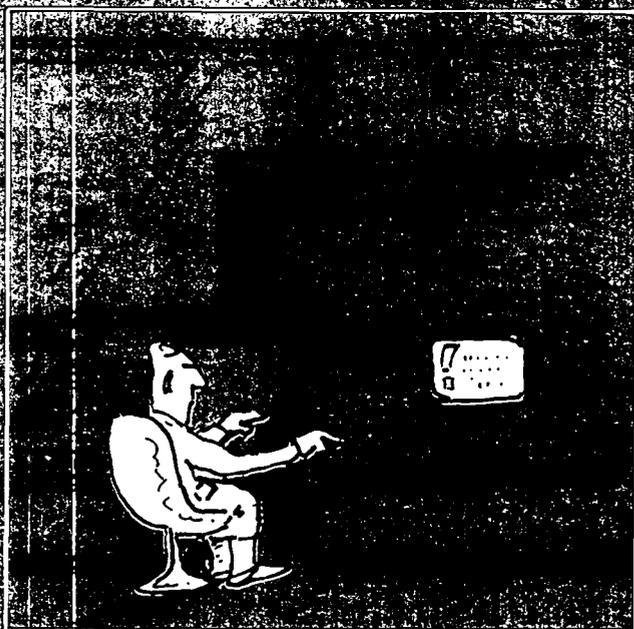
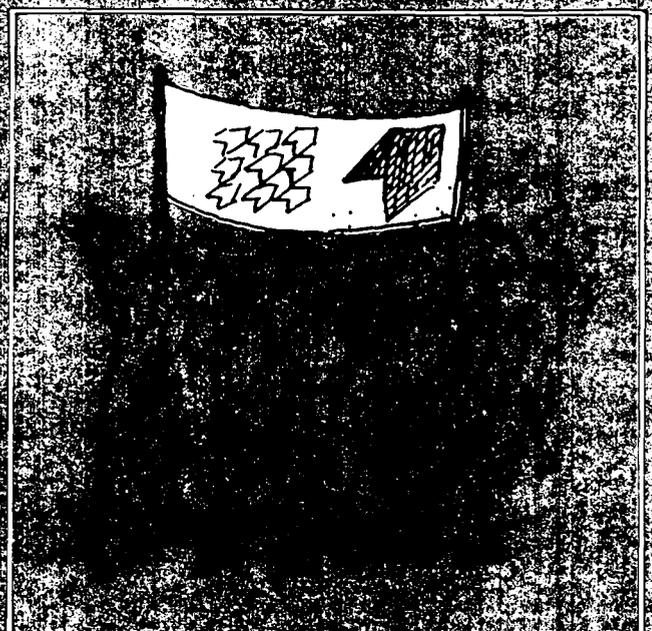
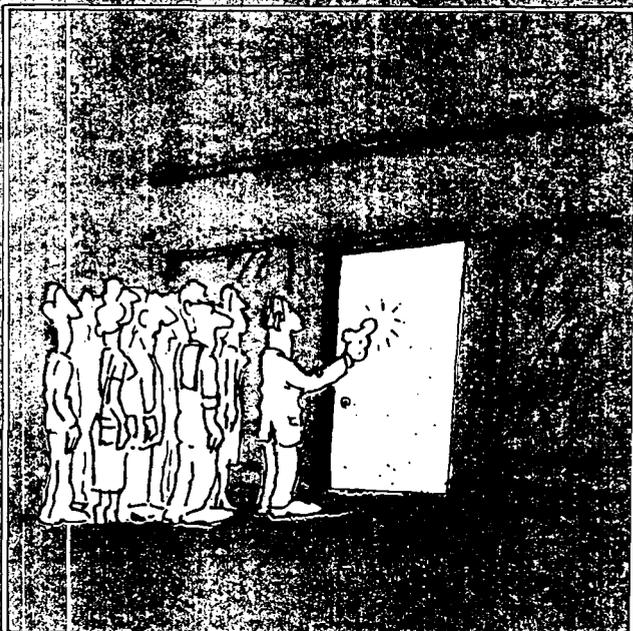
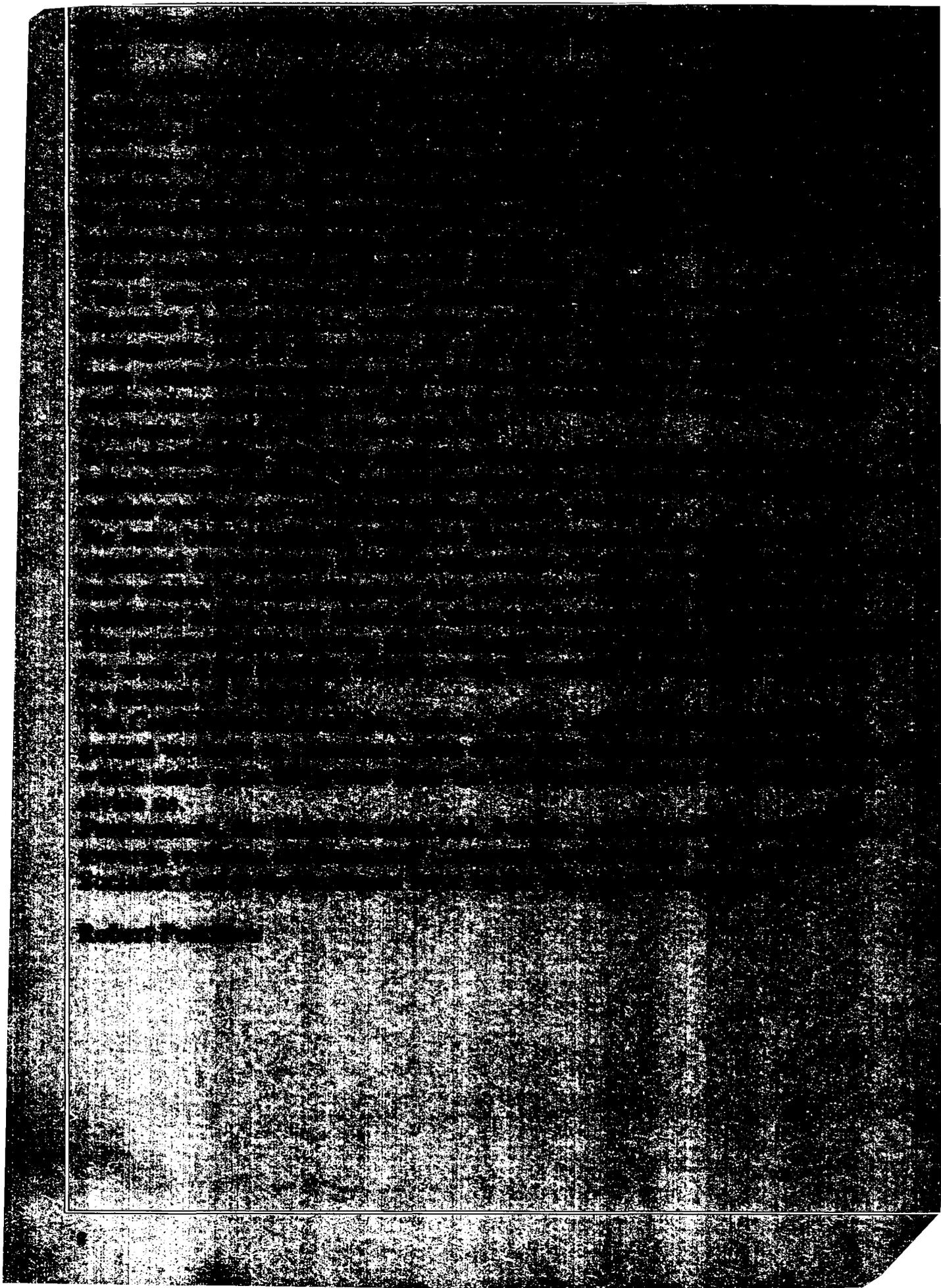


