

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

**FOUNDING CONGRESS**  
*Vienna (Austria), 1-3 November 2006*

**CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS**

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS CONFEDERATION

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Wednesday, 1<sup>st</sup> November 2006

**FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION**

**OPENING CEREMONY**

*Congress assembled at 10.15 a.m.*

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (Mr. LeRoy Trotman, Chair, Workers' Group, International Labour Organisation): I now call this meeting to order. Your Excellency the President of the Federal Republic of Austria and members of the Cabinet of the Government of Austria, Ambassadors and other Excellencies, including the Director-General of the ILO, Ambassador Juan Somavia, other distinguished visitors, sisters and brothers, ladies and gentlemen, colleagues all, please allow me to introduce the persons who are here with me on the podium.

On my left is brother Rudolf Hundstorfer, the Acting President of the ÖGB of Austria, which is generously hosting us here in Vienna. We wish to thank him and through him we wish to thank all of our Austrian colleagues for their generosity to us all. *(Applause)*

On my right is brother Emilio Gabaglio, previously President of the European Trade Union Confederation. *(Applause)* You will know that he has acted as the facilitator of this unification process, which is reaching its culmination here today.

Oh yes, and I forgot somebody. For those of you who do not know him, let me introduce myself. I am LeRoy Trotman. I have been asked to chair this session by virtue of the authority vested in me as Chair of the Workers' Group in the International Labour

Organisation, to which post I have been elected by the total membership of the world trade union membership of the world trade union movement. *(Applause)*

In order to advance these proceedings, I now have the honour to call upon Bro. Gabaglio to take the floor. Emilio, just one 1 second. We have changed a little bit and we are going to have the most important thing, the food of life first. Let us have music.

*(Performance of the Blue Danube waltz)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Fittingly, colleagues, the Blue Danube waltz. Can we have another hand for the delightfully rendered music from our orchestra, please? *(Applause)*

Now we have a good second in Emilio. He would not have been as good as the waltz. Emilio, you have the floor.

**MR. EMILIO GABAGLIO** (Former General Secretary, European Trade Union Confederation, ETUC) *(Interpreted)*: President of the Federal Republic of Austria, Director-General of the ILO, Ambassador Juan Somavia, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, dear brothers and sisters, dear friends, this assembly on November 1<sup>st</sup> 2006, here in Vienna, I think we would all agree, is a unique event. Never in the life of the international trade union movement has there been an assembly that has been so representative and of this magnitude.

As we all know from our own experience in the international trade union movement, our history has been marked more by division than by unity. Unity has always been an aspiration, but it is something that we have not been able to accomplish in practice.

The assembly that brings us together here today in Vienna may decide to turn the page of history and leave division behind and may decide to lay the conditions for a newly united international trade union movement. The conditions for this are present and should allow us to flourish. Indeed, since all of us are able to identify with the values and practices of democratic and independent trade unionism, there is no longer any reason not to build both a united and pluralistic international trade union movement. Moreover, as we all know, this is an imperative in our day.

If the international trade union movement wishes to meet the challenges posed by a globalised economy and the challenges of an increasingly interdependent world, if we wish to continue our everyday struggles to become more effective and to take the offensive in order to ensure the universal rights to dignity and respect of working men and women, if we wish to ensure equality and peace if we want a fairer type of development with greater solidarity, allowing everyone access to a decent job, then we must continue our struggle.

Turning to the agenda of today's meeting, we must recognise that this is the outcome of lengthy negotiations and discussions and our brothers and sisters and friends have demonstrated extraordinary co-operation. It has been a great privilege for me to participate and I would like to thank all of you for the confidence you have placed in me

and for your friendship. There have been lengthy discussions between the ICFTU and the WCL, of course, but also discussions with a number of national centres which are not currently international affiliates. They have expressed a desire to become involved with this process of both a uniting and a refounding of the international trade union movement. These centres are amongst us today. We welcome them. We welcome them as partners in this endeavour.

That having been done, Chair, I suggest now that we give the floor to the General Secretary general of the WCL, Willy Thys, and also the General Secretary of the ICFTU, Guy Ryder. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you very much, Emilio. Now colleagues we should like to ask Willy Thys and Guy Ryder to join us on the podium. (*Applause*)

We should like to ask Willy Thys, the former General Secretary of the WCL, to take the lectern. (*Applause*)

**MR. WILLY THYS** (Former General Secretary, World Confederation of Labour, WCL) (*Interpreted*): President of the Federal Republic of Austria, Mr. Juan Somavia, Director-General of the ILO, President of the ÖGB, honoured guests, dear friends.

First of all I have some news to announce. The WCL Congress met yesterday morning. It was our 27<sup>th</sup> Congress. Its objective was the dissolution of the WCL and approval of the creation of the new organisation. In order to do so we needed a quorum of 75% and a majority of 66%. The WCL Congress approved dissolution with a majority of 95%, 2% against, 3% abstaining. (*Applause*) At the same time we agreed that our affiliates should join the new organisation and we agreed to ratify the Constitution and support the Programme of Action which will be presented and discussed during this Congress. We also examined the regional unification agreements.

Consequently, I am very happy to present this morning to this Congress the affiliation of 90 WCL affiliates as ordinary members of the International Trade Union Confederation. (*Applause*) We also have six organisations which will be Associated Organisations.

It is with a deal of emotion that we have turned the page of history and we have done this with great hope as well. We know that history is made of organisations, but organisations are comprised of women and men who are active trade unionists, so we have turned the page of history but at the same time we have decided to write a new page of history and I am entirely persuaded that we are going to create a great new history.

Dear brothers and sisters, the new organisation will benefit from our rich experience, our values, our cultures, and the contradictions of independent democratic organisations who are joining us today at this Congress. We will be united in our diversity. We shall be tolerant of one another. We shall act in the pluralistic structure.

The assembly that brings us together today, as Emilio has said, has no precedent in the history of the international trade union movement. For the first time democratic and independent institutions around the world are united. Thus, we shall be stronger in facing the great challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: universal respect for human rights; the defence of trade union freedoms -- which of course is one of our major objectives, without trade union freedom we cannot struggle for social justice; redistribution of wealth -- we are living in a time when we have never seen such a great concentration of the world's wealth; decent employment or work whilst respecting the environment; harmonious development around the world and the elimination of this scourge of child labour; the fight against all types of discrimination, in particular gender discrimination.

Thanks to all of your work the characteristic of the new organisation will be our capacity to mobilise and to carry out our actions and of course our strength lies in our unity. In order to change the course of this neoliberal globalisation which is deepening inequalities and is promoting the values of selfishness and competition, we want to put a human face on globalisation. We want to create a life of dignity for working men and women.

Dear brothers and sisters, these are the ideals we share; these are the ideals that we shall continue to defend together, united in our solidarity. Solidarity is the value which, for more than a hundred years, has motivated those who created the first trade unions. United in solidarity we shall be stronger.

To you, I say long live solidarity and long live the new Confederation. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you very much, Bro. Thys. Now, colleagues, we shall hear from Guy Ryder, former General Secretary of the ICFTU. (*Applause*)

**MR. GUY RYDER** (Former General Secretary, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU): Mr. President of the Federal Republic of Austria, Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, honoured guests, Bro. Trotman, Bro. Hundstorfer, Bro. Gabaglio, sisters and brothers.



Let me begin by thanking Bro. Trotman for guiding us through these historic proceedings and also giving me the floor now.

I have the honour to report that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions held its 19<sup>th</sup> World Congress yesterday afternoon in this very room. That Congress took the decision by acclamation to dissolve the ICFTU and so to bring to an end the 57 years of its history. It expressed pride in that history and in the achievements of the ICFTU and honoured the millions of working women and men from all countries who had contributed to them, on occasion at the cost of their lives. Our Congress also made clear its strong and continuing commitment and attachment to the principles and values of independent and democratic trade unionism.

In line with commitments solemnly made at the 1<sup>th</sup> ICFTU World Congress in Miyazaki, Japan, in December 2004, our 19<sup>th</sup> World Congress yesterday decided to found, with our friends in the World Confederation of Labour, the International Trade Union Confederation, with the objective of ensuring the most effective representation of the rights and the interests of working people worldwide. It called also on independent and democratic national trade union centres which do not as yet have world level affiliation to participate in the establishment of the International Trade Union Confederation here with us in Vienna today.

Bro. Trotman, it is in this context that 211 national centres in 147 countries and territories, being members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at the moment of its dissolution, hereby declare their decision to be co-founders of the International Trade Union Confederation. (*Applause*) They call on all of those joining the ITUC to work together in a spirit of unity and solidarity to ensure that the new Confederation becomes the effective and powerful instrument that working people need in today's globalised economy. They undertook to so act themselves in the interests of a New Trade Union Internationalism capable of meeting the challenges of this globalised economy, of winning decent work for all and social justice for all. Thank you, Bro. Trotman. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you to Bro. Ryder. Colleagues, let us once again hear from our facilitator, Bro. Gabaglio.

