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## I. THE TRADE-UNIONS AND EUROPE

### European trade-union debate organized by the ECSC High Authority

Menton, 9, 10 and 11 February, 1966

An important trade-union meeting organized by the ECSC High Authority took place at Menton (France) from 9 to 11 February, 1966. The meeting was attended by delegations from ICFTU and IFCTU national trade-unions and national trade-union centres of the six countries of the Community.

The aim of the meeting was primarily to review and assess the work done in various spheres by the High Authority since the establishment of the institutions provided for in the Treaty of Paris.

Getting on for 120 German, Belgian, French, Dutch, Italian and Luxembourg trade-union leaders took part in the three-day conference.

The European Parliament and the EEC and EURATOM Commissions were also represented by a number of observers.

#### Opening address by Mr. Del Bo, President of the High Authority

The Opening Session on 9 February began with an address by Mr. Del Bo, President of the ECSC High Authority.

In his address Mr. Del Bo, President of the High Authority, said that he had set himself the task of "assessing what the social community in each of the Member States of the Community had been able to achieve in the way of true, just and correct action by virtue of the economic integration of coal and steel".

"The sectors coming under the authority of the ECSC, coal and steel," Mr. Del Bo stated, "are only of instrumental significance". In fact, when "the founders of the Community decided to begin the process of economic integration with the main basic industry, a sector which can still be defined as the classical source of energy, they were perfectly aware that this was only the beginning, a political opportunity to open up a new path which has already enabled us to obtain a number of important results even if we have not as yet attained our ultimate objective".

President Del Bo went on to point out that "within the framework of this Community, the working class has been able, by virtue of the legal guarantees afforded by the Community, to emerge for the first time from its state of dependence. The Treaty of Paris has vested in the working class a measure of responsibility in so far as its representatives participate in the framing of certain decisions,

thus enabling the latter to take part in discussions and the critical examination and supervision of questions arising in the context of economic integration".

"We", the President of the High Authority noted, "may not count ourselves among those who maintain that the trade-unions do not represent a political tradition, that they are not the embodiment of a political choice made by each and every one of their members. On the contrary, we number ourselves among those who, looking reality in the face, concede that trade-unionism is a political instrument for carrying out a political campaign in the full sense: the campaign of the workers for a just distribution of the wealth of the nation, which, at national level, puts the working class at the controls of the State. The first European Treaty could hardly fail to take due account of this state of affairs: it could hardly have refrained from recognizing the right of the working class to participate in these decisions, or, rather, the right to determine decisions most directly affecting it". (...)

"In the first place, there is no longer in our community the unequal debate between the trade-unions on the one hand and the government executive on the other, a debate that led inevitably to a failure of understanding and sometimes to open conflict between the trade-unions and national governments. In short, the working class now has an opportunity of appeal guaranteed by the recognized place it occupies in the process of economic integration and by being represented in the Community machinery with the facilities this affords for meeting face to face those who own the capital. The working class now proceeds along lines reflecting a relationship which is one of co-operation and, as such, equally necessary for those representing the factor, capital, and it has at its disposal the representative machinery as indicated in the European Treaties, if not, as yet, finally implemented, in the form of the European Parliament. All this, we feel, has served the purpose of marking out the paths we have to follow and, even if there is much that remains to be done, even if we have a long way to go yet, even if economic integration is only viable as a condition for attaining political integration, we may at least conclude that the working class has obtained certain definite advantages within the framework of the Coal and Steel Community and that it is destined to play a fundamental and decisive role in future developments.

"But, it may be asked, what is, in fact, the position of the working class?" Mr. Del Bo continued, "How are its interests safeguarded in the sectors coming under the Coal and Steel Community? In other words, what are the results obtained by the workers employed in the production of coal and steel? Is it not true that one of these sectors is finally resigned to giving way to other younger and newer sources of energy, whilst the other is also beginning to find itself in difficulties, primarily as a result of the failure to balance supply and demand? To this we would answer that, for all that this is undeniable reality, the fact remains that, thanks to the machinery provided by the Treaty of Paris, if somebody is going to suffer from these developments, for the first time in history it will not be the working class who will have to shoulder the entire burden and, indeed, the working class may not even suffer at all. If we think back a couple of generations to what happened in the years

1948 to 1939, it will be recalled that each time there was the slightest temporary difficulty, let alone a major crisis, it was always the working class on whom the entire burden fell"(...)

"The Treaty of Paris cuts out this risk and offers the working class specific guarantees which have the force and validity of an established institution."

"In the first place, those representing the executive authority are perfectly aware that they also represent the interests of the European people".

In this context, President Del Bo also analysed the political and institutional significance as well as the role within the High Authority of the co-opted member representing the workers organized in the democratic trade-unions. He also noted that, in the Treaty to merge the three Community Executives, "something has been lost and, this time, involving an impairment of the interests of the working class", in so far as the co-opted member is no longer provided for.

The speaker also underlined the role played by the Consultative Committee, "a body to which the High Authority was always able to refer whenever it wished and which had always furnished extremely valuable advice". He then went on to recall measures which the ECSC had been able to take, largely by virtue of its independent financial resources, to overcome difficulties arising particularly in the coal sector and to defend the interests of those who, as a result of economic developments, will no longer be able to be employed in coal producing undertakings.

The High Authority had, moreover, given special attention to scientific research "not only to modernize and develop production but also to increase safety of working".

In conclusion, President Del Bo maintained that the Coal and Steel Community and the High Authority, in coming to the end of their independent existence, were able to produce during the Community negotiations, evidence of a past that had been neither negative nor sterile but which constituted a positive and fruitful heritage.

"If," he maintained, "we had had at our side only the national governments, the owners and representatives of certain limited interests, however legitimate, we would have had to recognize that our progress had been, if not actually in a completely wrong direction, at least devious and ill-defined. As it is, we have always had at our side the broad ranks of the working class of the six States of the Community and every decision that has been taken has taken account of the lasting and universal interests of the working class. Accordingly, we can make ready if need be to conclude our business in the knowledge that, if there has been anything inadequate or seemingly incorrect, we alone are responsible. On the other hand, everything which may be considered as exemplary and which serves to define the measure and magnitude of Europe at the present time can be explained by the harmony in which it has been possible under the Treaty and in our experience to reconcile the many and sometimes opposing

interests, by the appearance on the contemporary European economic scene of the workers who have been able to make their political weight increasingly felt and by the fact that there will be no political unity in Europe unless it is recognized that the workers have the same right and duty as in the case of economic integration, to march in the vanguard."

Speeches by:

Mr. Buitter, General Secretary of the ICFTU European Trade-Union Secretariat

Mr. Kulakowski, General Secretary of the IFCTU European Organization

After paying tribute to the High Authority for organizing the Conference, the two General Secretaries of the European trade-union organizations stated that the ECSC could proudly claim to be father of the new Europe: without the Treaty of Paris, there would in all likelihood have been no Treaty of Rome.

"For this reason," they added, "the achievements of the ECSC should be incorporated in the new Community, particularly the ideal of political, economic and social democracy which the ECSC has initiated and evolved."

The spokesmen of the two international trade-union confederations concluded by requesting that the trade-unions should have an effective part in the discussions on the establishment of the single Treaty.

Speech by:

Mr. Cavazzuti, President of the Consultative Committee

Mr. Cavazzuti, President of the Consultative Committee, also thanked the High Authority for its initiative in arranging the Conference and recalled that it had been as a result of the "Workers' Group" that the Consultative Committee had examined the questions arising from the merger of the European executives.

He went on to point out that the Consultative Committee would ask for the retention of certain articles of the Treaty of Paris, particularly those dealing with technical and scientific research, the harmonization of working and living conditions, the retraining and re-employment of workers, modernization and redevelopment and that the Committee would propose that the bipartite consultative bodies set up by the High Authority should be maintained.

"At the time when the executives are merged, the workers of the ECSC will have to defend the rights accorded them by the European Coal and Steel Community."

Paper presented by Mr. Reynaud, Member of the High Authority

After dealing in turn with the work of the High Authority in cases provided for in the Treaty as well as the problems arising as a result of new economic circumstances, Mr. Reynaud added that the change in economic conditions had placed the ECSC in a difficult position for carrying on its work, as a result of the expansion of the basic industrial sector to which the industries covered by the Treaty belong, on the one hand, and that of the competitive framework in which they are placed, on the other.

"When the Treaties were first formulated in 1950", Mr. Reynaud pointed out, "74% of the Community's energy requirements were met by coal, whereas in 1965 only 38% are met by coal. Petroleum products and natural gas have now a greater share and this share is growing all the time. Steel has no competitors of this order but one cannot rule out developments which might arise in the future as a result of technical developments leading to a greater use of relatively new products such as plastics, and, probably on a more limited scale, aluminium."

