

# trade union information

### TRADE UNION BULLETIN

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TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER PRIORITY MILIEUX

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1. MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN BRUSSELS ON 15 MAY UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF MR. R. BOULIN, MINISTER FOR LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

At the close of its discussions concerning the improvement of relations with both sides of industry the Council adopted the following conclusions:
"The Council

- points out that the European Council at its meeting in Paris on 12 and 13 March once again stressed the importance of consultation with the two sides of industry at both national and Community level and noted with satisfaction the intention of the Ministers for Labour and Social Affairs to take the necessary measures to improve the work of the Community tripartite meetings;
- thanks the Commission for having forwarded to it an important communication on this matter;
- notes that any improvements to the dialogue at Community level with employers and workers should facilitate a more thorough preparation of tripartite meetings, a greater commitment on the part of all concerned and the implementation in practice of the conclusions resulting from these meetings;
- considers that prior discussion between the two sides of industry on the topics to be debated in the tripartite meetings is an important element in their success;
- instructs the Permanent Representatives Committee to examine the Commission communication with a view to finalizing, in the light of the discussion at Council level and suggestions from both sides of industry, an improved working method for the tripartite meetings to be brought to the attention of the European Council at its next meeting."

# The Council's conclusions on the reorganization of working time "The Council

- recalls that at its meeting in Paris on 12 and 13 March the European Council devoted a considerable part of its proceedings to the employment situation and social policy, and that in its discussions it paid particular attention to the possibility of reorganizing patterns of working time;
- notes the important contributions made in this area by the Standing Committee on Employment and the Tripartite Conference;
- emphasizes the particular attention with which the Ministers for Labour and Social Affairs of the Member States are following the development of this problem at both national and Community level;
- takes note of the Commission communication on this subject and thanks the Commission for the special efforts made in order to submit this communication for the present meeting;
- recalls that at its meeting on 14 May the Council agreed to ask the Economic Policy Committee to carry out a detailed study of Chapter III of the Commission communication;
- considers that the approach to possible changes in the organization of working time must take account of the following requirements:

<sup>(1)</sup> See Trade Union Bulletin No. 4/1979 for a summary of the Commission communication aimed at improving the working methods of the Tripartite Conferences.

- the internal and external competitiveness of the Community must be maintained bearing in mind the situation in the various sectors.
- the measures to be proposed will not necessarily have an automatic effect on employment but will have to be conceived as accompanying measures forming part of an active employment policy.
- both sides of industry will have to cooperate closely both in preparing and in implementing any measures relating to working time. Such cooperation will have to operate at both national and Community level, given that the prime responsibility for action of this kind lies with the two sides of industry, since they are best placed to assess both the possibilities and constraints in each sector and the extent of their respective contributions to the implementation of the measures in question;
- requests the Commission to continue its studies and analyses in this area, taking account of the discussions in the European Council and the guidelines indicated by the Council at its meetings on 14 May and 15 May, with a view to establishing a Community framework for work-sharing concerning in particular:
  - the annual duration of work
  - the restriction of systematic overtime
  - the development of vocational training and schemes combining training and work
  - flexible retirement arrangements
  - voluntary part-time work
  - temporary work
  - shift-work,

and to make whatever proposals it may consider appropriate.

a) EXTENSION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR MIGRANT WORKERS TO SELF-EMPLOYED WORKERS

The Council welcomed the progress in the work being carried out under the auspices of the Permanent Representatives Committee concerning the proposal for a Regulation on the extension to self-employed workers of Regulation No. 1408/71 on social security for migrant workers.

The Council then discussed the remaining problems concerning this proposal, which has far-reaching implications for hundreds of thousands of self-employed workers who have not hitherto received adequate social security protection at Community level.

Despite the progress which had been made, the Council found itself unable to reach an overall decision at the present meeting, owing to the fact that one of the delegations had problems with the inclusion, on the basis of Article 235 of the Treaty, of the category of persons referred to as "non-employed".

The Council agreed to resume its discussion of this issue at its next meeting on social affairs and expressed the hope that it would then be able to take a final decision.

b) PROTECTION OF EMPLOYEES IN THE EVENT OF THE INSOLVENCY OF THEIR EMPLOYER

The Council agreed on the substance of the Directive on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the protection of employees in the event of the insolvency of their employer.

This Directive is intended to set up a mechanism to guarantee the unpaid claims of employees for remuneration when their employer becomes insolvent. Such insolvency normally becomes obvious with the opening of bankruptcy proceedings or on the definitive closure of the undertaking when the available assets are not even sufficient to permit the opening of such proceedings.

Member States will be required to establish institutions to guarantee the payment of employees' claims. This guarantee will cover part of the period preceding either the employer's insolvency or the termination of the contract of employment or employment relationship on account of the employer's apparent insolvency.

The Member States will be able to limit the liability of guarantee institutions in certain ways.

In order to prevent the payment of sums out of proportion to the social objectives of the Directive, Member States will also be permitted to set a ceiling to the payment guarantee by reference, for example, to a ceiling for social security benefits or to average industrial earnings.

Detailed rules for the organization, financing and operation of the guarantee institutions will be laid down by the individual Member States. Employers will in principle have to contribute to the financing of the institutions unless they are fully financed by the public authorities.

The Member States will have three years in which to imcorporate the provisions of the Directive into national law.

## c) CONSULTATION ON MIGRATION POLICIES VIS-A-VIS NON-MEMBER COUNTRIES

The Council took note of an introductory statement by Mr. VREDELING on the Commission communication on consultation within the Community on migration policies via-à-vis non-member countries. It instructed the Permanent Representatives Committee to give the communication careful consideration and submit the results of its examination to the Council at a future meeting on social affairs and labour problems.

## d) EXCHANGES OF YOUNG WORKERS

The Council was not in a position to take a definitive decision since it had not yet received the Economic and Social Committee's opinion, but it noted that agreement already existed on the establishment of a second joint programme to encourage the exchange of young workers within the Community.

The first programme was adopted in 1964, and the new programme will attempt, using new bases and improved procedures, to give added momentum to exchanges of young workers in the Community.

