge human problem was solved. For this reason", the author states, "A. Gailly was quite right in putting forward a vigorous claim for increased representation of workers in the various specialized committees."

In conclusion, Dejos writes that "Gailly has frankly put the question: what is to happen to these investigations and research in the Europe of tomorrow, following the merger of the three executives? Organized workers", Dejos concludes, "demand that these researches should be continued, extended and speeded up. The world of labour must have its full place in the Europe which is being built."

#### AGRICULTURAL POLICY

"SENZA L'EUROPA, DIFFICILE RISANARE L'AGRICOLTURA" (Without Europe it is difficult to rationalize agriculture) - "Il lavoro italiano" (UIL, Italy), No. 36 of 3.10.65, page 6.

In his article, the author refers to the conclusions reached by participants at the 3rd Conference of Agricultural Workers' Trade Unions in the EEC which was recently held at Bari.

In particular, the author stresses the need to implement an effective community social policy as well as a structural policy which will not only guarantee stable economic development but also add to the productivity of action in the commercial sphere.

## REGIONAL POLICY

"C'E' SOLAMENTE UNA CERTEZZA: LA BATTAGLIA CONTINUA" (There is only one thing certain: the battle will go on) by C. Savoini - "Conquiste del lavoro" (CISL, Italy), No. 38-39 of 12.9.65-2.10.65, pages 12 and 13.

This article presents a close examination of the Action Programme in the sphere of Regional Policy of the European Economic Community. The document submitted by the EEC Commission to the Council of Ministers is considered as the first effective contribution to the realization of the aims of regional policy as laid down in the Treaty of Rome, within the general framework of strengthening and developing the national economies of the member countries.

#### IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DOCUMENTATION

##### EEC

"EXPOSE SUR L'EVOLUTION DE LA SITUATION SOCIALE DANS LA COMMUNAUTE EN 1964" (Paper on the development of the social system in the Community in 1964), attached to the 'Eighth General Report on the Activities of the Community' in applying Article 122 of the Treaty - August 1965 (mimeographed edition), published in French, German, Italian and Dutch.

"LES PROBLEMES DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE DANS LA COMMUNAUTE EN 1965" (Manpower problems in the Community in 1965), April 1965 (8141/1/V/1965/5), published in French, German, Italian and Dutch - Price: Bfrs. 60; FF 6; DM 4.80; Lit. 750; Fl. 4.30; 8s.6d.; \$1.20.

In drawing up this report, the sixth in the series, the Commission of the European Economic Community has followed the method finalized during previous years. It has availed itself of the co-operation of experts of the Ministries of Labour of Member States and it has also consulted its Committee of Economic Experts as well as professional organizations of workers and employers. The report takes account of information and views collected during these consultations.

It analyses employment trends in the Community, outlines general tendencies and their determining factors as well as giving a breakdown of the distinguishing features of the manpower situation according to country, profession and region. Furthermore, it traces the employment outlook for the coming months and makes forecast estimates for 1965 regarding the supply and demand of manpower; finally, it suggests, taking account of the outlook, certain measures for promoting economic expansion without friction and a better balance in the employment of workers.

"LA POLITIQUE DE CONCURRENCE, PARTIE INTEGRANTE DE LA POLITIQUE ECONOMIQUE DANS LE MARCHE COMMUN" (The policy on competition, integral part of economic policy in the Common Market), an address given by Hans von der Groeben, member of the EEC Commission, Chairman of the Working Party on Competition, to the European Parliament at Strasbourg on 16 June 1965 - published in French, German, Italian and Dutch (8158/1/VI/1965/5).

"LA POLITIQUE REGIONALE DANS LA COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE EUROPEENNE" (Regional policy in the European Economic Community) (Reports of Groups of Experts), Brussels, July 1964 (8154/1/VI/1965/5), published in French, German, Italian and Dutch - Price: Bfrs. 120; FF 12; DM 9.60; Lit. 1500; Fl. 8.75; 17s.6d.; \$2.40.

