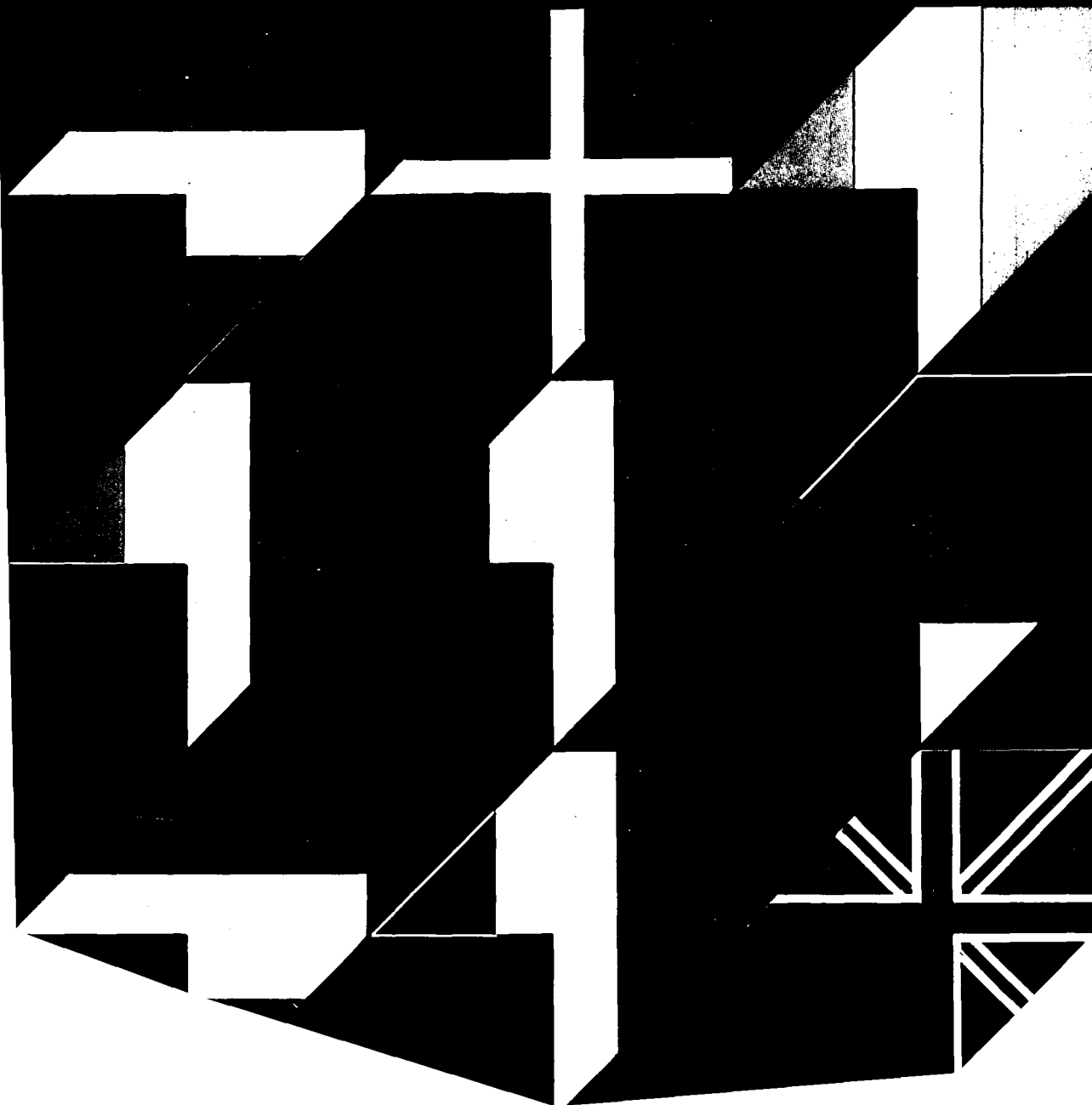


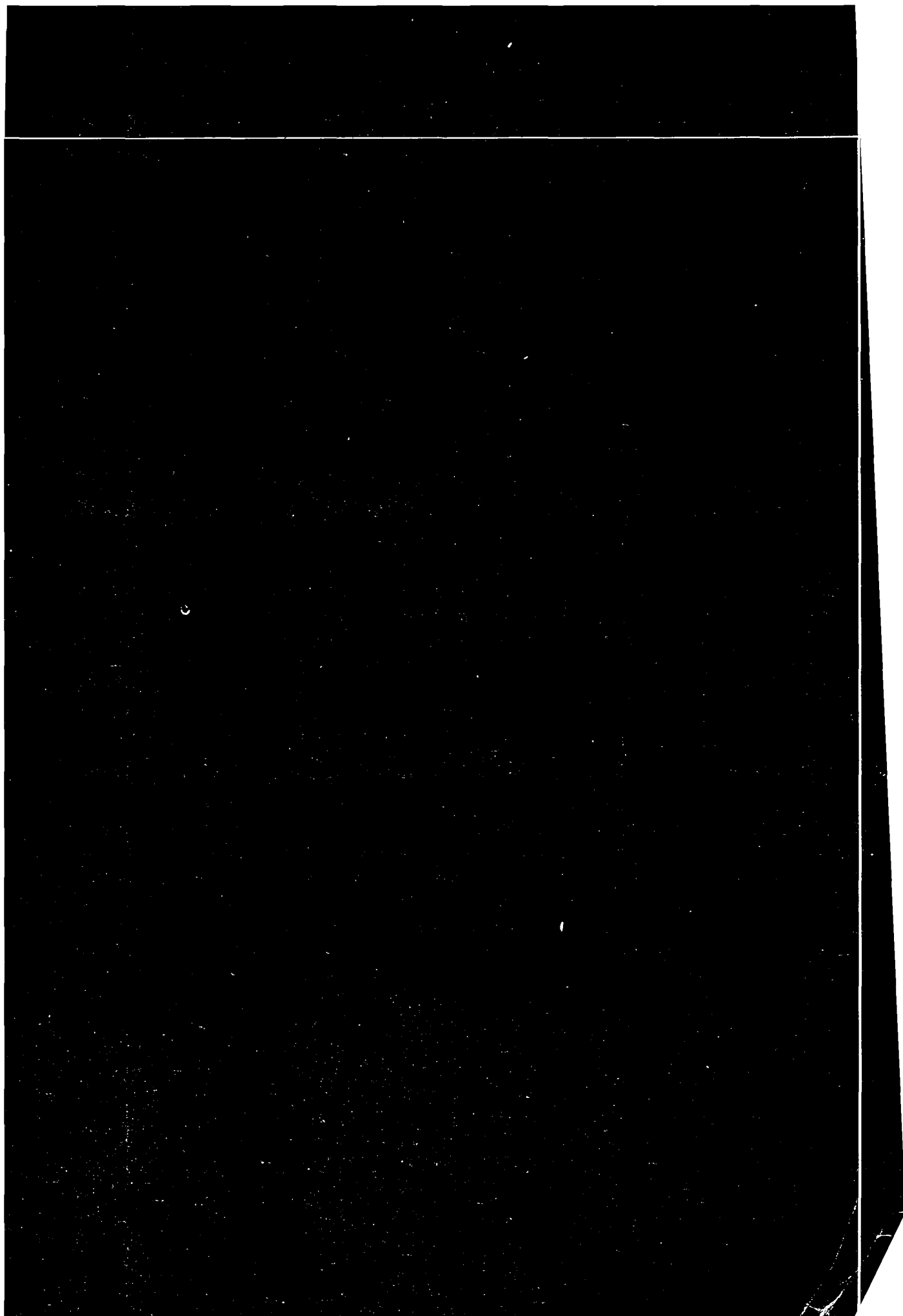
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Socialist Group
European Parliament
N° 3/1979

Xth Congress of the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community





The election of the President

During the tenth Congress the representatives of the socialist and social-democratic parties granted a fresh mandate to Robert Pontillon by re-electing him President of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the EEC.

While I cannot say that I am completely flummoxed by the outcome of the vote, I accept it with pride and diffidence. I say pride because it is the expression of your confidence, and diffidence because I know full well that I owe it not to my own merits but to the party I have the honour to represent and to the closely knit team from the Confederation Presidency which shares with me the task of guiding all of us along the path to success. Thank you, comrades, for this mark of your confidence and friendship.



The Wilhelm Dröscher prize awarded to Sicco Mansholt

The Wilhelm Dröscher prize has been awarded for the first time. The prize was instituted by the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community to perpetuate and honour the memory of Wilhelm Dröscher, First President of the Bureau of the Confederation.

In the presence of Mrs Dröscher it was presented to Sicco Mansholt, Dutch Socialist and First Socialist President of the Commission of the European Communities at the Xth Congress of the Confederation.

When the Bureau had to designate the recipient of the Wilhelm Dröscher prize, no discussion was necessary: it was obvious to all that one man and one man alone merited the distinction, Sicco Mansholt, whose life and political career was described by Robert Pontillon at the ceremony as follows:

'Before becoming the first Socialist President of the Commission of the

European Communities in 1972, Sicco was for 14 years Vice-President of the Commission, responsible for, and in fact the instigator of the common agricultural policy. One can truly say that he was one of the founders of the European Community.

Throughout his life this man, this militant, has striven to translate into action his ideal of a better society based on active solidarity with all those that reject capitalist society.

He continued his activities during the second world war, when he was one of the leaders of the Dutch resistance, and took many risks.

After the war, his courage and political ability quite naturally took him to the head of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Netherlands from 1945 to 1958. The Confederation has benefited from his knowledge, experience and intelligence since 1974. We owe a lot to Sicco Mansholt who was behind the political declaration adopted by our

party leaders in Brussels in June 1978. I am convinced that Wilhem Dröscher — and Sicco was a personal friend of his — would agree with us that no-one was more worthy of this prize. Honouring Sicco this morning is also a way of honouring Wilhem.'

Deeply moved by this gesture of friendship by the European Socialists, Sicco Mansholt drew attention in his reply to the importance of the first direct elections to the European Parliament in June and called for an extension of the powers of the new Parliament elected by universal suffrage.

The European Parliament ought to strengthen its powers over the Commission so that it could control Community activities more efficiently and democratically.



Report by Socialist Group

In accordance with the rules of procedure of the Confederation, the Chairman of the Socialist Group, Ludwig Fellermaier presented the 10th Congress with a report. The report covers the period from the beginning of 1973 to the end of 1978.

The presentation by the Socialist Group, at this Congress of the Confederation, of a report of activities on the work which it has carried out over the last few years calls for certain observations by way of explanation.

In all the Member States, political groups are the parliamentary expression of their respective parties.

However, the Socialist Group is, by its own definition, the representative of the ideas and political standpoints of all the member parties of the Confederation.

On this basis, we have endeavoured,

over these last few years, effectively to fulfil our commitment.

The socialist Group feels a certain pride in presenting this report of activities here today. As the largest Group in the European Parliament and the only one within which all nine Community Member States are represented, the Socialist Group has played the leading role in shaping the work of the European Parliament.

This report can — indeed should — be of considerable use in the political debate which will soon be dominating the forthcoming campaign for European elections. By referring to specific examples, we intend to list

successes which the Socialists have already achieved in the field of international cooperation with a view to the Europe of tomorrow.

Given that, in the past, the Confederation was able only to a limited extent to supply the Group with information and indicate political objectives relating to its work, the Socialist Group itself has had to pursue action in various sectors on its own initiative. For this reason, we have drawn up and adopted opinions of vital importance on

- the combating of unemployment,
- regional policy,
- reform of the common agricultural policy,
- fisheries policy and the law of the sea,
- energy policy, and
- consumer protection.

These working documents are the result of extensive consultation with the member parties of the Confederation, political groups in the national Parliaments and detailed exchanges of views within our Group. They represent the basis of parliamentary work and of the positions expressed publicly by the Socialist Group.

Nevertheless, I wish to point out in all frankness that the European Parliament only possesses extremely limited rights and responsibilities, apart from those concerning the budget. We cannot therefore expect miracles. Against this background of limited opportunities, the Socialist Group has attempted, despite all, to influence Community policy and has succeeded in doing so on numerous occasions.

This being said, it is necessary to state clearly in what way the Socialists are resolved to bring about change in the European Community. Spheres which come to mind here include regional policy and consumer protection, although there exist many others.

The peoples of the European Community are unable to understand why, despite continuous progress towards economic integration, regional disparities, instead of diminishing, have on the contrary become accentuated in the Community in recent years. In practical terms, there are increasing discrepancies between living conditions, job opportunities and relative positions concerning income



and wealth. Economic concentration and financial interests should no longer have a fundamental influence on people's lives and their basic right to work. They must have the opportunity to choose in all freedom the kind of life they wish to lead. As Socialists, we have displayed full awareness of this political challenge within the existing European Parliament. Following direct elections, we will have to make even greater efforts in this direction.