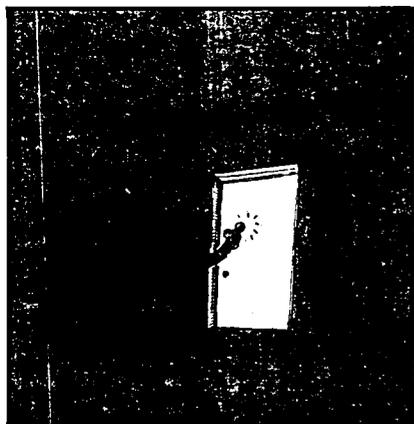
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Employment in Europe

Amsterdam, 14 - 15 December 1978



The first specialized conference organized by the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Communities took place in Amsterdam on 14 and 15 December 1978 under the auspices of the Dutch PvdA. The theme of the conference was "Employment in Europe". The conference had invited the former Dutch prime minister, Joop den Uyl, the French economics professor, Jacques Attali, and the German president of IG-Metall, Eugen Loderer, to be its principal speakers.

Unfortunately, Eugen Loderer was unable to be present because of the 35-hour strike in Germany and his place was taken by Helmut Mintz, vice-president of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (Federal Institution for Labour).

After the chairman of the Confederation, Robert Pontillon, and the lady chairman of the PvdA, Ien van den Heuvel, had welcomed participants, Joop den Uyl began his address, in which he set out his ideas on European employment. Den Uyl had spoken on this same subject in June 1978 at the party leaders' conference in Brussels and he used as a basis for his talk the provisional report of the Confederation's Employment Working Party, of which he himself had been chairman.

On the question whether there was such a thing as a Socialist employment policy, Den Uyl said there were a number of common features in the positions taken by European Socialists on the methods of achieving full employment. But there were also important points of difference.

Common to them all was an emphasis on maintenance of purchasing power and the significance ascribed to the preservation of the public sector, also in relation to the desired increase of effective demand. There was also a common preference for specific rather than global measures in the restructuring of branches of industry the direction of investment.

The government was expected to play an active part. Worker participation would

have to be increased. Extra funds would have to be made available for the benefit of vulnerable groups: women, young people and foreign workers, and also for the benefit of backward areas.

Ideas differed when it came to the importance of increasing demand, the extent of economic growth, the nature and place of incomes policy and the importance and phasing of a reduction in working time.

The decisive question was whether the European Socialist Parties had an effective solution to employment needs in the coming years. There were 6 million unemployed in the European Community.

By 1985 nine million extra jobs would have to be created. The desired increase in the number of women coming onto the labour market, in particular in countries such as Italy and the Netherlands, meant that there would be a need for 15 to 20 million extra jobs in the European Community up to 1985. In Den Uyl's view, the economic crisis that had prevailed in the Western industrial world since the beginning of the 70s and which had been aggravated by the energy crisis was not due solely to short-term economic factors but above all to a large number of structural causes. The latter had been insufficiently recognized — and at too late a date. Stimulating demand had proved rather disappointing as a means of combating unemployment. For nearly 5 years now the growth of world trade had been far below the level of the 50s and 60s, and there were no prospects of the former growth figures returning.

The economic crisis was perpetuated in particular by a number of structural shifts in production relationships, both on a world scale and between the various economic sectors in the various countries of the Community. One important factor was the repercussions which the quadrupling of oil prices had had on the development of world trade and the increased importance of oil-exporting countries. Oil dollars were being put back into circulation only very slowly. Another cause of employment trends in the countries of the Community was the movement of many industrial operations away from the rich Western world to the so-called low-wage countries, both in the Third World and in Eastern Europe. This movement was prompted in particular by the relatively high labour costs in the countries of the Community, but also by the desire for higher profits entertained by the undertakings concerned which have branches in countries with relatively low labour costs. Particularly as a result of technological developments, there was, in the countries of the Western world, a drastic shift in employment from the primary and secondary sectors to the

tertiary and quaternary sectors (the latter being the sector of non-commercial services). This shift had widened the gap between demand and supply on the labour market. The training capacity of the countries of the Community was insufficiently geared to society's needs.

The policy pursued by the various governments had taken insufficient account of these shifts. In the past years Member States' policy had rightly been concentrated on the containment of inflation. However, having regard to the changes already mentioned in the structure of international production, the successes achieved in the fight against inflation offered no guarantees for the recovery of the employment situation.

The same remark needed to be made in respect of the creation of the European zone of monetary stability. The necessity of such a zone and its importance did need to be recognized. But the restoration of fixed exchange rates was no guarantee either for the recovery of the employment situation at a time when a world-wide redistribution of production centres was in progress. The most obvious way to remedy the below-capacity operation of the production apparatus in the industrialized countries was to engage in a large-scale campaign to stimulate demand in the developing countries. To this end there needed to be both an increase in official assistance and a stabilization of the prices of products exported by the developing countries. Socialist parties and governments would have to use every endeavour to achieve this.

Encouragement of economic growth was the central element of the European Council of Ministers' approach to the problem of combating unemployment. The advantages of this were the favourable effect on employment, possibly a larger capacity to absorb exports from the developing countries and a good opportunity to improve the standard of living of backward groups and regions.

The disadvantages were an increase in the already excessive demand on scarce natural resources by industrialized countries, the overburdening of the environment and shortcomings in well-being occasioned precisely by the growth of prosperity. Growth strategy would therefore have to be a choice for selective growth. A definite choice would have to be made as to what should grow and what should not. The encouragement of economic growth was by itself insufficient to restore the employment situation. The problem could be solved only by coordinated action aimed at better control and orientation of investment (indicative planning), the creation of work in the quaternary sector, the development of instruments to improve the distribution of the work available and the stimulation of economic growth at world level.

In order to achieve coordinated action it would be necessary to create a social framework for a fair distribution of limited growth among undertakings and for

private and community amenities. The form taken by such a policy would differ from country to country.

The realization of coordinated action meant among other things the introduction of an integrated incomes policy to ensure that the strongest shoulders bore the heaviest loads. Policy would therefore have to be directed at reducing differences in incomes. Such a policy could be acceptable to both the employees and their organizations, the trade unions, seeing that work would thus be created and, thanks to social reform, employees would be guaranteed a greater say as regards production.

Special attention would have to be given to energy policy, with emphasis being placed on energy-saving. Without the introduction of a number of measures to share out the amount of work available, any hope of solving the employment problem would remain illusory. Especially in view of the large numbers of women and young people entering the labour market, a great deal of attention would have to be given to the educational openings for these groups.

In this connection it was very important to encourage retraining and additional training and to promote supplementary education and forms of permanent education. An energetic start would have to be made with devising definite means of dividing up work in honest fashion, for instance by extending the period of compulsory schooling, early retirement on voluntary basis and the reduction of working time.

Working time would have to be reduced gradually and in a differentiated manner.

Preference should be given to reducing the working day, especially with a view to achieving a better distribution of household tasks between men and women.

Particularly as a result of technological innovations, a shift in employment was taking place from the primary and secondary sectors to the tertiary and quaternary sectors. The government would have to promote in particular employment in those areas of the quaternary sector that were most concerned with getting rid of large social backlogs, such as in education, public health and care of the aged.

In the short speech then made by Helmut Mintar, the latter stressed in particular the fact that the unemployed were usually keen to get back into harness and that the high level of unemployment was not due to a certain mentality but to structural factors. Growth, humanity and solidarity ought to be the pillars of a Socialist policy.