To this end it is intended, inter alia, to enlist the support of organizations operating at European level which by virtue of their structure, activities and operational capacities are in a position to make an effective contribution to implementing of the programme.

The scope of the second programme will be greater than that of the first, in particular because of the more varied forms of training period covered. Thus, id addition to long (4 to 16 months) training periods of a predominantly vocational nature, there is provision for short training periods of between 3 weeks and 3 months which are intended to bring a wider range of young people, including some who would not have been interested in the first type of exchange, into contact with the working environment and way of life in another country.

Another significant innovation in the new programme is that the Community will be able to make a direct financial contribution to trainees' travelling and living expenses.

#### e) EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

The Council discussed a number of matters raised by the Commission regarding the extent to which the Directive on the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women had so far been translated into national law.

During the discussion the delegations commented in particular on the way in which the press had presented the situation in their respective countries. They felt that this presentation could give the general public a mistaken impression both as to the facts and as to what was being done.

In conclusion, the President took note of the Commission's report and the delegations' comments on it, and noted that the procedure initiated by the Commission vis-à-vis certain Member States was being conducted independently of the discussion which had taken place in the Council.

### f) SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY

The Council heard Mr VREDELING present the Commission's communication on the social aspects of the restructuring of the steel industry and the accompanying draft Decision, to which the Council

has to give its assent under the rules of the ECSC Treaty.

During the discussion which followed the Member States made preliminary comments on the various new measures and types of aid which the Commission is proposing to make eligible for Community assistance: early retirement, improvement of the work cycle, earnings compensation in the case of reductions in overtime.

The Council concluded by instructing the Permanent Representatives Committee to examine these documents from the Commission and to report back at a future meeting after the Consultative Committee had given its opinion.

## 2. MEETING OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT IN BRUSSELS ON 22 MAY

The Standing Committee on Employment held its 15th meeting in Brussels on Tuesday 22 May with Mr. Robert BOULIN, Minister for Labour and for Industrial Democracy of the French Republic, in the Chair. The meeting was also attended by the Ministers for Labour of the Member States and their representatives, Mr Henk VREDELING, Member of the Commission with special responsibility for employment and social affairs, and the representatives of the employers' and workers' organizations.

This meeting of the Standing Committee on Employment was called in order to discuss the problem of the qualitative mismatch on the labour market.

Before dealing with the item on the agenda, the Chairman informed the Committee of the discussions which had taken place at the Council meeting on 15 May 1979, particularly as regards the reorganization of working time.

The Chairman wished to spell out the main points of these discussions, namely:

- the Council had not been called on to take any formal decisions on 15 May as regards changes in the organization of working time but had simply considered an interim communication from the Commission which was to be updated and supplemented prior to the next meeting of the European Council;
- the Council did not confine itself to requesting studies and analyses, but asked for a Community framework to be evolved and invited the Commission to submit practical proposals;
- the Council had thus initiated a process designed to bring working time into the sphere of the Community's responsibilities, from which it had hitherto been excluded;
- the Commission had obtained from the Council terms of reference enabling it to make practical proposals and to encourage consultations between employers and workers with a view to negotiating agreements within a Community framework.
- the representatives of the European Trade Union Confederation submitted draft conclusions embodying an undertaking to commence negotiations and to adopt decisions by 1 October 1979 at the latest.

The employers' representatives said that they were unable to subscribe to any undertaking as to working hours, as this was not one of the agenda items. They did, however, state that their attitude did not rule out discussion of this subject.

As no agreed joint text was forthcoming, the representatives of the European Trade Union Confederation left the meeting.

At the end of the meeting, the Chairman nevertheless insisted that the following statement be recorded:

"At the end of the meeting of the Standing Committee on Employment the Chairman confirmed the Council's determination to achieve tangible progress on the question of working hours by 1 December next.

He accordingly asked the Commission to organize direct negotiations with and between both sides of industry, so that concrete proposals could be placed before the next meeting of the Council on Labour and Social Affairs."

Lastly, some initial reactions were expressed regarding the question on the agenda for the meeting. The general consensus was in favour of continuing the work begun by the Commission with a view to reducing qualitative mismatch on the labour market.

After the trade union representatives had left the meeting, the Ministers and the employers' representatives continued briefly their discussions on the main item on the agenda, i.e., the reduction of the mismatch between vacancies and applications for employment. The general consensus was in favour of continuing the work begun by the Commission with this aim in view, which concentrates on improving vocational guidance, post-school vocational training, the function of placement offices, the recognition of the vital role played by public employment services, the development of policies to adapt and improve working conditions (part-time and temporary work, better pay for arduous and monotonous jobs, etc.)

Following the meeting a press release was issued by the Employers' Liaison Committee:

"The Employers' Liaison Committee had prepared an agreed position with a view to the meeting of the Standing Committee on Employment of 22 May, which was to be devoted exclusively to the "mismatch between vacancies and applications for employment". The Employers' Liaison Committee regrets that it was not given the opportunity to state its opinion on this problem, which it regards as being of primary importance in the context of efforts to improve the employment situation in Europe, at the meeting in question. It also deplores the fact that the Standing Committee on Employment was faced with demands by the European Trade Union Confederation concerning working time on which the Employers' Liaison Committee was not in a position to give an opinion, since this matter was not one of the items on the agenda and the Liaison Committee had no mandate on it.

The Employers' Liaison Committee cannot, therefore, subscribe to any conclusion reached on such issues. This does not rule out discussion on the rationalization of working hours at the right moment, provided that this item is duly included on the agenda for the relevant meeting of the Standing Committee on Employment."

Press Conference by the Chairman, Mr. BOULIN, French Minister for Labour

During this press conference held at the end of the meeting of the Standing Committee on Employment, the Chairman, Mr. BOULIN, placed particular emphasis on the following points:

The Council had not been called on to take any formal decisions regarding the reorganization of working hours at its meeting on 15 May but had simply considered an interim communication from the Commission which was to be updated and supplemented prior to the next meeting of the European Council; the Council did not confine itself to requesting studies and analyses, but asked for a Community framework to be evolved and invited the Commission to submit practical proposals; the Council had thus initiated a process designed to bring working time into the sphere of the Community's responsibilities, from which it had hitherto been excluded. The Commission had obtained from the Council terms of reference enabling it to make practical proposals and to encourage consultation between employers and workers with a view to negotiating agreements within a Community framework.

3. THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF EXECUTIVE STAFFS (CIC) ISSUES A STATEMENT ON THE ELECTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT TO THE PRESS IN BRUSSELS ON 18 MAY

The International Confederation of Executive Staffs, which was set up in 1951 and currently groups together organizations representing executive staff in France, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark and certain United Kingdom professional bodies belonging to sectoral federations of the CIC, issued a statement on the European Elections to the press on 18 May.

The text of this statement may be summarized as follows:

Will the European Elections be a farce or will they really carry Europe forward?

Will the candidates elected on 7 and 10 June of this year be sufficiently independent of the political parties?

These are the two questions which executives throughout Europe are asking themselves in relation to these elections, which are already being described in certain quarters as a turning point in the history of Europe.

The old Parliament in Strasbourg fulfilled only a very limited consultative function and the Council of Ministers was the key decision-making body. From experience it is clear that Parliament's opinions have hitherto carried relatively little weight.

Added to this is the fear that, since the political parties have managed to get their claws into these elections, it will be select specimens of the same old political species in each region who are sent to Strasbourg to haggle over parish pump politics.

Thus, the effectiveness of the new Parliament and the future of Europe will depend on the independence of spirit and political courage displayed by those elected.

The executives of Europe are determined that these elected representatives should be aware not only of the opinions of the vociferous groups already very well represented but also of their opinions.

The CIC therefore wishes to place on record that it strongly supports:

- a politically more united Community extended to include several other Latin and Scandinavian countries;
- the reorganization and humanization of undertakings in such a way as to permit real participation by manual workers, clerical staff and executives;
- a greater degree of concern for executive employment and the adoption of measures specifically designed to safeguard the jobs of executives and improve the employment situation for them;
- the systematic consultation of executive staff at European level on economic problems affecting the sector in which they are employed;
- full participation, on an official basis, by their independent organizations in consultative and conciliation bodies at all levels.

### The CIC condemns:

- misuses of the Welfare State which foster the development of a society dependent on public assistance and prone towards "milking the system" to the detriment of those in real need and dishearten the most hard working and conscientious citizens;
- the systematic politicization of public authorities, education and industry which leads to unnecessary political squabbles interfering with activities which should be carried out in the common interest;
- the increasing unfairness of taxation which, in combination with the constant increases in social security contributions has serious effects on the purchasing power of executives;
- the indifference and "wait-and see" policy of employers concerning the most constructive demands of executive staff.

# 4. THE CFTC (CONFEDERATION FRANCAISE DES TRAVAILLEURS CHRETIENS - FRENCH CATHOLIC TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION) AND WORKING TIME

Mr Jean BORNARD, General Secretary of the CFTC, dedicated the editorial in the May issue of "Syndicalisme CFTC" to problems concerning working time.

Mr BORNARD recalled that the first "meetings of experts" (between trade union associations and the French Employers Association), took place nearly a year ago. Negotiations did not really begin until the autumn, having been broken off for more than five months.

The CFTC made known its counter-proposals early in January.

Since then the French Employers' Association has been content merely to study these proposals and those submitted by other federations and to consult its members. On 3 April, the CFTC asked that negotiations be resumed and on 21 and 22 April its national Committee wholeheartedly supported this request.

Stressing that a parallel move to obtain a reduction in working time is under way at international level, as shown by the discussions at the Tripartite Conference held in Brussels on 9 November, statements by Mr BOULIN and the decisions taken by the European Council in Paris on 13 March, Mr BORNARD believed that the following points should be given priority:

- the harmonization of working time currently in effect in the different countries, France being one of those where working time is the longest;
- concrete steps to bring about a gradual reduction. A 35-hour week is obviously difficult to obtain overnight, but attempts to obtain reductions should be continued and if necessary stepped up;
- arduous work must also be recognized as having special priority.

The General Secretary of the CFTC then stated that it was high time progress was achieved, for if the question of obtaining a reduction in working time was not approached in a positive and progressive way the day would come when once again inequitable and ill-considered decisions would be taken abruptly as a result of overwhelming popular demand.

5. 38TH CONGRESS OF THE CFDT (CONFEDERATION FRANCAISE DEMOCRATIQUE DU TRAVAIL - FRENCH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION) HELD IN BREST FROM 8 TO 12 MAY 1979

The 38th Congress of the CFDT was held in Brest from 8 to 12 May 1979 and was attended by 2 400 members and many foreign guests.

## Report by Mr E MAIRE, General Secretary

At the outset, the General Secretary stated:
"Let's not beat about the bush: we are here to decide together on ways
to overcome the serious inadequacy of the trade unions and the workers'
movement in the face of the crisis. This is why the theme of our Congress

is: "Rebuilding hope". We have a lot of work to do if we wish to have a decisive influence on the outcome of the crisis".

# The employers offensive

Analysing the employers' offensive aimed at "reestablishing capitalist power", and the support it receives from Government policies, he stated that all other considerations were trivial by comparison. Even if there is a difference of opinion on the methods to be used between liberal internationalists and authoritarian nationalists, both groups accept unemployment and its sad side effects as inevitable, as a vital part of the reorganization of society! They talk of social inequalities and low wages but in practice they take no action except when it is a question of dismantling means of production which they judge to be out of date.

The policy of the ruling classes is dangerous for society. By aggravating unemployment, by weakening and undermining the status of workers, the Government and employers are in the process of breaking up the social structure of the country and are therefore striking a blow at all French citizens. The signs of violence which are appearing here and there are entirely due to this.

# The CFDT today

This assumes we are clear in our minds about what we are and what we have achieved in the last 3 years. When the aim is to build socialism in the teeth of an incredibly powerful capitalism and in opposition to the image which the Eastern bloc countries give of social revolution, there must be no hesitation in undertaking a strict critical analysis.