**MR. EMILIO GABAGLIO** (*Interpreted*): Thank you very much. In my previous comments I referred to national organisations with no international affiliation. Over the last three years they set up a contact group with the ICFTU and the WCL for the purpose of establishing the New International Trade Union Confederation. At the

meeting of the contact group, held here in Vienna on Monday of this week, these organisations confirmed their intention to become founding members of the New International Trade Union Confederation. They are with us today: UNT of Angola; CTV of Argentina; the Trade Union Federation of Madagascar (FI.SE.MA.); the CUT of Colombia, CUT Colombia; GEFONT of Nepal; the General Confederation of Workers (CGT) France; the OPZZ central in Poland and the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria.

In addition to these eight centres joining us today as founding members of the new Confederation, other centres worked with us in the contact group. I am referring to the CGTP of Portugal; PIT-CNT Uruguay and the General Confederation of Workers of Peru. These organisations, like the others, have contributed to the debate on the creation of the new international organisation and its Constitution. However, for internal reasons related to their own statutes, they are not today in a position to become founding members of this assembly, although they have joined us. We hope that within a very short time these brothers and sisters too will become part of the new International Trade Union Confederation. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you once again, Emilio.

Agenda Item 2 : Report of the Credentials Committee (FC/E/ - CC/2)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Colleagues, with your permission, I would now like to call on the chairperson of the Credentials Committee appointed following consultations between the ICFTU, the WCL and the contact group of non-affiliated organisations. I call on sister Wanja Lundby-Wedin of LO Sweden.

**MS. WANJA LUNDBY-WEDIN** (Chairperson, ITUC Credentials Committee) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers, I have to deliver the first report from the Credentials Committee. As you can hear, I am doing this in my own language, Swedish, but you do have the report in your files and I hope that you will be able to follow since you have it in front of you and we have excellent interpreters at our Congress.

Agenda Item 3: Ratification of Composition of the Credentials Committee

**MS. LUNDBY-WEDIN:** The first report has to establish who is to be part of the Credentials Committee. As you can see, the Executives of our old organisations, the ICFTU and the WCL, have agreed on Linda Chavez Thompson, Luis Eduardo Gauterio Gallo from Brazil; Wanja Lundby-Wedin; Jeannot Ramanarivo from Africa; Ed Sweeney from Europe and Anna van Lauer from Belgium. This is the Creden-

tials Committee. The committee also asked me to chair the work of the Committee and to deliver this first report.

The first job for the Committee was of course to draw up the list which would be the basis for your decision as to which organisations would become affiliates at this Founding Congress. We looked at the list of all those applying for affiliation and we could see that the list that we had received had been exhibited by the two former organisations and was found to be in order and this meant that the list was entirely in line with the Draft Constitution. All organisations had also fulfilled their economic obligations in accordance with the Constitution and paid the affiliation fees. This means that, as we say in paragraph 8, we move that the Congress approve the list in front of you as the list of affiliates of the new world Confederation.

Agenda Item 4 : Election of Congress Praesidium

**MS. LUNDBY-WEDIN:** Our next job was to propose a praesidium for the Congress and in paragraph 11 you can see who we have proposed: Sharan Burrow, Adrien Akouete, Carlos Rodriguez, Guy Ryder and Willy Thys. With those few words, I move on behalf of the Credentials Committee that the Congress approve the proposals that have been put forward and also adopt our first report. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you very much, Sis. Wanja. May I ask you to approve the first report of the Credentials Committee and the recommendations contained therein? (*AGREED*) I take it that it is approved. (*Applause*)

I would therefore like to ask the members of the praesidium thus nominated to join us here on the podium. It is a pretty large list and I think it is necessary to read the list for you, with due apologies for my massacring of names which may take place in the process: Adrien Akouete; Brendan Barber; Toolsyraj Benydin; Ednaldo Pisara; Sharan Burrow; Barbara Byers; Linda Chavez Thompson; Luc Cortebeeck; Manuel Cova; Rudy de Leeuw; Ofer Eini, Guilermo Epifani; Eduardo Garcia; Julio Roberto Gomez; Mariana Guambo; Mody Guiro; Bogdan Hossu; Jeliasco Urestov; Lauri Ihalainen; Yemisi Ilesanmi; Constance Jafta; Abdessalem Jerad; Nicetas Lucero ; Miriam Lutte; Jean Claude Mailly; Zdenek Malek; Ablamas Souja; Bro. Rajasekaran; Sanjeeva Reddy; Carlos Rodriguez; Ricardo Diaz Rodriguez; Guy Ryder; Rabi-atou Sera Diallo; Michael Shmakov; Reckson Siliban; Michael Sommer; John Sweeney; Sis. Yoshi Takagi; Bernard Thibault; Willy Thys; Zwelinzima Vavi; Manuel Augusto Zaguirre.

As they make their way here, I believe it would do all of us good to have an interlude of music. The next group is called Rondo Vienna. They are a string sextet and they are accompanied by a choral group. We should like you to give them a good hand. (Applause)

*(Performance by Rondo Vienna)*

Agenda Item 5: Report of the Standing Orders Committee  
(FC/E/5 - SOC/1)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Colleagues, I now wish to call on the Chair of the Standing Orders Committee to address you, appointed following consultations between the WCL, the ICFTU and the contact group of non-affiliated organisations, Bro. Bogdan Hossu from Cartel Alfa in Romania.

**MR. BOGDAN HOSSU** (Chairperson, ITUC Standing Orders Committee) *(Interpreted)*: Chair, brothers and sisters, friends, on behalf of the Standing Orders Committee I have the pleasure of presenting the report our meeting which was held yesterday at eight o'clock.

Agenda Item 6: Ratification of composition of the Standing Orders Committee

**MR. HOSSU:** Delegates, brothers and sisters, the first recommendation that we would like to submit to you is ratification of the composition of the Standing Orders Committee, as set out in the current report. I had the honour of being unanimously elected Chair of the SOC. We moved that the Congress adopt the Standing Orders of the International Trade Union Confederation as stipulated in its Constitution, with, however, several amendments concerning the length of this Congress, as indicated in our report.

The Standing Orders Committee recommends, moreover, that the Congress officially adopt the draft Congress Agenda, as well as the provisional Congress Programme. The Committee recommends that the Congress decides that the Headquarters of the new ITUC will be Brussels. We recommend that the Congress adopt the ITUC programme, noting however that the proposals formulated during this Congress will have to be taken into account by the General Council of the ITUC.

Agenda Item 7: Constitution and Standing Orders of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) (FC/E/7(Draft))

**MR. HOSSU:** Finally, the Committee has examined the Draft Constitution of the ITUC as well as its final provisions, as indicated in our report. The Committee has the pleasure of moving that the Con-

gress adopt these provisions as well as the entire Constitution and the Standing Orders of the ITUC in their entirety.

Chair, the Standing Orders Committee officially submits its report to the Congress for adoption. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you very much, Bro. Hossu. May I ask you, colleagues, to approve the report of the Standing Orders Committee? I take it that it is approved. *(AGREED)* I thank you very much. *(Applause)*

I now once again call on Bro. Gabaglio.

**MR. EMILIO GABAGLIO:** Bro. Chair, at this point in time the assembly has approved the Credentials Committee's report and the Standing Orders Committee's report, including the recommendation to approve the Constitution. Therefore, Chair, allow me to move the decision to establish the new International Trade Union Confederation. *(Applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you very much, colleagues. I think we still have to do it with the gavel, so I had better, for the record, do it correctly. May I see the hands of all of those of you who second this proposal?

*(Unanimous show of hands)*

I see all your hands going up. So with great pleasure, and fully conscious of the historic significance of this moment and its importance to the future of the international trade union movement, I hereby declare the creation of the International Trade Union Confederation, bringing together 306 national centres in 154 countries and representing 168 million members. So created. *(Applause and standing ovation)*

*(The Rondo Vienna String Sextet gave a musical performance)*

*(Applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Ladies and gentlemen, that was the Rondo Vienna String Sextet. Congratulations for beautiful music and our thanks to them.

It remains now for me to introduce to you the three persons who, via consultation, have been chosen to become your three co-Chairpersons during this Congress. In order from me, and just beyond our brother, is Sis. Burrow from ACTU, Australia; Bro. Rodriguez from the CUT in Colombia and Bro. Akouete from CUSTT.

The last thing left for me to do is to thank you for making me part of this very extraordinary commencement exercise and to hand over to Sis. Burrow the instruments of her office as Chairperson. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (Ms. Sharan Burrow): Thank you, Bro. LeRoy. Can I thank Bro. Trotman and Bro. Gabaglio for a magnificent facilitation of our proud new International. It is a great honour for my brother, Bro. Akouete from Togo, Bro. Rodriguez from Colombia and myself, Sis. Burrow from Australia to be your Chairpersons for this historic Congress.