Jacques Attali opined that unemployment in Europe would increase still further in the coming years, particularly as a result of automation. He laid great emphasis on the technological advance enjoyed by America and Japan which would cost Europe still more jobs in the future. An

economic war was being waged in which America and Japan were having recourse to covert — and not so covert — forms of protectionism. Europe too would have to make use of this weapon and, in so doing, would have to show no respect for products from the developing countries, which were frequently of sole benefit to Western multinationals and were produced under very bad labour conditions.

Central features of a European economic policy ought to be a different use of time (the most direct objective being reduction of working time) and a criterion for investment other than the restricted present-day one of profit (the most direct objective being control of the banking world).

In the public debate that followed, all speakers emphasized the value of the principles underlying the provisional report by the Confederation's working party. Nevertheless, various delegates had difficulty with certain provisional conclusions and concepts. After an extremely lively discussion, in which the term "selective growth" received particular attention, it was clear that, particularly for representatives from countries that had never known high growth figures (Ireland, southern Italy) — but also for those, for example, of the British Labour Party and the SPD — the term "selective growth" occasioned a number of difficulties.

Commissioner Henk Vredeling put the situation into words as follows: "The idea that human happiness cannot be expressed in percentages of economic growth certainly appeals to me, but more growth is indeed necessary during the difficult transitional phase in which the European economy now finds itself."

The question whether economic growth will prove inadequate for tackling the problem of unemployment does need to be seriously examined. In the opinion of Jacques Delors (PS, France) the "labour crisis" (aversion to frequently monotonous work) must also be given a place in the discussion. Brendan Halligen (Labour Party, Ireland) stressed in his statement that a regional policy within the EEC would have to be used as an active instrument for combating unemployment.

That meant that there would really have to be a transfer of money from the richer to the poorer countries.

A further conclusion made by Den Uyl, that the present policy of stepping up growth was doomed to failure and his consequent preference for extending the public sector, thus making it possible for a large number of jobs in the non-commercial service sector to be financed, gave rise to heated debate, seeing that such a development required smaller growth in private incomes and, consequently, a fairly stringent incomes policy.

The representative of IG-Metall said that an incomes policy usually boiled down to

a wages policy and that government interference in the sectoral negotiations on collective labour agreements was prejudicial to tariff autonomy and could lead to centralization of power.

Consequently, according to Den Uyl, an incomes policy was acceptable only if all incomes and wealth were taken into account, the loopholes in the tax system were closed and trade unions and employers were allowed to have a reasonable degree of freedom of action.

In his final statement Joop Den Uyl remarked that Socialists were missing the fundamental cause of present-day problems if they considered the profit motive as such to be the cause of unemployment. Even in a Socialist economy every effort had to be made to reduce costs to a minimum. It was true, however, that profit-making had to be assessed in the light of its social effects, in the light of social profit.

Present-day legislation in this area consequently needed to be expanded. The direction and location of investment had to be consciously influenced. Expansion of state property could be important, but the costs would have to be borne by the community. Any approach based on the premise that the drop in demand in consequence of the oil crisis was the principal cause of our economic problems was totally inadequate. Even if development aid were doubled, economic growth would hardly increase.

An aggressive trade policy such as that advocated by Jacques Attali had to be totally rejected. Obstacles to trade artificially maintained an out-of-date international division of labour and promoted the wrong kind of mentality.

The restriction of imports meant exporting unemployment to other countries. The central factor would have to be the political question how the yield of restricted growth thought to be divided.

Financing and the relationship between centralization and decentralization could give rise to problems as regards the quaternary sector. The situation was probably comparable with the problem of incomes policy and free negotiations on collective labour agreements.

Decentralization was important, but coordination by a central authority could not be dispensed with.

In conclusion Den Uyl stated that the mentality of economic warfare of seeking to derive the maximum profit from a given situation, would not solve the problems.

An effort would have to be made to correct the present production system and to achieve a controlled development of incomes for the benefit of the public sector.

Every endeavour must be used not only to achieve full employment but employment with dignity. The problems of women, young people and other groups called for special attention.

Humanity and cultural democracy

Ludwigshafen, 1 - 2 March



More than 200 people, mainly from the Germany but also from other EC countries, recently spent two days discussing the topics of cultural democracy and the relationship between Socialism and the churches.

This conference was of particular interest in that, as several participants said, these topics had not been discussed in detail by Socialists for some time. The conference had given rise to so many ideas and suggestions that at the end it was

unanimously felt that the discussion would have to be continued.

Speaking for the SPD, Bruno Friedrich offered to organize another conference on the topic of cultural democracy after the direct elections to the European Parliament, and the head of the international division of the PSI, Carlo Ripa di Meana, suggested holding an international conference in Rome in order to intensify the discussion with Christian circles on the future of Europe.

The Socialists have already answered the call for a conference to provide impetus for a revival of the dialogue between political and cultural circles on the cultural development of society by

- making a critical appraisal of the cultural situation in the European countries;
- defining Socialist views on culture and democracy, and
- making practical proposals for work by the parties in the cultural field and for its incorporation in national and European policy.

In doing so, the Socialists were unanimously in agreement on the following:

— Culture, which has hitherto been seen as the privilege of educated sections of society, must be made accessible to all levels of the population;

— The commercial, industrialized society has allowed the individual to become isolated in the mass and has educated him as a passive consumer of culture;

— To the Socialists, there is therefore a need to develop new forms of culture in which everyone can play a creative part, for which the prerequisite is a constant improvement in living conditions and, in particular, better educational opportunities;

— Alongside traditional cultural activities, new alternative forms of culture, e.g. street theatre, must be promoted. Children's theatre and cultural activities for senior citizens are also to be included here;

— The political parties must overcome their deficit in the field of cultural policy and take on an active role in the cultural field;

— Europeans should make a combined effort to move closer to the goal of cultural democracy based on their common cultural heritage by exchanging national experiences and organizing trans-border cultural activities.

The proposals set out in the speech of the 1st Secretary of the French Socialist Party, François Mitterand met with particular acclaim:

(1) An international survey

We ourselves must become something like anthropologists or ethnologists because what do we really know about ourselves and our fellow man?

Just as Tocqueville investigated the American continent in order to identify its present and our future, a study group appointed by the European Communities could produce an X-ray analysis of cultural practice in the European countries.

(2) A council for European culture and creativity

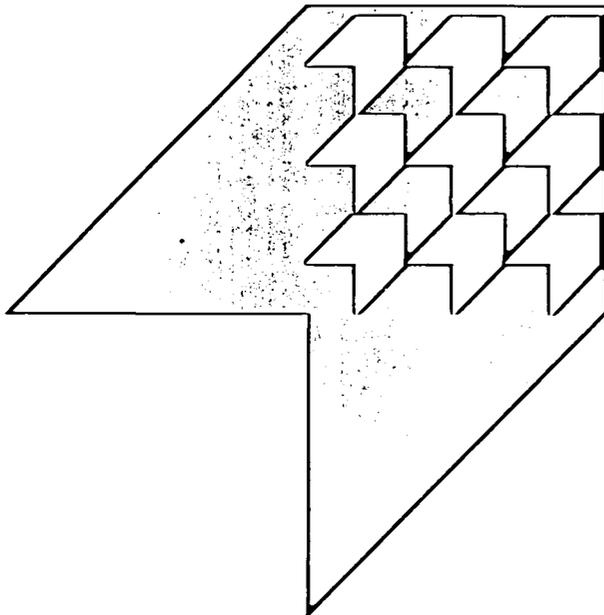
Each country should delegate ten of its culturally most creative and scientifically most inventive citizens to this council. As a European brains trust, this council should constantly reflect on the development of the arts, culture, traditions and research. It should be given the power to entrust experts with particular work and tasks.