"In the face of these developments, the solidarity which has been brought about in the basic industries cannot be maintained unless it is extended to a wider sector. Even now, the High Authority cannot draw up its long-term forecast for the coal sector in the absence of certain basic policy decisions relating to the entire energy sector (...). Moreover in the price sector, rules for competition between mines have today certainly much less of an influence on the marketing of coal than the conditions for competition between coal and oil which have not yet been regulated."

"In the iron and steel industry", Mr. Reynaud went on, "the problem of competition from other industries has not yet arisen in the same acute form. On the other hand, the problem of the expansion of the competitive framework has arisen, if rather more recently, in the same acute manner as in the coal-mining industry."

"In 1950, the Community's iron and steel production accounted for more than half the world trade in steel at a time when this product was rare and of importance only for certain very specific requirements; in 1965, Community iron and steel production no longer accounted for more than a third of the total world trade on a glutted market from which it must protect itself."

"These facts show clearly," continued Mr. Reynaud, "that, if it was possible in 1950 to dissociate the internal operation of the common market in coal and steel from its external relations, it is no longer possible to maintain this dissociation. The High Authority has, admittedly, made use of the facilities open to it under the Treaty with regard to commercial policy, which has remained in the hands of each member country; nevertheless, the experience of the last two or three years has shown that it will be extremely difficult to maintain the unity of the common market unless there is a united implementation of a common policy on imports from outside the Community. The extension of the powers of the Community Institutions to the various industries of the sector concerned as well as to embrace relevant commercial policy measures cannot possibly be effective

without a greater flexibility in certain rules provided for by the Treaty and greater powers to assess the effects of implementing them."

According to Mr. Reynaud, "there is need for a de facto, or where this is not possible, a de jure relaxation in the entire field of long-term planning as much as with regard to measures for ensuring a short-term balance."

"In the long run", Mr. Reynaud went on, "the general objectives cannot any longer be limited to guiding developments towards a quantitative balance between the means of production and the demand or supply of primary products. The general objectives should be developed on the basis of economic and social policy decisions; they would thus come to lose the character of a market study on a community scale and would become instead a quantitative statement of Community policy."

"Moreover, we have to go much deeper into the whole matter of the provisions of the Treaty on economic concentration. As the technical circumstances change, there is a corresponding change in the assessment of which concentrations are useful and the scale which might be thought desirable raises the question, not so much of the prior authorization for such concentrations, which is in the hands of the High Authority, as that of the subsequent supervision of the use that is made of the power thus obtained."

Finally, "one of the major conditions for securing market equilibrium will be the coordination of investments. The present system of issuing opinions on investment projects may prove to be inadequate. To make it more effective, might it not be necessary to base ourselves more on consultation procedures or to take a step further in the direction of increasing the powers of the Community institutions?"

Still dealing with long-term trends, Mr. Reynaud pointed out that, "our whole idea of research should be widened. Indeed, in a period of rapid development, research not only in applied technology but also in pure science becomes an essential factor and not just a mere accessory in determining the future competitive position of the industry. The public authorities should do more than merely support such research; they should also be able to assist in opening up new paths."

As far as the short-term equilibrium is concerned, Mr. Reynaud felt that "the situation applying in coal-mining as well as in the iron and steel industry where the price mechanism no longer serves to regulate supply and demand at a level permitting continuity of employment and production is most probably not of a temporary nature. The heavy depreciation charges in the iron and steel industry and the considerable item represented by labour costs in the coal-mining industry - these latter must be regarded as fixed costs if we wish to maintain continuity of employment - make it very difficult to vary production to the extent necessary to re-establish a price equilibrium by reducing output."

"Accordingly," Mr. Reynaud continued, "there will be a need for research into methods of re-establishing equilibrium over and above the classical mechanism. These methods, however, must not be allowed to weaken



the incentive on undertakings to modernize and take advantage of technical progress. This is one of those problems which has not yet found a clear solution, at least not within the framework of the Community's competitive structure and practices. To meet these new circumstances, the extension of the powers of the institutions and the greater measure of flexibility in applying regulations will have to be backed up by a reinforcement of the practical methods of intervention".

"In this respect," said Mr. Reynaud, "there are three points for consideration:

1. Adequate research facilities are particularly important in a period when the extent of adaptation demands a completely fresh look at problems. Individual short-term planning and, even more, long-term planning which is becoming increasingly necessary in the basic industries, is inconceivable without adequate accounting machinery. Furthermore, the new industrial concentrations which the ECSC is called upon to authorize require a better knowledge of the organization and operation of firms.

2. Financial intervention should be increased, at least in the two following instances:

- there will be a considerable demand for investment in connection with modernization and rationalization, and outside capital investment will be increasingly required as the possibility of self-financing is reduced as a result of the fall in prices;
- the extent of industrial redevelopment will be much greater in the future and the establishment of new industries in regions previously concentrating on heavy industry will make it necessary in the majority of cases to afford them a privileged position in the provision of financial resources."

3. The consultation of interested parties has not been the least of the facilities which the High Authority has had at its disposal in carrying out its work. At a time when important decisions are to be taken, it is inconceivable that the High Authority should act without any participation by the responsible authorities and the concurrence of all the social groupings concerned. This concurrence will make it possible to ensure that the moral and material sacrifices implicit in the adaptation that will be called for will be fairly shared and thus be made as tolerable as possible by the manner in which it is carried out."

In conclusion, Mr. Reynaud stated:

"The authors of the ECSC Treaty wished to build up a real solidarity between the European countries. It is not surprising that, when things change, this solidarity must evolve accordingly both in its concrete manifestations and in the methods employed to obtain it."

"As far as the concrete expression of this solidarity is concerned, the ECSC Treaty has established very precise rules which, in our experience, have appeared to correspond to the requirements for operating the basic industries. In our view, as we have suggested throughout this paper, it would be enough to concede the possibility of introducing a greater

flexibility in our methods; at the same time, one might conceive the possibility of one day extending their scope."

"On the other hand, the market mechanism, which has long appeared as the most favoured means of reaching the objectives of the Treaty, cannot any longer ensure the degree of adaptation required by the present situation without producing intolerable friction. Adaptation should be progressive and take account of the fact that, in certain cases, factors which are important from the point of view of our political and social planning are not necessarily compatible with short-term profitability criteria. This does not imply that the Community institutions should intervene in the detailed estimates and decisions of firms. However, it is the job of the institutions to conceive and put forward new forecasting, planning and promotion methods capable of influencing the decisions of individual firms along the lines of the principles and guiding lines of the Treaty which, for their part, remain unchanged."

"At this point there arises a difficulty of an institutional, or, perhaps even, of a political character in so far as, in a certain number of cases, the changes which the Community institutions would be called upon to propose would take them beyond the powers they have under their charter. How can we reconcile the changes and fluctuations inherent in economic life with the rigidity of the law in a period characterised by the speed of progress? By a curious roundabout route, the road of the economy leads to the question of power at the very centre of the political problem."

"It is not at all my intention," added Mr. Reynaud, "to embark on this problem here, but simply to indicate that it is a problem which cannot be left unresolved for long. At the end of this analysis, it will most probably appear that the ECSC can claim an encouraging double success. In the economic conditions prevailing during the first years of its existence, it was able, by using the facilities it had under the Treaty, to obtain the economic results that had been expected. During a later period when unforeseen difficulties arose with which it was ill-equipped to deal, it has shown clearly that, to overcome these difficulties, the States would be obliged to strengthen their concrete solidarity over and above what was laid down in the Treaty. In both instances, the ECSC has led Europe forward on the road to unity."

Speech by :

Mr. Fohrmann, Member of the High Authority

Mr. Jean Fohrmann gave an account of the activities of the ECSC in the social field.

Mr. Fohrmann began by examining the main results of the High Authority's social policy, emphasizing the constructive interpretation which the High Authority had placed on the Treaty of Paris in its work during the last thirteen years. Drafted in 1951 from a neo-liberal point of view, the Treaty was essentially of an economic nature. Moreover, the

partial character of the integration envisaged had resulted in a limitation of the powers attributed to the Community in the social field: out of the hundred articles of the Treaty, very few indeed authorized the Community institutions to intervene directly in the social sphere. For this reason, continued Mr. Fohrmann, the work of the High Authority in this field had only been made possible by a constructive interpretation of the texts. This did not mean that the High Authority had deliberately violated the provisions of the basic charter of the Community: on the contrary, the High Authority had wished to take account of the implications of these provisions and on occasions go beyond the letter to respect the underlying spirit. The High Authority had not assumed powers it did not have under the Treaty but it had endeavoured to make maximum use of those it did have by extending the scope of its action to increasingly wide areas.