However, the first thing I want to do is again recognise the incredible hospitality, friendship and honour that the Austrian ÖGB have visited on us by hosting this Congress. (*Applause*)

In order to make you welcome to Austria and to this historic occasion, can I introduce once again Bro. Rudolf Hundstorfer and ask him to address us in an address of welcome. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**WELCOME ADDRESS TO CONGRESS BY  
MR. RUDOLF HUNDSTORFER  
PRESIDENT, OESTERREICHISCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND  
(ÖGB)**

**MR. RUDOLF HUNDSTORFER** (*Interpreted*): Mr. President of the Republic -- and I would like to welcome somebody who I do not need to introduce -- the President of the National Parliament, Members of Parliament, brothers and sisters, regardless of what part of the world you come from I want you to know that you are very welcome. We welcome you on behalf of ÖGB and its 1,300,000 members.

It is the third time in 60 years that the international trade union movement is meeting in Austria. The ICFTU held its World Congress in 1955 here and, later on, the WCL in 1985. But it is the first time that we are meeting as a unified and completely new trade union organisation.

Let me say, as President of the ÖGB, that it is a pleasure and an honour for all of us trade unionists in Austria to welcome you and it is a great pleasure for us to note that you have paid Austria and the City of Vienna the honour of you meeting here. (*Applause*)

There are approximately 1,800 people here in the hall today and it is an historic moment when the ITUC is being founded. I would like to mention three principles: solidarity, democracy and justice. Distinguished guests of honour, sisters and brothers, let me dive straight into the everyday world of trade union work. The new Confederation that

has just been founded and, thus, is the realisation of a vision, has recognised three values in its fundamental declaration: solidarity, democracy and justice. These are values which, today, 2006, are distant and unobtainable dreams and wishes in many parts of the world. We are going to be talking about these principles a lot at this Congress. We are going to hear how multifaceted, diverse, amazing and fulfilling our work is, but also how grim and brutal the labour market can be. We also know that it is changing every day and every hour.

This Congress (and I have already said this) is something that we are very happy to welcome and, as an Austrian and as a European, I would just like to say a few words about how we see things. Yes, we have achieved democracy in Europe after the long and hard years of the partition of our continent, and we have had to fight for the removal of the partition. That is a good thing. We recognise the values of solidarity and justice for all. We subscribe to solidarity as an indivisible and fundamental principle of trade union action.

But is everything all right with us in Europe? I think we have the right to ask this question. Can we, in the trade unions, sit back, as many outside critics claim? We have many standards that many people do not have. In Europe, we can see how these three values that I have referred to are enshrined in legislation and would seem to be on an even keel but we have to fight to defend them every day. Even today we suffer under the weight of the merciless, money-driven philosophy of rising share values versus falling human values. We, as trade unionists, cannot subscribe to that philosophy. Therefore, we have to fight against it collectively.

I would like to say a few words about politics in Austria and to quote ÖGB's first President, Johann Bohm. He said: "Social security is the most reliable basis for democracy" and even though it presumed that all is well in Europe, every day we find that the ÖGB has on its agenda important issues which have to be addressed in Europe. And we have over 1.3 million members. We see that there is a difference between what you find in legislation and socially agreed standards and what actually happens on the ground. It does not matter if you are talking about the private sector or the public sector. This shows that we still have to tirelessly pursue the course of justice and solidarity to make sure that they become reality.

In Europe we know that there are many exemplary goals that have been pursued and achieved by the world trade union movement, but these examples, if we just take a little look at the trade union scene of every day, shows that what has been achieved has to be constantly fought for tirelessly through Works Councils and trade unions.



Distinguished delegates, in some parts of Europe we have a good and secure system which will, however, only function if we constantly fight on a daily basis to defend it.

Let me move on to a second point: fundamental rights and the dignity of human beings. There are many people in Europe who have committed to another fundamental value of the ITUC, namely, the dignity and the value of human beings. We often see that people are treated differently in the workplace than in society and we often forget that working women are human beings with equal rights. They have a value and deserve respect, regardless of the function and place they have in society or in working life. Dealing with this unequal treatment is still a very big challenge for the trade unions.

But we also regard the right to jobs as a fundamental right for the dignity of human beings and of course we must pursue full employment as part of the pursuit of respect for human rights. The continuing high level of unemployment in many parts of the world, including Europe, is a disgrace in the eyes of the trade unions and it has not been given sufficient attention and commitment by political circles. The ITUC has very rightly said, in setting out its goals, that the ITUC will speak up for the right to freely-chosen, productive jobs under humane conditions and at fair rates of pay.

Let me touch upon two other subjects very briefly in my Address of Welcome. Let us try together, even though it may seem very difficult, to deal with the question of competition between centres of production and let us try to work together because the competitiveness of production centres has to be maintained and we have to start the relocation of plants and we have to be prepared to make sacrifices, we have been told. We have been told to reduce rates of pay, increase working hours, cut back on social benefits, and lower corporate taxes. The list of sacrifices becomes longer and longer. And we are told by trade and industry that if we do not adjust then we will not be able to keep our jobs. There are no other alternatives, they say.

We are constantly being confronted with new proposals designed to weaken and even abolish the rights that the trade unions have fought so hard for. Previously these rights have not been a barrier to productivity and the creation of prosperity. We have achieved all that even though we have had these rights and even as people in Europe are again working 50 to 60 hours. Of course, there will be production centres in other parts of the world where people are working more than 70 or 80 hours a week. I think that we all have a very big challenge before us, the challenge to stop the competition between production centres. Political circles and the State must regulate the market and not allow



the market to act as the regulator of our countries. So this is a big challenge.

As President of the ÖGB, I would like to move on to a subject which is very much in the centre of our awareness in Austria. We are known internationally for our ways of settling disputes with our employers and companies. We refer to them as our social and economic partners and since 1957 we have had this social partnership. It has been an informal but well established component of working life. This voluntary co-operation with trade and industry has made it possible for our country to achieve a great deal and it has become one of the most prosperous parts of the world since the awful destruction perpetrated by the Second World War. It is not flattery and it is not self-importance if we say that this form of disputes settlement and contacts has brought so much good to the people of Austria.

We note from the proposed Constitution of the ITUC that the ITUC will strive to establish a global platform within the context of the social dialogue and we look forward to supporting the ITUC on the strength of our experience. We have to take a unified approach. In Austria, in the ÖGB since it was founded in 1945, we have been the only national centre for all trade unions and our national centre includes all democratic political and ideological affiliations. But we must constantly fight to retain this type of political co-existence with vigour. Recent events in Austria involving the ÖGB, which I am sure you have not been spared information on, have put the unity and resolve of the ÖGB to a tough test. But we will pull through together.

We are, at present, in the throes of a very difficult trade union discussion on the future in the run-up to a Reform Congress to take place in January 2007 which will benefit, certainly, from the discussions and outcome of this ITUC Congress.

Let me, finally, say a few words about human dignity and respect. A vile phenomenon in modern society is discrimination against individual people and whole groups marginalising them in society; people or groups of people who are supposed to have disadvantages and, in many cases, genuine physical disadvantages and who seem to be worthless in the eyes of others. Instead of giving them extra support and helping them, we see how they are further marginalised and discriminated against. The new unified and strengthened ITUC will have to set the scene for pursuing unity, solidarity and justice.

Finally, I would like to thank everybody. I would like to thank all the leaders of the ICFTU and the WCL for having decided to accept ÖGB's invitation to hold this Congress in Austria, in Vienna. I

would like to thank you for the trust you have put in us in preparing for this Congress. I would like to thank you for your solidarity, especially at a time when we are in the trade union movement in Austria, going through a very difficult financial and political phase. Thank you for showing your solidarity. Solidarity certainly has worked and we will try to ensure that the trust you have placed in us will be justified and we will leave no stone unturned in making sure that that is so.

Your presence is a demonstration and recognition of trade unionists, men and women within the ÖGB and in the Republic of Austria and the City of Vienna. We are very proud to welcome you as guests to our country.

And, finally, I would like to say on behalf of the Austrian trade union movement that I have a quotation for the beginning of the Congress: We have only have one world. We do not have a second one in the basement. Let us make sure, through the ITUC, that that one world means one human race and a world for all which is decent, peaceful, free and democratic. Thank you for your attention. I wish the ITUC every success. *(Applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, Bro. Rudolf. But, equally of importance, for your leadership not just in Europe but of trade unions amongst us around the world. Thank you for addressing us this morning.

Colleagues, in order to mark this historic occasion, we would like you to enjoy an inaugural Congress video.

*(Video was played to Congress)*

Let me now welcome back the choir.