(3) A European innovation fund

This fund should draw up an inventory of the most original and productive experiences in education and the arts and make the results known to the public. It should finance and promote new initiatives and experiments.

(4) A European television service to further the dialogue between the European regions

Co-productions between national television services are rare and, when they do occur, they are invariably broadcasts of international events of an official or academic nature.



As a rule, such broadcasts do not reflect life in the regions.

Is it not possible to conceive of a decentralized system which provides the different regions of Europe with an opportunity to establish regular direct links with one another through the medium of television?

Given the historical background of quarrels between Socialism and the Church and the different national experiences of the member parties of the Confederation, courage was certainly needed to discuss the topic of "European humanity and Christian duty" at the conference. The main speakers were Carlo Ripa di Meana, head of the international division of the PSI, Jan ter Laak (PvdA), Catholic priest and member of the Dutch Lower House, and Erhard Eppler, member of the SPD Bureau and Vice-President of the German Protestant Convention.

Carlo Ripa di Meana, who spoke mainly on relations with the Catholic Church, today sees very good prospects for a constructive relationship:

«The Church today accepts a belief which dissociates itself entirely from every ideology and cultural policy; this belief thus operates in other fields relating to the personal experience of everyone. For their part, the Socialists realize that this allows believers to adopt different political views and for this reason they endeavour to avoid a purely political approach to Christian belief. Consequently, they do not offer their political programme as a philosophy or view of the world, thus denying that belief is a political programme.

Jan ter Laak shared this optimism which he substantiated by reference to the Church's growing concern for the problems of peace and of the Third World, mentioning in particular developments in Latin America.

Amongst other things, Erhard Eppler dealt with the relationship between Christianity and politics:

"When politics degenerate into a struggle of beliefs, humanity suffers. When the aim of politics is to realize the kingdom of God rather than assert the appropriate political order, humanity suffers. It is for the reason that all shortcuts between religious hopes and political intentions lead to inhumanity, both in Europe and elsewhere. It happened in Spain under Philip II, in Geneva with Calvin and it could also happen in Iran under the Ayatollah. When the absolute has to be transformed into the relative, human beings are always over-taxed. And the only alternative to humanity is inhumanity. It is therefore a good thing for politics to refrain from automatically adopting religious principles and even from claiming to be Christian. The "C" in the name of a party means either the over-taxing of that party or no more than slogans of a watered-down Christianity".

The following quotations are taken from speeches made at the conference: Robert Pontillon, Chairman of the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community:

"Creativity will only be able to develop fully when the citizens determine the structure of their society themselves and, with the support of artists, learn to express themselves and thus shape a new culture of the people. The new freedom which the development of such a culture affords is alone not enough. Culture needs space in which to assert itself. For us, this space is Europe, as has also been the case in the past".

Hans Koschnick, Deputy Chairman of the SPD:

"There can only be talk of cultural democracy when individuals and groups allow their actions to be governed by concern for the material and spiritual well-being of the majority and by ethical rules.

Progress in the ethical field and in the technical and scientific field are as inseparable for the development of culture as the marriage of physical and spiritual freedom. Freedom is a pre-condition for culture. Only on this basis can culture be conceived and survive."

Bruno Friedrich, Vice-Chairman of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community:

"In our view, it is not enough to place hope in the humanity of those in power. What we want to see in Europe is the power of humanity. The power of humanity has stagnated around the dining tables of those to whom education and culture mean no more than a ticket to success. A cultural industry which, through the channels of the mass media, is able to disguise the present feeling of political and social powerlessness will not be able to prevent the arrival of

Orwell's "1984". The ideas of the Enlightenment, Humanism and Christianity will only be effective when they have been embraced by the majority of people and not merely by elitist minorities".

Lise Ostergaard, Minister of State for Development Policy in the Danish Foreign Affairs Ministry:

"The confidence of a society in its own future may be compared to the resources used on children and young people. Compared to the total resources of a society — not to speak about resources used for destructive purposes — it is somewhat depressing to see how little we use for the generation to follow after us".

Hilmar Hoffmann; Frankfurt Officer for Education and the Arts:

"The democratization of culture thus means encouraging a critical awareness of history and the political dimensions of the past by referring to the causes of the common misery of the masses. Only in this way can reference to history be of any relevance when outlining the future prospects of Europe. Only insofar as culture and the arts are recognized as the expression of a political and social development which has passed into history and are presented as such will the "potential of art and aesthetic experience" (Habermas) be able to develop into a unifying political force".

Hermann Glaser, Nuremberg Officer for Education and the Arts:

*"The commitment of the Socialists to an ideally all embracing type of culture means analysing bourgeois culture in order to destroy what is elitist or esoteric about it and retain what is genuinely cultural". Giorgio Strehler, Director of the Piccolo Teatro in Milan:
"It is the task of the theatre to aid people to identify with what is human and not with what is inhuman".*

Socialist women and the European Elections

Luxembourg, 22 - 23 March 1979

As part of the European election campaign the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Communities has, as we know, launched various initiatives.

One of these has been the holding of several special conferences devoted to the study and development of a number of leading subjects of concern to our socialist parties in the Europe of the time.

After Amsterdam a special conference devoted to women and their place in socialist policy was held in Luxembourg on 22 and 23 March 1979 at the invitation of the "Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Luxembourgeois".

The member parties to the Confederation sent unusually large delegations to this Conference.

Four main topics were the focus of attention during the two days of the Conference: women's political responsibility (presented by Lydie Schmidt, chairman of the POSL), women and parliamentary life (presented by Ien Van den Heuvel, chairman of the «PvdA», the problems of emigration and immigration in Europe (presented by Enrica Lucarelli) and the responsibilities of European Socialists towards the third World (presented by Michel Delvaux).

Although these very diverse subjects of undeniably great importance extend over a vast field many common points of view were established and, in particular, many desires formulated which were shared by all those taking part. First of all there was the fringe position of women, their position on the fringe of national politics, on the fringe of European politics and the higher ranks of the Community bodies although women form some 52 % of the population of the Europe of Nine. Then there was the serious problem of unemployment and the specific difficulties encountered by women on the labour market. Finally the persistence of rank discrimination, "de jure" and "de facto", which considerably affects their fate, and the taboos which have arisen in certain countries with regard to contraception and the voluntary termination of pregnancy. The list of examples of unfair treatment where women have a rightful claim to a better deal is a long one.

But, above and beyond the airing of these grievances, the Conference directed its claims more towards the formulation of a common strategy or, to put it more modestly, a common campaign — within each country, within our parties and at European level. This desire is based primarily on a common conviction — that Europe is an opportunity not to be missed and that the challenge which has been taken up calls for the active contribution of each and every one of us, men and women alike.

"Socialist women, we are deeply committed to the fight for a socialist Europe, a workers' Europe, a Europe which is more than the sum total of the dependence, selfishness and injustice generated by the lust for material power and indeed for power of any kind."

But this project also calls for a change of roles: from being a reserve force in employment, politics and on the economic and social scene, women must become equals with full rights.

As a forum for the exchange of often differing views and experiences, the Luxembourg Conference largely transcended its original terms of reference to culminate at first informally and then more formally in the joint formulation of a number of recommendations which should act as a guide to the CSPEC and our Socialist Members of the European Parliament.