The CFDT has 1 153 000 members. That's quite a lot! But it is still only approximately 5% of the French working class and represents only 20% of those who vote for us in trade union elections. We are still dominated by a single cultural "model", that of "male industrial worker", although the tertiary sector employs 57% of all wage—earners and women represent 40%.

We have tremendous trouble in organizing unemployed workers, as well as young people under 21. We are slightly better established in larger undertakings than in small and medium—sized undertakings.

From the action point of view, we are not conducting an adequate counter—attack against the employers' desire to undermine the status of workers: yet we know that the unity of the working class is probably the most decisive weapon in the social struggle ahead. We are late in assuming responsibility for some of the main demands put forward by workers, especially the right to work, and we note that employers are playing on the legitimate aspirations of women to obtain more management posts. We want to see a trade union movement which unites workers, consciously coordinates their demands, has social aims and makes proposals:at the moment we are content merely to condemn and to refuse. We express the purest anti—capitalist views in our words but we have been slower to act on working conditions than our northern comrades and slower to act on industrial policy than our Italian comrades. All things considered, our

action remains very inadequate in its objectives, its forms and its effectiveness.

There are obviously some more heartening aspects. We have an unequalled wealth of collective experience as regards prospects, strategy, and some key elements for mass action in which workers have an active and decisive part to play.

We have made, over the years, an irreplaceable contribution to the workers' movement in our desire to reconstruct trade unionism and socialism; but we are not doing enough to put our beliefs into practice.

This is why we must react with all the strength, conviction and certainty of our acquired experience to overcome the barriers we have met in the past three years. Our position may be resumed as follows: French working class votes for socialism and presses its demands whilst the employers impose their own solutions to the crisis.

## The previous three years

The General Secretary of the CFDT emphasised our responsibilities in a period of imbalance — which may always take a turn for the worse — and reminded us that we must bring our influence to bear where it counts. "This assumes that we have clear conception of what we are", continued Edmond MAIRE, who then went on to criticize the CFDT. "We are still a trade union organization dominated by a single cultural "model", that of 'male industrial worker', and from the action point of view we are not conducting an adequate counter—attack against the employers' desire to undermine the status of workers; yet we are aware that the unity of the working class is probably the most decisive weapon we have in the struggle to come. This is why we must react with all the strength, conviction, and certainty of our acquired experience to overcome the barriers we have met in the last three years. Our position may be resumed as follows: the French working class votes for socialism and presses its demands whilst employers impose their own solutions to the crisis".

Continuing his analysis of our activity between 1976 and 1979, and on the subject of the failure of the union of the left, he stated:
"We were always aware of the inadequacies of this union of democratic forces. In fact, and despite our attempts to prevent it, this reaction by the workers' movement took place basically with the elections in mind, the common programme being designed first of all to obtain a majority.

Moreover, the content of this programme failed to take account of the consequences of historical changes in the workers' movement and made changes in the power balance and social relationships solely dependent on seizing power and reforming economic structures. But what we have lacked above all, what the parties of the masses have lacked, is social mobilization. The march towards socialism can only proceed from the conjunction of social and political struggles. We must learn to link May 68 to March 78".

#### Action\_policy

These are the reasons which led the National Bureau, at the end of 1977, to change course and adopt the trade union strategy defined at our Congresses since 1970.

The readjustment of our action plan has been connected far too closely with the failure of the left in March 1978. It is true that we drew on this failure to give our readjustment more power and urgency. But the need to restore the social struggle to its rightful place was felt long before then.

Our new action policy is in no way a pale adaptation to a new situation where the balance of forces is unfavourable, nor a short-lived line drawn up in the hope of our adversaries being more favourably inclined towards us. Basically, this new policy expresses, first of all, our desire to break the curse which seems to hang over the workers' movement in our country, where the social movement and the political movement never advance together.

It is our deep belief that if workers and all other citizens do not implement some action of this type as of today, a victory by the left would not suffice to get away from the cult of production, State management and centralism.

Uniting the parties of the masses remains a basic necessity for the CFDT. We do not believe in a self-contained trade union struggle. Nor do we believe in a political alternative on the left cut off from social struggles.

The General Secretary of the CFDT then dealt with the foundations of this strategy: "The basis of our action policy consists, first of all, in giving expression in our activity to every aspect of the working and living conditions of every worker, both men and women. In this context the CFDT's self-management approach may best show its validity. decentralized form of collective action would crumble if the trade unions did not ensure that it followed the line of the CFDT's common policy. But our confederation's form exists to guarantee the convergence necessary. In this way the CFDT's action policy can adapt itself vis-à-vis the different decision-making centres and the democratic forces are enriched by a real unity which respects the diversity of the members' situations.

#### <u>Negotiations</u>

The speaker went on to outline the direction negotiations should follow and reviewed the first negotiations entered into - or pending at national level: "Primarily because negotiations are linked to action; they are in themselves a means of action and occupy a central position in the CFDT's strategy - much more so than was the case prior to March 1978. If we wish social struggles to become the driving force behind all changes, the negotiations are the best way to transform conflicts and social pressure into concrete results on which subsequent progress can be based. The end results of these national negotiations one year later, amounts to very little. In short, we are experiencing a kind of war of attrition, as if the crisis did not exist, as if it was not urgent to discover positive solutions, as if our opposite numbers hoped that we would retreat from the social field yet again to place all our hopes in success at the next elections. It is possible to influence their decisions, to enforce progress, as we have regarding the reform of the industrial conciliation boards and unemployment benefit. What we have managed to achieve on these two issues we must emulate in the next three years on the questions of low wages, working time, and the right of workers to express their views.

### Women workers

The Conference held in February 1978 on "women at work and trade union action" indicated the long road which lies ahead before the situation of women in undertakings and in society is accorded its correct priority by trade unions. Implementing the action policy submitted to this Congress will lead to some progress being made. For the discrimination suffered by women in respect of wages, job classifications, vocational training and especially the right to work are in the front line of the class struggle against exploitation and domination.