As regards consumer protection, it should be emphasized that, up to now, the interests of the working man, who is inevitably also a consumer, have been unjustifiably neglected within the process of European integration. The degree of concentration of the economy and capital is continually increasing, and this increase is naturally not confined to national frontiers. The consumer's position, on the other hand, in the face of powerful and frequently anonymous interest groups, is becoming increasingly weak. As Socialists, therefore, we urge that, in the European Community, consumer protection be replaced by the effective promotion of consumer interests. In particular, we should envisage the introduction of preventive measures. For this reason, consumer policy should be given greater priority at the level of the Commission.

The Commission can count on the Socialists as allies in pursuing this task. This policy should not be implemented without the active participation of those concerned — and by this we mean, in particular, consumers' associations. However, it is clear that, in order to do this, existing procedures at Community level must be effectively improved.

The fields of regional policy and consumer protection are just two examples which demonstrate the need to make Europe a social community.

The Socialists, acting in close coordination with the European Trade Union Confederation, will seek to improve, within all the EEC institutions, the status of working people.

In the directly elected European Parliament, The Socialist Group must be in the forefront of the fight to obtain greater solidarity and justice in the Community.

In addition to discussing the numerous problems which exist within the Community, The Socialist Group has always stressed that the EEC should be an outward-looking Community. For us Socialists, this means, in particular, that we must commit ourselves to active

cooperation with sister parties. For example, over the last few years we have supported Socialist countries engaged in political campaigns in countries progressing towards democracy following years and decades of dictatorship. We have always demonstrated — and will continue to do so — our particular involvement with Socialist forces in Spain, Portugal and Greece.

We look forward to the day when the Socialist M.P.s of these candidate-countries for accession will become members of our Group.

The first direct elections to the European Parliament will represent a milestone in the development of the Community. For the European Parliament, direct elections constitute an opportunity to pursue the work which it has begun and, at the same time, a chance to start afresh. We do not wish to harbour any illusions about this future elected Parliament and the responsibilities which will be granted to it. It is nevertheless true that, owing to the continuous increase in its responsibilities, the Community must be effectively controlled on the basis of democratic participation. This new situation must not be created at the expense of national Parliaments. On the contrary, there must be systematic development, and responsibilities divided in a proper manner. In recent years, certain responsibilities have been transferred from the national parliaments to Brussels. At present, they are exercised solely by the Council of Ministers, the single legislative body of the EEC. Given that they concern millions of people, decisions should no longer be left to the omnipotent Council of Ministers, but should be placed under effective democratic control exercised by the European Parliament.

The forthcoming direct elections have naturally accentuated the political and ideological struggle between the Groups represented in the European Parliament. The balance of power existing up to now has compelled us to request the support of progressive forces in other political groups — depending on the circumstances — to secure the adoption of our measures. In particular, we have been supported by progressive Christian Democrats from Belgium and the Netherlands, together with certain groups of members of the Liberal Group. On the other hand, the conservative and reactionary forces led by the German Christian Democrats have attempted to create an anti-Socialist front in the European Parliament with references to the imaginary threat of a European popular front.

Even the communists have not hesitated, in certain cases, for

internal political reasons to openly support these reactionary forces with their votes.

We Socialists do not claim to have a monopoly of political representation. The Socialist Group which will be elected by direct universal suffrage must enjoy a position of strength, if it is to make a decisive contribution to the formulation of future European policy for the defence of workers' interests.

Today the Group is presenting its report of activities to the Congress. In five years' time, the new Socialist Group will have to report to the European voters on the results which it will have achieved in the intervening years. In addition, direct elections represent a great opportunity for Socialists and a means for providing evidence of their effectiveness. Let us take advantage of the opportunity afforded to us by the first direct elections to the European Parliament. As Socialists, we must use these elections as a means to give Europe a more human dimension.

The European Socialists will fight the election with specific arguments, by proposing clear and comprehensive solutions and making sure that polemics remain the preserve of our political opponents.

'The right to work and to economic democracy', 'Europe in the service of its citizens' and 'Europe acting in the interests of peace' were the three topics discussed by those attending the Congress

The right to work and to economic democracy

Introduced by Joop den Uyl and Anker Jørgensen, the discussion on the right to work and to economic democracy demonstrated the common will of Socialists and Social Democrats to tackle the principal problem of unemployment and full employment in depth and to bring to an end the crisis which, if it persists, will threaten the very existence of our democratic institutions.

The numerous speeches showed the importance which Socialists attached to a change in direction, to control of the economy and to a more vigorous implementation of employment and education policies. The conventional economic policy instruments of the capitalist system had proved inadequate and outmoded. Consequently, a vigorous employment policy and economic planning, in which state-owned undertakings would play the major role in certain sectors, were necessary if we were to redirect growth towards more humane ends in order to reduce sharply the level of unemployment.

Finally, and above all, Socialists came out in favour of the 35-hour week.

Economic democracy - through joint ownership

Anker Jørgensen.

Socialist parties and forces working for democratic socialism must make a joint effort to promote democracy — and to try to extend it to all spheres of economic life.

There is a frequent tendency for the most important decisions in companies — those concerning investment, increases and reductions in production and the labour force and such like — to be taken by a small group of company owners and managers.

The scope of such decisions is limited by and, to varying degrees, subject to the law and agreements between both sides of industry. The trade unions in our countries have achieved a significant degree of influence and participation through both local and national agreements. However, the effective democratization of decision-making requires increased effort and fresh initiatives.

There are various ways in which the decision-making process can be made more democratic. One way is through legislation and agreements on participation — covering, for example, the representation of employees on the boards of companies. Another way is through joint ownership, in other words arrangements under which, through contributions by employees, companies or the State, employees are provided with the means for joint ownership of undertakings — with consequent participation on an equal footing with other owners.

Even though the nationalization of part of the economy may be a necessary and suitable solution in some countries, this does not in itself help to make decision-making more democratic.



When we use the words 'participations' and 'joint ownership', I would stress that we are not talking here about taking over companies in their entirety. Instead, these words reflect our wish to establish equality of status between labour and capital.

Up to now, only in Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands have the trade unions and Socialist parties put forward claims for participation through joint ownership. Other countries are making more direct attempts at increased participation with reference to the statute of companies. This implies the reduction of employers' powers in respect of ownership. Is it illogical to work, on the one hand, for an extension of employees' influence while limiting owners' powers and, on the other, to promote participation through ownership? In my view, it is not. On the contrary, these efforts may be perfectly complementary.

The effective introduction of participation will be facilitated by joint ownership.

The application of ideas on employee participation can be approached from many different standpoints.

The first question facing us is how we should finance the development towards economic democracy. Financing may be in proportion either to a company's total wage bill or to its profits. A further possible basis for financing might be the rise in value of a company. Contributions commensurate with wages or the total wage bill lead to the provision of substantial resources. Such a system is simple to administer and can immediately include all wage-earners in both private and public undertakings. Profit-sharing, on the other hand, has particular advantages in a market economy. This is perhaps especially true in a situation such as the present, in which companies are attempting to improve their performance in terms of increasing investment and employment. Here profit-sharing can act as a guarantee to ensure that inordinate increases in profits do not benefit merely a small group of company owners. Profit-sharing generally provides sufficient economic incentives to increase employees' sense of commitment and productivity.

In 1973 the Socialist minority Government in Denmark put forward a comprehensive proposal for economic democracy.

It has not so far been possible to secure the necessary support for the proposal in our Parliament. Views on economic democracy meet with fierce opposition from both right-wing parties and the communists and extreme left-wing Socialist groups.

The Danish proposal for the creation of employee funds has been drawn up in cooperation with the unions and the Social Democratic Party. It is based on a combination of wage-related contributions and profit-sharing, in that order.

The Swedish trade-union movement has drawn up a proposal for employee funds and economic democracy. This proposal is mainly based on profit-sharing, and the subsequent incorporation of wage contributions (a capital formation tax). Both the Danish and Swedish proposals involve compulsory financing.

The Danish proposal is based on the following principles:

1. All wage-earners are covered, i.e. workers and civil servants in both private and public undertakings.
2. All types of undertakings pay a fixed percentage of the total wage bill into the fund, possibly together with a proportion of the company's profits.
3. The fund ('Employees' Joint Ownership and Investment Fund') is a mutual fund which protects the individual employee against the loss of his share in cases where the company is wound up. All wage-earners receive an equal share, irrespective of wage differences.
4. Employee capital is ploughed back into the economy and invested as capital liability in the individual companies.
5. Two-thirds of the capital is reinvested in the undertaking from which it was paid out. The fund may invest one-third of the capital in suitable sectors of the economy.
6. Employee capital invested in undertakings — e.g. in limited companies — is held in the name of representatives of the wage-earners elected from among the employees.
7. The Employees' Joint Ownership and Investment Fund is managed by a representative joint body of 120 members, of which 80 are elected by the employees and their trade unions. Most representatives are elected by local organizations. 40 members are appointed by the Minister of Labour as representatives of the State.
8. Provision is also made for the creation of a public board of control consisting of 17 members appointed by the Folketing.

In the Netherlands, the most recent draft legislation on the distribution of capital gains (April 1978 — the system governing individuals; October 1978 — the collective part) is based on financing in proportion to companies' profits.

The sole existing compulsory system (except for employee funds in Peru) is the French profit-sharing scheme. This was introduced by law in 1967. It is compulsory for undertakings with over 100 employees, but is also applied in smaller firms. It should be pointed out here that, over an initial period, the State provided 100 % financing of employees shares of profits under special investment fund rules. This contribution has now been reduced to 75 %. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the French profit-sharing scheme contains several options with regard to the investment of resources acquired by employees following the division of profits.

I might add here — and this is also significant in the international context — that both the Dutch proposal and the existing French system exempt foreign revenue from the scheme.

Company employees may receive cash benefits under a series of payment and profit-sharing schemes. In my view, such bonuses or commissions bear no relation to economic democracy. Generally speaking, this type of system has nothing to do with our subject today. In the absence of a fixation period for the resources obtained through wage contributions or profit-sharing, there is no scope for the formation of employee capital, which affords an opportunity to acquire ownership of undertakings.

The investment of duly obtained employee capital is one of the most important issues connected with economic democracy. Provided that such systems, in addition to ensuring an equitable distribution of capital, are geared towards joint ownership and consequent participation, the resources should, wherever possible, be invested as accountable capital resources — in other words, above all in shares. Past experience would indicate that, under voluntary systems, this can be done only to a limited extent. Under both the French profit-sharing system and the German wage investment scheme, only a small percentage of resources is invested in shares.

The only failsafe way to ensure

acquisition of the ownership of undertakings and the attendant influence on companies' activities is through compulsory rules on the investment of employee capital as capital resources — which necessarily implies the transfer of ownership (in the form of share etc.) from the previous owners to the wage-earners. This, together with the accumulation of resources in employee funds and the resulting implications for the capital market and for companies, represents the principal change by comparison with the present situation concerning the possession of capital.

Even if contributions are forthcoming from employers, these contributions may be somewhat offset by lower wage increases or slightly higher prices. Employees' organizations must be prepared to contribute themselves to some extent to their share of capital savings and revenue.

The positive opportunities afforded by the implementation of a system of economic democracy may be summarized as an increase in capital formation (savings), easier access to safe capital resources, greater incentives in undertakings and a more equitable distribution of capital.

Taken in isolation, an increase in savings would, in the present situation, be synonymous with a reduction in demand. Were a system of economic democracy to give rise to an increase in savings, its principal positive effect would be to relieve the public purse.

The type of system which I have described for the promotion of ownership and the democratization of economic decision-making must inevitably be developed by stages. Such schemes may be worked out with reference to the particular conditions in individual countries. Given the situation prevailing today, they can have a positive effect on investment and employment. They will make it possible for companies to achieve better results without unacceptable consequences for employees.

Economic democracy alone cannot resolve the economic crisis in our society caused by inflation and unemployment, but it can make an important contribution to that end.

Taking a long-term view, economic democracy is essential. History shows that fundamental changes in

the distribution of power and living conditions rarely come about through sudden upheavals, but are more often the result of continuous reforms. It is

vital to bear this in mind when discussing schemes for joint ownership by employees.

Europe and full employment

Joop Den Uyl

There are a number of common features in the positions taken by European Socialists on the methods of achieving full employment.

Common to them all is an emphasis on the maintenance of purchasing power, the significance ascribed to the preservation of the public sector and a preference for specified rather than global measures in the restructuring of industrial operations and the direction of investment.

But there are also major differences of opinion.