*(The choir sang)*

Thank you. *(Applause)* We will now allow the choir to take a break.

It is now my honour to acknowledge two distinguished guests. We first of all have the President of the Austrian Federation, Heinz Fischer, and I would like you to make him very welcome. *(Applause)* But before I invite him to address us, I would like to acknowledge that Barbara Prammer is with us as well, who is indeed the President of the Austrian Parliament. You are very welcome, Barbara. *(Applause)*

As I ask President Fischer to come to the podium and to address us, can I tell you that he is not only the Head of State and much loved by his people in that role, but he is a friend of the trade unions. He has

been amongst us for a very long time and indeed his constituents tell me that, as a leader, his heart, his empathy, his commitment to working people is indeed something they very much value.

Those are high words of praise from your own people, President Fischer, but from us we are honoured to have you amongst us. Please make yourself welcome. (*Prolonged applause*)

#### WELCOME ADDRESS TO CONGRESS BY DR. HEINZ FISCHER THE FEDERAL PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA

**DR. HEINZ FISCHER** (Federal President, Republic of Austria) (*Interpreted*): Praesidium, distinguished delegates from more than 150 countries, honoured guests, sisters and brothers, anyone who has been in this room for the last two hours will have felt and will know that this is an historic event that they are attending, an historic event in the founding of this unified strong International Trade Union Confederation. That is why I would like to thank you for having invited me to this historic Founding Congress and for having given me the floor.

I was very happy to accept this invitation. As has already been pointed out, I very much appreciate the trade union movement and for 49 years I have been a member of the Austrian Confederation of Trade Unions. (*Applause*)

Democratic unions are not just an important and indispensable component in a democratic society. I know what sacrifices the trade union movement and individual trade unionists have had to make in the course of history and I know, too, how much working men and women and society in general have to thank the trade union movement for.

Having said that, let me welcome you in my capacity as Federal President of the Republic of Austria. Let me welcome you to my country and to Vienna. Vienna is a place of meetings -- a crossroads. Many international organisations are established here: Vienna is the third headquarters of the UN, the International Atomic Energy Organisation is here and we are very happy that you have chosen Vienna as the place for your Congress.

Ladies and gentlemen, the concept of trade unions in their modern form is a product of the industrial revolution and economic changes that took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the core of this movement was and is the principle of solidarity and social justice. Very soon after, the concept of internationalism and international co-operation was added. I think it is wonderful that the trade union movement has been able to gain a foothold on all continents. It has travelled a long and difficult but successful road into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Its remit and also the conditions

under which the trade unions work have changed a lot but the basic concerns remain and are still justified, and even more so worldwide. I know that it is not easy to stick to well established traditions and fundamental principles while, at the same time, dealing with new challenges, in a way, in line with the times and in a rapidly changing world.

I hope that you will succeed in your mission and I invite you to seek allies. I would congratulate you on this historic merger that you have now sealed.

Sis. Chair and the Praesidium, the trade union movement is important to working men and women but, in addition, it is important to society at large and to a democratic society. We have learnt that there are no free trade unions in dictatorships and free trade unions are a natural enemy of dictatorships -- free and democratic unions are closely linked to a democratic society -- which are a killer of democracy because social justice calls for political stability and political stability helps democracy.

Colleagues, I was interested to see, and I agree with this, that the concept of peace has a very prominent part in your Declaration of Principles. I very much welcome that for reasons of common sense but also because this very much moves me. I regard war and the inhumanity and violence it brings with it as the greatest tragedy that humans could inflict on each other. The belief that somehow war can solve the great problems of our times is a terrible mistake. It is wrong. War will not solve the problems of our era and, if it should solve a problem, it creates three new problems at the same time! (*Applause*) The outcome of war is an absolute disaster for society as a whole and for every individual person. That is why I welcome the fact that the international trade union movement is on the side of the opponents of war and that means that it is on the side of peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, being against war and for social justice and democracy also means being for human rights and taking them seriously. In my view all people, all human beings regardless of their individual differences, must be attributed the same rights and values. And it is not enough to put this down in print in Declarations and Constitutions. It must be experienced as reality and that is why trade unionists, men and women, have to be on the spot and they have to stand up against any discrimination on the basis of skin colour, religion, gender or whatever and must be against xenophobia -- standing up and fighting for human rights. (*Applause*) That is why trade unionists need to stand up for equal rights for everyone and for equal pay for equal work.

Since so many countries are assembled here, let me add that I regard the United Nations as an important ally in the fight against war and in the fight for human rights. Back in the year 2000, the UN adopted the Millennium Declaration at a ceremony in New York. The idea is to achieve the objectives set out by the year 2015. Among them are to fight against hunger because, throughout the world, more than 850 million people are still suffering from malnutrition. There is the fight that we have to wage for clean drinking water because, at the moment, 1.1 billion people still do not have sufficient access to clean water and we have to fight against HIV/AIDS because, in 2005 alone, 2.8 million people, including 2 million children and adults in sub-Saharan Africa, died of this disease.

We have to fight for public health and many other principles which are enshrined in the UN Declaration and I, for one, would welcome it if there could be good co-operation established between the international trade union movement and the United Nations. Or if existing co-operation could be stepped up, because whatever serves the cause of peace and human rights, whatever serves democracy and social justice serves us all, serves our children and will serve our grandchildren.

Colleagues, you have chosen Austria and Vienna as the venue for your Founding Congress. Let me tell you, and I think you know this, that Austria has a long history of a trade union centre with over 1.3 million members which has significantly contributed to the re-building of this country since the end of the Second World War. When there are difficulties, as President Hundstorfer has pointed out, then there is always a will to energetically and successfully overcome the difficulties. I put my trust in you.

Thank you, once again, for coming to Austria. I know that 1st November 2006 will be an historic day for the international trade union movement and will remain so. I hope you will enjoy your stay here. I wish you every success and I hope that you will succeed in achieving your goals, your visions, your dreams and your hopes. I hope that all your efforts will be successful. Please know that in your work you are serving humanity and working men and women throughout the world. That is why I thank you with all my heart. Thank you very much. Every success. (*Prolonged applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, President Fischer. You have indeed honoured us and we will remember your contribution and the strength of the principles that you have outlined for us on this very important occasion.

MESSAGE TO THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE ITUC  
FROM KOFI ANNAN,  
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** I have a very special message to read to you. It is from the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He says: “This is an historic day for the global labour movement. You have chosen to come together and face the challenges of globalisation as a single new united trade union body, the International Trade Union Confederation. The United Nations warmly welcomes this decision. We have now one clear counterpart on social, economic and development issues as they relate to the world of work.

“I have long emphasised the growing importance of civil society to the United Nations and recommended, last year, the General Assembly establish mechanisms to engage more fully with civil society organisations. Trade unions have constantly been amongst our most important civil society partners with both the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labour holding consultative status with the United Nations’ Economic and Social Council.

“The United Nations values the support you have shown for the underlying principles of the organisation and for its norm-setting role in the areas of peace, security, development and the promotion of human and labour rights!

“Following the adoption of the Millennium Declaration in 2000 you have supported our work to fight poverty and reached the Millennium Development Goals, including as a founder of the Global Call to Action Against Poverty, and through your active participation in the work of the Millennium Campaign. And you play a key role in giving effect to the pledge in last year’s World Summit outcome document to enable developing countries to participate more effectively and benefit from the process of globalisation, particularly by generating employment.

“We, in the United Nations, have relied on your support for our efforts to engage with the business sector so that companies abide by the 10 principles of the Global Compact. The Global Compact is now the world’s largest corporate citizenship initiative and labour is one of its key stakeholders at the global and local level.

“On all of these fronts the United Nations looks forward to even closer co-operation with the new International Trade Union Confederation. Given the importance we attach to policy coherence at all levels,

we are confident that our partnership will grow even stronger with this creation of this new body. In that spirit I wish you all a most productive Founding Congress. Kofi Annan.” (Applause)

Before we actually move to the conclusion of the morning, let us enjoy Pot Pourri and Stolz Melodies and reflect on the fact that you were on this momentous and august occasion as we begin this Congress, the Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation.

*(The Vienna State Orchestra played Pot Pourri and Stolz Melodies)*

*(Applause)*

Let me formally thank the choir, the singers and all of the performers for helping us to mark this occasion with such great heart. Thank you very much. *(Prolonged applause)*

Let me just announce two things to you before I come to the conclusion of the morning. The first is that, as we close the morning, we would like to invite all young delegates below 35 years of age -- not if you are over 35, but under 35 -- to meet in front of the Registration Desk for a group photo. But I would like to do something else. Would all of those young delegates -- those under 35s -- stand up and let us acknowledge the leaders of tomorrow. *(The young delegates stood) (Applause)* That is just terrific. It gives us an incredible sense of optimism to know you are amongst us.