One recommendation is for the proper enforcement and supervision of the three European directives concerning equality of treatment, of payment and of social security. Another is the demand for the right to employment and skilled employment for women and the need for continued watchfulness and opposition to conservative attempts to relegate women to the home on the empty pretext that they are taking away jobs from men. The same claim applies to the right to personal freedom which implies a real opportunity

of free access to birth control, selective maternity and paternity and the condemnation of all violence, physical or moral. Finally the right of women to play a full part in political life, and to exercise their legitimate responsibilities to contribute, with men, to the transformation of society, and the related desire to see as many women as possible on our parties' lists — and in a good position on those lists — were repeated again and again.

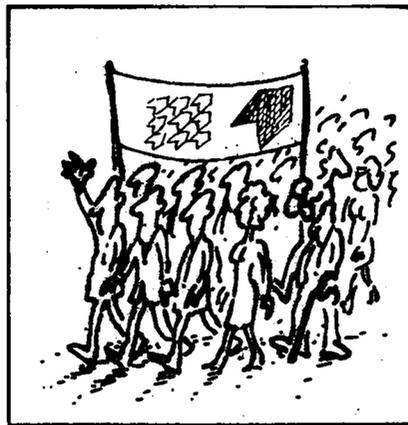
This is no more than a fragmentary account of the discussions and proposals

during this special conference. The main points were stated and discussed: the main thing is to combine all our efforts, to put forward new experiences and ideas which will be of use to each and every one of us in this campaign, and above all consequently, when the new Parliament has been elected.

All those who met in Luxembourg shared without a doubt the hope that the experience should be extended and repeated since action is born of the well-considered confrontation of views.

Social Europe

Bologna, 28 March 1979



The special conference of the PSDI — "Social Europe" — opened on Wednesday, 28 March 1979 in Bologna with the traditional welcome and a tribute to the late President of the Italian Republican Party, Ugo La Malfa, by the head of the international bureau of the PSDI, Mauro Ferri. After greetings from the city mayor, Renato Zangheri, and the Secretary of the Federation of Bologna, Raffaele Trivellini, the national secretary of the PSDI, Pietro Longo, addressed the conference. He began by pointing out the imminence of the European elections and regretted that the continuing Italian political crisis obliged Italians to go to the polls to elect the European Parliament at the same time. *This was certainly through no fault of their own.*

The PSDI had always acted with tenacity and foresight in consistent pursuit of a policy of national solidarity. They had been the first to criticize the inadequacies of the Christian-Democratic single-party régime, while at the same time putting forward specific proposals to develop the process of unity among the political forces and safeguard the legislature. The Communist Party, however, had already made an irreversible choice, as demonstrated by the rigid attitude it assumed towards the latest constructive proposal advanced by the PSDI and PSI

and adopted, albeit belatedly, by the CD.

The PCI had virtually taken a stand against the Socialist positions.

The country needed government, and all that it could be offered today was a tripartite government which would attempt to salvage with maximum continuity what validity there was in the programme and the spirit of the old majority. The grave institutional crisis, of which the early dissolution of the chambers was a clear symptom, was accompanied by other factors which permeated all sectors of public life and testified to a profound sickness which affected and disturbed the life of the Republic. To this the PSDI intended to react firmly and without any complex of inferiority, faithful to its own basic options. *Construction of European unity would undoubtedly help Italy to surmount its difficulties and the more solid and long-standing democracies would serve as an example, while the leadership offered by European social-democracy would permit political advances in the social field.*

This was the specific theme of the meeting. They were certain that a solid union between the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties of Europe would lead on to great successes against the forces of reaction and conservatism and mark a change in the power balance on the Left with the Communists.

The proceedings proper then began with a report by Francesco Drago, member of the Central Committee of the UIL and adviser to the Economic and Social Committee, on "The right to work". *Only by transforming the political commitment of social forces into a continuous and homogeneous process in the entire system of Community relations was it possible to create the most appropriate structures and respond to the content of a social Europe.*

Such a genuine effort at coordination was a specific task of those political and

trade-union forces which were working for a dramatic socialism of European dimensions. In this context, of special importance was the right to work, which, above and beyond constitutional principles and international declarations, was still the prime instrument for genuinely freeing man from need.

In Europe much energy had already been devoted to ensuring a more equitable distribution of wealth. It was now necessary to make every effort to find work for those who had lost it. The Paris Summit meeting had recognized the necessity of an effective social Community policy and had issued a challenge. Unhappily we had failed to meet the objectives set, particularly from 1974 onwards, the year of the energy crisis. In truth, the true factors governing the birth of a social Europe were still economic, industrial and regional policies, which, drawn up in the various centres, were merely a palliative for evils which only a policy of harmonization could remedy. Social Europe must not be the outcome of economic policy choices.

Instead it should provide the conditions for a policy which would overcome imbalances and aim at full employment. In this European strategic context, trade-union action was a fundamental instrument for a genuine modification of the Community's development logic. It was therefore imperative that democratic and trade-union forces should succeed in translating their approach into concrete European action.

The Vice-President of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the EEC, Bruno Friedrich, conveyed greetings from the Confederation and from its president, Mr Brandt, and pointed out that on 10 June they would be voting for the first time for a Parliament that was not national but European. To achieve this result, much courage and tenacity had been needed in the past few years, but the objective had been a revolution for peace. With this achieved, the question now to be asked was what kind of Europe would emerge from the new European Parliament. The Confederation was the only basic current that had initiated a constructive dialogue; indeed, today's conference was the fourth at European level in this run-up to the elections. It was not slogans but a constructive attitude that counted here. A social Europe was based, and must be based, on four principles: peace, humanity, democracy and solidarity. At all events, Europe could have a durable and lasting peace only if it managed to integrate the Mediterranean countries more fully, the Mediterranean becoming a European sea. A social Europe could only be achieved when not only the poor but also the other marginal social strata had learned that they were not powerless before the State. Admittedly, development had often led to increased imbalances: now was the time to open a European debate on national social problems. The situation in Italy, in particular, showed

how close was the connection between national and international problems.

The European socialist parties would help the Italian Socialists to gain decent representation in the European Parliament, where the solution of problems would be facilitated by the presence of parties which related social problems to freedom. This was characteristic of European Socialists. Nor was it to be forgotten that wherever the Conservatives had been in power a long time, social problems had grown more acute. As to the Communist parties, given the diversity of European situations and of historical development, they were now going through a process of adjustment. At any rate, the Socialists were now sufficiently strong in Europe to make those changes which in future would make it possible to say that the Europe built during these years would be a social Europe.

Antonina Cariglia, member of the PSDI leadership, replied by reassuring Mr Friederich on two points he had raised.

Especially as far as relations with the Italian Socialists were concerned, different evaluations of internal policy in no way affected unity of outlook in the Community sphere and hence the resolute will to work together for the integration of Europe. As to relations with the Communist Party, 30 years of civil strife between the PSDI and the PCI had never implied, at least on the political side, drastic opposition on economic and social issues. Such opposition had related to questions of freedom, different assessments of foreign policy and different positions in international alliances. While the PSDI's position on the democratic Left was therefore beyond dispute, the presumed or declared differences between Italian and German social democrats derived from the different nature of the Communist entity in Italy which induced in the Italian socialists an attitude necessarily more rigorous and cautious.

Roger Linster, of the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, speaking on the topic "Quality of life and consumer protection" explained the connotations of the term "quality of life" for the socialists: it covered a fairly wide range of problems taking account of all under-privileged categories in the consumer society. In this context, quality of life meant more humane conditions at work, rationalization of production rhythms, acceptable conditions of hygiene at work. Ultimately, it meant a different way of envisaging school, leisure time and work, involving a highly critical attitude towards a policy of growth for growth's sake and the re-adoption of the concept of culture as a means of promoting all human creative capacity and hence personal self-fulfilment.