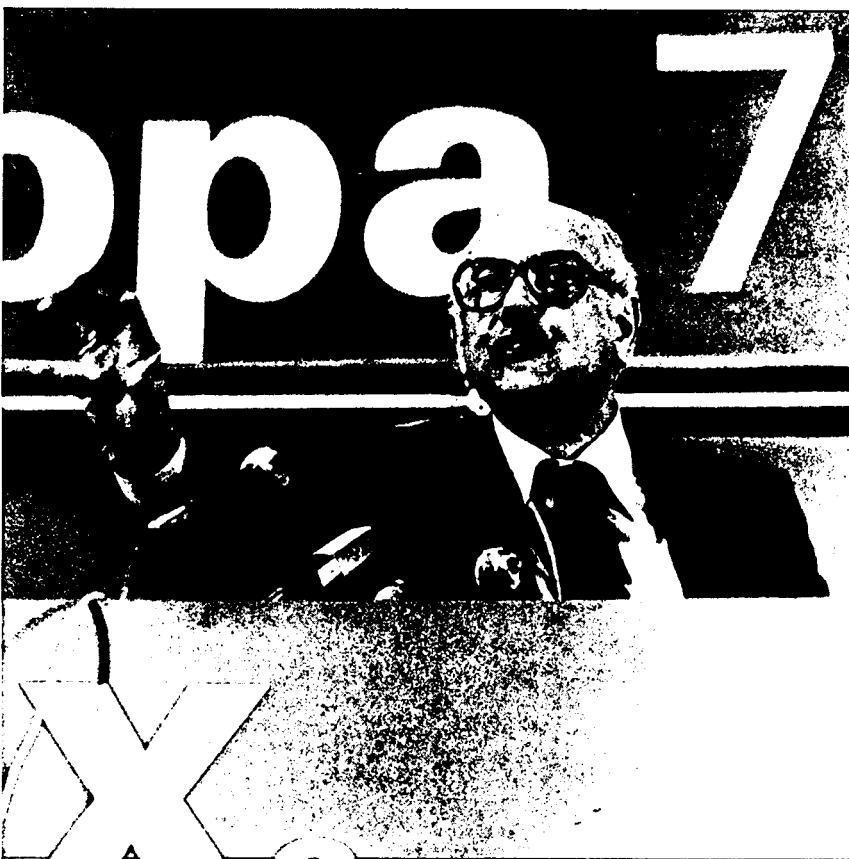
Our concepts diverge when we assess the significance of an increase in demand, the desirable rate of economic growth, the form and relative importance of an incomes policy and the rate and merits of a reduction in working hours.

The question whether the European Socialist parties have an effective and adequate answer to the demand for employment with which we shall be faced over the next few years is crucial. There are six million

unemployed in the European Community. Nine million new jobs must be created before 1985. But the increase we wish to see in the supply of female labour on the employment market, especially in countries such as Italy and the Netherlands, means that we shall need to create an extra 15 - 20 million new jobs by 1985.

Comparisons have justifiably been made between the international economic situation in the 1930s and the 1970s. However, the social consequences are not comparable. In the 1930s, unemployment was four times as high as today, trade restrictions were widespread and there were numerous currency devaluations. Compared with what happened then, we have escaped lightly.

In my opinion we have done so firstly because we have maintained free trade within the Community, and secondly because we have kept up demand in real terms by pursuing an expansive expenditure policy



based on a very much broader public sector.

This increase in the public sector since the end of the war has been the most important stabilizing factor by maintaining domestic demand at a time when external demand slumped so dramatically from 1974 onwards, although its contribution has received scant recognition. That is true of the European Community as a whole, and it gives particular significance to the treatment of the employment problem as a Community problem.

Attempts to combat unemployment centred mainly on the encouragement of economic growth. It is vital for us to defend the public sector if we are to prevent a further slump in employment.

At last July's Summit Conference in Bonn it was agreed in essence that the major industrialized nations — especially West Germany and Japan — should joint together in pursuing a policy of expansion. The Tripartite Conference of 9 November 1978 came to the conclusion that a common strategy was necessary for the consolidation of economic growth. The European Monetary System is to serve as the catalyst in this growth strategy. Improvements on the labour market, better training, a reduction in working hours and expansion of employment in the quaternary sector do receive some attention under the present policy, but they remain at best of secondary importance. They are treated as only of marginal significance.

One central question is whether a revival of economic growth will lead to full employment by itself. Are our current methods adequate for the task facing us?

I doubt it, especially in view of the way market forces operate, although there are obvious reasons for continuing to go for economic growth.

The vast shortages in the developing countries and the handicaps suffered by the less-favoured regions in the wealthy countries are a much more important argument for achieving high growth rates.

A substantial transfer for purchasing power to the developing countries is certainly required. Of course, there has been some progress in this sphere since the oil crisis, for example the IMF's Witteveen facilities and special aid for the poorest countries, but the West's investment in the developing countries has in fact decreased.

American investment in the developing countries amounted to 26 % of its total investment in 1970 but fell to 21 % in 1976. One of our

first priorities must be to double the amount of public aid for the developing countries, which at present amounts to 0.6 % of the GNP of the OECD countries, and to stabilize the prices of products exported by the Third World countries.

But even if we were to manage to do that, it would not necessarily restore high growth rates in the industrialized world. If we assume that the implementation of these proposals would result in annual increase in the Third World's purchasing power of 20,000 million, that would still amount to no more than 0.5 % of the total GNP of the OECD countries which totals almost 4 billion. Nearer home we find a strong argument for accelerating growth when we consider the below-average living standards and job opportunities in the less-favoured regions in every country and which, in the European Community, are particularly apparent in Southern Italy, Ireland and parts of the United Kingdom and France. That is a very important reason. Especially in the light of the accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal, the successful reduction of income disparities we need within an enlarged European Community is quite out of the question without a reasonable rate of economic growth.

Even if there are no really backward regions, there are still less-favoured groups of people who have a justifiable claim to a real increase in their material living standards which are frequently quite unacceptable.

The arguments in favour of continued economic growth must therefore be taken seriously, but the possibilities are limited. Changes in the structure of world production are becoming increasingly apparent.

At present, the European textile industry which employs 2,900,000 workers is still the largest industrial sector. Half a million jobs have been lost over the last five years and 3,500 undertakings forced to close.

The European shipbuilding industry saw its share of world production fall from 80 % in 1950 to 37 % in 1977.

In the steel industry there was a reduction from 32 % in 1960 to 23 % in 1977. Japanese car imports into Europe have increased tenfold over the past ten years. The reasons are well-known: the rise of countries with low wage costs, the ease with which the most advanced technology can be transferred and the reduction in demand following the worldwide recession.

The conventional answer is also well-known: we must develop new

products, accelerate technological innovation and open up new markets.

It would be quite wrong to overlook these possibilities. Technological innovation has always been the powerhouse of industrial expansion.

We have no reason for calling a halt to innovation. Further technological innovation is desirable simply to take care of the difficult, dirty or monotonous jobs and may also be regarded as a factor contributing to an improvement in the quality of life. But innovation will not prevent the western countries from losing their economic lead which was behind the rapid growth in their prosperity over the last three decades. Consequently, a return to high growth figures will not guarantee the achievement of full employment. An alternative policy must be elaborated, and that has far-reaching consequences for employment.

This view gives rise to the idea of selective growth. It entails primarily the adaptation of our own production of goods and services in a more far-reaching reorganization of the international division of labour. It means opting for the direction of investment.

The strategy we need now will in the first place attempt to decide on what must grow and what not. So far, the Community has done little in this sphere. It would be unfair to overlook the recent attempts made in Brussels to restructure the textile, steel and shipbuilding industries, but the industrial policy is very slow in getting off the ground and is not very far-sighted.

It is already being forecast that there will soon be large-scale surplus capacity in the minicomputer industry into which every advanced country has plunged.

This does not mean that Europe could not or should not develop new products or new industries, but rather that we must make an assessment of our technology; we must assess the social consequences of new technology. Here I am referring particularly to decisions on new investment and the extent to which they can contribute to an improvement in the quality of life and also meet the basic requirements of the Third World. I very much hope that the Brandt Committee will produce the instruments and means for us to decide on an appropriate policy on what must and what must not grow in the European economy, as we take into account the needs of the Third World.

Technological development should

result in a continued increase in productivity. If the increase in productivity is greater than the increase in the sale of goods and services, jobs will be lost. That is already happening. The increase in productivity can serve to increase the demand for consumer goods through higher wages or higher demand for public sector services.

It can also be used to reduce working hours. The decisions to be taken are political decisions. I believe that on the whole Socialists would prefer to see an increase in the public sector which is at least equal to the increase in productivity. That applies both to the services which the community provides and to expenditure on behalf of the non-employed who are financially supported by the government or social security.

Since technological development makes it unlikely that there will be a significant increase in the number of jobs available in industry and the commercial services, there are strong arguments for allowing the public sector to expand somewhat further so that it can finance jobs in the non-commercial services sector.

That can only come about either if taxation is increased or if consumers of government services pay for them according to their financial capacity.

It is largely accepted that taxes and rebates result in a shifting of responsibility; consequently there is a need for a controlled incomes policy.

That need is generally recognized in countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark.

In many other Community countries the idea of an incomes policy of this nature is hotly contested. That is quite understandable, because in the past, measures to control income formation have almost always affected none but the wage-earners and those receiving social security benefits.

If an incomes policy is to be acceptable to Socialists it must fulfil a number of stringent conditions. It must cover every income category.

It must lead to a reduction in pay differentials.

The numerous loopholes for tax evasion under the existing tax systems must be closed. The unequal distribution of wealth and the return on capital must be essential aspects of such a policy. Income formation must be transparent and/or subject to control. In most Community countries these conditions are not met.

Socialists must therefore direct their

efforts first and foremost to the creation of these conditions.

One other way in which increased productivity could be used is to reduce working hours. This has recently become particularly topical with ETUC's call for a 10 % reduction in working hours over the next four years. The West German steel workers' union also waged a campaign for the introduction of the 35-hour week in the German steel industry. Their action was not in vain. As a rule, increased productivity should serve to reduce working hours rather than to increase wages.

On the other hand, experience shows us that changes which are tolerable in a healthy industry or in an economically strong country can spread like wildfire to industries and countries where cost increases are difficult to absorb. Consequently, much would depend on the various rates at which a reduction in working hours was introduced.

Of course, a campaign should be pursued to restrict overtime and to encourage voluntary early retirement, educational leave and more time off for older workers.

When we consider a reduction in working hours we must approach the various industries in a different way.

Preference should be given to a reduction in the working day because that would enable family responsibilities to be shared more effectively between men and women.

A reduction in working hours can contribute to a return to full employment, provided that it is an element in a global policy which continues to give preference to an improvement in working conditions and in the quality of life rather than to an increase in private income.

I would draw the following conclusions : full employment in jobs offering job satisfaction will have to be achieved with growth rates lower than in the past.

Private incomes, including workers' incomes, will increase less rapidly.

Productivity increases must primarily serve to achieve a fairer distribution of work, without real incomes being adversely affected. The direction of new investment must be geared to changes in world production patterns.

The Community's employment policy must be aligned with the establishment of a new international economic order geared to the interests of Third World countries.

We cannot and must not pursue an employment policy without bearing

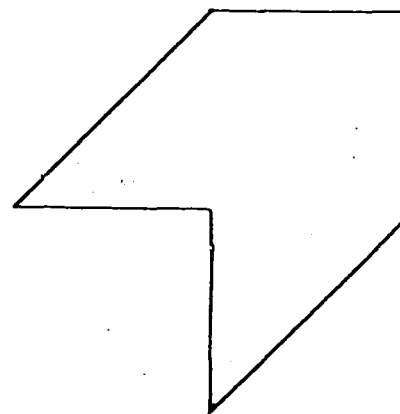
in mind the vast unfulfilled requirements in our society and the continuing dissipation of resources on senseless opulence.

We opt for a policy geared to an improvement in the quality of life.

We regard the quality of work and the humanization of works as being at least as important as material living standards.

We recognize and accept that joint action by trade unions, Socialist parties and governments is necessary if young people and women and those at present excluded from the work process are to have any prospect of proper employment.

Our programme will not appeal to everyone, but it is essential for a successful employment policy geared to the welfare of all.



Europe in the service of its citizens.

The debate on the topic of 'Europe in the service of its citizens' was opened by Mr François Mitterrand, who advocated the drawing up of a Community civil rights charter, and by Mrs K. Dahlerup, who spoke on the status of women. At present, Europe did not satisfy the aspirations of most of its citizens. It was a Europe in the service of the banks, of high finance and of the multinational undertakings. It was a Europe marked by inequalities and a crisis situation. It was high time that preparations were made for a Europe of the citizens.

A Community citizen's charter was indispensable to protect the individual against arbitrary decisions, to afford greater protection for the workers and to enable migrant workers to participate more fully in the political life of their adoptive country.

Finally, Socialists had a job to do, which was to foster the state of mind required to bring about equality between men and women in a Socialist Europe.