Widespread segregation exists in France through women being confined to certain occupations: 98 % of cleaners, 81 % of all staff in the medical and social services and 71 % of all production line workers are women; but they account for only 13 % of all skilled workers and 4 % of all engineers.

Women suffer the most inequality as regards salaries. Their average wage is 33 % lower than that of men.

Each time we learn a bit more about the women's liberation movement an advance occurs in the union's move towards democratization. Each success achieved in this struggle deals a blow against all forms of dependence and is a step towards a new division of labour within society, an equal division between men and women as regards paid work, household work and the tasks of educating children. We have also specified a priority on this issue: the struggle for women's right to work, because it is a condition of their autonomy and because their desire to work is growing in spite of the unemployment crisis.

This is the reason which led us to choose the reduction in working time as the current key demand; as a corollary, we must act more positively to expand collective facilities for children and everyday life.

## Some fields of action

The Confederation has a vital role to play here, especially in ensuring that the greatest possible pressure is brought to bear. Measures must be taken at national level for the reduction of working time, the coordination of union demands for the fifth shift or women's right to work.

In the same way, the CFDT's action policy presupposes a major reinforcement of our organization and the strengthening of our democratic system.

In this connection, Edmond MAIRE launched the campaign for the coming elections to the industrial conciliation boards which, he said, would provide an opportunity to "make the CFDT better known, strengthen its roots, its influence and its operation".

Continuing his examination of the fields of action, he again stressed "the priority we wish to give to collective consumption as against the increase of each individual's direct purchasing power", "the right to voice an opinion in undertakings on working conditions and

organization", and the daily defence of threatened liberties.

On behalf of the National Bureau, Edmond MAIRE submitted three steps for the immediate future, of which two would be put to the vote during the Congress.

The first step concerned updating the Veil Act on abortion which the CFDT intended to support and improve.

The second step involved launching a national debate on nuclear energy "beginning with a national petition based on regional action at nuclear sites".

"Lastly, the third step proposed by the National Bureau at the Congress concerns our action to reduce the working week to 35 hours (1). To consolidate this offensive and to put all its weight behind the broad inter-trade movement in favour of a reduction in working time, the National Bureau proposes a week of union action early in June, to be organized by the regional unions and with the help of the federations, on the theme of reducing working time to create more jobs and to improve the quality of urban life".

## Europe

To tackle the issue of reducing working time nowadays means plunging straight into the European aspect of our work which is the priority field for our international operations. A workers' Europe remains a vague wish. But a Europe with a 35-hour working week is now a practical objective. This was fully realised at the symposium organized in Paris last March where representatives of the different confederations all affirmed the priority they gave to reducing working time without loss of salary in relation to the increase in purchasing power. This symposium indicated, moreover, the positive trend in the CFDT's participation in international affairs and the scale of its audience.

The Confederation had plenty of opportunity to give its opinion on Europe in recent months during the public debate on the European elections. We stated our refusal to accept an inward-looking France which seeks a scapegoat for its troubles amongst its neighbours. This had nothing to do with sentimentality on our part but was the result of objective thinking about the interdependence of the European economies. To give but one example, if the steelworkers in the Ruhr had won their battle fora35-hour week at the beginning of the year they would have eased our task considerably. But opposing the DGB (German Trade Union Association) were not only the German employers but also heavy industry bosses and all the governments in Western Europe.

We have another ambition where Europe is concerned. It is to gain, especially in relation to the United States, adequate decision—making autonomy to be able to establish new means of cooperation with the Third World. The history of our continent, despite its colonial aspects, is also the history of the European workers' movement. Using this experience, we can act in such a way that Europe becomes a true socialist community and plays a major role in helping to solve the world crisis by liberating the workers and peoples of the different continents. The ETUC could, henceforth, play a very positive role here.

(1) See the Trade Union Information Bulletin No 3/79.

The Munich congress next week will enable us to harmonize our common demands and, let us hope, will result in common guidelines for action on working time, or on women's right to work, for which a European day of action is planned with the full support of the CFDT.

In addition to this, if we really wish to fight effectively against capitalist domination in Europe, we must also put forward common trade union demands for a European industrial policy so that our continent may acquire full autonomy in the fields of steel, data processing, aeronautics, space and energy.

This requires democratic planning with regard to the major priorities for European policies. Strong and united pressure from the workers and peoples of Europe will ne necessary to combat the dominant capitalist forces. It is our belief that the enlargement of the EEC and the entry of our Spanish, Portuguese and Greek comrades will make this action more effective, even if special measures have to be taken at regional level.

The ETUC must be open to everyone. As is widely known, it has long been our opinion that the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail) should join. The ETUC, having chosen action and autonomy in relation to the international confederations, must follow its own logic and accept as members all democratic and representative groups in Western Europe.

## Unity of trade union action

Stressing that "a 35-hour working week in Europe" had become a practical objective, the rapporteur explained the CFDT's position on Europe, stressing the role the ETUC should play and how our organization would contribute.

"If we wish to fight effectively against capitalist domination in Europe, we must put forward common trade union demands for a European industrial policy which gives our continent full autonomy in the fields of steel, data-processing, aeronautics, space and energy".

"This requires a democratic planning regarding the major priorities for European politics. Strong and united pressure from the workers and peoples of Europe will be necessary to combat the dominant capitalist forces. It is our belief that the enlargement of the EEC and the entry of our Spanish, Portuguese and Greek comrades will make this action more effective, even if special measures have to be taken at regional level.

Ending this wide-ranging survey by listing current world problems, Mr MAIRE concluded his address by calling for unity in trade union action, and was warmly applauded by the delegates.

Having recalled recent developments in the CGT and the hopes these had raised, and the difficulties once more encountered, the General Secretary of the CFDT stated: "We take this opportunity to say to our CGT comrades: "stop attacking our action policy merely because it proposes a different way of conducting the class struggle. Stop looking at everything in the light of your theories and look at reality: the action policy we intend to conduct and which was the theme of our congress in Brest is in tune with the plans you announced at the Grenoble conference".