Turning to the coal-mining crisis which had begun in 1958, Mr. Fohrmann referred to the attempt of the High Authority to implement a plan for overcoming the crisis, this plan being based on the application to the coal-mines of Article 58 of the Treaty. In May, 1959, however, this attempt had run up against the suspicions, largely of a political nature, of certain governments in the Council of Ministers. In fact, the official reason for rejecting the High Authority plan, the speaker continued, was no longer valid today: it was stated that the coal-mining crisis was only "manifest" in one country, Belgium, and not in all the coal producing countries of the ECSC. In reality, certain members of the Council of Ministers had regarded with apprehension the possibility of the High Authority exercising its powers to organize the market as provided by the Treaty in such a case. They were anxious not to strengthen the political weight of the Community Executive. The question that had arisen at this juncture was the possible subordination of certain national interests to the interests of the Community.

Taking up the question of the merger of the Treaties and the impetus which the Treaty of Paris had given to the construction of Europe in the social sphere, Mr. Fohrmann said that, in his view, "there are several spheres in which the work and experience of the ECSC has a definite and irreplaceable value which is, if need be, capable of extension to other major sectors of the economy."

"Thus", he observed, "the methods employed by the High Authority under the Treaty of Paris in the sphere of information merit special attention. Although the full implications of Articles 46 to 48 of the ECSC Treaty have most probably not been exhausted, they do provide the indispensable basis of the mission which the Community Executive has the right and duty to carry out. In spite of limitations encountered in practice, it would seem that Article 46 of the Treaty of Paris is more precise and capable of more effective application than the corresponding articles of the Treaty of Rome (Articles 117 and 118)."

"Moreover, I would draw your attention to the fact that, according to the present text of the Treaty of Rome, the Commission may only collect certain kinds of information within the limits and under the conditions laid down by the Council (Art. 213), although the Commission has to be able to submit to the Council, in the interests of the Community, proposals based on a full knowledge of the facts."

"By virtue of Articles 54 and 55, the High Authority has independent powers with regard to financial assistance for investments designed to increase or otherwise facilitate production or to encourage various forms of research."

"Finally, by virtue of Paragraph 2 of Article 56, the High Authority is able, in connection with the financing of the retraining and re-employment of workers, the modernization of firms and industrial and regional development, to take coordinating action at Community level so as to relieve the adverse consequences of inevitable structural change."

"Paragraph 2 of Article 56 is of particular importance from the Community viewpoint," Mr. Fohrmann went on, "in so far as it concerns action to be taken by the High Authority in conjunction with the Governments. In contrast to the EEC provisions relating to the European Social Fund (Articles 123 and 128), the ECSC may take action beforehand rather than after the event, thus enabling it to intervene at an appropriate juncture to face up to problems arising from structural changes affecting workers, particular firms and entire regions."

"The independent financial resources of the High Authority have, most certainly, made a very particular contribution towards enabling it to fulfil the original and essential provisions of the Treaty of Paris. Thus, it will be necessary to attach particular importance throughout the process of revising the Treaties to maintaining adequate financial independence on the part of the Community Executive, all the more so because this basic principle is already incorporated or, at least, outlined, both in the EEC and Euratom Treaties."

"Personally, I feel," Mr. Fohrmann observed, in formulating his conclusions, "that we should be inspired by certain principles when drafting the single Treaty: adequate independence of action and autonomous powers for the single Commission, the right and obligation of the single Commission with regard to information and direct consultation of all interested parties, the equal importance to be assigned to the social and economic objectives of the Common Market in its final form, and the possibility of effecting a revision of the new Constitution of Europe by the Community bodies themselves (the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Court of Justice and the European Parliament)."

However, going beyond the texts, Mr. Fohrmann felt it necessary to emphasize the extent to which the methods thus defined for applying the rules and instituting the general framework would be of particular importance for the future of a truly social Europe.

"I have no doubt," he added, "that the single Commission must be directly coupled with the social and economic interests. I wish to express my conviction that it will be possible for us to combine the way to social justice with that towards the gradual integration of Europe, provided that democratic methods are applied at community level. We must seek to attain the increasing participation of the greatest possible number in the framing of decisions to be taken by the central authorities."

"The aim of this Conference will have been attained," Mr. Fohrmann maintained, "if the discussions we shall be having tomorrow and the reports and conclusions we adopt the day after tomorrow will have given you useful information on which to base your own views. My confidence in the usefulness of this Conference is based on the proven value of the institutional rules of the ECSC itself and of the working methods evolved by the High Authority. Starting from a Treaty which instituted economic integration in two sectors and in which social intervention was conceived solely as a corrective to the effects of economic change, the Institutions of the Community have been able to frame an industrial and regional policy which extends beyond the sectors for which integration had originally been provided. The High Authority, for its part, has been led to lay the foundations of a constructive social policy which has a value in its own right and which is no longer regarded as a mere corrective."

"Even within these limitations, which I have not endeavoured to conceal, the work of the ECSC has enabled us to take the first steps towards a labour Europe. It is now a question of bringing what has been achieved to fruition and, later on, laying the true foundations of a social Europe."

#### The debate

Following these papers setting out the economic and social achievements of the European Coal and Steel Community, the trade-unionists of the six countries were able to add to their knowledge by putting some fifty questions to officers of the ECSC. This enabled the officers of the Community services to furnish additional information on a larger number of points which it is impossible to deal with in detail in the space available here.

The subsequent general debate served to clarify the views of the trade-unions affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade-Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade-Unions.

First of all, nobody expressed any regrets for having advocated integration. On the contrary, all proclaimed their allegiance to the idea of European construction, which must serve to put an end to the "Balkanization" of Europe and prevent any Third European and World War.

Only this integration of Europe will be able, in the view of the trade-unions, to bring to a halt the economic decline of the old continent and to give Europe an adequate counterweight to set against the power of the USSR and the United States.

#### The conclusions of the trade-union rapporteurs

The ICFTU had designated as rapporteur Mr. Gabriel Ventejol, National Secretary of the French national trade-union centre, CGT-FO, and the IFCTU had designated Mr. Albeda, General Secretary of the Dutch national centre, CNV.

Mr. Albeda began by thanking the organizers of the conference and went on to attempt to draw some conclusions concerning the economic aspects

brought out in the discussions of the previous days.

"In my view," he said, "in an economy which is characterized by economic concentration and the increasing importance of cartels, it is extremely important to have established a European policy on trusts and cartels which, in my opinion, should meet two conditions:

- in the first place, a policy on trusts and cartels should not be a bureaucratic policy where only the European officials have a role to play. Private industry and commerce must be able to have a voice in a true policy on trusts and cartels. In the Netherlands, trade-union representatives are also called upon to give their views on the major trusts and cartels. Accordingly, I feel that this is also a sphere in which we must be on our guard against losing at European level the benefits we enjoy at national level as a result of a long struggle;
- secondly, I feel that we do not only need a policy on industrial concentrations more resembling that of the ECSC than that provided for in the EEC Treaty, which latter is a purely legal policy. What we need in this modern age is, above all, an economic policy."

Mr. Albeda went on to specify: "In my view, particular importance attaches to the direct intervention of interested parties and, consequently, of the trade-unions, when decisions are being made on the basic trend of future policy or with regard to programming."

"We have heard Mr. Reynaud's statements concerning the four Committees: of government experts, representatives of industry, of the trade-unions and of consumers."

"Mr. Reynaud has explained how the report of these four Committees is used as a basis for framing a general programme setting out general objectives for the coal and iron and steel industries."

"In my view," Mr. Albeda continued, "this is a good example of what we understand by indicative guidelines for programming in these two sectors. At the level of the Common Market, we may note a first attempt at programming which began to take shape recently. Planning, as it is to be practised in the Common Market, rests, I feel, on a very feeble foundation. If we go on to examine the methods of implementation, the framing of objectives as it is done in the EEC, we are led to conclude that the procedure employed in the EEC derives clearly from technocracy. In the European Economic Community there is no question at all of any significant participation of the interested parties or of the trade-unions. Thus, we have still not realized the long-standing desire of our trade-unions for direct contacts with the European Commission."

"Furthermore, in turning to the desiderata of the trade-unions, we may pick out three points: 1. safety; 2. an improvement in the standard of living; 3. active participation in the drafting of policies."