'Europe at the service of the citizen'

François Mitterrand

It is only natural that the first question to be raised by the subject of Europe at the service of the citizen should be in legal terms. And my first question is this: Since the European Community is built on predominantly economic principles, is it an appropriate framework in which to discuss the rights, i.e. all the rights of the citizen? I have the feeling that, formulating the question strictly in these terms, I shall soon become inextricably

entangled in the complexities not only of the written and unwritten rules which underlie the protection and guarantees enjoyed by the citizens of the Member States but also of the questions of political principle which would be raised in these key fields of sovereignty by the overlapping between the law and jurisprudence of the Member States and the law and jurisprudence of the Community. Thus, although I feel constrained to raise this purely legal approach to the problem, I do not intend to confine myself to it and shall endeavour to draw your attention to the economic dimension of citizenship as also to the new dangers which, in my view, threaten both the existence and

further development of freedom. For, as you know, the Socialist fight against the constantly recurring evils of exploitation, oppression and alienation is never-ending. My first point, therefore, will be Europe and the rights of the citizen. On the initiative of the European Parliament, a round table on the rights of the European citizen was held in Florence last October. The reason for this initiative was clear: Parliament feared that the delays in the work of the Council and the Commission in the fields of civil rights, company law and other legislation of economic significance, including consumer protection, might impair the proper functioning of the Community. After illustrating the work carried out by the Community's departments, the debates at the round table demonstrated the futility of this exercise. And yet the idea of it had been contained in a Community charter of civil rights which, its proponents claimed, would mark the transition from consumer citizen to Community citizen. This formula would have the advantage of transcending the many difficulties inherent in the arduous task of aligning and harmonizing national legislations and practices. For even if there is, as regards principles, a high degree of concordance between citizens' rights in our various countries, where practice is concerned, the differences are great, being connected with tradition, culture and the methods of establishing, expressing and applying the law. The Socialist Group of the present European Parliament has adopted this draft charter. I would urge the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the Community to support this move and go even further by proposing a Community citizens' rights charter, which is a more comprehensive formula than that of civil rights alone. For the fact that all the countries of the Community have now ratified the European Human and Civil Rights Convention is not enough. These rights must become a living part of the destiny and daily lives of every man and woman. For all democrats and Socialists, human progress is measured according to the progress made by the law. As you know, it in no way means a diminution of the sovereignty of each country; nor does it mean wiping out at a stroke the special features which make for the wealth, character, attractiveness and, in some respects, faults of each of our nations. It amounts to a process of addition so that, when operating in the Community context, each citizen feels protected from arbitrary treatment and from abuse of power and can ask for explanations and claim damages. The chances of success of this initiative are conditioned by the



approach chosen. Too static an approach would reduce this new charter to a sort of lowest common denominator. It is for this reason that the channels chosen must be those open to Community activity and the new spheres in which human rights must be asserted. A question of principle? Principles are always clear: Protection of personal rights and individual liberties, this goes without saying; progress by accepting a certain pluralism in fields linked to economic activity and the rights and protection of workers, first and foremost their right to work without discrimination, and the control and powers they must exercise within the individual undertaking. The right of association and the right to strike; the prohibition of lock-outs, the creation of a legal framework allowing European collective agreements to be concluded between employers and trade unions; the setting up of a framework to provide with reception services and protect all Europeans living in a Community country other than their own and, at the same time, consideration of what rights they could enjoy as regards voting or standing for election, starting with participation in local government life; progress in the same direction in all matters concerning migrant workers, some but not all of whom are nationals of countries preparing to join the Community. Clearly, the adoption of legal provisions alone would not be enough to guarantee progress at law; I am well aware of this, but it is an indispensable step, being likely to give ethical and moral support, or, better said, 'elan', to the Community.

For the remainder, it is a matter of political will, of state of mind. Now the question is: does such political will exist within the Socialist parties of the Community? The same is true in particular with respect to the position of women. The Council has adopted directives designed to bring about equal treatment between men and women as regards access to employment, occupational training, promotion and working conditions.

We must look further than the written word. We must cultivate a state of mind propitious to the accomplishment of such equality. We must review our behaviour, our education systems and our scales of values in order to determine what stands in the way of women's advancement and there, as elsewhere, rights must be made a living reality. I would suggest the setting up of a special committee on equality at Community level with the task of periodically reviewing progress and setbacks recorded in the field of the advancement of women. This committee might also be consulted on all Community decisions relating to the position of woman in society.

My second point will be an examination of the economic side of citizenship. It is not just by chance that women's struggle

for emancipation could also have found expression in the economic sphere. Is there any gateway to liberation other than the economic one? Women have been fighting for access to employment and equality in working life for the last fifty years. This is hardly news to the Socialists, who have always identified the capitalist economic system as one of the fundamental causes of alienation, the other great danger being excessive political power and the absence of democratic rules. This struggle for economic liberation has hardly begun and it is this struggle which will today determine the fate of real, tangible and genuinely experienced freedom, the daily freedom of millions upon millions of Europeans. Now, without returning to the previous debate, I should like to pinpoint the main fronts in this battle: full employment, economic democracy, consumer protection. For us Socialists, full employment must remain priority n° 1. After all, what are the noblest legal texts worth in a situation of permanent unemployment? The right to work is flouted and the advancement of women is curbed, while inequalities increase to such a point that a secondary labour market develops where in fact none of the rights won by workers through hard-fought trade union and political battles apply. The same fate is suffered by all those who have not received adequate occupational and general training, by wage-earners who are only able to find casual employment or temporary contracts and, lastly, by all those who are forced beyond the confines of ordinary working life by reason of sex, age or nationality. The economy has recreated segregation where the law-makers claimed to have brought about unity and equality. As for economic democracy, it is only within this framework that employees will be able to aspire to autonomy and responsibility, without which they cannot attain to their full dignity, or rather their right to live as human beings! Whether it is a matter of expressing their opinion on their own working conditions on the shop floor and influencing the organization of work or of playing a part in the economic decisions of the firm, the nation or the Community, methods may vary from country to country but a single ambitious goal must unite them. The principles of democracy must not end at the threshold of economic life.

Tomorrow, the full accomplishment of citizenship will be founded on the defence and protection as also on the advancement of the consumer. The first Community action programme is now drawing to a close. Its successor should be more ambitious, going beyond what constitutes traditional consumer policy, although

the basic needs still have to be met in these fields. In my view, the link between the citizen and the consumer should lie in the possibility for every man and woman to influence his or her way of life through his or her daily actions rather than in the structures of consumption and the quality and prices of foods and services. With the backing of the media and advertising, the power of the producers is such that behaviour and values are profoundly modified.

Here, too, as Montesquieu advocated, power must be checked or balanced by another power and every European given the means really to choose his society. I am sure you will agree with me when I say that the goal of Socialism is to reunite mankind and so enable man to push back further the limits of his freedom and responsibility. Socialism cannot regard man the citizen, man the private individual and man the producer as three separate species. The lack of unity within human society is one of the most insidious causes of man's alienation.

The third and last point I would deal with is that of Europe and the new frontiers of citizenship. Here, too, our field of action is immense and is constantly growing. New dangers or their early symptoms are already becoming apparent in the way our industrial society is evolving. Apart from a few minor differences, the problems are much the same for all our European nations. And this is one more reason for answering the challenge together, for putting our heads together and pooling the means at our disposal. Firstly, let us look at the very complex problem raised by the computerization of society. Admittedly, we cannot afford to do without the help of this artificial intelligence, this data-processing capacity offered to us by the computer or the potentially greater transparency it can lend to political, economic and social life. And yet, comrades, vigilance is called for when one realizes what a means of manipulation and pressure data-processing could become in the hands of those in positions of political or economic power. I cannot offer any ready-made solutions but would just stress the need for some earnest thinking to devise new rules and new controls as also new safeguards. A working party, perhaps a committee (it would be the third) could be set up, not to skate around problems but to get on with their solution. This may clash with the usual notion of a committee's functions, but so be it!

A Committee could be set up within the Confederation of Socialist Parties

to deal with the phenomenon, this so-called boon of the future, which is, however, so fraught with risk. I must of course add that there cannot be a future without risks and that to fear risks is often tantamount to rejecting the future. Another subject for concern is the effect on democracy of the growing hold of the media, which merely serves to accentuate the phenomenon of the personalization of power. The technically complex nature of the decisions to be taken has been the cause of a constant increase in the power of the executive at the expense of the legislature and therefore of the parliamentary process. Is there not a danger of moving towards a sensationalist society based on marketing and opinion polls — much has been written about this — in which the danger of instability would increase considerably with opinion phenomena which the sorcerer's apprentices themselves would be unable to control? This problem will have to be dealt with on the European scale with the setting up of the directly elected Parliament and for my part — perhaps you are aware of my, or rather the French Socialist Party's attitude towards the question of increased powers, an attitude of great caution and indeed, in the present state of affairs, hostility, it being our concern to assure the success of this delicate stage by maintaining the capacity of each country within the unanimity rule and with it the successful construction of Europe. But, as I was saying, for my part, I want this directly elected Parliament to be able to innovate within the framework of its powers. Admittedly, if progress is to be made in the fields of democratic control, the exchange of ideas and participation by employees' representatives in Community life, those go-between structures which enable a society to deliberate, to express the aspirations of its citizens, to make use of its powers, to exercise controls and to counter-balance power, will have to be patiently rebuilt. Now, developments in the technical, political and social fields have been such as to preclude any such 'mediatization' and the possibility of responsible modern-day politicians finding themselves in the situation of Demosthenes and Cicero, who, at the Agora or the Forum, could personally address all the citizens, who were, however, but a tiny privileged minority compared with the great mass of people who had no access to these places. Nowadays, the technical means available to us do indeed enable us to address each citizen direct in his own home. There

is no question of turning our backs on this development; we must create systems and methods of defending the necessary go-between structures so that the citizen may always feel protected, even from himself. We are, I am convinced, in the midst of a crisis — who would not agree? — but a crisis which goes well beyond the realms of the economy. The signs of this crisis are such that it is impossible not to recognize them, and how many of us, here or elsewhere, endeavour to philosophize without making any progress, even though we may scour every corner of our culture to show that we have been quicker than the next man to understand the problems of change. Some may have understood, others not. In reality, this literary or insidiously political exercise does not have much sense. We realize that we are in a period similar to other rather rare periods of history when technical revolutions provided the impetus for all kinds of change, including changes in ethics and aesthetics. Our ideas of architectural design are very different in the glass age from those held in the iron age or the concrete age; the windows of romanesque churches were very obscure because, at that time, the techniques of making them were hardly known; it was possible to move on to the Gothic style only because the technique of vaulting was discovered, making it possible to open up the walls a little more.

By the time the Renaissance arrived, techniques had advanced to such an extent that it was possible to open them up at will, and now, at the Beaubourg Centre in Paris, it is the very innards of the building which are exposed on the outside, the smooth surface of the inside being reserved for daily imagination. The effects of light and stone and light and metal have always been a measure of technical development and even the most mystical of civilizations have been transformed in this way. Do not think that I am building a theory on the primacy of technology or the primacy of materials.

However, a society which becomes divorced from manual activity, from producing objects by hand, tends to lose sight of possible ideas, in other words the link between human potential and creation is weakened. We must understand these facts if we are to understand at all. Everyone has his own explanation of what is happening today, while science and technology, which have progressed far in advance of other sectors, are making massive changes to our daily lives. So we have to find an answer to this situation; reference is very

often made to European humanism. Forgive me if I say that, in my view, the formula remains vague.

Socialism! humanism! It is not human! What is not human? War? War is very human! Torture is inhuman? But, comrades, it is only too human! I do not think it was our intention to philosophize on the development of this kind of humanism. We must therefore cease to think in philosophically (I do not of course mean morally) idealistic terms. The formula is vague and, as I see it, in some respects, dubious and, in any case, where Europe is concerned, it is better to speak in the plural: European humanisms. Nonetheless, the fact remains that everyone can feel this upheaval of ideas and values which characterize this century. Is an entire world to collapse under the combined effects of this upheaval, which itself has been made necessary by excessively narrow structures that constricted the imagination and destroyed any chance of liberation? Eternal movement, eternal dialectic! Is it not the role of Socialists to pursue dialectic to its conclusion? : thesis, antithesis and synthesis, too, but this is not the time for choosing between the ideas of Hegel or Marx. Here again, I do not aim to provide solutions in a few short phrases but simply propose to draw your attention to the way in which capitalism is absorbing these new impulses and incorporating them within its own empire, the empire of goods and money. Socialists are aware of these dangers and here I wish to pay tribute to the work of the European Socialists in building a political reality on a foundation of new legal and moral realities: the rights of the citizen. We are aware of these dangers, we realize that culture is not a commodity to be picked up like a product in a supermarket, that it is both an individual and collective art of living, that it must help us as much as possible to gain a better understanding and a better mastery of the phenomena confronting us.