Can I also thank all of our distinguished guests. It has been a very special morning for us, and for you to be here with us makes it even more so. As we go to lunch, can I tell you that the restaurants upstairs are open as well as eating places here on the ground floor. Can I also ask you to be back at 2.30 when you will be in the capable hands of Bro. Akouete. For now, thank you for marking this very special opening of the New International, the ITUC. *(Applause)*

The Founding Congress of the ITUC adjourned for lunch



Wednesday, 1<sup>st</sup> November 2006

## **AFTERNOON SESSION**

*Congress re-assembled at 2.50 p.m.*

Agenda Item 8: Programme of the ITUC (FC/E/8(Draft))

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (Mr. Adrien Akouété) (*Interpreted*): We shall resume our session now. As you know, this afternoon is going to be devoted to debate on the programme for the new organisation, the ITUC. To make it possible for as many delegates as possible to take part in the debate, we are asking speakers to limit themselves to four minutes speaking time. After four minutes, unfortunately, we will have to cut off the microphone.

First on our list of speakers we have Bro. Takagi from Rengo, Japan.

**MR. TSUYOSHI TAKAGI** (JTUC-Rengo, Japan): Chair, invited guests, brother and sisters, I am very much honoured to represent the Japanese Trade Union Confederation-Rengo to address this historic Founding Congress of the ITUC. It is worth commemorating for Rengo that the creation of a New International was confirmed at the ICFTU 18<sup>th</sup> World Congress in Miyazaki, Japan, two years ago, which Rengo was honoured to host. Today we are taking a very big step towards our goal of globalising solidarity. I am happy to share that sense of achievement with all of you.

With the establishment of the ITUC we must make massive changes to the present form of globalisation and ensure both good development and decent work for all. We must build a world where everyone can lead a decent life as a human being. We must not tolerate a world where poverty prevails, where the income gap widens, where human and trade union rights are denied or where serious environmental problems are left unaddressed. Furthermore, in order to achieve the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, more involvement of the international labour movement is essential. Even though positive results may seem elusive at this stage, let us press forward with increased energy and concrete action to the commitment year 2015.



I hope that the ITUC can, in partnership with organisations which share common values with the ITUC, carve out a path to a new era by redirecting globalisation, where we are released from poverty and where a sustainable society can be created. This means that the trade unions of the world assembled here at this inaugural ITUC Congress must join forces under the flag of the ITUC and make a stand against injustice. I would like to state that Rengo is resolved to be a part of this movement.

Brothers and sisters, world peace is another important issue for the ITUC. As the only country that has experienced the ravages brought by A-bombs, Japan's trade unions passionately believe that production, possession and, of course, use of nuclear weapons is absolutely intolerable. In order to share the message with all of you, we have organised a panel exhibition in hall A outside the Congress plenary hall. I am convinced that the images are powerful enough to remind all of us that the total abolition of nuclear weapons should be on the agenda of the international trade union movement, especially in the present world, where nuclear tests and the development of nuclear weapons are continuing.

All of us present here should be reminded that the establishment of the ITUC is only the very first step of a new start, the new start for globalising solidarity, world peace and development.

Finally, I would like to thank the ÖGB, the hosts of this memorable Founding Congress of the ITUC. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. HANS JENSEN** (LO Denmark) (*Interpreted*): Chair, brothers and sisters, delegates, I want to move straight on to conclusions. To a large extent, the struggle for trade union rights has moved from the national scene to the global arena and that is why we need an even stronger international trade union movement. We need an international trade union movement that speaks with one voice -- one voice that cannot be silenced and gains new strength and contributes to ensuring that workers' demands are heard and respected. That is something to remember because enormous wealth is being created today. Production has never been greater and companies' profits have never been higher. Executive salaries have reached astronomic heights and in most countries in the world the average workers do not get a share of this wealth.

I have never tried to hide the great potential of globalisation for the average worker, either at national or international level. Globalisation leads to more trade and therefore more economic growth but what we are seeing today is that growth is being distributed unevenly. Even

in Denmark, the country I come from, where large numbers of union members are benefitting from progress, we are seeing that groups in society are being left out in the cold. LO Denmark has therefore taken the initiative in drafting a white paper that discloses the inequalities in Danish society and we take this as a point of departure for demanding that the remaining part of the population gets a slice of the cake.

The new International Trade Union Confederation that has now been formed should be used to take up the fight against inequality and this has to be at the top of our list of priorities. Nothing will be served to us on a silver platter and this has been well documented in a report entitled, "Having Their Cake and Eating It Too". The report reveals the reluctance of multinationals to pay corporate tax, which teaches us that they have very little social awareness.

Trade is a core issue for the international trade union movement and will remain so in the future. In the short term the breakdown of the WTO negotiations may seem like a victory but, in spite of its shortcomings, the WTO is a forum we currently have for dealing with international trade issues. The organisation has rightly been criticised for lacking an environmental and social profile, but I think we need to pause and ask ourselves what is the alternative. International trade, if it is based on bilateral agreements, will have to show us who will be the winners and who will be the losers. To me, there is no doubt that the losers will be the small countries and the countries that have weak economies and also countries like Denmark.

I think we need to take a different path. We need to work with positive forces, such as the Norwegian Government, and we must work on a strategy to bring the WTO negotiators back to the negotiating table. We must continue to demand that social standards be included in trading co-operation but we also need to focus on employment in connection with co-operation on trade policy. We need to use our strength to influence political decision-makers at national, regional and global level. We need to join together in developing new tools for holding governments responsible for not including social dialogue in the international dialogue. We are now forming an even greater and stronger trade union organisation. We must use this situation to strengthen the work we do at all levels in our international activities.

Co-operation between trade union movements between South and North, East and West must be stepped up and all this has to take place on equal terms because we need to acknowledge that the relative strength of the union movement in the industrialised part of the world can only be preserved and grow if trade union movements gain strength in developing countries. The new organisation must head assistance

and partnerships which currently exist between trade union movements in developing countries. We have to improve our co-ordination and co-operation and we have to be more precise in targeting different issues.

Above all, we also need to support the growing co-operation between trade union movements in developing countries in the south. The new International Trade Union Confederation will be a first step in that direction and the Nordic organisations are prepared to contribute positively to this process. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. FRANCIS ATWOLI** (Central Organisation of Trade Unions, COTU(K), Kenya): Chair, dear distinguished delegates, brothers and sisters, I take this opportunity to congratulate the delegates to this Congress, which is a landmark in international trade union history. Special thanks goes to the former trade union leaders of both the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and leaders at the World Congress of Labour.

From time immemorial, labour and capital have been at loggerheads over the share in enjoying wealth that is created by workers. In the majority of cases workers have lost out because, while the capital owners consolidate their wealth through multinationals, workers have remained divided on ideological bases, which has made it difficult for all workers to unite and achieve their objectives.

Today marks a very important occasion in the workers' calendar, as all workers of the world, regardless of their difference in ideology, have come together to form one powerful international trade union organisation. This renewed solidarity should enable the trade unions to confront multinational enterprises, governments and international financial corporations in pursuit of a decent work agenda and in defence of workers' fundamental rights.

As a united trade union organisation we are still faced with challenges that demand attention. The failed structural adjustment programmes have led many countries into a debt trap, with debts continuing to soak up a major portion of the least developed countries' budgets. Poor countries have been compelled to adhere to conditionalities imposed by the international financial institutions. This has often led to more financial haemorrhaging from poor countries to rich countries.

Chair, the massive debts contracted by African governments have created fiscal crises that have negatively affected the continent's economic growth and threatened the livelihoods of the African people condemning them to abject poverty. Developing countries are normally under increasing pressure to offer incentives in order to attract invest-

ments, leading to lowering of labour standards, as is the case in Export Processing Zones, resulting in a destructive race to the bottom.

Chair, the objectives of trade unions are to defend and improve the living standards of their members and this has been made increasingly difficult by reform programmes and of particular importance has been the degeneration of living standards, job losses and economic recession that leads to massive devaluation of currencies, reduction in public spending and higher external debt repayments. Liberalisation of trade across national borders has led to unfair trade that has transferred resources from the South to the North. Liberalised trade has also led to closures of industries in developing countries, leading to massive job losses and poverty.

Looking to the way forward, Chair, we think that as we unite into one global trade union organisation we should not lose track of the role of multinationals and International Financial Institutions. It is important that we use our members to engage the national governments, the international financial institutions and the international community at large on the way to create an equitable and a just society where workers enjoy the fruits of their labour in peace and freedom.

We from the African continent are looking forward to the merger of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' AFRO and OATUU into one strong continental body next year that should be able to make a difference in the lives of all the working men and women on that continent. The continental body will have to champion for a change in the world order to make Africa a continent of economic prosperity, political stability and social progress.