Ivanca Corti, of the national secretariat of the Social-Democratic Women's Movement, pointed out the special significance of the inclusion on the

conference agenda of topics relating to workers and employment. The more discerning political movements perceived that the coming European elections offered a valuable opportunity to suggest a scale of values for hastening future European action. Women emphasized the need to increase the opportunity for participation and to deal forcefully with the problems of the female condition.

They had not yet attained economic democracy; indeed, they had not even managed to create those social structures that were certainly possible; so there was still a long way to go.

Gaetano Arfè, deputy of the PSI, defined today's meeting as historic, since it took place on the eve of direct elections. It also came at a time of serious world crisis which in our country assumed an even graver aspect. It laid still more responsibilities on the Socialists who, at the European level as well, had to demonstrate their capacities and deploy to this end all their accumulated experience and fervour. While, on the approach of the European elections, it was a source of pride to the Italian Socialists that they had defined the First World War as a civil war between European peoples, the contribution which the Italian Socialists could make today also derived from their experience of government — very different from that acquired by comparable European Socialist parties — experience from which they had derived indubitable successes. It was sufficient to note that the greatest advance made by the workers of their country was due to a Socialist Minister, Giacomo Brodolini.

In reality, the development of the whole of Europe would depend on the development of the Mediterranean countries.

The European Socialists should apply themselves to this task so that the businessman's Europe might be replaced by the worker's Europe through the elimination of existing disparities and in the context of an increasingly intensive policy of human solidarity.

Rudolf Dressler, representing the SPD, considered more crucial than ever the topic of economic and social democracy.

The German Social Democrats intended to carry to European level their full contribution to the democratization of the economy making use of the national experience acquired through co-management in the Federal Republic. After initial official consensus in the years immediately following the last war, co-management had suffered varying fortunes, even to the extent of radical opposition from the German managerial world. Thus, even today, co-management was viewed as a major opportunity for the social emancipation of the workers and the objective to be pursued. The democratization of the economy, through joint management at all levels of the economy, through proper control of the multinationals and measures to reduce

national imbalances, was the objective pursued by democratic socialists in the European context as well. For this reason the trade-union movement needed to find adequate representation beyond national boundaries and to ensure that the new European Parliament finally issued a regulation on the European Company. The European elections would be a success only if they represented a change of direction for the workers' movement and made Europe not a rich man's club or a shopkeeper's association, but a Europe marked by an "organized" peace, a peace which is effective since it is based on the effective participation of the workers in economic management and administration.

Wilhelm Albers, responsible for social questions in the EP Socialist Group, pointed out that not withstanding the availability of Community instruments to meet the needs of the poorest regions, the latter had seen the gap between themselves and the richer countries widen, with an accompanying reduction in the quality of life which was incompatible with the essential spirit of the Treaty of Rome i.e. intervention in Community affairs to modify existing relations. The European Parliament was an instrument for combating regional disparities, whilst the Council of Ministers had always inadequately responded to requests by the Commission. Parliament, however, had always attempted to use the special fund for regional development in the best possible way. *There was a need for greater coordination as well as a fund to help industry, but, above all, it was necessary, if they really intended to change society, to adopt a socialist political line, especially as not all the possibilities open to the Commission had been used to the full, there was room for self-criticism and, above all, for an assumption of responsibility for the future.*

Conference on industrial democracy

Copenhagen 5 - 6 April 1979

The Copenhagen conference on industrial democracy was a particular success because it clearly showed that, in spite of differing views as to ways and means, the member parties of the Confederation were completely united on their objective: to turn the worker, who was simply an economic vassal under the capitalist system, into a citizen having the right to participate actively in the economy.

The chairman of the Danish Social Democrats, Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen, opened the conference with a talk on the basic principles of political and industrial democracy. He felt that industrial democracy should be the central topic of the European election campaign:

"In the coming direct elections to the European Parliament we must fight for an expansion of the democracy which is an essential element of the member countries of the European Community". Democracy could not, he said, end at the factory gate or the office door. Political democracy must be enlarged into industrial democracy and wage-earners must be given the opportunity to participate in decisions at all levels.

Whilst all our socialist parties were united in their call for industrial democracy, there were differences in their solutions, experiences and proposals. In Denmark the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party had drawn up a joint proposal: to have workers participate in the capital of a company through a collective fund fed by regular contributions from the company in proportion to its wage bill and profits.

Since workers were obliged to make sacrifices in the fight against inflation, it was important to secure a share of the profits they earned and thus to provide them with some influence over company decisions.

The next speaker was Lise Østergaard, Danish Minister for the developing countries, who talked about the North-South Dialogue and the importance of industrial democracy for economic relations between rich and poor countries.

The development of these countries was, she said, totally dependent on the decisions of private companies and therefore it was important that workers too should have a real say in important decisions on such matters as investment in developing countries and transfers of technology and capital.

Jacques Delors devoted his remarks to the French Socialist Party's theories on worker control. The first measure needed to carry out its plans for industrial democracy was to change the rules by which the economy was run by expanding

the public sector and introducing democratic planning and new rights for workers.

In Europe Jacques Delors considered that there were four viable alternatives which it was possible to follow up simultaneously, i.e.:

- co-determination (as in the Federal Republic of Germany or the Netherlands),
- an extension of the policy of negotiated agreements (as in Sweden),
- worker supervision (as in Italy),
- worker control (as on France).

Mr Delors felt that the European Institutions needed to take three measures to foster industrial democracy:

1. A more effective competition policy coupled with supervision of large multinational companies.
2. Greater resources for the Economic and Social Committee and better cooperation with the European Parliament.
3. Participation by the trade unions (including the ETUC) in the drawing-up and implementation of Community policy. This would require a redefinition of all the Community's decision-making and consultative bodies.

Herbert Ehrenberg (SPD), German Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, explained the German Social Democrat theory of co-determination. It was, he said, similar in many respects to the policy of the Danish party just expounded by Anker Jørgensen. He stressed that the legislation enacted by the Socialist-Liberal coalition since 1972 had come after 20 years of conservative inaction on the co-determination question. However, the co-determination law of 1976 represented a compromise with views of the Liberals and thus did not fully coincide with the SPD's policy which was to develop co-determination further should a parliamentary majority permit it. The aim was to put labour and capital on an equal footing.

The final speech was delivered by Kjeld Olesen, Vice-Chairman of the Danish Social Democratic Party and the candidate at the top of its list for the European elections. He spoke on the topic "the man in the centre", emphasizing that European socialists would have to bring in a new phase of socialist development. Capitalism could not be allowed to develop freely without direction. There was nothing in the Treaties of Rome, he said, to prevent European socialists from pursuing this course together.

The lively discussion, in which representatives of all the member parties of the Confederation had taken part, left

the impression that the conference had created a good basis for further work by socialists in this field.

Some of the speeches

Anker Jørgensen,
Prime Minister, Chairman of Socialdemokratiet.

We have no use for small capitalists. What we need and what we shall obtain through the extension of industrial democracy is the introduction by workers of a new society-orientated way of thinking into the concept of ownership and the management of companies. We shall only do this if we make the right to co-ownership a collective one. The right to hold property will also be a matter of solidarity. It is therefore necessary for co-ownership to be administered through collective funds which may or may not be centralized. It is not really possible to lay down hard and fast rules as to how centralized they should be. Many people — in Denmark as elsewhere — are apprehensive of central funds. They forget that much of private industry is made up of large concentrations. This is one of the reasons why there must be a counterpart on the employees' side. This is the only way to ensure that co-workers have a real say in what happens and the only way we can ensure that industrial democracy becomes part of the overall process of management and planning — this is something on which the labour movement can exercise decisive influence.