Now, these last few comments may seem somewhat removed from my initial preoccupations. Yet, for my part, I do not think they are really so far removed and, in case it is really necessary, I shall try to convince you by relating these thoughts to the question of self-management as the French Socialists — on whose behalf I am speaking — conceive it. What is it that we seek in cogitation, other than a better understanding of ourselves. But you will say to me: self-management, was it then Plato or Socrates? Maybe. Knowing ourselves, being our own masters whilst respecting and showing

solidarity with humanity across the globe, participating in the common task in a practical, concrete, operational and responsible manner in order to withstand all the fashions and enticements which, in the guise of novelties (I'm not saying that novelties should not be received with an open mind), threaten the integrity of the human individual: this, for me, is the meaning, or one of the main meanings of the campaign for self-management. It betrays in no way the past battles of Socialism nor the profound motives that impel it and I am one of those who feel that, on the contrary, in our industrial society, the first step towards freedom is the abolition of economic oppression and that, unless the structures on which that oppression is built are first demolished, there is no point in talking about freedom.

But, even when we achieve this, Socialism will, as you know, still have a long way to go, answers having to be found to all the questions people raise concerning values, values to which capitalism has provided its own answers for 150 years to the point of creating a cultural model designed to intimidate the victims of its oppression. We must intensify our every thought and deed in order to constantly return the emphasis to the human-being, the individual and his natural self, to his capacity or incapacity. Therefore, we must strive to ensure that freedom is lived, that reason (the difficulty which man has in using his own reason) is harnessed to a plan for a society which, now and always, throughout the struggles of humanity, will be constantly revised and renewed.

The situation of women in the European Community

Karen Dahlerup

The other days, as on many previous occasions, I was on my way to a meeting with friends and party comrades; I spent the journey reading a book written by women about women.

I discovered a poem which moved me deeply and in just a few lines accurately described the frustration from which so many women today suffer. Let me quote a few lines from this poem:

'Brought up without responsibility to freedom from responsibility you are responsible.

Brought up powerless you cannot cope with the burden of responsibility.

You do your duty. You are surrounded by cleanliness.

Your possibilities are limited, your capabilities bruised, you become incapable.

You were created to carry countless burdens.

You yourself become the burden.'

The Confederation working party on women has discussed the situation of women at several meetings and we have drawn up an extremely provisional report — on which we hope to do more work — which in many cases succeeds in giving a true

picture of the situation of women. This report, however provisional, demonstrates clearly that the lives of women in Europe leave a lot to be desired.

One only needs to look at two fields to see how true this is.

Unemployment among women over the last 7-8 years has reached unacceptable proportions and, in most of our countries, is greater than unemployment among men.

Another field which shows an extremely serious discrepancy is in parliamentary assemblies. It can be easily demonstrated that women's influence here is negligible.

The facts described in the report, the oppressed situation of women and their lack of training are not the results of a Socialist policy — quite the contrary. They are the consequences of bourgeois conservatism in a whole series of men-dominated communities. This must and will be stopped. It is disgraceful situation, and it is up to us to change it.

We cannot continue to waste all these talents.

Human fellowship and ideas of equality are the most cherished



principles of Socialism. In a democratic Socialist society, all people must have equal opportunities, both men and women. The Socialist standpoint, with its implicit respect for our fellow beings, must be reflected in everyday life and ensure that all people — and I mean all — are given the same opportunities to develop their capabilities and interests.

Comrades : are we, notwithstanding our fine intentions, so restricted by bourgeois and conservative thinking, that we cannot see the danger ? Or do we believe that the changes we support can be brought about in numerous communities which are otherwise likely to remain men-dominated in the future ?

Are we prepared to create the necessary conditions for absolute equality between men and women ?

This will call for action on our part : — society must, to a much greater extent, be geared towards women's needs;

- there must be jobs for all;
- women must be given more influence on society;
- education systems must be adapted to meet women's requirements more closely;
- women and men must enjoy equal access to the entire labour market;
- women and men must benefit from the same social security;
- both women and men must play a role in society, in bringing up children and at home;
- every projected investment in infrastructures and industry must be closely examined in advance to establish likely effects on local communities and job opportunities for women;
- we must be prepared to accept a new approach to and distribution of responsibilities within the family.

I believe, comrades, that we Socialists have the necessary will to understand that bringing up and looking after children must be the father's responsibility as much as the mother's. Children represent our free time. They are a part of society. Society therefore has a duty to see that all children are brought up in the best possible conditions and an ideal environment and enjoy maximum educational opportunities. The necessary conditions for the fulfillment by both men and women of their role as parents must be established. This implies that we must provide greater opportunity for both parents to take leave during confinement and their children's early years, and when their children are ill. We must ensure that people are able to decide themselves

whether they feel sufficiently mature to bring children into the world. This implies completely free access to all types of family planning.

The solidarity which women display in the family should be extended to other levels. Socialism presupposes that both men and women play a role in society, in bringing up children and at home. Both sexes have something worthwhile to contribute. A more equitable balance between the responsibilities and opportunities for development of both sexes is vitally necessary, given the fact that the basic philosophy of Socialists is implicitly tied up with respect for mankind and human potential and equality. This is why it is so important that many more women should occupy important positions in society, in politics as in other spheres, so that they can play an influential role in social development. When we talk about the tasks which women are expected to fulfil and those which are traditionally reserved for men, we refer to sex roles. Some people are even of the opinion that this division of responsibilities and duties is an immutable law of nature. That is usually because they are afraid of change, in particular changes which, they mistakenly believe, will deprive them of something. This is a classical reaction of people who possess power.

Nothing is further from the truth : in all societies, the sex roles are created by the people themselves and determined by tradition. Almost every type of behaviour occurs in some societies among men, and in others among women, as part of the traditional roles of the sexes.

There exists no real or natural reason why men and women should not each assume their part of the responsibilities in the home, at work and in politics — so that our countries can move forward in a truly democratic way. There is nothing innate in us which prevents us from trying to create a balanced society in which we democratically share responsibilities and work.

The pattern of women's lives has been shaped by many different phenomena. Leaving aside the technological developments, which gave us the opportunity to earn a living, there is no doubt that the women's claims to a dynamic existence have been mainly strengthened by the fact that our life expectancy has doubled over the first half of this century. Anyone who ignored this development would be making a serious mistake. Whereas in 1900 women could expect to go on living for a further 23 years after their last child started school, the

equivalent period today is 45 years. Even if all these years are not spent at work, the prospect of a long life has stimulated women's desire to lead a meaningful existence.

We Socialist women do **not** intend to arrogate the privileges of male society or the worthless superficiality of their world.

We will strive for a society with new values.

We will share our joys and sorrows and, above all, responsibilities.

The right to work is and **remains** one of the fundamental objectives of Socialism. It is a fundamental right of all people, both women and men.

Women are fighting today for their right to work. This affects both unemployed women in Europe and women who, after a long interval, wish to resume work.

Nobody can halt the development which is underway. Nobody would dare to contest women's right to work. Some people tried — those who, through lack of imagination and knowledge, founded the opposition in the 1930s to women's emancipation.

Today their advice about unemployment is reduce the female labour force.

They warn women that if they continue to seek employment, they will lead Europe into a serious economic crisis and create political problems.

We have extremely serious problems in our countries — the most serious is unemployment. This sort of talk will not solve these problems. They will only be solved if the trade unions and Socialists in European countries ensure, through close cooperation, the democratic sharing of responsibilities in industry and the economy among working men and women.

Danish Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen as said that Danish democracy cannot be a true democracy unless women play an equal role in politics and have equal responsibilities.

I believe that that will be true of all our countries. I agree with Anker Jørgensen, but would add that the whole situation of women and their opportunity to influence social planning and political decision-making is the best yardstick for a society's cultural and democratic development.

A society in which women are oppressed, whether openly or in a concealed fashion, is not a democracy, and our families cannot

be considered to function properly unless both men and women see the family as a joint responsibility. Furthermore, this means that we can no longer tolerate that the contribution to society of having children should represent such an unfair burden on women as regards their job opportunities.

Nor will we passively allow men to remain excluded on the periphery of family life.

The working party has drawn up an extremely provisional working paper which is intended as the basis for further discussions on a Socialist policy on women. The working paper has been put forward, and we hope that it will be used in future discussions concerning new political objectives, and that it can be submitted either at the women's conference in Luxembourg or at our next Congress.

I cannot stress enough that what we are fighting for is a series of values which reflect the dream of a society — in which access to education and work is not hampered by class differences or sex differences — in which we have time to look after our children — in which we have time to love one another — where freedom and justice reign

IN SHORT :

— a society based on freedom, equality and solidarity.

A citizen's Europa

The following also spoke :

Yvette Roudy (PS - France)
Ien van den Heuvel (Pvda - Netherlands)
Pietro Lezzi (PSI - Italy)
Eileen Desmond (L.P. - Ireland)
Bruno Friedrich (SPD - Germany)
Joan Lester (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Jos Wohlfart (POSL - Luxembourg)
Marijke van Hemeldonck (BSP - Belgium)
Finn Larsen (S.D. - Denmark)
Mario Melani (PSDI - Italy)
Daniel Mayer (PS - France)
Joyce Gould (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Beate Weber (SPD - Germany)
Johan Van Minnen (Pvda - Netherlands)
Luciano Cafagna (PSI - Italy)
Jean Marie Leguen (PS - France)
Volkmar Gabert (SPD - Germany)
Martino Scovacrech (PSDI - Italy)
Hugh Logue (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Karel Van Miert (BSP - Belgium)

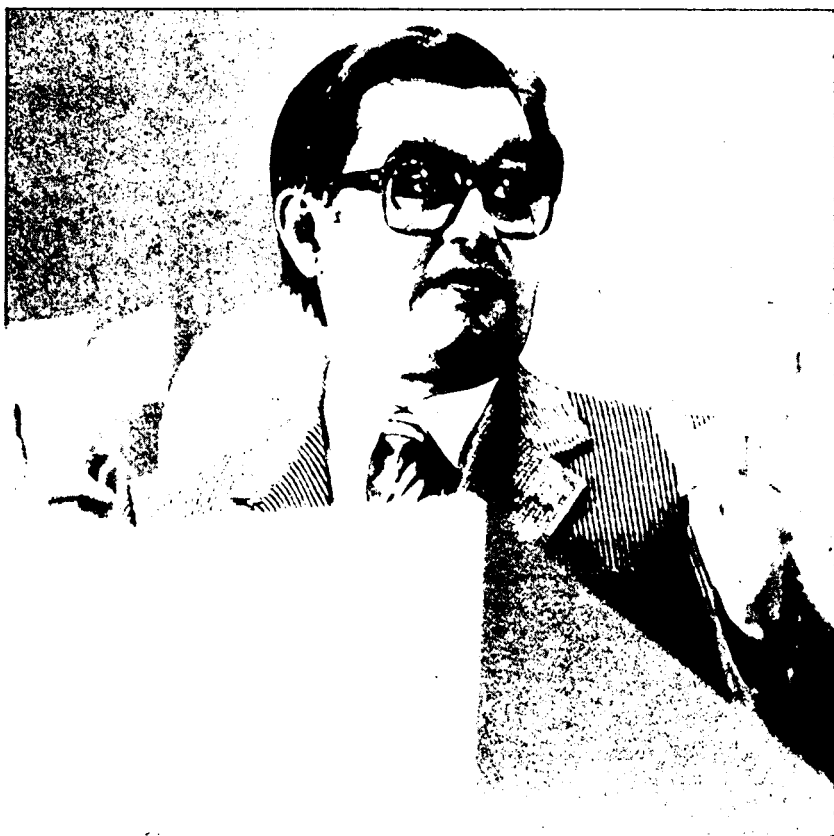
The right to employment and democracy

The following also spoke :

Willy Claes (BSP - Belgium)
Michel Rocard (PS - France)
Tony Benn (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Hans Peters (SPD - Germany)
Claudio Signorile (PSI - Italy)
Brendan Halligan (L.P. - Ireland)
Jacques Fournier (PS - France)
Alan Hadden (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Arend Voortman (Pvda - Netherlands)
Marc Weinachter (POSL - Luxembourg)
Mario Dido (PSI - Italy)
John Prescott (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Roger Ramaekers (PSB - Belgium)
Pietro Longo (PSDI - Italy)
Barbara Castle (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Antonio Giolitti (PSI - Italy)
Erwin Lange (SPD - Germany)
Bettino Craxi (PSI - Italy)
Jacques Delors (PS - France)

Towards a Europe acting in the interests of peace in the world

Hans Koschnik introduced the third topic which enabled Socialists to demonstrate that they wanted a Europe which pursued an active policy for peace between East and West and for a constructive dialogue between the wealthy industrialized nations and the Third World. The European Community was not an end in itself but a necessary stage on a long and difficult road leading to a more humane world society characterized by greater solidarity.





A Europe in the service of Peace

Hans Koshnick

We want an active Europe — a Europe in the service of peace at home and abroad. I shall therefore divide my remarks into three sections outlining our efforts for a Europe which intends to promote peace:

1. Development of relations between the individual EC countries and of their relationship with other European nations.
2. Europe's contribution to the policy of detente between the world's power blocs.
3. Europe's contribution to a more equitable distribution of standards of living between North and South.

A few introductory remarks.