Lastly, Chair, with these few remarks, I take this opportunity to congratulate all the delegates for coming to witness this glorious moment where all workers of the world have come together to chart out a new world order that guarantees peaceful coexistence and social progress in solidarity. I thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. JEAN-CLAUDE MAILLY** (Confédération Générale du Travail - Force Ouvrière (CGT-FO), France) (*Interpreted*): Sisters and brothers, the founding of the International Trade Union Confederation is an important stage in the development of independent and free trade unionism. Even if most of us are used to going out and demonstrating in our respective internationals, we are going to have to concentrate on making the new organisation a living thing, with one objective, being more effective in lobbying the multinationals, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the WTO. We want to gain their respect and control of the ILO Core Labour Standards and that has to be a

centre of our efforts. We have to demand that criteria for social justice be applied, that we work for emancipation of the workers and the right to decent work should be guaranteed. To achieve all these things we all have our different sensibilities, we have to avoid the traps and dangers and we have to inject life into the new international trade unionism.

With the ITUC we hope that we will be positively judged by the workers if we can obtain concrete results through this new organisation, and we think we can. The ITUC will not be a multinational with subsidiaries; it is not an international financial institution; it is an organisation representing the interests of the workers and it will be relevant if it can efficiently co-ordinate issues in mutual respect while fighting for liberty, independence, solidarity, democracy and peace. Long live international solidarity. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you very much, Bro. Maily. This morning at the podium we had the Chair of the Workers' Group who opened the Congress. This afternoon we are going to hear from Juan Somavia, who is the Director-General of the ILO and of course he requires no introduction to trade unionists. I would just like to record that this man promoted the World Social Summit in Copenhagen. Mr. Somavia, you have the floor.

**MR. JUAN SOMAVIA** (Director-General, International Labour Organisation, ILO) (*Interpreted*): Chair, thank you very much for that introduction.

(*In English*): My dear friends Carlos Rodriguez, Guy Ryder, Willy Thys, dear friends, chers amis, queridos amigos, I am here to salute you all; to admire your vision and determination; to celebrate your commitment to unity in diversity.

Let me begin by applauding you -- all of you individually together with Guy Ryder and Willy Thys and all the other leaders who had the courage to make real an idea whose time had come. Chapeau, felicitaciones, congratulations!

Allow me to say that as General Secretary you have chosen an exceptional leader, a trade union leader with a multilingual capacity, a multicultural mind and a tripartite conviction and respect for others -- and, as some of you may have noticed in the complicated unification process, a leader unafraid to take the hard decisions when necessary. Congratulations for this decision.

Brothers and sisters, what do you want me to say? You know, this is an incredibly impressive gathering. There is a lot of power in this room. There is a lot of power to change the world for the better and

it is in your hands and it is in the hands of the institution that you have just created.

I know that sometimes it is a bit sad because you had to say goodbye to two institutions that most of you in this room have followed throughout your life. Then it happens and you have had the courage and the decision and the goodwill to say, “No, we are going to start something that is good for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” What I want to say to you is thank you so much for letting me share this moment. In life there are symbolic moments in social struggles that mark our collective memory. Future generations of trade unionists will look back to Vienna on 1st November 2006 and admire the vision of the founding mothers and fathers of the ITUC, all of you in this room and the 166 million workers that you represent.

You have that wonderful phrase in the trade union movement, “We stand on the shoulders of those who came before!” Let me add you are building the ITUC on a proud past.

*(Interpreted):* Perhaps I can use my own language to remind you of something about the past. I would like to refer to the great trade union leaders from my region. I would like to recall the great personalities who were my friends and who, each and every one of them, carried on this struggle and they were extremely important for the democratic reconstruction of our region. I am referring to Emilio Maspero and Luis Anderson.

*(English):* Yours is a history in which the international development of trade unionism is completely interwoven with the history of the ILO. Let me make some reflections about that.

To begin with, the ILO would simply not exist without the determined efforts of the pioneers of international trade union movements in the years preceding the First World War. They joined forces with enlightened industrialists and moral leaders of the time. Imagine, in 1919, getting governments to invite employers’ organisations and unions to join with them in developing an international labour law was completely unheard of, incredible, rather unbelievable, and I am certain we all have doubts as to whether that institution would be created today, with the values of today and with the type of globalisation and neoliberalism that is consuming the world.

But let me tell you what President Roosevelt said of this new institution some years later. He said, “To many (the ILO) was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of governments getting together to raise the standards of labor on an international level. Wilder still was the idea

that the people themselves who were directly affected -- the workers and the employers of the various countries -- should have a hand with government in determining these labor standards.”

With your support, that wild dream has confronted successfully the test of time, and so have you, and here we are again with another wild dream. Who would have said a few years ago that we would be having this Congress? It truly was not a reality that was tangible a very, very few years ago.

At every step in the evolution of the ILO, trade unions pushed for action, defending it in difficult times and strengthening it at every opportunity and here we are again, continuing that partnership with the ITUC.

In that partnership, the WCL and the ICFTU and their predecessor organisations were always united, with no division, in a shared commitment to freedom of association and the ILO. Freedom of association and the right to organise have been and must continue to be a cornerstone of your own unity but of the action together with the ILO. *(Applause)*

In most of your countries the ILO has at one time or another played an important role. Practically every national labour code of different countries has ILO fingerprints on it.

We set up an international process for the application of labour standards and we engaged in the struggle. Poland, Indonesia, South Africa, Turkey and my own country, Chile, remind us that there are so many examples of trade unions struggling for freedom and justice nationally, with the ILO being the international forum to defend their rights. That was the past and it will continue to be the present.

Today allow me to salute the heroic struggles of the trade unionists in Belarus, Burma/Myanmar, Zimbabwe and definitely welcome the new light shining in Nepal. I think that together we shall show them the solidarity that they merit. *(Applause)*

As a result of the work of the Applications Committee, we have helped put together a tripartite agreement in Colombia on freedom of association and democracy. It entails setting up an ILO permanent representation in Colombia aimed at promoting decent work and the defence of the fundamental rights of workers.

Let me also have a special thought for the continuing trauma of the working people of Palestine and Lebanon and our friends the trade union leaders there. It calls for our solidarity and support to their efforts



to build independent and democratic trade unions in the most difficult of circumstances and we know we have all lived through the recent events.

You all know the struggle for freedom is also a struggle for social justice, for stability, for security, for peace in communities. It is a daily task in which trade unions are at the forefront and you have been leaders in helping to define and advance our Decent Work Agenda, to which many of you have referred.

Let me say that when I arrived I had a chance of reading Sharan Burrow's speech yesterday to the ICFTU. I recommend the speech to you and I would like to congratulate her for an extraordinary synthesis of where we are at with the Decent Work Agenda. It is a magnificent way of describing the tasks that we have ahead in an extraordinarily positive view that things are problematic but that we can do things about them.

The other thing I would like to say apropos Sharan is that I want to say to all the women in this room that your decision to fight for gender parity within the ITUC has my full, total and complete support. *(Applause)*

As you know, the Decent Work Agenda has received major international backing. I will not go into the details, but never in the history of the ILO have we had such high level political support in all regions of the world and in the United Nations. If you will permit me, let me simply express a little bit of pride in what we have done together, because when you had the generosity to suggest that I be a candidate in your name to head the ILO you told me one thing. You said, "Look, it is important for the ILO to have greater influence in the international scenario." I think that with the Decent Work Agenda we have been able to do that. I think the reason we have been able to do it is that it is an agenda that obviously connects with people, because this is the biggest democratic demand in the world, but it is also connected with politics. No politician in the world can go to elections today without talking about jobs. We have been able to show that what we need is the objective, it is where we want to go, and then we can put the instruments behind it.

This is, I believe, the most important counterbalance that we have today as a concept, but also as a practice, to the notion that we liberalise everything, apply liberalism to every situation, and the market will provide the solution. They propose a mechanism, we propose a goal and where we want to go. I think it is because it is clear that this is the agenda that people want that we have in fact received this global



support, and I would refer to the types of challenges, of course, that this means for us.

I was talking about international support, so let me say here in this room that the most important of all the supports is the constitution of the ITUC. Let me quote one of the aims you adopted this morning: “It shall work to strengthen the ILO, and for the setting and universal application of international labour standards, and to win representation at other international and regional organisations with a view to having their policies and activities contribute coherently to the achievement of decent work, social justice and sustainable development.”

Thank you for the commitment to strengthen the ILO. You know the ILO is at your service. (*Applause*)

For the ITUC today, securing decent work opportunities has become a constitutional mandate. We should build on this overall support to decent work to make it a foundation of what I believe is direly needed: a new global social contract. But it will not happen from one day to the other; we have to work at it. I want to mention some of the issues.

Success, with its notion and with ideas and concepts, opens avenues and opportunities, but it also expands responsibility. The task is about making the commitment to decent work on paper come alive in the daily life of working people. It is about acknowledging that the Decent Work Agenda, having become a global goal, we must now make it a national reality. It is about intelligently mapping out country, regional and global strategies and how to organise ourselves to make it happen.