Three working parties have been set up. No. 1 has examined: "Aims and methods of regional policy"; No. 2: "Adaptation of the older industrialized regions"; No. 3: "Instruments of regional policy in Member States".

## ECSC

"LES REPERCUSSIONS DU PROGRES TECHNIQUE SUR LA STRUCTURE ET LA FORMATION DU PERSONNEL DES ACIERIES" (The repercussions of technical progress on the structure and training of staff in the steel industry) published in French, German, Italian and Dutch.

The High Authority has just published under this title a new study on professional training in the iron and steel industry.

This study is the second to appear in a series of documents, publication of which began in 1964 and which are specially devoted to an analysis of the effect of technical progress on the employment and training of staff engaged in the main production processes of the iron and steel industry. It presents a **synthesis** of the results of research carried out in modern steel works of the six countries of the Community. The different types of steel works studied were those using the basic Bessemer process (Thomas), oxygen steel-making, the open-hearth process (Siemens-Martin) and electric furnaces.

"REPERTOIRE DES COMPTES RENDUS DES SESSIONS PLENIERES DU COMITE CONSULTATIF DE LA CECA" (Index of reports of plenary sessions of the ECSC Consultative Committee) from 26.1.1953 to 14.1.1965 (from the 1st to the 97th session) - (11554/2/65/1), published in French and German.

This index refers to addresses contained in analytical reports made by members and observers of the Consultative Committee and their deputies as well as by members and officials of the High Authority. References are classified under headings corresponding to the subject dealt with in the Committee from the 1st to the 97th session.

"RESUME DU RAPPORT POLITIQUE ET DU 13ème RAPPORT GENERAL" (Summary of the Policy Report and the 13th General Report) - "ECSC Bulletin", No. 55 - No. 3/1965 (3717/2/65/1).

The President of the High Authority, M. Dino Del Bo, presented in his addresses of 24 March and 11 May 1965 the "Policy Report of the High Authority" and the "13th General Report on the Activities of the ECSC" to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. A summary of these two reports is given in the bulletin.

## Euratom

"L'ENERGIE NUCLEAIRE EN ALLEMAGNE" (Nuclear energy in Germany) by W. Finke - "Euratom Bulletin" June 1965 - Vol. IV, No. 2, pages 34 to 43, in French, German, Italian and Dutch.

"L'ENERGIE NUCLEAIRE AUX PAYS-BAS" (Nuclear energy in the Netherlands) by M. Eduard Hoekstra - "Euratom Bulletin" September 1965, Vol. IV, No. 3, pages 66 to 73, published in French, German, Italian and Dutch.

"L'IMPACT DU GAZ NATUREL SUR L'ECONOMIE ENERGETIQUE DE L'EUROPE" (The impact of natural gas on the energy economy of Europe) by Jan Leclercq and M. Van Meerbeeck - "Euratom Bulletin" September 1965, Vol. IV, No. 3, pages 74 to 78, published in French, German, Italian and Dutch.

## EEC - ECSC - Euratom

"TRAITE INSTITUANT UN CONSEIL UNIQUE ET UNE COMMISSION UNIQUE DES COMMUNAUTES EUROPEENNES ET DOCUMENTS ANNEXES" (Treaty establishing a single Council and a single Commission of the European Communities and attached documents) - decision of representatives of Governments of Member States relating to the provisional establishment of certain Community Institutions and Services.

## INFORMATION SERVICE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

The Joint Information Service of the European Communities (Common Market, ECSC, Euratom) publishes a series of dossiers in five languages dealing with the most topical aspects of European integration. The dossiers recently published include:

in French, German, Italian and Dutch: "Publications" 1/1965

in German: "Das mittelständische Unternehmen in der EWG"

in Italian: "La politica sociale della CECA" No. 14  
"Una politica regionale per l'equilibrato sviluppo della Comunità" No. 15

in Portuguese: "O que é a Comunidade europeia".

These publications are obtainable from the Joint Information Service of the European Communities, 244, rue de la Loi, Brussels, or 18, rue Aldringer, Luxembourg, or from the Community Information Offices in Bonn, Paris, The Hague, Rome, London, Geneva, New York and Washington.