We see the Europe of the Nine — perhaps tomorrow of Twelve or Thirteen — as no more than one important component of Europe in its entirety. We shall not forget that other parts of democratic Europe including broad areas of Scandinavia and the Alpine countries, do not belong to the Community as such. Nor shall we forget the special role of Yugoslavia in European security and peace and we shall not use the concepts of political conflict such as Eastern or Western policy (Ost- und Westpolitik) to delimit the frontiers of the European continent. No, we do not see Europe as ending at the Elbe or at the Iron Curtain. In Central and Eastern Europe there are countries with a different social and political structure from us; nevertheless they are and will remain part of our European reality and they must realize that our concept of a free, social and democratic Europe is directed against no European country at all but is in fact an offer intended to shape a peaceful future for us all in the closest possible cooperation.

In the context of the Rome Treaties and of the additional acts and in respect for the areas of action agreed in these Treaties, our intention is to give the directly elected members of the Community's parliamentary assembly the opportunity to inspire the action of our governments with the great currents of spiritual and political values in Europe on a supranational basis, thus enabling the members to influence the shaping and modification of the content of the

Community while at the same time exercising control over its bureaucracy and over the use of Community funds. In other words we do not overestimate our own potential.

The European Parliament is not a legislator and has no power of government, nor does it have the only or even the dominant voice in Europe. As we see it, we are all called upon to shape Europe in spiritual, cultural, social and political terms, regardless of our particular sphere of activity.

We must do all in our power to see to it that the countries wishing to join the Community are able to accede as smoothly as possible. Let it be noted here that the restoration of democracy to Southern Europe is a significant factor for Europe in its entirety. European solidarity makes it necessary for us to create the economic prerequisites for these young democracies to prove viable. We are well aware that this cannot be done without sacrifice on the part of the existing Community; but the solidarity of the workers' movement has always been based on a readiness, for the sake of justice, democracy and peace, to moderate our own wishes for the sake of others who, through no fault of their own, are dependent on our aid.

The progressive unification of Europe is the political and social embodiment of a new spirit of solidarity which can be developed between all nations. Nationalistic and egoistic impulses can be held in check if the individual countries undertake obligations in reciprocal solidarity. However, the existence of a European Parliament must not cause the governments to evade their duty to take their own independent decisions of solidarity and seek to transfer the responsibility to a supranational body.

Finally, the external policy of the individual Member States as between each other must become a new form of European domestic policy. As I see it, the German question cannot be disregarded. On the contrary, a divided Germany provides fresh evidence every day of the arbitrary division of Europe and holds out a warning to us not to take any steps of European policy at the cost of a definitive division of Europe into two blocs.

We therefore set great store by the second area in which Europe is called upon to play an active role in the service of peace, namely the active promotion of a policy of detente between the major power blocs and of relations with the world powers.

In the first place I would cite the results of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to which it was Aldo Moro who subscribed on behalf of the Community. The parties to the Helsinki Final Act wanted, while respecting the existence of different political systems in Europe, to work towards new forms of cooperation in every area of economic relations, cultural exchanges and greater area of economic relations, cultural exchanges and greater freedom of movement, together with measures calculated to inspire greater trust in the military sphere. The period of confrontation was at long last to be replaced by an era of cooperation. The Community was to instill life, in other words real substance into this objective, which implies that it must take the initiative. This also implies an end to the situation in which each side in the negotiations is only willing to take up discussion of the "basket" which seems most favourable to it; ultimately progress must be made with all three "baskets". Hope cannot stem from a recognition of past failures but from a readiness to determine those parts of each "basket" in which the next steps seems most likely to succeed or in which overall package solutions can be found.

The policy of detente does not have different categories for East and West. We must seek, through active cooperation, openness, tolerance and flexibility, to ensure respect for all the agreements embodied in the Helsinki Final Act, those agreements being all of equal value. The Act enables a network of varied ties to be established. The participation of the Communist countries of Europe in that Final Act gives us an opportunity to attain more freedom for the individual in many areas of life in the Eastern system and greater social justice in our Western system.

I should like to join two concrete suggestions to this observation. The first concerns the activities of our parties within the Confederation at non-governmental level. Wherever there is a need for cooperation in a spirit of trust but the governments are not yet willing to take further steps creating a new situation, we should do all that we can to carefully define new possibilities. The second relates to the CSCE review conference in 1980 in Madrid. I lend my wholehearted support to the proposal made by Willy Brandt last June to the European party leaders in Brussels. He then advised better preparation of the planned meeting in Madrid and suggested that it should be organized on a higher plane to spare us a repetition of the disappointment after

Belgrade. The political efforts towards detente must now also be secured by military agreements otherwise they will remain no more than idle declarations.

I hope that SALT II will soon be concluded. Thereafter we must concentrate on a first concrete step towards MBFR. It would indeed be a highly satisfactory outcome if the year 1979 were marked by the successful conclusion of SALT II, European elections and MBFR, thus demonstrating that Europe goes hand in hand with detente.

Turning now to relations with the world powers, in particular the USA and Soviet Union, the democratic socialists consider that a greater Europe must provide stronger evidence of an awareness of its own identity. It was in Western and Central Europe that democratic socialism first became a force capable of gaining and forming a majority.

We owe to the United States of America the idea of human rights as a mission for the young democracies. However, that idea of human rights has never been developed and implemented in social terms in the United States. It was the European workers' movement which first put this concept into practice.

The development of socialism in Russia followed a similar course. The inhuman and despotic rule of the Czars gave rise to a great many revolutionary and progressive forces but the Bolshevik tendency ultimately led once again to a rule of force which scorns the individual. This development remains a traumatic experience for the free socialists of Europe. That is why we reject the Leninist and Communist doctrine of state and society, but it is also from this that we derive our own socialist concepts of freedom and democracy.

We are seeking a separate path for Europe between the world powers, the USA and the Soviet Union. As regards relations with the USA, the development of such cooperation, extending not merely to bilateral problems but also contributing to a solution of the problems of third countries and generally securing peace, presupposes mutual respect for independent sovereign decisions. In this respect the development of a European dimension which will be strengthened by direct elections to the European Parliament, is of considerable importance. The European Community must therefore rationally pursue the economic, trade and monetary policy negotiations already begun with the United States.

As to relations with the USSR, the objectives set down in the Helsinki Final Act remain of decisive importance to the Community in order to extend and strengthen bilateral and multilateral relations. In particular, backed by centuries-old historical ties, the European Community must further develop its economic and cultural relations with the nations and peoples of Central and Eastern Europe.

Towards which specific objectives should we work within the Community and beyond its confines? I shall name the most important:

1. Harmonization of European and overseas interests in the further opening of our markets; simultaneous measures to protect jobs in the Community must not lead to the consolidation of structures which ultimately only necessitate barriers against imports from the third world.

2. Granting of extensive aid — particularly in the shape of non-repayable capital grants — to the poorest countries with a concomitant improvement in the division of labour in trade with the developing countries which are economically better placed.

3. Development of financial and technical aid to the non-associated developing countries.

4. Cancellation of the external debts of the developing countries where their repayment commitments have placed them in an unreasonable situation of dependence or held back their longterm economic development.

5. A deliberate readiness to advocate a more equitable material balance for the countries supplying raw materials, in line with the demands of the United Nations and in particular the UNCTAD conferences; this also holds good for our own joint contribution to a new, international law of the sea.

What activity must Europe deploy if it is to do justice to its obligations as a force for peace? My tentative answer can perhaps be summarized in the following sentence: Europe will be as active as its citizens are prepared to see it develop, outside the framework of the existing institutions, into a community open on the whole world. The words of Willy Brandt to the Congress of the European Movement in Brussels 3 years ago still hold good. He said on that occasion: "The Europe of our citizens is still one step ahead of the Europe of our governments". I would add that this seems to me to

effectively point the way to the tasks of an active Europe in the service of peace.

A Europe to promote world peace

The following also spoke:

Karel Van Miert (BSP - Belgium)
Claudio Signorile (PSI - Italy)
Mario Soares (BSP - Portugal)
Jean Pierre Cot (PS - France)
Enrich Adroher Gironella (PSOE - Spain)
Lydie Schmit (POSL - Luxembourg)
Poul Nielson (S.D. - Denmark)
Antonio Gariglia (PSDI - Italy)
Tony Brown (L.P. - Ireland)
Aldo Ajello (PSI - Italy)
Ron Hayward (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Jan Pronk (PvdA - Netherlands)
Karsten Voigt (SPD - Germany)
Didier Motchane (PS - France)
Sean Farren (L.P. - United Kingdom)
Lucien Radoux (PSB - Belgium)
Ivanka Corti (PSDI - Italy)
Mary Robinson (L.P. - Ireland)
Georges Sutra (PS - France)
Mario Zagari (PSI - Italy)
Hans Koschnick (SPD - Germany)
Oscar Debusse (BSP - Belgium)

Message to European Workers

On a proposal from the President of the Confederation, the Xth Congress has adopted the following message to European workers:

The Socialist Parties of the European Community, meeting in Brussels for their Xth Congress, send to European workers currently engaged in conflicts their best wishes for the success of their claims.

They express their support to workers who are fighting to protect their jobs in all sectors of European industry, in particular workers in the iron and steel industry in France and Germany.

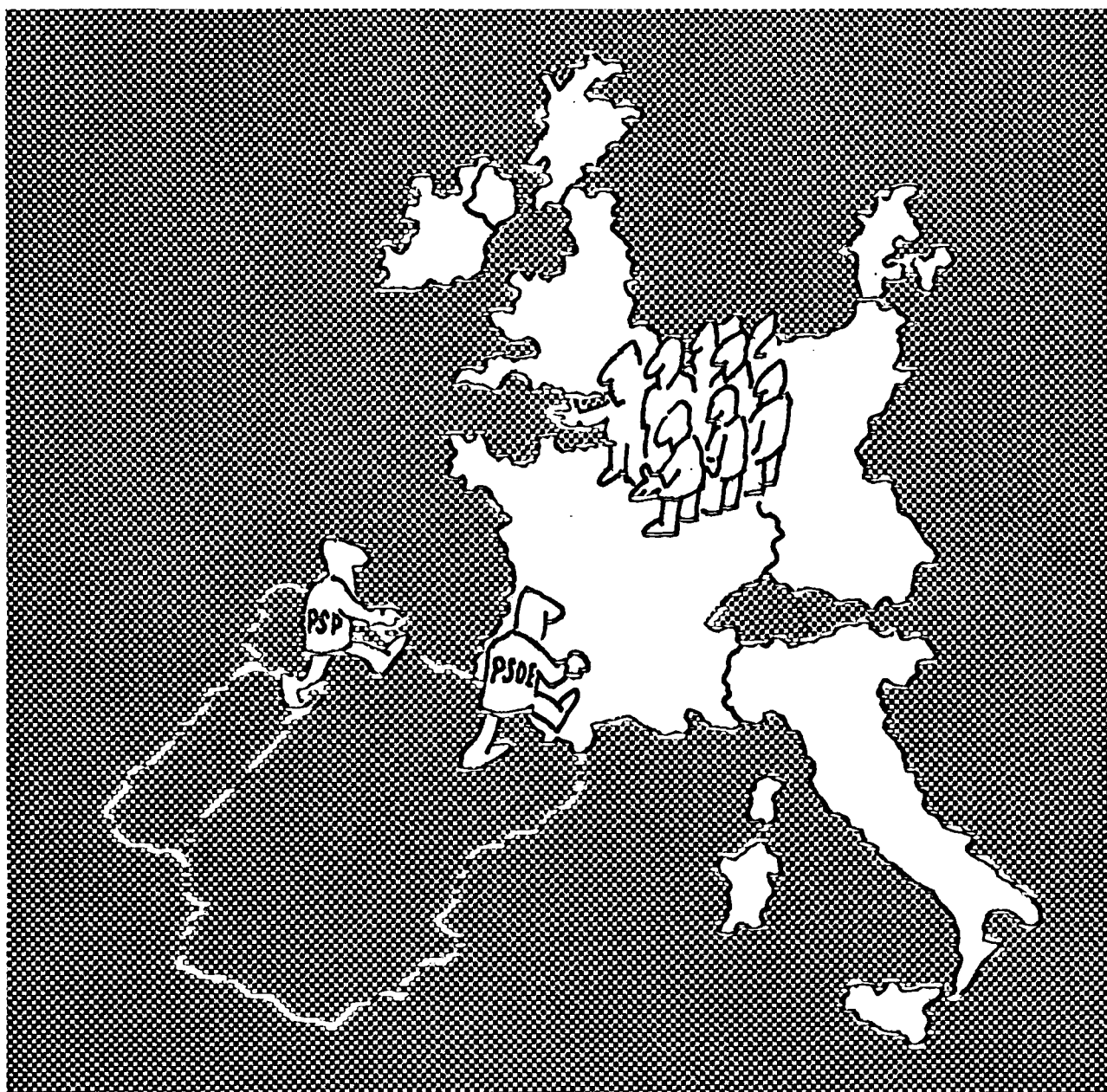
They extend a special greeting to workers in the German steel industry, who have conducted an exemplary strike for the progressive reduction of the working week tot 35 hours, which is the common objective of all the Socialist parties in Europe.