"A change of attitude amongst the organizations and militants in both our confederations in the direction of peace and brotherhood would help strengthen class trade unionism — which is vital if we are to press forward our priority demands".

"CGT comrades, we do not ask you to change your deep convictions in order to unite your action with ours. We accept you for what you are. Do not, in turn, raise insurmountable conditions for common action; do not ask us to change our action policy. Be convinced, like us, that from the moment we all decide to respond to the most urgent situations and demands our action policies cannot be irreconcilable".

"Moreover, may one hope that the trade union movement in this country will avoid reproducing the split in the parties of the Left and, what is better, act together to lift the workers' movement and popular parties from the rut? CGT comrades: together, by our social struggles, we can make the necessary steps towards a new society. On behalf of our congress we say to you: stop attacking us when we do not agree with you; and, on the contrary, through action and discussion, let us unite our attempts to rebuild hope".

# Debate on the General Report

Ninety four speeches were made in connection with the General Report.

After the rapporteur had replied, the outgoing National Bureau was granted a discharge by 56.73 % of the votes; 31.03 % votes were cast against, with 12.22 % of abstentions or blank voting papers.

# Resolution on the action policy for the next 3 years

Submitted by Mr A. MERCIER on behalf of the National Bureau, this resolution was carried by  $63.40\,\%$  of the votes, with  $27\,\%$  against and  $9.30\,\%$  of abstentions, spoilt or blank voting papers.

Seven amendments had been discussed prior to the vote.

This resolution concerned the crisis and its effects; the CFDT's answer to the crisis; effectiveness of trade union action; the principal common demands:

- working time;
- collective agreements;
- low wage-groups;
- concerted political action;
- unity of action: unity of workers' movements.

## Resolution on the structures and functioning of democracy

Submitted by Mr R. DECAILLON, this resolution was carried by 69 % of the votes, with 22.5 % against and 8.7 % spoilt papers and abstentions.

## The CFDT's international policy for the next 3 years

Submitted by Mr R. SALANNE, this resolution was carried after a show of hands.

A separate vote was requested in connection with the resignation of CFDT from the WCL (World Confederation of Labour); there were two speakers for the motion and two against.

A card vote settled the issue, with 80.6% in favour and 10.5% against. As a result, the CFDT resigned permanently from the WCL. From this resolution it emerged, in particular, that:

Trade union action in Europe is the priority which to a great extent determines the other aspects of the CFDT's international policy.

Europe is the primary economic, social and political context for our trade union action.

Going beyond specific national situations, the crisis and restructuring measures are tending to bring working and living conditions of workers throughout Western Europe more closely into line.

The CFDT believed it was necessary to develop mass action at European level aimed at objectives opposed to capitalist policy.

Combined action by European trade union organizations:

- could enforce changes in the economic and social policies of the dominant groups;
- would help to find an alternative in line with workers' interests, by means of new economic and social policies;
- would give a socialist slant to the construction of a true European Community, facilitating the necessary relations with the developing countries through real cooperation.

To spearhead this move and help reach these objectives, the CFDT wants to see the ETUC become an effective instrument for action, which implies the following:

Joint analyses of the situations in each country, comparison and discussion of workers' demands, means of action employed, and results obtained;

Intensified study and research leading to common analyses and demands, especially in connection with full employment, reducing the working week to 35 hours, the fifth shift, improving living and working conditions etc;

- common research into means of action at European level, harmonization of trade union positions to be defended wherever the fate of European workers is to be decided;
- enlarging the ETUC by admitting all representative and democratic associations which apply, like the CGT in France for example, and agree to act together to successfully counter capitalist policies and their consequences.

All this presupposes that action by the ETUC encourages the convergence of the trade union policies of its member organizations in order to prepare a global response by the European trade union movement — especially in the face of the pitfalls and challenges arising from the crisis.

The search for ever-greater unity of action should in any case be a constant feature of the ETUC's activity.

Trade union committees should be set up in all sectors.

In order to be fully effective all trade union activity undertaken by the ETUC must be supported by combined action by all European trade union committees.

Action by the European trade union committees and the International Trade Secretariats must be aligned on the basis of workers' interests. Harmonization of policies must be sought.

Trade union committees must be opened without exception to all trade organizations affiliated to federations which are members of the ETUC. They must play an effective role in the ETUC.

The CFDT is in favour of the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain to the EEC but will act within and with the ETUC to ensure that the arrangements adopted safeguard the legitimate interests of workers in all the countries concerned.

The CFDT sees in this enlargement an opportunity to further the common struggle throughout the Community and to promote class awarenesson a European scale more rapidly in all our countries. Recent democratic gains in these three countries must be consolidated and Europe opened up to the Southern and Mediterranean countries to a greater extent.

To this end, the CFDT will take steps to strengthen its relations with federations in these countries.

The opening up of the ETUC to the world - and especially to the third world - would mean real cooperation with all trade union organizations which represent men and women workers in the industrialized nations and those in the third world, and especially with regional trade union groups, such as the OATUU (Organization of African Trade Union Unity).

International action in all trades must continue the action carried on in undertakings and branches on a European and world scale.

This action includes workers' struggles in multi-national companies but also action in other sectors such as the iron and steel industry, banking, transport, energy, agriculture, teaching, etc. In multi-national companies, which are the expression and instrument of capitalist development, the establishment of a balance of power through trade union groupings on a corresponding scale is a vital and urgent necessity. Its objective should be threefold:

- the defence of workers' immediate interests at a level commensurate with these companies' operations;
- the analysis and supervision of the economic and financiel policies of these companies in the light of the common struggle, together with countries of the third world, for a new international economic order;
- the pursuit of a combative trade union action policy to influence the policies, decisions and strategies of multi-national companies.

The CFDT has chosen the International Trade Secretariats to lead the fight against multi-national companies and within the different branches. Some of them still fail to see the need for effective international trade union action. Nevertheless, the CFDT believes that the International Trade Secretariats, being the only bodies of any consequence in this field, as a general rule, provide an effective forum for the trade unions involved and a means of countering the policies of multi-national companies.