"What does this mean? It means that we would like to see the establishment of general objectives at European level for each sector. Secondly, we are asking to participate in the drawing up of programmes. Finally, we

wish to see established proper machinery for implementing economic planning."

"Yesterday, we heard that industrial redevelopment will be an economic law in the future. If this is true, as I feel it is, I feel that there should be instituted plans for the different sectors of the European Economic Community."

"A Europe that meets the desires of the workers calls for vigorous action by the European trade-unions. It also calls for consultative rights and means of taking action in the European organizations. In my view, the European organizations must clearly realize, must be convinced that their composition must include representatives of the European trade-unions, without which it will be impossible to arrive at a true economic, social and political unification of Europe."

In his report, Mr. Ventejol attempted to define the role and demands of the trade-unions in the construction of Europe.

Speaking not only on behalf of the miners and metalworkers but also in the name of all the organizations represented, Mr. Ventejol made a point of emphasizing the main issues which had arisen during this conference.

"First of all, one main point which has clearly emerged from the discussions," Mr. Ventejol stated, "is the allegiance of the trade-union movement to the Treaty of Paris and its contents. In going beyond the text of this Treaty, the ECSC has cleared the way towards a united Europe. It has brought into the Community machinery the necessary degree of supranationality as well as the necessary autonomy. We remain advocates of effective consultation machinery for the participation of the workers. It is our firm desire that these things should continue and be developed."

Mr. Ventejol went on to deal in a general way with the demands of the trade-unions in connection with the merger of the Executives and other institutions, recalling once again the need to safeguard and consolidate in the new Community what was already laid down in the Treaty of Paris, and requested that there should be prior consultation of the trade-unions in drafting and negotiating the new Treaty.

The rapporteur went on to deal with economic developments and structural changes in industry which would inevitably lead to modernization and industrial redevelopment measures from which the workers ought not to be allowed to suffer.

After recalling in this connection the demands put forward by the workers in the coal and steel sectors: the Miner's Charter, the final institution of collective bargaining at European level, the Bipartite Committee which had been held up as foreshadowing European bipartite committees and which ought to have a firmer legal foundation, Mr. Ventejol recalled what Mr. Reynaud had said with regard to industrial redevelopment that this would constitute one of our permanent economic problems. "Yesterday it was Limburg, today it is on our doorstep in a department next to the Var department and tomorrow, perhaps, the Ruhr. Here we have human dramas produced by difficult redevelopment and modernization projects

which have often been badly prepared."

"When I say badly prepared," Mr. Ventejol explained, "I am referring to other sectors than those covered by the ECSC, for it seems to me that the trade-union movement, in the first instance, with the action it has been conducting for many years now, followed by the effective work done by the ECSC has succeeded in opening the way for an active policy with regard to industrial modernization and redevelopment. The scale of this problem which affects more than one group of workers leads us, of course, to require both the participation of the trade-unions and a dynamic policy on employment (...). During this discussion, speakers have referred to the right to work, but this is not enough. It is also just as important to speak of the right to promotion. There is need to extract the maximum benefit from scientific and technical progress and from changes in different industrial sectors and working methods so that redevelopment does not lead to any devaluation but rather to the advancement of workers through the institution of general education, training and re-training schemes."

The rapporteur then turned to the regional programme connected with industrial modernization and redevelopment. Here, he felt that means should be provided, should be brought to bear so as to produce a proper solution. In this connection, he proposed the institution of basic facilities as well as the development of adequate infrastructures.

Finally, Mr. Ventejol made the following comment in the light of all the points that had arisen during the discussion: "None of this can come about by the working of the market mechanisms. For this reason it was right to point out yesterday that the market economy was not enough. I endorse absolutely what my fellow rapporteur said when he emphasized the need for programming, which, today, seems to me to be an absolutely necessary democratic tool. In view of the complexity of the problems, Mr. Ventejol added, "I do not believe in spontaneous equilibria. I think that we shall, later on, have to give a great deal of thought to the contents, guiding principles and boundaries which we could give to such programming. In any case, programming does afford us an instrument for promoting the flow of information, assisting planning and carrying out useful work."

Recalling the guarantees required by the workers in connection with the merger of the Executives and Treaties, the rapporteur concluded:

"I think that this discussion should constitute a commitment on our part and an act of faith. There is a grave danger of Europe becoming a Europe of trade agreements, cartels and combines, a Europe of private interests, a Europe of big business. This is most certainly not the kind of Europe we want. Our duty is clear: what we have to do is to build a Europe for the workers. We represent, I believe, 15 million men. This is a considerable physical force. It is also a great psychological and moral force. I call on you all to fight shoulder to shoulder so that Europe will be built up by the workers, for the workers, forging the bonds of a European solidarity and a solidarity also towards the developing countries. Only then shall we have peace into the bargain."



Summing up by Mr. Vinck, General Director of the General Direction 'Labour, Rationalization and Redevelopment Problems'.

Mr. Vinck, General Director for labour problems, summed up the discussion and gave particular attention to the lessons to be drawn from the thirteen-year experience of the ECSC.

"One of the outstanding features of the discussion which it is correct to underline," Mr. Vinck explained, "is that this fruitful exchange of ideas has brought out quite clearly that you have found yourselves faced by experimental and pioneering developments, the interest of which certainly goes beyond the coal and steel sectors. There are several reasons for this. As a first example, let us take the work of the High Authority in relation to promotion, technical research and, particularly, the financing, guidance and coordination of research on safety and health of work and industrial medicine. If we limit ourselves only to the knowledge acquired by research into vocational diseases such as silicosis, bronchitis, emphysema and gas poisoning, you will agree with me that the High Authority, standing on the threshold of the merger of the Communities, brings with it a solid record of achievements which it will not be possible to brush aside, all the more so because these achievements will be directly useful to everybody. This applies also to the programmes concerning traumatology, rehabilitation and the treatment of burns as well as those concerned with the fight against harmful dust or research carried out in the sphere of industrial psychology and physiology. But there have been other instances of pioneering work which we must not lose sight of from the point of view of their more general significance even though they have up to now been applied exclusively in the coal-mining and iron and steel industries. These are worthy of your attention to the extent that this work has allowed us to build up an irreplaceable capital. I would also like to refer to the specific action of the Permanent Body for safety of working in coal mines set up after the frightful mining disaster at Marcinelle in Belgium."

"Furthermore," Mr. Vinck went on, "the example already given, assistance given for retraining and re-employment, is one that may well be copied by others. Basing themselves on the provisions of the ECSC, Governments are adding to their body of legislation measures destined to equip other sectors of the economy with similar schemes. The aid given by the public authorities to French agriculture is based to a certain extent on the retraining and re-employment scheme set out in the Treaty of Paris. One is even led to conclude that, gradually, we are witnessing the birth of a right to assistance in conjunction with retraining and re-employment, the need for retraining and re-employment calling for the solidarity of the community in much the same way as in the case of unemployment according to the classical conception. Tomorrow, this work may be extended to other sectors, the ECSC having served as a testing ground. Moreover, this was precisely what emerged from the debate on the Martin Report in the Consultative Committee."

"In this connection we might also say that the High Authority has forged and tested the instruments which will be used, perhaps in the very near future. in a scientifically ordered fashion, the ECSC Treaty having,

as President Del Bo said, an "instrumental meaning" for the exploration of new paths; here, we must think of the regional policy which the future European Executive might institute, working in conjunction with the respective governments. Already we are able to contribute to the success of such regional policies with the four instruments which we have evolved and tried out:

- free movement of workers
- vocational training
- retraining
- industrial modernization and redevelopment. "

"This is an aspect which is steadily gaining in importance. As my compatriot, Mr. Louis Ameye, recently pointed out in the newspaper, "Le Soir": at the same time as national frontiers are becoming blurred, regionalism is steadily gaining strength."

"In turning once again to the work of the High Authority, I do so in order to bring out yet another feature. Here, it will be necessary, however, to go beyond the purely social sphere. Mr. Reynaud has already brought out, during his paper on the economic aspect of the High Authority's work that this latter must offer guidance, in the first instance by publishing forecast programmes, but also by defining, at regular intervals, general objectives. For the first time, it has been possible to institute at the level of the Six what one might call the embryo of a European indicative planning system. Here too, there has been a veritable proliferation of safeguards so as to ensure that these general objectives are at all stages drafted with the close co-operation of all interested parties, including the workers. The High Authority is convinced that these forecasting methods will contribute to a more rational and judicious employment of resources and avoid the waste and bottlenecks, as Mr. Reynaud pointed out, of our so-called affluent industrial society, the waste which authors such as John Kenneth Galbraith and Vance Packard have put us on our guard against."