## MISCELLANEOUS

"L'AVENIR DES REGIONS AGRICOLES"(The future of agricultural regions) by R. Livet - Editions ouvrières, Paris - Economie et Humanisme, Collection "Economie et Civilisation", 236 pages - 1965.

After assessing the facts applying in agriculture today, regional differences in basic structure (displacement of crops, relief, human capital), the unequal distribution of modernization, etc., the author has a look at the future and analyses new trends in agricultural regionalization.

"LE CITOYEN FACE A L'EUROPE" (The citizen looks at Europe), published by the Mouvement de libération ouvrière (MLO) - 15, rue de Chabrol, Paris 10e.

The authors put forward this first brochure, which is of a descriptive character, as an attempt at a first step towards getting to know Europe. From the rebirth of Europe via the identity card of the Six and the European institutions, this number of "Etudes ouvrières" brings us up to the European Economic Community and agricultural Europe.

A second number is envisaged for the end of this year. It will be devoted to social policy, the European consumer, European planning and the political future of the Common Market.

"STRUCTURE DES SALAIRES ET DIVERS ASPECTS DU REVENUE SALARIAL - COMPARAISON INTERNATIONALE" (Tomes I et II)(Wage structure and miscellaneous aspects of earned income - an international comparison)(Vols. 1 and 2) - Bureau des recherches et d'action économique (BRAEC), 24, rue de Léningrad, Paris 8e.

According to the authors, if there is a close relation between wage structure and technical production factors, quite independently of political-economic systems, the Renault fitter and his counterpart employed by Austin and Ford should be paid according to the same "objective" criteria as the man employed by Volkswagen and Pobieda. If this is not the case, the overriding importance of the economic system, viz. of "politics" is amply demonstrated.

At the end of their work, the authors of this study claim to have shown the absence of any "inevitable" technical link between technical production factors applying in any particular case and the system of remuneration.

"HISTOIRE DE L'UNITE EUROPEENNE" (The history of European unity)  
by Jean Lecerf, Edition NRF (Paris) Collection "Idées actuelles",  
380 pages.

In this book, J. Lecerf describes the different stages of European construction. Europe is advancing by fits and starts but advancing none the less: following the success of the ECSC there came the failure of the EDC; after the good start made by the Common Market, the failure of the attempt to arrive at political union (the Fouché plan, etc.). Jean Lecerf parades before our eyes a whole panorama and also takes in the EEC associates in Africa and relations with the United States.

The author does not hesitate to include anecdotes, reports on conversations heard in private and attempts sketches of personalities.

The book has a preface by Jean Monnet.

"L'EUROPE ET L'ELECTRICITE" (Europe and its electricity) - a study  
by P.O. Lapie, member of the ECSC High Authority.

In its number of 1 September 1965, the "revue des deux mondes" (Paris) publishes a study by P.O. Lapie, member of the ECSC High Authority, on Europe's energy problems, noting particularly "the rising trend in electricity".

"DIE SUBVENTIONSPOLITIK DER HOHEN BEHÖRDE DER EUROPÄISCHE GEMEINSCHAFT FÜR KOHLE UND STAHL UND IHRE AUSWIRKUNGEN AUF DEN KOHLENBERGBAU DIESER GEMEINSCHAFT" (The subsidies policy of the ECSC High Authority and its repercussions) by Ph. Bennecke (Westdeutscher Verlag GmbH Köln and Opladen).

After analysing the regulations of the ECSC Treaty which deal with subsidies and after a critical analysis of specific measures involving financial intervention applied by Member States since the establishment of the ECSC, the author examines in detail different proposals finalized by the Inter-Executive Working Party on Energy.



NOTE TO OUR READERS

THIS PUBLICATION IS INTENDED TO KEEP THE TRADE UNION LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INFORMED REGARDING THE VIEWS OF DIFFERENT TRADE-UNION ORGANIZATIONS ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE. THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED ARE ENTIRELY THOSE OF THE AUTHORS, AND MUST NOT BE TAKEN AS COINCIDING WITH THOSE OF THE COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.

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