Lise Østergaard,
Minister for Developing Countries.

For the developing countries the struggle for economic development and a more democratic world economic order is a continuation of their struggle for political freedom. It has been said that industrial democracy can undermine political democracy. Quite clearly the reverse is true. The individual citizen in a society and the individual country in the world must obtain the same opportunities to influence decisions taken in the economy and his own working conditions as in principle he has in the political field. An absence of industrial democracy has an effect on political democracy and can put it out of action. Just as we are seeking to share out democratic rights within our society, we must also share them out at world level. President Nyerere of Tanzania once said: "The choice is clear. Either we really become one world, in which political problems are tackled at world level or else we must recognize that there are two worlds — the rich and the poor.

Then the latter will have to defend themselves against the former". We do not have that choice: our aim must be global democracy both in a political and economic sense.

Jacques Delors,
Member of the Bureau of the French Socialist Party.

Work only has a meaning if it is not merely a way of earning one's living but

also a means to achieve success and to develop one's own personality. This is why we attach so much importance to the humanization of work and the applications of new technology which stem from it. The French have much to learn, as regards the improvement of working conditions, from the experience of certain other European countries. French Socialists are aware of this, but they would add their own particular dimension: worker control.

What is worker control? It is giving every worker who wants it the opportunity to take control of his work and to participate in the forming of decisions concerning both the organization and the pattern of production. While the industrial revolution of the 1950s and 1960s was marked by a concentration of power and productive capacity, Taylorism and the over-specialization of work, workers would like to have greater autonomy and greater responsibility as they know that these are necessary for their personal development. The road to worker control is a long one — all the more reason to start out on it as soon as possible.

Herbert Ehrenberg,
SPD, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Experience in the iron and steel industry has shown that co-management is of benefit to workers during period of economic difficulty. In the course of the "coal crisis" the number of employees in the German coal-mining industry shrank from more than 600,000 in 1957 to less than 190,000 today without giving rise to economic hardship or social unrest. This was only possible because the representation of the workers in decision-making bodies enabled them to steer the whole inevitable process of structural reforms in the right direction. Not a single pit was closed without the workers being involved in the decisions from the very beginning.

The steel industry has witnessed a similar development over recent years. Here again co-management made it possible to solve structural problems or at least come closer to a solution without putting workers in a socially unacceptable position. Neither the State nor a company can simply "order" a closure; agreement must first be reached with the workers' representatives on the supervisory board and the works council.

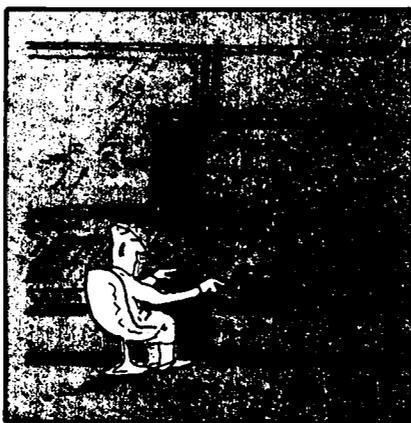
Kjeld Olesen,
Vice-Chairman of Socialdemokratiet.

It is a difficult task to lead the way in producing the necessary changes in our countries, but we have always been able to derive the inspiration needed from the objectives of democratic socialism. If we are to achieve results, we — that is to say the workers of Europe — must gain a position of influence. Not merely influence in the formal sense but a real right to participate in decisions and this can only be brought about if we take the next important step which is to attack the principle of property.

Some people say that the European Community is just a form of cooperation between capitalists. They say that the Treaty of Rome and its fundamental principles of the freedom of movement for goods and capital is designed to help capitalism develop. We, on the other hand, say no: the future development of the Community is completely dependent on the political attitudes of the voters. It may develop in the direction of more capitalism. But there is nothing in the Treaty of Rome to prevent it from going in the direction of our political objectives. It is our great responsibility to see that this happens. The new Socialist Group in the European Parliament will have a great deal of work to do. We look forward to some inspiring cooperation with our colleagues.

« Europe and the new industrial revolution »

Paris, 19. - 20 April 1979



The new industrial revolution has all the recognizable features of the economic and social change which takes place in the world every thirty to fifty years. Its three essential elements are the crisis of capitalism which we are experiencing at present, the emergence of a new international division of labour and, finally, the application of the enormous potential of science and technology. European countries are just as affected by these various phenomena as others, but they also have to face up to a far more pressing challenge resulting from the place of importance which they had taken in the hierarchy of developed countries and in

world trade. The crisis is disrupting their economic systems and spreading considerable unemployment. The new international division of labour favours the rise of aggressive competitors enjoying relatively low labour costs or a weak currency, not to mention those who practise various forms of dumping.

Science and technology, on the other hand, can, in the language of Aesop's fables, be either «the best or worst of things». The best would be if they opened the way to better and cheaper products, full employment, sufficient leisure time and an improvement in the quality of life.

The worst thing would be if Europeans did not seize their opportunity or if science became an instrument for manipulating mankind, restricting man's autonomy and his freedom.

— **Anticipating and controlling technical progress**

on the basis of a report by Jacques ATTALI, Adviser on Economic Questions to the First Secretary of the French Socialist Party.

What opportunities do science and technology have to offer for today and tomorrow? What advantages can they bring as regards production methods and life-style? What are the dangers and difficulties?

— **Workers and the new industrial revolution**

on the basis of a report by Claude CHEYSSON, Member of the Commission of the European Communities.

What is the evolution of capitalism leading to segmentation of the labour market, European disindustrialization, pressure on labour costs? What type of action can be taken and what proposals can be made at national, Community and world level (the trade unions' industrial counter-proposals; work sharing; investment control and industrial democracy; international solidarity and bargaining procedures)?

— **An alternative model for economic and social development**

analyses and proposals put forward by Jacques DELORS, Socialist Party National Delegate for international economic affairs.

Socialists must present society with new objectives, more in keeping with man's nature and the present age, more concerned with the fight against all forms of inequality and more alive to the demands of ecology and the environment.

How is this strategy to be reconciled with the need for greater solidarity with the developing countries and the constraints imposed by the international division of labour? What is the best way in which to use the potential of science and technology (a real political issue)? One has to conceive a way of life in which there will be no more ostentatious consumption, no more waste and no more social segregation but in which new needs will arise which would themselves generate new employment.

If one had to resume this challenge to Europeans in a single phrase, we might say it was to «keep progress under control».

The key words for our common quest could be:

— "progress", since socialists reject all forms of neomalthusianism and believe in the progress which society can bring about for itself;

— "solidarity" within each European country, between the countries of the European Economic Community and with the poor nations of the world against all forms of imperialism and exploitation;

— "freedom" to live, to improve one's standard of living, to adopt an alternative lifestyle, to live in a community and to share the duties and benefits implicit in the exercise of responsibility.

The Conference was opened by the Vice-President of the Confederation, Karel Van Miert, and Ronbert Pontillon, its President.

"European Socialists," said Robert Pontillon, "were the first to sound the alarm and to attack the arguments of the conservatives of all persuasions who consider that unemployment is not what it used to be, which is an elegant or, more simply, a cynical way of admitting that full employment is not the first priority for these right-wing politicians. However, it seems in recent months they have realized that this attitude is not one which goes down particularly well and we should not be surprised to see some of our proposals taken up in their electoral platforms. Of course, I am confident that the electors of Europe will not be taken in by this ruse.

Last February in Ludwigshafen, at a meeting organized by our comrades of the German Social Democratic Party, we also considered the present and future situation of men and women in Europe.