Let me tell you, the principal obstacle I see is that we have an economic system and a globalisation process that have progressively devalued the dignity of work, your own dignity as workers. We live in a world that is trying to diminish workers’ rights while, at the same time, increasing the rights of capital. I believe that that is not acceptable, simply not acceptable. (*Applause*)

Why is this happening? Because the global economy is operating in an ethical vacuum, without a moral compass, with a “winner take all” mentality. We must reestablish the notion that honest hard work is the legitimate source of wealth and well being; that non-discrimination, social justice, fairness, equity, solidarity, are essential and welcome values in democratic societies. There is dignity in work and there is indignity in treating work as just another commodity.

Pope John Paul II said it clearly in addressing a tripartite audience on key labour issues on 1st May of the Jubilee year, 2000. Allow

me to quote him. He said: “The commitment to resolve these problems in all parts of the world involves everyone.

“It concerns you, owners and management, you, financiers and craftsmen, trades people and workers.” He continued: “All must work so that the economic system in which we live does not affect the fundamental order of the priority of work over capital, of the common good over private interest.”

These are, of course, global values. We must never be afraid to defend values. Why is this? For many, many years the present model under which we are operating, the economic and social model, also told us culturally, “This thing about values and principles is a little bit old, it is a little bit of the past. You do not understand this new world of globalisation.” What I think I see in this room, what I have brought you here, is the profound belief in the defence of values. This is something that I think is absolutely essential. We will of course have to fight, at the concrete level, all the issues on a day-to-day basis (this is not just talking about things, action is indispensable), but the fact that we are going to eventually be able to change things is because we are defending values that are at the very heart of the stability of society and of the balance that we need between state, market and society itself.

Where do we go from here? The ILO and the ITUC response is the Decent Work Agenda and a fair globalisation. They are both founded on values that respect human dignity.

Let me share with you my thoughts on five issues on which I believe we the ILO and the ITUC have to act decisively to overcome the obstacles and create the conditions for achieving the goals we have set for ourselves. I think that conditions are ripe for breakthroughs. We can move forward on all of these issues. I do not believe we are confronting a situation in which advancing is not possible; among other things because I think that every one of you knows that between ten years ago and today, with all the difficulties that we are facing and with all the complexities and with all the persecutions and the exploitations, we have advanced. We have reinforced a number of ways of making the trade union movement and the global ideas for change move forward. We are winning the moral battle, but also the intellectual battle. The arrogance with which the neoliberal agenda was promoted 15 to 20 years ago is no longer there. It is still in the policies. Anyone in this room can go to a television debate where someone is trying to defend the policies of the last 20 years and we are going to win that debate, because it simply has not worked.

When we look at what we have to do, I want to do it in a context of saying, “We are going in the right direction. We simply have to push and we simply have to have the unity” that you are expressing today on a number of different issues.

First, we have to reverse widening inequalities and particularly increase the labour share of national income. For this we need growth, but a different kind of growth, a quality growth that values labour; not to mention environmental degradation, global warming and the need for a sustainable development approach.

Increased global competition favours those with the advantages of wealth and power or scarce skills, but is weakening the position of too many working women and men. People in the middle are getting squeezed. According to one recent alarming report, labour’s share of national income in the richest countries is the lowest in three decades: “If real wages continue to stagnate ... political support for globalisation may fade and the ... gains ... lost.” So we need to increase the earning power of women and men who work for a living.

What is the name of this leftist publication? It is the British magazine the Economist. If you have been reading mainstream media in the last year, you will have seen that this issue comes back over and over again. That is why I want to put it as a first issue on which we have to work together. The consciousness that this cannot continue, that we cannot have this supposedly successful globalisation in front of us, while the share of workers in the national economy is coming down is simply producing the necessary tensions for us to be able to move forward.

A particularly important group are of course those currently trapped in poverty and the informal economy, but I am also thinking of people who think of themselves as middle class and are filling the squeeze too. Mobilising across these income and status levels is vital.

Central to this objective is that global economic growth must create more employment opportunities. This is a top political priority for the women, men and youth of the world.

In the last ten years unemployment has grown by 20%. We have just put out a report that gives absolutely terrible figures; unemployed youth make up 40% of the world’s unemployed, despite the fact that their share of the total working age population aged 15 and over is only 25%.

What do we have to do about this? I think absolutely that we have to lobby. The space is there. The notion that economic growth can not be the only criterion for economic success is reaching people.

How do we turn the agenda around? I think it is essential that we lobby governments, that we lobby employers, that we lobby international organisations. Each one of us is doing what we need to do to say, “We need to change the policy around.” For the moment we say, “Have a sound macroeconomic policy and you will see that everything will come all right and the work will come.” It is not coming. Why do we not change the operation? Why do we not say we have to converge economic, social and other policies with the objective of asking of every policy, “How is it that you contribute to the creation of decent work?”, and then see how you put it together. You will see that we can find different answers for fiscal policies, for subsidies and for a number of other things that are happening today.

The question is not, “We do not have the resources, it is so difficult, there are so many unemployed people.” The problem is not that we need to have global protection for everybody who is unemployed. The problem is that we can have an economy that grows at 5%, like they are growing today, but with more jobs. This is the essential role that we have to play together and that I think is essential if we want to think that increasing the participation of wages in the national income can happen.

Secondly, strengthening the ILO standards is essential to meeting the challenge of global production systems. Globalisation has dramatically changed the way businesses organise production. In this era of intensified competition the list of demands for flexibility lengthens daily. The new unsocial shift patterns, on call overtime, involuntary part-time working, pay cuts, indefinite layoffs, redundancy followed by rehire by a so-called “new employer” doing the same thing, but with different income and conditions.

Yet we all know that good employers know that efficient working arrangements are usually based on training, retaining an experienced and committed workforce and good relations with unions. Too much flexibility can obviously destroy long-term productivity.

Furthermore, I think that the only way to approach this issue is that both workers and employers need flexibility and security. Can you imagine the reaction if some would start saying, “What about flexibility of property rights?” (*Applause*)

So it is not as if the problem is that the people who need security are the workers and it is the employers that need flexibility. There are certain things that are happening simply because they are considered to be normal, but the security and the flexibility has to be on both sides and I think that that is an essential way of moving forward on this particular question. Hitting the right balance requires a sound platform of labour laws, dialogue and collective bargaining between trade unions and employers and their organisations on employment relations. I think that, for example, this is an area on which the ITUC and the International Organisation of Employers could develop some joint principles to help find these balances in concrete situations and on that basis the ILO could develop tripartite guidelines. In many cases, the best way forward may be at a sector level and we should be ready to support that. That implies a big role for Global Unions.

Many countries are indeed rethinking their employment systems. In a few we are seeing organised adaptation through dialogue, but in many others legal protections are being weakened and union representation and bargaining pushed back. Of course, we have some Export Processes Zones which are, in effect, no-go zones for labour laws and unions.

The front line of the struggle to ensure that workers have a say in adapting to the new global realities remains national, even local. However, globalisation had made the international framework for labour standards established by the ILO increasingly necessary at the local level.

Applying global principles in national laws and regulations is vital to ensuring that progress in one part of the world is not held back by regression somewhere else, and this is the foundation of the ILO's standards system.

This is a complex issue, but I think it can be useful. I think that dialogue among unions within the ITUC, as well as the Global Unions, could help address the many complex issues involved in off-shoring, de-localisation and other related subjects. How are these problems which we see in the press every day seen from one side, seen from another, how is it that they affect, how important are they, et cetera. I think that you have a very important contribution to make on these sorts of issues.

Let me also say that increasingly, in their corporate responsibility statements, companies are pledging their adherence to socially responsible labour practices often drawn on ILO standards. Some are taking this further and reaching framework agreements with international trade unions.

I welcome these initiatives but we must ensure that voluntary commitments by employers do not become public relations exercises or a substitute for sound laws based on ILO Conventions. Great if you have company practices, but they have to be carried out, there has to be accountability, there has to be monitoring and there have to be the right laws in place in order to be able to move forward.

All of this does not take place in a vacuum. It is a vital part of the movement for a fair globalisation with decent work for all as its compass. This is the way to channel the backlash to globalisation.

The reason I am saying this, I have talked with some of the people who say, “Well, but you know globalisation in the end has been so good”, I say, “Look at the life of people. So when we propose these things, do not look at them in terms of it does not fit your ideological model, because then there is no way we can find resolution. Look at the real problem and see if we can solve the real problem.”