The CFDT intends to help strengthen and develop the International Trade Secretariats where they exist. The Secretariats must, increasingly, become the instigators of action where called for by the workers.

The progress of international action by all the associations affiliated to the CFDT would be assessed at confederation level by regular meetings to exchange experience and discuss policies in order to harmonize them on the basis of the CFDT's analyses, outlook and strategy.

# Action with trade unions in the Third World

Characterized by the scale of unsatisfied basic needs and economic dependence, the situation of Third World countries is closely linked to the operation of international capitalism. Strategically and economically it constitutes a major advantage for the industrialized nations as regards the international division of labour.

The CFDT will step up its activity to reduce the inequalities in income and development level between the industrialized nations and the countries of the Third World. To this end, it will support common trade union action in favour of a new type of development. The CFDT will, consequently, strengthen its relations with trade union organizations in the Third World, especially in countries with high rates of emigration, with organizations in countries trying to become socialist States, and with regional trade union groups like the OAPUU (Organization of African Trade Union Unity) with a view to:

- assuming responsibility for the problems of foreign immigrant workers and workers coming from the DOM-TOM (French overseas Departments and

territories), e.g. the fight against racism, equal rights, respect for cultural identities, vocational training in accordance with their aspirations which meets the needs of the countries they come from;

- obtaining the renewal of papers about to expire in view of the risk faced by hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers of seeing their permission to remain in France withdrawn;
- working together, or along similar lines, against the practices of multinational companies;
- promoting the discussions and meetings necessary to evolve common measures and action to lead to a new international economic order enabling the true development of the Third World countries.

This development must be centred on the needs of the populations, through the management of their resources, increased equality in trade, and a new financial and monetary cooperation.

The re-negotiation of the Lomé Agreement was one opportunity to conduct research in this direction.

The CFDT and its associations will continue to work with organizations in the DOM-TOM to combat all exploitation of a colonial nature and move towards an economic development which guarantees workers a job on the spot, putting a stop to the need to emigrate.

The CFDT will continue to press for self-determination for the DOM-TOM.

The IFCTI (Institut Syndical de Coopération Technique International - International Trade Union Institute for Technical Cooperation) was set up by the CFDT to meet these needs.

# The fight for peace, democracy and freedom

Defending peace, democracy and freedom throughout the world requires a non-stop battle on the part of all members of the International Trade Union Movement. The CFDT intends to play its full part in this.

Serious problems exist, made worse by the economic crisis and its effects:

- the incredible increase in the production of and trade in nuclear weapons and their dissemination;
- the refusal to give some nations the right of self-determination;
- discrimination based on race or sex;
- the establishment of bloody dictatorships in many countries, especially in the Third World;
- the persisting totalitarian and bureaucratic nature of Communist regimes;

- the numerous attacks on trade union rights throughout the world;
- the attacks on various freedoms in some western democracies.

The CFDT will continue and expand its support for all forces on the spot, whatever the regime, which are carrying on a difficult struggle to defend and extend individual and collective freedoms, for self-determination, racial equality, the granting of rights to women, peace.

The CFDT denounces the repression suffered by workers and intellectuals in the eastern bloc countries because of their political involvement or opinions and assures them of its total solidarity.

The fight against apartheid, the most hateful expression of racism, remains a permanent CFDT objective. The CFDT will continue its activity, especially in connection with undertakings connected with South Africa.

The application of this policy called into question our international affiliation. The 38th Congress decided that the CFDT should resign from the World Confederation of Labour.

Rejecting 'bloc' policies from which some international associations still draw their inspiration, convinced that none of the international trade union associations were capable of dealing with the problems and aspirations of the workers, the CFDT resigned from the World Confederation of Labour.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions were also unable to provide practical and effective solutions to these problems.

The CFDT would remain without world-wide international affiliation as long as there appeared to be no prospect of restructuring international trade unionism on a new basis, outside the 'blocs', transposing workers' problems into terms of action, with the objective of liberating workers from all forms of exploitation and domination.

Only the CFDT Congress was entitled to decide on the affiliation of the CFDT to international bodies.

A member of the ETUC, having chosen the International Trade Secretariats to help build effective instruments for sectoral action, intending to strengthen its relations with the major trade union organizations in the third world, the CFDT would actively support a move to restructure international trade unionism:

- based on new means of action involving workers throughout the trade union structure;
- taking into account new tendencies, appearing in the world, such as the pursuit of autonomous forms of expression, action and organization at continental level;
- resulting in the restructuring of international trade unionism.

To be of any value this restructuring cannot be confined merely to a top-level reshuffle. It could only result from a long process which aimed at rooting international activity in the context of each continent, sectoral action and solidarity on a world scale.

# All trade union structures are involved

The priority objectives of the international policy drawn up by the 38th Congress concerned all CFDT structures.

Assuming responsibility for the problems of workers throughout the world had to be the objective of all action policies, of all CFDT organizations.

Trade unions, international associations and trade union groups within undertakings must, increasingly, become involved in the drawing up and development of this international policy at federation and regional level.

On the question of their responsibility for problems such as labour, industrial policy or type of development, federations had more than ever to increase their efforts to transpose the CFDT policy into action on an international scale.

The CFDT would be responsible for the contacts and meetings necessary for the participation of its federations in European trade union committees and in the work of the International Trade Secretariats.

In general fields of action common to all workers, regional unions would also have to evolve international objectives regarding problems linked with regional equilibrium and development, infrastructure, education, cultural activity, etc.

International action with a truly inter-trade dimension could in this way gradually be established by the exchange of experience and the search for convergence.

The CFDT would take the steps necessary to ensure the coordination and effectiveness of these efforts.

The CFDT's task was to provide general guidelines for international policy throughout its member associations. It would take appropriate measures to stimulate this activity, especially in Europe, which is the priority objective.

# Other motions

The Congress also discussed a report on women workers and trade union practice submitted by Mr ROLANT and adopted after a show of hands, and two motions dealing with current affairs; the updating of the Veil act and the issue of nuclear energy

#### SPEECH BY MR H.O. VETTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE ETUC

"This Congress is taking place in a difficult period during which the whole of the European trade union movement is faced with a major challenge. The third Congress of the ETUC, which will begin in a few days time in Munich, will, I am sure, be aware of this challenge and will lay the foundations for a new leap forward in cooperation between European trade unions.