The full participation of the Spanish (PSOE) and Portuguese (PSP) Socialist Parties in the work of the Confederation

As part of the Congress's debates on the topic "An active Europe in the Service of World Peace", Mr. Karel van Miert, Vice-President of the Confederation, presented the interim report by the Confederation's Committee on Enlargement, of which he is Chairman. Following this report, the Congress reaffirmed the position of principle of the Socialist Parties on enlargement of the European Community and adopted the following declaration:

The Socialist Parties of the European Community meeting in Congress at Brussels on 10-12th January 1979, express their determination to strengthen their relations with their sister parties in Spain and Portugal, countries which have requested membership of the Community, and especially to provide for their full participation in the work of the Confederation.



Appeal to the electorate

Taking as its basis the draft electoral programme drawn up in June 1977 by the Confederation of Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties and the political declaration issued after the Conference of party leaders held in Brussels on 23 and 24 June 1978, the Bureau of the Confederation, assisted by all the member parties, drew up the Appeal to the Electors which follows.

This text was unanimously adopted by the representatives of the twelve parties of the Confederation at the close of the Confederation's tenth European congress held in Brussels on 12 January 1979.

It represents the present stage reached in defining joint attitudes and views on proposals for practical action with a view to the first European elections to be held in June this year.

With this common basis, our parties will be able to direct their campaigns in each of the nine countries which currently make up the Community, having regard to the particular political situation obtaining in each country. These first elections are, in fact, being organized on a national basis. They will take place simultaneously but independently in the nine Community countries.

Should the difficulties encountered in trying to reach a compromise acceptable to all and a broader general consensus on more progressive proposals, be considered a failing?

Our Confederation only comprises political organizations based on democratic principles. Within each of our parties, only the national congresses are competent to decide

on the choice of paths to socialism. The Confederation is not the instrument of an elite group of specialized technocrats who lay down a particular political line for the parties to follow. On the contrary, the Socialist attitude is totally opposed to rigid orthodoxy which dogmatically tries to impose itself on all.

Our differences, and indeed our disagreements, merely reflect this freedom of thought and expression in the search for practical solutions to take account of the particular circumstances created in each individual country by its history, cultural traditions, economic development and political structure, and the intensity of its social tensions.

The existence of an assembly of European parliamentarians and of a Socialist Group within it after the European elections will create the need for further, more frequent exchanges of views and cooperation between the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties to enable them to reach agreement on the practical positions to be adopted on the issues facing them. The process of discovering common interests which embrace and transcend individual interests has already begun and will develop yet further. However, over and above these circumstantial details, the common will of our parties is based on a certain concept of man, society and man in society, an analysis of the situation as it is and a sharing of views on how it should be.

Socialist criticism is thus levelled at the nature of society. It transcends criticism of the State and its

institutions, hence its international orientation. To think that the building of a more just, a freer and more united society can only be achieved through laws, decrees, orders, directives, rules and institutions imposed by legal constraint is to show a lack of confidence in the potential of man since the ultimate objective remains his liberation.

We do not expect miracles. the proposals set out in this Appeal to the Electors are not trumpets of Jericho heralding the collapse of the walls of capitalism. However, the most perfect programmes, the most generous declarations of intent and the most admirable texts are only meaningful insofar as they are backed by the will to take action. History judges action rather than words.

The success of our undertaking will depend on the degree of awareness, personal commitment and enthusiasm we are able to arouse in the campaign to free society of all oppression and all exploitation of man by man in a political context which, for the first time, transcends the frontiers of our States.

The European elections are, after all, only a means of measuring the degree of Socialist awareness, cooperation and solidarity which we will have succeeded in arousing in this part of the world.

Indeed, without this solidarity, nothing can be achieved.

O. Debunne

Rapporteur

Instructed by the Bureau of the Confederation to present the Appeal to the Electors to the tenth Congress of Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties of the European Community.

Appeal to the European electorate

For the first time in history, the citizens of nine European countries, representing a single electorate of some 140 million voters, will directly elect their representatives to the Assembly of the European Community (the European Parliament).

For democratic Socialists, these elections are not an end in themselves. They are to be considered as an additional means to promote progress towards a society freed from oppression and

exploitation. We share a common goal of a new world order based on democratic Socialist principles. Thus the voters will have the opportunity of directly influencing progress in that direction.

In shaping this European Community, the logic of the capitalist market system, namely the pursuit of private commercial and financial interests, has for too long prevailed over the search for commonly defined social and human objectives. Obviously a directly elected European Parliament will not automatically solve all the challenging problems of our times.

Each country will have to continue to introduce indispensable social and economic changes by its own efforts and with its own means, including legislation. But we are deeply convinced that action undertaken in common could, in various fields, accelerate the progress towards these goals to the greater benefit of each of them.

Our parties have inherited different experiences down the years. They operate in countries where the level of economic development, the intensity of social struggle, cultural traditions, awareness of social problems and the interplay of internal

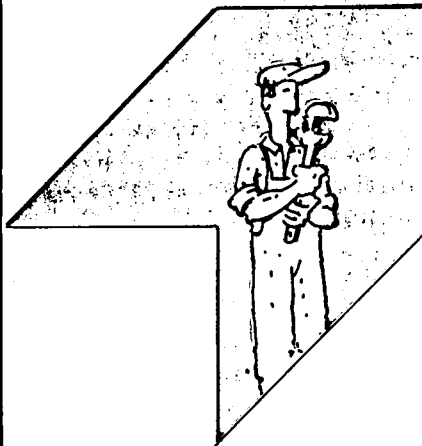
political alliances profoundly differ. Yet we share a common goal of a more human and egalitarian Europe for all our citizens.

We note with concern:

- the inability of our present social structure to solve the grave problem of unemployment;
- a trend towards less equality and solidarity as seen in the ever-widening gulf between the rich and the poor throughout the world and within the European Community;
- that uncontrolled growth in production and consumption, especially in the wealthier regions of the world, is being achieved at the cost of exhausting and polluting the environment, and of declining living and working conditions for millions of workers — something which Socialists cannot permit.

Therefore, the democratic Socialist parties herewith present the following commonly agreed principles:

- to ensure the right to work for all and in particular for youth;
- to bring economic and social development under democratic control;
- to fight pollution;
- to end discrimination, in particular against women;
- to protect the consumer;
- to promote peace, security and cooperation;
- to extend and defend human rights and civil liberties.



Ensuring the right to work

Unemployment results from the crisis of the present economic system. It increases inequality among individuals, it limits women's rights to work, it demoralizes young people unable to find a job, it contributes to despair and disillusionment in society.

Socialists will seek to ensure that all members of the European Community contribute to the solution of the problems of underemployment through reorientation and better control of the economy as well as through more active employment and education policies. The market economy will not lead automatically to social justice. Until such time as there is real economic democracy, living and working conditions cannot become more humane. The demand of the Conservatives for the subordination of labour to capital must be rejected. In particular Socialists shall strive to ensure that further economic growth will benefit those with the lowest incomes.

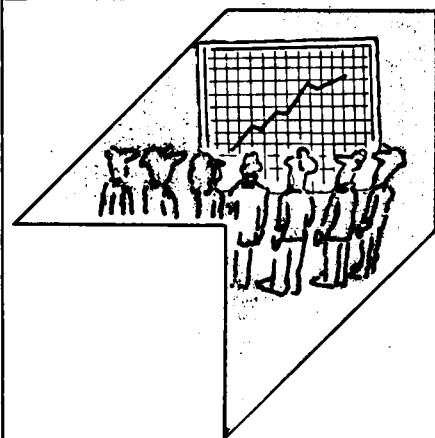
The right to work is and will remain one of the basic aims of Socialism. It is a fundamental human right for men and women. The principle tasks of the European Community and its member countries must therefore be to combat unemployment. In this connection Socialists place greatest emphasis not only on a policy of full employment but also on a policy aimed at creating better working conditions.

Our fight for a society in which available resources are distributed fairly demands that we shape and guide social and economic development. The conventional economic policy instruments have proved inadequate; an active employment policy and the planning of the economy will be necessary to reduce unemployment. We also seek a fairer distribution of available work with an important place being given to a shorter working day, a 35-hour

working week, and a systematic policy of vocational training and retraining. Here we must take particular account of those groups which face the greatest difficulties on the labour market; young people, women, older workers, the disabled and foreign workers.

The best way to achieve these conditions is through common policies agreed between the main industrial nations. Such policies can be achieved only in close cooperation with all trade union organisations, particularly the European Trade Union Confederation. The ETUC must be more involved at Community level in the preparation of, and the procedure for, making decisions. Our parties also intend to work out their proposals, where possible, in collaboration with the trade union movement.

We realize that the fight against unemployment also requires longer-term structural reforms and economic planning involving a key role in certain sectors for public enterprises.



Keeping economic and social developments under democratic control

Economic policy must be based on a type of economic growth more respectful of human needs, avoiding the waste of scarce natural resources, the pollution of the environment, and promoting solidarity between regions. To meet these demands, we call for close scientific and technological cooperation between countries in order to modernize older industries and to create new ones. We advocate structural reforms, economic planning and effective controls on multinational undertakings and major industrial and financial groups. Steps will be taken to guide investment, particularly in the branches of industry with a strong international

involvement. More means than at present available should be provided for regional and social policies aiming at reducing the big inequalities between regions and groups of the population.

Therefore, we shall strive:

to create efficient and democratic economic structures and economic stability;

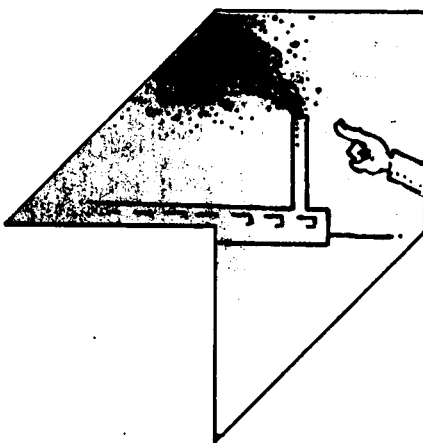
to ensure the democratisation of industry at all levels in ways adapted to the specific circumstances of each individual country and in cooperation with the trade union organisations;

to ensure public control of big industrial and financial concentrations and multinational companies;

to develop workers' cooperatives and similar publicly useful companies;

to stimulate small and medium-sized firms.

The Common Agricultural Policy must be adapted so as to achieve a better balance between production and consumption, more stable prices and an equitable development of agricultural incomes through greater efficiency and better structural policies. The consumer interest must be taken fully into account in the evolution of the C.A.P.



Fighting pollution

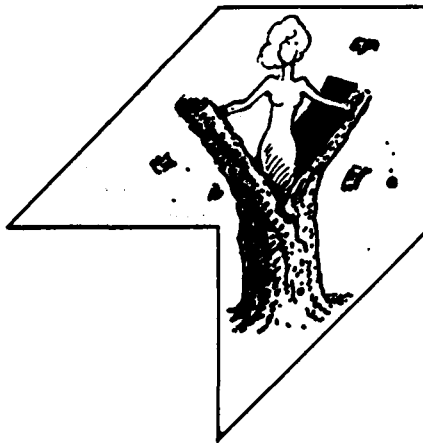
The combined efforts of the countries of the European Community should be given a strong lead to ensure that a worldwide effort will be made to maintain ecological balance.

The improvement of the quality of life in the cities and the countryside and the fight against pollution cannot be limited to the boundaries of one single country. Only close cooperation among our countries can provide the required protection for the people through commonly agreed and implemented measures.

Concerning energy, we propose:

that an effective programme should be set up by the European Community for energy saving and the development of alternative sources of energy;

that no further development and use of nuclear energy will be acceptable unless control and management is in public hands and unless clearly effective safeguards are provided against dangers to public safety, health and the environment.



Ending discrimination, in particular against women

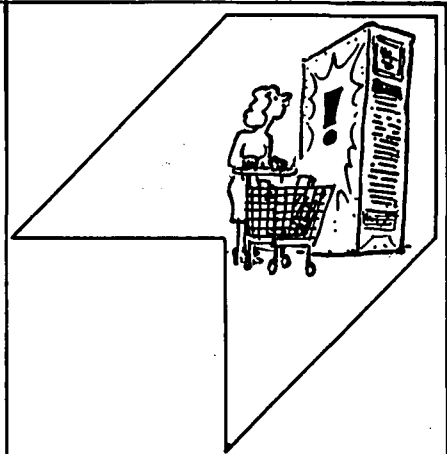
Socialism stands for equality and rejects all discrimination based on sex, race, religion and political and philosophical opinions. This means that we reject exclusion from government service solely on the grounds of political beliefs. Equality also means special protection of the old, the handicapped and social outcasts. Men and women should be in a position to make their mark to the same extent on the development of society at all levels, at work and at home, in public and private life. Similar conditions for men and women should be required for access to education, to the labour market, to social benefits, to public life, etc.