"And now," said Mr. Vinck, "I come to some main conclusions which I have drawn from your questions and observations."

"As far as the framing of the single Treaty is concerned, the following points seem to be particularly noteworthy:

1. The Community bodies should be given powers to supplement and even to alter the provisions of the Treaty in order to give these provisions the necessary flexibility. The High Authority has already pointed out how necessary it would be to seek to combine the flexibility appropriate in a basic treaty with the proven efficiency of detailed treaties of application in a series of economic sectors; between the two types of treaty, there is, moreover, less of a difference than is generally supposed, as I have already indicated.
2. The powers of the European Parliament should be recognised and extended both in the budgetary sphere and also with regard to the scope for supplementing and amending the Treaty or to supervising the work of the Executive.

3. The financing machinery and the compulsory statement of investments, which constitute the germ of a guiding plan should be extended to other basic sectors beyond coal-mining and steel. It will be necessary to safeguard means for carrying out policies for the promotion of research and industrial development at Community level including the machinery relating to industrial redevelopment and readaptation (re-training and re-employment).
4. The machinery provided should guarantee the continuation of the "Community method" viz. they should enable the European Institutions to function autonomously or at the request of a Member State by providing them with adequate means.
5. The financial independence of the High Authority has played a particularly important role in the practical exercise by the Authority of the powers conferred on it by the Treaty. In a certain sense, this financial independence has been the very basis of the High Authority's political power and has allowed it to act without being restricted by the need to have its budget approved by every Member State at the beginning of each financial year.

This financial independence means that the High Authority has the power to make its influence directly felt on undertakings coming under the Treaty. It also means that a particular Community body, the Committee of Presidents, determines that part of the budget dealing with administrative expenditure.

The Community thus finds its means of existence through a procedure which at no time depends on securing the approval of any authority that is not a part of the Community.

I should recall that it is precisely these opportunities which the High Authority has to dispose freely of considerable funds which have enabled it to finance workers' housing construction and its entire industrial policy (technical and medical research, readaptation, industrial redevelopment, vocational training etc.). The financing of investments shows another aspect of the independence and financial policy of the High Authority which deserves to be underlined: the Treaty authorises the Executive to raise loans and then itself make loans to undertakings within the Community.

The financial basis given through the proceeds of the levy has accorded the High Authority sufficient prestige on the Market to obtain loans suited to the needs of the two basic industries and the social requirements of the Community.

6. It is necessary to safeguard the opportunities for gathering and publishing information which the High Authority has, mainly by virtue of Articles 5 and 46 of the ECSC Treaty. It is absolutely necessary that the future single Executive should preserve these means enabling it to "inform and assist the interested parties to take action", by virtue of these prospective studies of different aspects of social questions.

In this connection, there appears to be a clear need to remove the restrictive provisions of the EEC Treaty (Article 213). "Active" information is a basic task of the Community Executive tending to safeguard a balanced development of social and economic progress in the six countries. It can only be brought about through close contacts with the trade and professional organizations. The High Authority has resolutely employed democratic methods with a view to promoting a continuous discussion with all interested parties. In the future too it will be just as necessary to ensure the participation of workers' representatives in the work of European construction: in the fundamental sphere of relations between the State and the individual, the contribution of the ECSC is a solid social and political achievement which must be preserved.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ICFTU EUROPEAN  
TRADE-UNION SECRETARIAT: POLITICAL SITUATION IN  
THE COMMUNITY; RELATIONS WITH WFTU UNIONS

Brussels, 17 March 1966

On 17 March 1966 a meeting took place in Brussels of the Executive Committee of the ICFTU European Trade-Union Secretariat which represents the free trade-union national centres of the Common Market countries. B. Storti, President of the ICFTU, was in the chair.

The Executive Committee began its meeting by paying tribute to the memory of Walter SCHEVENELS, a recently deceased member of the Committee and "one of the great leaders of the international trade-union movement".

The Executive Committee went on to discuss the political situation in the European Community following the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg. In a communiqué put out following the meeting, the Executive Committee "noted with concern that the progress of the EEC's work, particularly in the social sphere, is being hindered particularly as a result of the prevarications of the French Government. The Executive Committee is clearly aware that the representatives of this Government are placing a minimum interpretation on that part of the Treaty which is concerned with social policy and the powers of the European Commission and that they are attempting to obstruct any co-operation by workers' and employers' representatives in the field of social harmonization. The Executive Committee vigorously protests against such an attitude which is hostile to economic democracy and social progress." (1)

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(1) It will be recalled that the ICFTU European Trade-Union Secretariat adopted a statement on this question at the tripartite meeting organized by the EEC Commission on 21 and 22 February last to consider the framing of a report on social developments in the Community.

The views of the ICFTU European Trade-Union Secretariat were later published in a statement, the full text of which we reproduce below for your information: "On 21 and 22 February 1966 the EEC Commission organized in Brussels a meeting to consider the preparation of a draft report on the evolution of the social situation in the Community, this meeting being attended by representatives of governments, workers' and employers' representatives and representatives of family associations."

"During this meeting, the government representatives took the opportunity to meet separately at the request of the French delegation which made a statement reaffirming the opposition of the French Government to any participation by workers' and employers' representatives in the proceedings laid down under Article 118 of the Treaty concerning social harmonization."

(Following of footnote (1) on page 19):

"Having noted this statement CARLOS SAVOINI, Secretary of the European Trade-Union Secretariat, made the following statement at the end of the meeting:

1. The report on the social situation should not be confined to providing a description of social developments, but should, in addition, bring out trends in conformity with or in a contrary direction to the general development, which, from a Community point of view, have manifested themselves in Member States.

It is therefore a question of making a political assessment of social developments and this assessment can only be properly carried out by the Commission by relating the views expressed by Government representatives to those put forward by social and economic interests, i.e. the workers' and employers' representatives.

2. The statement made by the French Governmental Delegation goes beyond the proper framework of these technical meetings to consider the drafting of a Report on social trends and developments. By its terms it is of a political significance which the trade-unions cannot afford to underestimate. In maintaining that "the confrontation of views put forward by Governments, on the one hand, and by workers' and employers' representatives, on the other, should, in the Community, not take place outside the framework of the institutions specially provided for this purpose by decision of the Council" and thus confirming the claim of the French Government that social harmonization should be limited to inter-governmental negotiations, this statement aims at the exclusion of the workers' and employers' representatives from the procedures laid down by Article 118 of the Treaty. This interpretation, which is not shared by several Member Governments, has always been vigorously challenged by the trade-unions which cannot entertain under any circumstances a suggestion which would deprive them at European level of rights which they have long enjoyed at national, and, indeed, at international level (e.g. in the ILO), particularly when, as is the case here, their fundamental prerogatives and interests are involved.
3. Finally, it is extremely regrettable that the other government representatives should have adopted a passive attitude in the face of this statement by the French Government representative. Quite apart from the fact, in itself a departure from what is normal, that government representatives expressly appointed to take part in a tripartite meeting should have agreed without further ado to meet separately on an unofficial basis and in manner not provided for at the simple invitation of a representative of one government, there are strong reasons for criticizing their action in keeping secret the purpose of such an unofficial meeting; and it is deplorable that not one of them, even those representing governments which have, at the political level, advocated tripartite co-operation in the social sphere, should have felt it necessary to reject the French statement."

The Executive Committee also dealt with the question of unions affiliated to the World Federation of Trade-Unions in the context of the European Community. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Executive Committee of the European Trade-Union Secretariat has noted the resolution adopted by the Congress of the FGTB (Belgian Federation of Labour) advocating the admission of representatives of the French CGT and the Italian CGIL as members of the Economic and Social Committee and recommending that the trade-unions affiliated to the ICFTU, the IFCTU and the WFTU should embark on a common policy."

"This resolution also reaffirmed the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the free trade-unions in the Common Market held in Paris in 1964. One of these resolutions expressly rejects any co-operation with WFTU communist affiliates. At its meeting of 17 March, the Executive Committee reaffirmed the views clearly expressed by the Paris Assembly in 1964".

The next meeting of the Executive Committee of the ICFTU European Trade-Union Secretariat is due to take place in Recklinghausen (Germany) on 21 and 22 June. It will be concerned, int. al. with preparations for the 1966 General Assembly which is to be held in Italy from 9 to 11 November.

## THE CFDT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

Bierville, 25 and 26 February 1966

The Federal Council of the "French Democratic Federation of Labour" (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail) had a long debate on the subject of European construction at its meeting held in Bierville on 25 and 26 February 1966.