## Do not try to do away with differences!

Neo-liberal crisis management is always detrimental to the workers. Politicians who believe structural regroupings and the adaptation of economic structures can be used to relegate workers' interests to second place and discipline the trade unions have already received their answer. This answer: the strike by iron and steel workers in the Federal Republic of Germany; the fight by iron and steel workers and their families in Lorraine to keep their jobs and their right to earn a living.

Other instances, also in Europe, are the month-long strike by Belgian workers in Charleroi in support of a 36-hour week and the joint action by all ETUC affiliates on 3 April 1978 in favour of full employment in Europe. A comparison of the different national trade union movements would obviously reveal differences in their socio-political approach and the methods used to gain their objectives. I have no wish to belittle these differences which, for the most part, arise from national traditions and the historical development of the workers' movements themselves. Anyone who confuses "difference" and "contradiction" is making a mistake: he is evidently unaware of the fact that we are all in the same boat.

Worker participation and self-management are undoubtedly based on different approaches to trade union policy: but the differences between these two points of view are nothing when compared with the deep-seated opposition between labour and capital. "Worker participation or self-management" is a quarrel between brothers: "labour and capital" is a fight between rival families. If we fail to understand this we will never manage to cooperate or unite trade unions in Europe.

#### Progress towards joint action

Every organization which is affiliated to the ETUC must understand that nothing is achieved without compromise, tolerance and understanding of the position of others. Each organization that wishes to take part in this joint action must understand that in Europe, nationalism and chauvinism have always been instruments in the hands of the enemies of the workers' movement.

French trade unionism has always played a special and major role in Europe. The principle of trade union independence — unfortunately not for all trade union organizations — combativeness, confidence, the critical and self-critical spirit, these are some of the qualities which the French trade union movement has contributed to European trade unionism.

The ETUC is still young. We must be realistic as regards its possibilities. We must, in any case, not expect too much. I am well aware of the difference which exists between practising and preaching. I also know that the ETUC has few powers, that its capacity to organize and provide material help are still limited, that a major part of its operations get no further than the paper stage. However, I believe it

would be basically false and prejudicial to deduce from this that the ETUC is nothing more than a paper tiger, that national trade union policy is one thing and European trade union policy another. We cannot allow ourselves such an interpretation. The high degree of cooperation obtained with regard to the economy, industry and trade is due to us, the European trade unions. Many of us are made impatient by the thought that the ETUC is not growing more rapidly. But we must always bear in mind that the ETUC is but seven years old — young for an international organization. Nevertheless, in these seven years, the ETUC has been able to make itself felt, constantly enlarge its field of action, provide itself with a form of political organization; all reasons for optimism.

The ETUC brings together associations whose ideological bases are different; trade union groups from the EEC and the European free trade area, apolitical trade unions and those devoted to a political cause, federations from highly industrialized countries and federations from countries on the threshold of industrialization. Sweden and Sicily, the south of France and the Netherlands, Ireland and Austria: these are not merely places on a map, but represent completely different economic, social and cultural problems. Trade unions base their policies on the needs and interests of men.

I profoundly hope that this Congress will mark a step ahead for you in your fight for democracy, justice and solidarity".

# THE NEW NATIONAL BUREAU

The 31 members of the National Bureau are divided into three categories.

# Representing the Federations

NAME	VOTES	AGE	ORIGINAL TRADE	OFFICE
TROGLIC, Jean-François MENNECIER, Claude PRIER, Gérard VERNET, Claude TONNERRE, Denis TIERSEN, Gérard GRANGER, Georges JACQUIER, Jean-Paul LICHTENBERGER, Yves GOUBIER, Georges	20 663 19 512 19 229 18 937 17 216 16 785 16 597 16 197 15 220 14 683	31 40 31 37 36 42 43 38 34	Teacher Chemist Teacher Textile worker Post Office Technician Technician Iron and Steel Worker Agricultural Technician Worker Maintenance Worker	National Secretary General Secretary General Secretary Assistant General Secretary Federal Secretary General Secretary Assistant General Secretary National Secretary General Secretary General Secretary General Secretary
	<u>R</u> e	gional Board		
ALLARD, Louis TROGLIC, Antoine DELABY, Julien BOBICHON, Jean-Pierre KASPAR, Jean CARADEC, Robert HERITIER, Pierre MAGISTRY, Claude THIOLLENT, André JUSSIAUX, Gérard	22 548 22 497 21 736 21 435 21 297 20 445 20 425 19 992 16 393 16 083	39 43 46 31 38 40 42 40 47 31	Wireman Iron and Steel Worker Linotypist Delivery driver Electrical engineer Boilermaker Bank employee Electronics specialist EDF employee Teacher	General Secretary

# Members put forward by the outgoing National Bureau

NAME	VOTES	AGE	ORIGINAL TRADE	OFFICE
HUREAU, Pierre	19 836	47	Post Office Inspector	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee (Treasurer)
LAOT, Jeannette	19 112	54	Seita worker	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee
MAIRE, Edmond	18 359	48	Chemical technician	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee (General Secretary)
BONO, Robert	17 954	48	Textile worker	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee
MANDRAY, Noël	17 411	42	Electrician	FUC National Secretary
ROLANT, Michel	16 863	45	Agricultural worker	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee
MERCIER, Albert	16 856	45	Iron and steel worker	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee
BEGOT, Georges	16 780	39	Bank employee	General Secretary (Banking)
LESIRE-OGREL, Hubert	16 306	48	Official	Member of the outgoing Executive Committee
CHEREQUE, Jacques	14 177	50	Head of production	FGM General Secretary
	<del>""</del>	Jnion Confédérale d	es Cadres" candidate	
VANLERENBERCHE, Pierre	16 096	37	Engineer	UCC General Secretary

## Election of the new Executive Committee

After its election the National Bureau met and elected the CFDT's new Executive Committee:

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