In order to reach these goals we particularly stress that:

the content of education should be modified in order to meet the needs of women;

institutions taking care of children should be accessible to all;

a general spirit of tolerance and comradeship should be actively promoted throughout the European Community.



Protecting the consumer

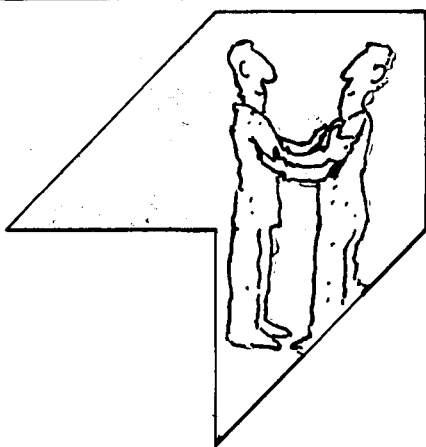
In our consumption-orientated society special care should be given to the protection of the consumer against aggressive and misleading publicity and the abuse of goods detrimental to the health of the individual and which encourage the waste of valuable resources. Collective needs are often disregarded in the pursuit of increased consumption of useless products encouraged by the interests of producers and advertisers.

We therefore propose:

to favour objective information and the right to counteract misleading publicity; -

to encourage democratic consumers' associations and to reinforce their rights to introduce legal actions against abuse by producers;

to enlarge the responsibility of producers for the quality of the goods that they produce.



Promoting peace, security and cooperation

Freedom, justice and solidarity are not only principles applicable in our different countries but are also our guidelines for the new economic world order that we are seeking to establish. Socialists in Europe will therefore contribute to the pursuit of detente between East and West. We are working for the full implementation of the Helsinki agreements and for worldwide peace and security. In the meantime, the maximum effort should be made to halt the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, and to bring sales of arms under international control.

Satisfactory measures must be found to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Socialists will not be a party to the supply of arms to fascist or racist regimes.

In the medium and long-term the prosperous countries will have to accept a slower increase in their material affluence in order to overcome the North-South conflict.

Only if Europe proves its active solidarity with the poorer regions of the world will it be in a position to contribute effectively to a lasting peace.

This is why we would also intensify European cooperation with the developing countries. The basic principles of this cooperation are the following:

- commitment of the Community to the overall advancement of the developing countries;

- full recognition of the independence of the developing countries and their right to freedom from intervention, whether politically or commercially motivated;

- greater benefit to the developing countries through trade relations;

scientific and technical cooperation designed to benefit everyone;

the conclusion of an agreement on joint action with a view to imposing at world level, effective and equitable rules for the monetary system and economic transactions.

The Lomé Convention is to be welcomed as an important step in the right direction. But much remains to be done in the field of development assistance and cooperation.

Our programme in this field can be summarized briefly as follows:

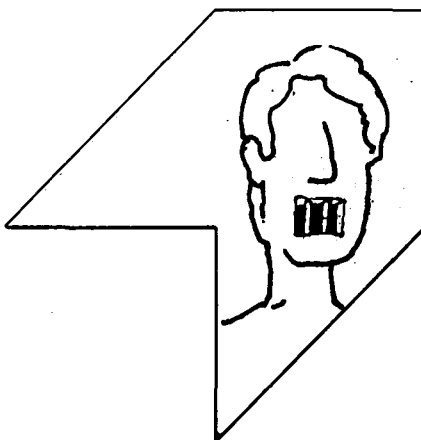
- Aid should be concentrated on the poorest countries and on those countries that follow a social policy aiming at the improvement of the conditions of the poorest sections of their population;

- Official development aid with no strings attached should be increased up to 1% of the GNP of the European Community;

- The Community should extend its financial aid to non-associated developing countries;

- The UNCTAD IV integrated programme on raw materials should be encouraged;

- The European Community should adopt and implement the UN Charter on economic rights and obligations of states.



Extending and defending human rights and civil liberties

Human rights derive from the most basic human needs. The message which Socialists are seeking to propagate is that the only sure approach to the attainment of basic human rights lies in the creation of a free and democratic political, economic and social system. The promotion of human rights must be genuine and in no sense an instrument of political advantage.

Therefore we will demand in the Community's Assembly (the European Parliament):

- that all the Member States of the Community implement in full the European Convention on Human Rights;

- that the European Community should be in the frontline of the fight for the realisation of human rights throughout the world.

As far as the rights of the citizens of the Community are concerned we will strive for:

- The eradication of all legal and political discrimination affecting citizens of each country wherever they may live in the Community;

- Fundamental economic and social rights should be part of these Community rights, including the right to work. All discrimination against foreigners must be eliminated.

- The highest standards of political and legal rights should be extended to all Community citizens.

We welcome the re-establishment of democracy in Greece, Spain and Portugal; we strongly support the accession of these countries to the Community. Moreover, we believe that democratic Europe has an urgent responsibility to contribute to the strengthening of democracy in these countries and must demonstrate its solidarity with the working people of the countries concerned.

We know that the economic and social structures of these countries and the particular products concerned make it necessary to have certain arrangements for adaptation and an appropriate timetable of transitional periods, in order to respect the legitimate interests of all people — both in the Community and in Greece, Portugal and Spain. The enlargement of the Community must become a source of new strength and dynamism for Europe.

We do not see the European Community as an end in itself.

Neither can it be considered as the whole of Europe. The tendency to use the word "Europe" as a description of the Community is to be deplored since it obscures the fact that the majority of European states and peoples are not part of the Community. We believe that in fighting for international Socialism we go beyond the confines of the Community.

The directly elected European Parliament must initially develop within the framework of the existing treaties. We recognize that any further transfer of powers from national governments to the Community institutions or from national parliaments to the European Parliament can take place only with the clear and direct assent of the national governments and parliaments.

In each of the nine countries belonging to the Community the democratic Socialists represent an important and coherent political force.

All these proposals have been approved by the democratic Socialist parties of the European Community.

In each of these countries we will defend them.

The progressive policies of the Socialist parties are now more relevant than ever to the needs of Europe's people since it is manifest that capitalism cannot solve the problems which exist.

Work for the solution of today's problems must proceed at both national and Community level and can be facilitated by actions based on closer European cooperation.

For successful action in the interests of all the people, the voice of the Socialist Movement must be strong, in the directly elected European Parliament and in the parliaments of the Member States.

Wide Press Coverage for the 10th Congress

204 journalists, representing newspapers and periodicals from 16 different countries and radio and television from 12, were present at the 10th Congress of the Confederation of Social-Democratic Parties from 10 to 12 January 1979, many of them were Brussels correspondents or Belgian newsmen, but there were also large contingents from the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and France, and the results can now be seen.

So far, 481 articles have appeared in daily and weekly papers, broken down as follows: Belgium 67, Denmark 7, France 88, Germany 221, Ireland 2, Italy 23, Luxembourg 15, the Netherlands 50 and the United Kingdom 6, plus 2 articles from countries outside the Community. In addition, there are 25 reports from the principal press agencies.

List of Participants

President: Robert Pontillon.

Vice-presidents: Sicco Mansholt, Bruno Friedrich, Karen Dahlerup, Karel Van Miert.



Belgium

Parti Socialiste (PS)

André Cools, Henri Simonet, Guy Spitaels, Irène Petry, Hervé Brouhon, Roger Ramaekers, Emy Spelkens, Fernand Delmotte.

Belgium

Belgische Socialistische Partij (BSP)

Karel Van Miert, Willy Claes, Marijke Van Hemeldonck, Oscar Debus, Frank Beke, Willy Vernimmen, Willy Calewaert, Louis Van Velthoven.



Denmark

Socialdemokratiet

Anker Jørgensen, Kjeld Olesen, Ejner Hovgaard-Christiansen, Poul Dalsager, Finn Larsen, Ingrid Jensen, Poul Nielson, Karen Dahlerup, Erik Andersen, Erik Holst, Bent Wigotski.



France

Parti Socialiste

François Mitterrand, Pierre Mauroy, Gérard Jaquet, Lionel Jospin, Robert Pontillon, Roger Fajardie, Edith Cresson, Michel Rocard, Yvette Roudy, Claude Estier, Jean-Pierre Cot, Gérard Delfau, Didier Motchane, Jacques Fournier, Georges Sarre, Annette Chepy, Michel Coffineau, Jacques Delors, Gérard Fuchs, Alain Barrau, Pierre Joxe, Jack Lang, Jean-Paul Bachy, Daniel Mayer, Georges Spenale, Jean Poperen, Jean-Marie Leguen, Georges Sutra.



Ireland

Labour Party

Frank Cluskey, Eileen Desmond, Timmy Conway, Joe Bermingham, Brendan Halligan, Seamus Scally, Tony Brown, Liam Kavanagh.



Italy

Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano (PSDI)

Pietro Longo, Michele Di Giesi, Mauro Ferri, Antonio Cariglia, Terenzio Magliano, Egidio Ariosto, Falvio Orlandi, Mario Melani, Ivanka Corti, Domenico Lenarduzzi, Guiseppe Amadei, Martino Scovacrichi.

Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI)

Bettino Craxi, Claudio Signorile, Mario Zagari, Aldo Aniasi, Gianni De Michelis, Antonio Landolfi, Enrico Manca, Carlo Ripa Di Meana, Aldo Ajello, Francesco Albertini, Pietro Lezzi, Italo Viglianesi, Enrica Lucarelli, Luciano Cafagna, Libero Della Briotta.



Luxembourg

Parti Ouvrier Luxembourgeois (POSL/LSAP)

Lydie Schmit, Aly Schroeder, Jos Wohlfart, Willy Dondelinger, Frankie Hansen, Mathias Hinterscheid, Jean-Pierre Simon.



Netherlands

Partij van de arbeid (PvdA)

Schelto Patijn, Jan Pronk, Joop Den Uyl, Relus Ter Beek, Ien Van Den Heuvel, Walter Etty, Wouter Gortzak, Arend Voortman, Johan Van Minnen, Sonja Van Der Gaast, Max Van Den Berg, Arie Van De Hek, Wim Boogaard, Max Van Der Stoel, Anne Vondeling.

**Federal Republic of Germany**

Sozialdemokratische Partei
Deutschlands (SPD)

Hans Koschnick, Bruno Friedrich,
Klaus Von Dohnanyi, Ludwig
Fellermaier, Horst Seefeld, Beate
Weber, Gerd Löffler, Erwin Lange,
Hellmut Sieglerschmidt, Manfred
Schmidt, Karsten Voigt, Horst
Haase, Gerhard Flämig, Willy
Müller, Gerd Walter, Volkmar
Gabert, Rudi Arndt, Hans Beck, Kurt
Vittinghoff, Gerhard Schmid, Rudolf
Schieler, Hans Peters, Dieter
Schinzel, Erdmann Linde, Heidi
Wieczorek-Zeul, Luise Herklotz,
Magdalene Hoff, Ernst Welteke,
Ursula Kähler, Sigrid Falke,
Wolfgang Adrian, Veronika
Isenberg, Dieter Rogalla, Hans
Eberhard Dingels, Helga Köhnen.

**Great Britain**

Labour Party

Joan Lestor, Tony Benn, Barbara
Castle, Alan Hadden, Joyce Gould,
Ron Hayward, Reg Underhill, Jenny
Little, Geoff Bish, Eric Shaw, Nick
Sigler.

**Northern Ireland**

Social Democratic and Labour Party
(SDLP)

John Hume, Denis Haughey, Brid
Rodgers, Hugh Logue, Sean Farren.

**Spain**

Partido Socialista Obrero Español
(PSOE)

Felipe Gonzalez, Luis Yanez
Barnuevo, Francisco Lopez Real,
Manuel Marin, Santiago Gomez
Reino, Eneko Landaburu.

**Portugal**

Partido Socialista (PS)

Mario Soares, Antonio Guterres,
Manuel Alegre, Rui Mateus, Isabel
Soares.

Socialist Group in the European Parliament

Ludwig Fellermeier, Francesco
Albertini, Giuseppe Amadei, Erik
Andersen, Lord John Ardwick,
Alfons Bayerl, Ron Brown, Willy
Calewaert, Lord Edward Castle,
Jean-Pierre Cot, Georges
Cunningham, Karen Dahlerup, Tam
Dalyell, Piet Dankert, Fernand
Delmotte, Willy Dondelinger,
Raymond Forni, Gerhard Flämig,
Ernest Glinne, Frankie Hansen, Horst
Haase, Erik Holst, Pierre Joxe, Lord
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Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti (Sweden)

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International Council of Social Democratic Women

Vera Matthias.

International Union of Socialist Youth

Ove Fich.

Commission of Socialist Teachers of the European Community

Marc Weinachter, Manfred
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Economic and Social Committee

Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso.

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Jean-Marc Laforest, Karsten Veth,
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