The purpose of the discussion, which was based on a report by G. Esperet the Federation's officer in charge of international relations, was to define the expectations of workers with regard to Europe and to clarify the CFDT's future European policy.

In its issue no. 1075 of 5 March 1966, "Syndicalisme", the official publication of the CFDT, carries an account of the proceedings showing that, as far as the CFDT is concerned, the construction of Europe should embrace the following eight main aspects:

1. the harmonization of living conditions, naturally, in an upward direction;
2. the rapid implementation of the principle of equal pay for men and women workers;
3. the fair redistribution of the benefits resulting from the Common Market;
4. the finalization of European social legislation and the speeding up of work in progress;
5. the implementation of economic union by flexible planning allowing for regional policy;
6. supervision of economic agreements, combines and cartels which, even if the concentration of economic power involved is necessary, should nevertheless be subordinated to the general interest;
7. participation of workers in the drafting and supervision of plans and programmes through the representation of trade-union organizations in committees set up on a geographical or industrial basis;
8. Europeanization of key industrial and commercial sectors such as energy, transport and banking... so far as this is necessary for the purposes of effective planning and for avoiding the dominance of large concentrations of financial or industrial power.

With regard to the means to be employed for bringing into being a Europe answering to the workers' wishes, "Syndicalisme" writes:

1. "The Federal Council began by examining ways in which our trade-union movement can play a part by influencing political parties and European parliamentarians... in view of the fact - this was specifically underlined - that economic union is impossible without planning and planning is impossible without a minimum of political power,
2. All European trade-unions will agree on the need for social harmonization



but none will wish to give up their own system (relating to family allowances, social security, industrial accident compensation and sick benefits). Accordingly, the Federal Council has examined how far we would be prepared to accept amendments in our legislation and how far we would be prepared to go.

- "The adaptation involved may not be brought about by way of a reduction of social benefits", stated Jean Maire. (1)

3. Accordingly, the Federal Council considered its manner of proceeding at European level; this involved an attempt to identify the most appropriate methods for putting forward our views in the most effective way both in connection with the work of the international trade-union organizations and our own way of proceeding in the European institutions.
4. Noting contacts made between certain national unions affiliated to the CFDT (CFTC) and International Trade Secretariats associated with the ICFTU, the Federal Council expressed a wish for the continuation of such contacts with a view to solving the problems arising from working on an industry-wide scale or on a scale comparable to that on which combines and cartels operate at European level.
5. Finally, the Federal Council has also examined the possibilities for taking action on a European scale within the undertakings themselves - taking account of mergers, economic concentration, closures of workshops and factories, the introduction of new working methods and equipment etc. ...".

"It is necessary", said Gerard Esperet, "for branches to be organized within each particular firm with the assistance of the national unions for the purpose of developing contacts between French and foreign firms coming under the same combine or engaged in the same line of production".

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(1) General Secretary of the French Metalworkers Union (FGM - CFDT)

STATEMENTS BY INDUSTRIAL AND TRADE COMMITTEES

MEMORANDUM OF THE FREE AND CHRISTIAN MINERS' UNIONS  
IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES

Menton, 10 February 1966

Representatives of ICFTU and IFCTU miners' unions in the countries of the European Community, meeting in Menton on 10 February last, published a memorandum relating to the "ECSC Miners' Bonus", the full text of which is published below:

"A year and a half ago, miners' trade-unions in the Community countries greeted a statement by the High Authority that the forthcoming energy policy and the decision concerning a Community system for action by Member States for the benefit of the coal-mining industry were favourable to a revival of the campaign for a European Miner's Charter and gave an indication of paths to be followed for drawing up a preliminary sketch of such a Charter.

The President of the High Authority stated on that occasion on behalf of the High Authority that he was ready to take the necessary initiative so as to advance this work and promote the new ideas involved with a view to the adoption of the Miner's Charter.

In order to secure a speedy implementation of measures destined to stabilize the manpower situation in the coal-mining industry and to secure a speedy resumption of tripartite talks within the Tripartite Committee on Coal, the trade-union organizations decided not to press for a discussion of all the points contained in existing drafts of the Miner's Charter, but to confine themselves to two main objectives:

- internationalization of the shift bonus
- introduction of a long-service bonus (loyalty bonus).

The proposals of the trade-unions were set out in detail in document No. 85/65 and forwarded to all members of the Tripartite Committee.

These proposals, together with a document describing the various bonuses payable to workers in the coal-mining industry in the different countries of the Community, formed the object of an exchange of views within the Tripartite Committee at a meeting held in Paris on 24 June 1965. The outcome of this exchange of views was far from conclusive. There were two main reasons preventing closer agreement:

- in the first place, the document relating to existing bonuses was couched in too wide terms and dealt particularly with bonuses other than shift and long-service bonuses;
- secondly, it was argued during the discussion that any attempt to

internationalize the shift bonus would run up against almost insurmountable difficulties by reason of different understandings and different opinions relating to the nature of this bonus, the conditions under which it would be payable and the methods of financing.

However, those taking part recognized in a general way that there was a need to take measures for increasing confidence within the profession and thus helping to ensure the future of the coal-mining industry.

For this reason, the miners' organizations have evolved during recent months new ideas with regard to measures to make the profession more attractive and providing compensation for regular attendance and also for loyalty to the profession. The shift bonus and the loyalty bonus would thus be linked. The special benefit proposed would have the name "ECSC Miner's Bonus". It would have the following characteristics:

1. The ECSC Miner's Bonus would amount to DM 3.- per shift for underground workers. Nevertheless, half of this amount would be payable monthly, whilst the other half would be payable after four hundred shifts had been worked.
2. The basic bonus would be subject to increments of ten per cent per year of service in the mine. This regular increase would make the "ECSC Bonus" more attractive. It was thought indispensable to evolve a system which would provide a strong incentive to miners to remain in the profession. Indeed, the investigation into fluctuations in manpower in the mines which is at present being carried out under the auspices of the High Authority and the first results of which were communicated to the meeting of the Tripartite Committee which was held on 1 December 1965 in Haarlem, shows that the turnover of miners is greatest in the first few years of their work.

During the first year, the underground worker would receive for each shift worked a bonus of DM 1.50 (payable monthly) and DM 1.50 (paid after four hundred shifts had been worked). In the second year, this amount would be increased by ten per cent and the worker would thus receive DM 1.65 plus a further DM 1.65 per shift.

During each subsequent year a further 10% increase would be payable. After ten years' service the bonus would reach a maximum of DM 3.- payable monthly, plus a further DM 3.- payable after four hundred shifts worked. (This system of annual increments would give a reward for loyalty to the profession)

3. Surface workers would receive 50% of the bonus payable to underground workers.
4. In the case of apprentices the full amount of bonus would be payable monthly.
5. The "ECSC Miner's Bonus" would not be subject to deductions for social security or to income tax.

6. The scheme would be financed by a community fund on the basis of or along the lines of the Agreement on Energy, signed on 21 April 1964, and of the decision no. 3/65 of 17 February 1965, concerning a Community system for measures by Member States for the benefit of the coal-mining industry. If necessary, the Agreement and the decision should be supplemented or, alternatively, a separate decision should be taken.

The trade-union organizations are now putting forward this proposal for measures to institute the "ECSC Miner's Bonus", primarily with a view to remedying the steady deterioration in the age structure of the labour force employed in the mining industry. They are convinced that a system which would provide compensation for loyalty to the profession would act as an incentive on young miners who are, as yet, not particularly interested in retirement benefits, to enter mining or to remain in the mining profession for a reasonable period. Moreover, greater manpower stability would clearly lead to an appreciable reduction in expenditure resulting from an abnormal rate of wastage, both with regard to vocational training and with regard to the number of accidents.

The trade-union organizations wish to recall that the idea of instituting a long-service bonus is not a new one. It was in 1956 that the late President of the High Authority, Paul Finet, speaking in Aachen and listing the items which he thought should be included in a European Miner's Charter, first suggested that the miner should have a long-service bonus on top of his attendance bonus. In its report of 31 May 1965 concerning the European Miner's Charter, the Social Committee of the European Parliament also recommended the institution of long-service or seniority bonuses as a measure which would contribute to the stabilization of manpower in the mining industry. Finally, we have the decision 3/65 of 17 February 1965 laying down the conditions for a Community system for measures by Member States to aid the coal-mining industry and in which the High Authority specifically states that it considers "that there is a grave risk of endangering attempts to effect a proper rationalization in the industry, if the industry does not have a sufficiently qualified and stable labour force at its disposal: that it is, thus, necessary to provide a possibility of granting assistance to finance expenditure to promote recruitment, vocational training, adaptation and stabilization of manpower, whenever such measures supplement or contribute to the implementation of positive rationalization programmes.