The reactionary often shelter under the banner of humanism, but theirs is a humanism without any substance. The question which is of concern to socialists is how to create the economic, legal and cultural conditions to allow mankind to develop his abilities to the full, and also how to fight against all forms of alienation which menace the individual, waiting in the shadows to reappear if we should drop our guard.

This is why in Ludwigshafen the introductory reports, including that given by the First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, François Mitterrand, and the speeches which followed, laid emphasis on the factors needed for cultural development accessible to all, and inspiration to be drawn from the numerous steps taken by European socialists and social democrats.

How can the crises shaking contemporary society be brought to an end? There is no panacea. Imagination is undoubtedly needed, but imagination alone will have little effect unless backed up by two vital elements: firstly, the conscious and constant support of labour and, secondly,

democracy. These two exigencies are closely linked and this is why democracy was the topic chosen for the two other specialized conferences organized by the Confederation as part of this joint campaign, one organized by the Italian Social Democratic Party in Bologna and the other by the Danish Social Democratic Party in Copenhagen.

The central topic at Bologna was one which has always been close to socialist hearts, that of social democracy, which is the expression in all fields of the solidarity between people and between members of society. Both old and new paths were explored; for example, regional policy was reconsidered in its overall context.

This is undoubtedly necessary at a time when the economic crisis is widening disparities and throwing whole regions into chaos. Clearly this must be one of the principal fields of action for the Socialist Group in

the European Parliament. It must put forward a regional policy sufficient in its scope to supplement effectively the policies conducted by each State and to correct the disruptive effects of a large market which has so far, by its very logic, encouraged the concentration of capital and the centralization of production. Need one add that the future enlargement of the Community increases still further the need for a far-reaching regional policy, better coordinated with the common agricultural policy and giving more attention to Mediterranean products to which too little attention has so far been given?

Finally, at the beginning of April in Copenhagen, a discussion was held on what I should like to call the new frontier of Socialism, i.e. industrial democracy.

A particularly rich debate made it possible to compare and contrast the approaches, proposals and experiences of several countries, but in each the goal was the same: how to introduce the democratic ideal into economic life and how to re-draw the relationship between the forces of labour and the forces of capital which are becoming more and more concentrated. One is struck by the desperate resistance put up by the Right and by managements in Europe against this deeply-felt aspiration of today's Labour Movement.

The first topic, "anticipating and controlling technical progress", was then introduced by Jacques Attali.

"There is," said Attali, "perhaps another way of considering socialism, which could be very important and in any case difficult to ignore — and it seems to be the line which French Socialism is taking today — and this is that technology per se is not at all neutral in the exercise of the power which it creates and that it is possible to devise alternative ways of using technology than for simply producing individualized consumer goods which, will, as in the past, increasingly turn each one of us into a spectator of his own history, an object using objects.

What capitalism is seeking in order to overcome its crisis is the know-how to transform all existing man-operated means of production, which are non-capitalist means of production, into capitalist means of production, to transform life-styles and ways of living which are not based on the production line into life-styles and ways of living which are based on the production line, that is to say the know how for automating the handling of information on the production line. Why should we not create in Europe, to serve the European Institutions, a Technology Assessment Council which could very soon — and this council forms part of French Socialists' proposals for French institutions but it could equally well be applied at European level — help the institutions and the new, democratically-elected European Parliament to act positively on the subject of the new technologies and their limits.'

The second topic, "Workers and the new industrial revolution", was introduced by Claude Cheysson, Member of the Commission of the European Communities.

"We are in a period," said Cheysson, "in which a world economy is becoming a reality — which should not displease socialists who are internationalists by nature and conviction.

"In building Europe we must return to this idea of a voluntarist Europe, a workers' Europe. Applied to the Third World, this approach means a rejection of neo-malthusianism and the willingness to keep progress under control, which is the object of this colloquium. This is but one of the paths to be followed in the search for a new model for growth, which will be dealt with in detail by tomorrow morning's rapporteur. It is also only one illustration of the methodology of our analysis of market forces used to determine what financial resources need to be injected into particular projects.

"There is, in fact, no shortage of finance available on the international market. To imagine that an extra \$ 10-15 M can be channelled into development as investment or by the international financing organizations, is not at all a utopian idea and it would raise the GNP of all industrialized countries by one point each year.

"A massive transfer of resources spread over several years would require a relatively limited budgetary sacrifice and in return for an interest-subsidy system we shall achieve not inconsiderable budgetary savings in terms of unemployment benefit and aid to lame ducks. It would also make it possible to proceed with the restructuring which is necessary, and would to this extent, but to this extent only, mirror what the Marshall Plan did for the American economy, since we must never forget that it was the Marshall Plan that enabled a war economy to transform into a peace economy with no great difficulty in the postwar period."

The second day's proceedings were opened by the Vice-President of the Confederation, Bruno Friedrich, who drew special attention to the changed character of the new European Parliament.

"We must," he said, "adopt the view that the European Parliament will shortly, after the elections, have to undergo a change. In other words, Parliament must not consider itself solely as an instrument accompanying the governments, but as an instrument accompanying the actions of the Commission of the European Community. Until now, these elections have fallen essentially within the competence of the Government. If we want to change things, the future European Parliament must draw strength from the European parties and the trade unions. I might say that only close cooperation between the socialist parties and trade unions will enable Parliament to attain its goals."

Jacques Delors then presented his report on the third topic, "New growth for Europe".

"On the subject of scientific and technical progress," said Jacques Deors, "I started out with the idea that there was nothing in the scientists' "Pandora's box" comparable with what came out in 1945.

The research and development work now in hand will influence our way of life, but not in the same way as the car, domestic appliances or television. Electronics will be brought into the home, but the effect on creating jobs and industry will be completely different.

"This new technological revolution will have a considerable effect on production methods. Men will be replaced by micro-processors, computers and self-guiding tools, and the unemployment crisis will become even more difficult to resolve since, unlike what has happened in the past when changes took place, we do not know where to create the new jobs to cushion the effects of the restructuring schemes which are going on.

"The second challenge is that of the new international division of labour.

"We are — and this is the second facet of this industrial revolution — faced with a move towards a world economy.

"This is the end of the period in which European countries held a privileged position, and consequently, in choosing this subject, we are going right to the heart of the difficulty, and I think it is to the credit of the socialist parties that we have not tried to pass these difficulties over.

"Socialists, whose beliefs are founded on hope, reject fatalism and resignation. They bring three essential qualities to the debate on development models. They propose a more optimistic view of things. They refuse to stand on the sidelines. They disdain to escape into purely ideological arguments."

What is needed is a pragmatic plan of action in the context of the social struggle.

"I would simply say European cooperation, in forms yet to be determined, is an indispensable aid for work which must be carried out primarily at national level. My feeling would be to tell each country, "Europe helps those that help themselves."

"I see this European economic cooperation as proceeding in three directions.

"The first, to which I shall return at the end of this colloquium, is the European Economic Community's contribution to a new, fairer and more efficient world economic order.

"The second is to restore the balance of this Europe which is failing to live up to the spirit of the Treaty of Rome. At present we have a one-legged Europe: the one leg it walks on is the leg of the large, free-trade market, but the common policies are lagging behind. The duty of the Socialists is to restore the balance of the common policies, so as to make the European economy a genuinely mixed economy in which the principal role is not played by the invisible hand but by men and women acting responsibly in full knowledge of the facts."

At the end of the debate, Jacques Delors added:

"We have had a frank and public exchange of views on the most difficult and distressing subjects. What a difference, dear comrades, between these social democratic and socialist parties who hold their debates in full public view and do not hesitate to tackle the most thorny problems... what a contrast with the conservative parties, who are at present content with their vague associations and empty rhetoric about Europe and who never examine the issues in depth."

Monthly review

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