Accordingly, the trade-unions request the High Authority to consider their proposals destined to contribute towards the stabilization of the labour force engaged in the coal-mining industry. If the High Authority can agree with the proposed measures it could either consult the respective governments or forward the proposals of the unions to the Council of Ministers or take both these steps simultaneously.

The Tripartite Committee on Coal could provide the framework for a more detailed discussion of the methods of application with regard to the institution of the "ECSC Miner's Bonus".

ICFTU AND IFCTU AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' UNIONS  
ADVOCATE A COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT AT EEC LEVEL

In a press communiqué, the working parties set up by the free and the Christian agricultural workers' unions at the level of the EEC, "thank the EEC Commission for having informed workers' and employers' organizations in a letter of 12 February 1966 of its agreement with the unanimous view with regard to the reduction of working hours, expressed by the Joint Committee on social questions affecting wage-earning agricultural workers. They also thank the Commission for expressly pointing out that the views of the Joint Committee agree in many respects with those of the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee".

"The working parties of free and Christian agricultural workers' unions," the communiqué continues, "wish to state that they will, without any reservation whatsoever, give effect to the proposals of the EEC Commission and that they are ready to embark immediately on negotiations with the representatives of agricultural employers at EEC level with a view to concluding a basic agreement establishing Community standards with regard to working hours in agriculture."

"The working parties of free and Christian agricultural workers' unions in the EEC," the communiqué ends, "are particularly grateful to the EEC Commission for its willingness to give the workers' and employers' representatives any technical assistance of which they may be in need in connection with the conduct of negotiations at Community level."

WFTU UNIONS AND THE COMMON MARKET

"UNITED ACTION AND THE COMMON MARKET"

An article by L. Mascarello  
Secretary of the French CGT

Mr. L. Mascarello, Secretary of the CGT, takes up in an article published on 8 February 1966 by "Humanité", the official publication of the French Communist Party, the question of the participation of CGT representatives in the proceedings of the consultative economic and social bodies of the Common Market.

After recalling that, in connection with the forthcoming appointment of new workers' representatives to the Economic and Social Committee, the CGT has once again officially put forward a claim to have its delegates take part in the work of the Community bodies, the author notes that this claim is now increasingly approved by trade-union organizations and membership in Western Europe who are affiliated to different groups, particularly those affiliated to the ICFTU. In this connection, L. Mascarello recalls in particular the recent resolution by the National Congress of the Belgian Federation of Labour (FGTB) advocating the representation of the French CGT and the Italian CGIL in the EEC bodies and the framing of a common trade-union programme for the countries of the Europe of the Six.

The CGT Secretary then launches a direct attack on the views put forward by Mr. Bergeron, General Secretary of the French Federation of Trade-Unions, "Force Ouvrière", the latter having declared himself categorically opposed to the admission of communist trade-unionists to the Common Market bodies. Although maintaining an attitude of criticism and opposition to the establishment and development of the Common Market and after challenging Mr. Bergeron's view that the Common Market has constituted a progressive factor in the process of social development, L. Mascarello nevertheless concludes that there is a need "for all the trade-union organizations to form a common front, excluding no one in the process".

"At the level of the six countries of the EEC," he writes, "this common front should be directed against the alliance of the monopolies and against the concerted policies of the employers and governments."

## II. REVIEW OF THE LABOUR AND TRADE-UNION PRESS

"IL EST TEMPS QUE L'EUROPE REDEMARRE" ("TIME FOR EUROPE TO GET UNDER WAY AGAIN"), by Henri Clavelles, "F O Magazine" (CGT-FO, France), No. 4 of February 1966, page 12.

In this article, Henri Clavelles analyzes the results of the agreement reached in Luxembourg in January. He recalls that the free trade-union movement has always considered that the application of the Treaty of Rome should lead to a political Community supervised by a Parliament consisting of elected members.

"The free trade-union movement," the author continues, "can draw new strength from this Community, by carrying out a common programme for the reduction of working hours, an increase in the purchasing power of workers and the harmonization in an upward direction of social legislation."

"IS EEG-CRISIS OPGELOST?" (HAS THE EEC CRISIS BEEN SETTLED?) "De Vakbeweging" (NVV, Netherlands), No. 4-1966 of 15 February 1966, page 51.

"In Brussels", this journal writes, "they are once again putting out the bunting to celebrate the end of the EEC crisis. By means of a few minor concessions, it has been possible to get the French to resume participation in the work of the Council of Ministers."

"But the joy resulting from the measure of agreement which has been reached should not lead us to forget that in fact nothing has been finally settled. Whether and at what particular moment the whole crisis will break out again in full force will depend solely on the circumstances and political situation prevailing in France and in Europe."

"The subjects on which there is no agreement are still many: agricultural financing, the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) tariff negotiations, relations with Great Britain and other members of the European Free Trade Association, the composition of the new Commission. Again, the problems outstanding on the technical plane will become progressively more difficult as the EEC reaches its final stages, because the most difficult problems have always been put off till later."

"The crisis only has made it more problematical that a solution, which we regard as essential, will be found for the question of the powers of the European Parliament. When the crisis broke out, the Commission and the other governments in their fright halted their cautious attempts to get the French to make some concessions in this sphere."

"Notwithstanding these grounds for complaint," the journal concludes, "the Luxembourg talks appear to have produced positive results. The situation in France being what it is, one can state with assurance that a statesman has indeed gained much if he only gains time. After the 1967 parliamentary elections, we shall know whether there will be a clear

majority ready to share de Gaulle's ideas on international policy. If so, we shall have to concede this view and consider the consequences. For the time being, however, we may congratulate ourselves on the maintenance of the EEC institutions and the consequent possibilities of seeing them in the future evolving in a different political climate."

"PLEIDOOI VOOR EEN SLAGVAARDIGE EUROPESE VAKBEWEGING" (A PLEA FOR A DYNAMIC EUROPEAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT), by P. van Bijsterveld, (Evangelie en Maatschappij), (Netherlands), No. 1 of January 1966.

The author begins his article by analysing different forms of international co-operation and then goes on to deal in greater detail with the particularly concrete form of international co-operation represented by European integration. He then turns to the attitude of the trade-union movement in Europe and outlines the present organization and structure of the IFCTU European Organization.

"When we examine the present situation of the trade-union movement in Europe," P. van Bijsterveld notes, "and particularly that of the IFCTU European Organization, it seems clear that we are faced by an immense task and that the future outlook for the European Communities and the new tasks which the trade-unions are facing in our twentieth century industrialised society will give the European trade-unions grouped in the IFCTU a considerable task to win the place which is theirs by right. The work that has been done up to now is to be considered as that of an advance patrol which has contented itself with reconnoitring and identifying obstacles: the greater part of our efforts has yet to come."

#### SOCIAL QUESTIONS

"POURQUOI UN FICHER DES CONVENTIONS COLLECTIVES?" (WHY DO WE NEED AN INDEX OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS?) by Roger Louet, "FO Magazine (CGT-FO, France), No. 4 of February 1966, page 6.

In introducing the national index of collective agreements which has been drawn up in France as a voluntary undertaking, Roger Louet reminds his readers that this undertaking has also to be seen from the wider point of view of the Common Market.

"WORDT DE GELIJKSTELLING UIT BRUSSEL BEDREIGD?" (IS EQUALITY THREATENED BY BRUSSELS?) by H. Vredeling, ("Verenigt U"), (ANAB-Netherlands), No. 3 of 7 February 1966, page 2.

In this trade-union publication, Mr. Vredeling, who is the social and economic adviser of the Netherlands General Agrarian Association (Algemene Nederlandse agrarische Bedrijfsbond) has devoted a number of articles to wage questions in the agricultural sector.

We reproduce below a number of extracts:



"The additional difficulties encountered by reason of the EEC entail a great danger: the influence exerted by organized agricultural workers on the price level of agricultural products and their right to take part in fixing these prices are in danger of being compromised. This risk really exists because of the fact that, in no other EEC country, do the agricultural workers' organizations have the influence which the Netherlands agricultural workers' union are able to exert through the agricultural federation. The ending of this influence would, thus, mean a step backwards. If we desire the EEC to be a stage on the path towards progress, as is laid down in the Preamble to the EEC Treaty, the agricultural workers' unions in the other countries will have to adopt the same position as the Dutch agricultural workers' unions."

"In view of the possibilities of increasing the prosperity inherent in the success of the EEC and taking due account of political necessity, the question which the trade-union movement faces is not whether it should or should not contribute to the implementation of the EEC. We have the evidence that is in our interest to contribute to the EEC. Admittedly, we must understand that this may bring about all sorts of changes which we do not wish but which are inevitable in the wider context of economic and social policy."

"The European Economic Community is a new phenomenon. Considerable political economic, and, above all, social interests are involved in bringing it into being. There are very good chances that the EEC will have beneficial consequences for the workers in all Member countries of the EEC. But we shall not get anything for nothing. Exactly as at national level we shall only get favourable results if we are ready to fight for them. In the Netherlands we have been able to put the claim for equal treatment of agricultural workers onto a real basis. This claim is no longer a will-o'-the-wisp but a concrete political reality. Our task now is to do everything in our power to have this claim, which is still a will-o'-the-wisp at EEC level, put into effect in these new conditions and at a higher level.

#### ECONOMIC POLICY

"STAHL UND EISEN: BALD GEHT ES WIEDER AUFWAERTS. MAN KAUFTE IN INTERVALLEN."  
(STEEL AND IRON: WE SHALL SOON HAVE FURTHER PROGRESS. INTERMITTENT BUYING.)  
"Der Gewerkschafter", No. 2, February 1966, (DGB), pages 50-53.

In an interview given to the publication of the German metalworkers, W. Michels, Member of Parliament, and member of the Executive of the German Metalworkers Union, looks at the present situation and future prospects of the iron and steel industry and the social repercussions affecting workers.

"In order to bring about at world level a reasonable relationship between the production and consumption of steel", Michels advocates the convening of a world steel conference on the lines of the initiative taken by the High Authority in 1965. In order to afford a measure of protection against fluctuations in the trade cycle and structural changes, Michels wishes to see implemented "a guaranteed social status for workers affected

by these fluctuations. The objective would be to guarantee the yearly wage of workers in the iron and steel industry, regardless of whether the steel produced is completely absorbed or not."

In dealing with relations between the trade-unions and the ECSC High Authority the German parliamentarian notes that "in principle, one might say that there has been good co-operation with the High Authority and that we regard that institution as a good starting point for continuing and improving co-operation in Europe."

As far as the merger of the three Executives is concerned, Michels demands "that the workers' group must be represented on the (single) Executive if the problems of Europe are to be solved. " In concluding, he gives an undertaking that "the German trade-unions will, as in the past, do everything in their power to strengthen the European idea."

#### TRANSPORT POLICY

"DIE SOZIALEN AKZENTE IN DER EUROPÄISCHEN VERKEHRSPOLITIK" (THE SOCIAL EMPHASIS IN EUROPEAN TRANSPORT POLICY) by G. Kugoth, "Das OETV-Magazin" (DGB) No. 2, February 1966, page 3.

The author examines the most important provisions of the Common Transport Policy:

"We may now note with satisfaction that concrete steps have been taken to harmonize social provisions."

"As from 1 January 1966, the legislative and administrative provisions on working conditions have to be harmonized using the most favourable basis. This applies to each means of transport. In this context, however, we cannot allow any encroachment on the powers of workers' and employers' organizations to conclude collective agreements. Accordingly, wages and other allowances are not included in the harmonization measures."

The author points out int.al. that the manning of vehicles in each means of transport, regulations on duration of work and rest periods and regulations on overtime must be harmonized not later than 31 December 1968.

A joint committee, composed of workers' and employers' representatives has been set up to deal with social problems in road transport.

"The EEC Commission has already started preliminary work for harmonizing social conditions in rail transport and inland navigation."

According to the author, "the outcome of the envisaged consultations and the contents of the social provisions for workers in the transport industry will show whether the work of the EEC is going to serve effectively the cause of social progress in Europe."

## EURATOM

"EUROPESE GEMEENSCHAP VOOR ATOOMENERGIE" (THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY), "EURATOM", "De Werkmeester" (NKV Netherlands), February 1966, pages 4-6.

At the beginning of October 1965 Euratom organized in Brussels a technical study tour for IFCTU trade-union leaders from the Netherlands and Belgium. "De Werkmeester" devotes an article to this study tour in which it draws attention to the great need for information on Euratom questions.

"We can agree," the journal writes, "with the views put forward by Mr. Sassen who, speaking in his capacity as a Member of the Euratom Commission, said at the end of the meeting on 8 October 1965: 'If the Community desire to unite Europe on the basis of co-operation persists, our countries will know a better future.'"

### III. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DOCUMENTATION

#### EEC

"ETUDE COMPARATIVE DES NORMES LEGISLATIVES REGISSANT LA PROTECTION DES JEUNES TRAVAILLEURS DANS LES PAYS MEMBRES DE LA CEE" (COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE STANDARDS REGULATING THE PROTECTION OF YOUNG WORKERS IN MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE EEC), 8151/1/1965, "Etudes", série politique sociale, No. 11, published in French, German, Italian and Dutch. Prices: Bfrs. 100.-; FF. 10.-; DM 4.80; Lit. 1250.-; Fl. 7.25; 14s 6d; \$ 2.-.

The present study dealing with working conditions of young persons as laid down by legislation ranges over a wide area, from the provisions of the Treaty in respect of industrial and labour legislation, industrial health and medicine to questions of vocational training and the exchange of young workers.

The interest shown in the protection of young workers by governments, employers and workers' organizations in Member States has resulted in the appointment of a three-man working party which has embarked on a detailed examination of the legal position and actual situation in this sphere.

The completion of the Working Party's investigations is marked by the establishment of "Synoptical Tables for the comparison of legislative and administrative provisions governing the protection of young workers

in Member States of the EEC", which set out the salient features of the present study.

The study constitutes a working paper which will be of use in promoting an improved knowledge of the main legislative provisions governing the protection of young workers at present in force in the six Member States of the EEC as well as of work done at international level in connection with the situation in this area in these countries and a preliminary comparison of these different provisions and of the various forms of action that have been taken.

"LA PROTECTION DE LA MATERNITE DANS LES SIX PAYS DE LA CEE" (MATERNITY PROTECTION IN THE SIX COUNTRIES OF THE EEC), 8175/1/1/1966/5 - "Etudes", série politique sociale No. 13, published in French, German, Italian and Dutch. Prices: Bfrs. 50.-; FF. 5.-; DM 4.-; Lit. 620.-; Fl. 3.60; 7s 6d; \$ 1.-.

In the context of work being carried out with a view to providing greater clarity with regard to legal and administrative provisions existing in the six countries of the European Economic Community and, more particularly, of the business of the Working Party on the Protection of Employed Women and Young Workers, it has been found necessary to undertake a preliminary draft survey of questions relating to the employment of women in the form of a comparative study of regulations for the protection of working mothers.

In the first instance, it was necessary to examine and compare provisions of industrial legislation existing in the six countries. Since many measures designed to protect working mothers come within the scope of social security, it seemed desirable to deal also with questions connected with the provision of economic guarantees for women workers during periods of absence occasioned by maternity. On the other hand, it was not thought necessary to give emphasis to regulations concerning women workers in general, these matters being left for a possible future separate inquiry. The purpose of the present study is to provide interested circles with a document containing data gathered by the services of the EEC Commission in collaboration with experts nominated by Governments and representatives of employers' and workers' organizations in the six member countries.

### ECSC

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#### EURATOM

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"LA MEDECINE NUCLEAIRE AU SERVICE DE L'AFRIQUE" (NUCLEAR MEDICINE TO AID AFRICA) by Dr. J.E. Dumont, Dr. A.M. Ermans and Dr. H.L. Vis "Euratom Bulletin", March 1966, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 8-15, published in French, German, Italian and Dutch.

#### JOINT INFORMATION SERVICE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

The Joint Information Service of the European Communities (Common Market, ECSC and EURATOM) publishes a series of dossiers in five languages giving information on the most topical issues regarding European integration. Dossiers recently published include:

- in French: - Rapports entre le droit communautaire et le droit national (relations between community law and national law)  
(dossier bibliographique) (bibliographical dossier);
- in Italian: - L'espansione economica nel Mercato Comune dal 1958 ad oggi. Le prospettive per il 1966 (Economic expansion in the Common Market from 1958 till today. The outlook for 1966)  
(Documenti N. 18);
- in Dutch: - Een band met Europa (A link with Europe).

All these publications may be obtained by writing to the Joint Information Service of the European Communities in Brussels (244, Rue de la Loi), Luxembourg (18, Rue Aldringer), or from the offices in Bonn, Paris, The Hague, Rome, Geneva, London, New York or Washington.

TO OUR READERS

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

Editor's note.

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