Why? Because if working women and men are to embrace the positive potential of change, they need to know that they have the means for discussing and agreeing on how to counteract the risks of unemployment and deteriorating pay and working conditions. If globalisation simply means you have got to live with it, you are obviously going to be against it. If trying to make globalisation fair and addressing the real problems that emerge in a non-ideological context but in terms of understanding that this is affecting families and communities and even the credibility of democracy and we cannot simply say that this is the only way that we can move forward, then of course we will find ways of stabilising this situation.

This leads me to my third major challenge facing the ITUC and the ILO. We have to reinforce tripartism and social dialogue. This, of course, you all know well, but this is not easy. Headlines tell us every day that in so many places the mood in the world today is more towards diatribe than towards dialogue. We need to work hard on building the trust among social partners that generates good results.

I believe we have no substitute for dialogue if we want a stable 21<sup>st</sup> century. I think we all have experience of the things that happen when dialogue does not work, yet not forgetting that sometimes you need to pound the table and take to the streets if counterparts do not understand. Again, I think that everyone in this room has, at one point in time, done that. That is always an essential element. But in the end, if we want to reap the benefits of having made the Decent Work Agenda a global goal and a national development objective, governments, employ-

ers and workers will have to significantly increase their commitment and their capacity to dialogue and negotiations.

Making decent work a global goal was achieved through a basic tripartite agreement within the ILO and good international advocacy. Equally, I think, translating it into a national reality in a stable, progressive manner is only feasibly through effective tripartite discussion and negotiation.

The ILO Decent Work Country Programmes, which is our next stage to make the global commitment a national reality, I think is a unique opportunity for trade unions to voice their interests. I want to invite all of you to be active in working with governments and employers to this end. Through our offices and ACTRAV, we will give you the necessary support.

But let me say we do not have time for complacency because the window of opportunity for tripartism to show its relevance and power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century may be quite short. We need to show results by 2015, the target date for the Millennium Development Goals, which ILO constituents in Asia and the Americas and also the forthcoming meeting of the African region have already set as a framework for Decent Work Country Programmes.

One reason I think that we can do this is that today there is a strong spirit of tripartism within the ILO's Governing Body and our Conference, which I have seen there, to be able to move this agenda forward on the basis of a tripartite agreement in which naturally, one way or the other, the trade unions and IOE and through the IOE into the ITUC. You have to be able to move together on this, and they are working together on things like HIV/AIDS and youth employment.

All of that gives me the sense that maybe what we can do is, from a global level, help our people on the ground to promote and develop the dialogue that will make the Decent Work Agenda become a national reality. My preoccupation is that if we do not do that, we are going to say in ten years from now, "Look, it was fantastic, we received all of this global support for the Decent Work Agenda and what did we do with it?" Of course, we know well that this is not the individual responsibility of any of us; we have to get the process going.

This takes me to my fourth point. I think that we need a global decent work movement around which many voices and organisations can come together. Showing how the Decent Work Agenda can actually contribute to cutting poverty in half and shaping a fair globalisation are obviously ambitious objectives.



Furthermore, getting there is not entirely in our tripartite hands; the ILO will need allies. The struggle for decent work is an integral part of the struggle to deepen democracy. I believe that it is of such a magnitude, but also of such an importance, that unions are all facing heavy burdens basically alone. I think that you will need partnerships with a range of like-minded civil society organisations, parliamentarians, local authorities and other relevant citizens' groups.

Historically, within the broad labour movement, you have always had close connections with co-operatives, social insurance societies, workers' education groups and others, as well as with your traditional political allies.

But people also organise around a multitude of other issues, many of which are close to your own concerns. Worldwide, organisation for advocacy is widespread but it is highly segmented. Today, there is an enormous energy out there doing this -- an enormous energy for change -- which is dispersed, issue-oriented and disconnected from wider struggles.

The clarity of purpose that made the ITUC a reality will now have to be applied to the wider sphere of other global actors. Many unions have already made alliances in campaigning for goals such as human rights, gender equality, debt relief, an end to child labour or participating in Porto Alegre. Important civil society organisations are natural allies of the trade union movement and have already launched a "Decent Work for a Decent Life" campaign.

By the way, in the short film we saw at the beginning, we saw our General Secretary sitting in a meeting that was precisely on the "Decent Work for a Decent Life" campaign. So this is underway.

What am I trying to say to you today? There is an urgent need for a global decent work movement and only the ITUC can provide the global, member-based, democratic infrastructure to make it happen. You can give it the backbone that organised labour can provide to broad social campaigns. There is here, I think, a leadership role for a new trade union internationalism that is waiting to happen. I would say the opportunity is there waiting to be taken by you. It is a new leadership space that the ITUC opens up to you.

My fifth and final challenge for the ILO and the ITUC is that we must persist in our commitment to workers' rights to organise. It must be strengthened in every possible way. None of the other challenges I have laid out is feasible unless the world can benefit from the presence



at the workplace and in society at large of strong, democratic and independent unions.

Every union faces its own challenges, but I see two major ones: (1) How do you organise in the informal economy of the developing world, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America? Major, major problems because, here, organising has a wider meaning. It has a sort of local development meaning; helping whole communities onto a trajectory of increasing productivity, improving incomes, improving working conditions and better quality products and services. It is organising at work and at life. It is organising in a community. It is a different form of organising. But that is where the co-operatives of the future and that is where a lot of initiatives in the future are going to come from if you help those people, bringing your experience as organisations. Many unions here today have developed this sort of strategy and I applaud their courage.

There are also informal economic workers that have organised themselves. The street vendors. Street vendors have done a fantastic job in India and in other places simply organising themselves and we have been giving them support.

I also see -- and this is a second challenge -- many established union confederations with a long and proud history that face the equally tough task of reversing their loss of membership. Organising the geographically and occupationally mobile workforce in the formal economy of the 21st century requires, evidently, different methods to those of earlier years. All of you are testing creative methods. There is no doubt that a major overhaul in approach will be necessary and we will see what comes out. But innovation will have to have a premium. Together we have already tested ways of doing things.

In the era of globalisation I think trade unions will be increasingly called upon to represent, again, wider societal interests as they have in the early stages of trade unionism, in post-conflict situations or in the struggles against colonialism and dictatorships.

Leading the fight for a fair globalisation and decent work for all, for women and men, members or not of a trade union, are examples, I think, of contemporary opportunities you have to reach out. This will also shape the manner in which you define your profile today and the services you provide in searching for new members. Inviting workers to a wider struggle beyond the workplace may attract many women and men in search of inspiring causes. I think that the moment is ripe. And why? Because we have been told for a long, long time that youth are

apathetic; that youth are no longer interested in causes as we saw in the '60s. I do not believe that that is true.

The problem is that we have not known how to connect the causes that we are pursuing with the manner in which the youth of today decodify things. But the hope, the aspiration and the desire that young people have of being able to hook on to some type of value struggle is absolutely there. We just have to know how to make that connection.

But whatever approach you take in organising, the main thing workers and their unions need is greater protection for their local volunteer organisations. I want to pledge once again my personal and institutional commitment to the security of labour organisers and to making our supervisory machinery work effectively. And let me here salute the efforts of Luc Cortebecq who has been a marvellous Chair of this Committee, together with a long line of spokespersons, at our Conference Committee on Standards.

So, in close co-operation with the ITUC, you have to know that we will continue reinforcing the capacity of the ILO to be present whenever the issues of organisation come up. The bottom line is that the ILO will continue to co-operate with the ITUC to do everything in our power to protect union organisers from intimidation and worse. I have been working with Guy and with Willy in the past on different occasions. Sometimes you pick up the phone and do something. Sometimes you do something that is not too visible. Sometimes you send a letter to the king. There are many ways of doing it.

What I want to assure all of you and tell the people that you are representing here is that the ILO is there for you whenever the security of a trade union leader or an organiser is in danger. I have said one thing which I want to say here again. I am a phone call away from that situation. Use it whenever it is necessary. *(Applause)*

Dear friends, let me end by saying this. Ensuring growth that delivers decent jobs, reducing inequalities, striving for gender equality, strengthening standards, reinforcing tripartism and social dialogue, reaching out to others and safeguarding the fundamental rights to freedom of association is our common agenda around which to organise, lobby, develop partnerships and push for change. These are two lines but they mean an enormous amount of things -- doing all of those things together.

I see our efforts lining up in ways we might never have imagined. The political forces, the social development actors, the civil society voices and international organisations are all coming together around

Decent Work for a Decent Life as a notion, as a concept. But you know very well that in this international but also in politics making sure that you influence the agenda is probably one of the most important things. As we all know, when you sit down and negotiate you are going to negotiate on the basis of whose paper. That is the first thing that we all discuss.

The fact is that, today, the paper is decent work; the paper is a fair globalisation and we have been able to put it in the international agenda. We have significantly influenced that situation. I think that the movement and the moment have arrived. Sociologists might call it a tipping point. The man or woman on the street might say it is a wake-up call. Politicians might feel it is a call to attention. But I would call it an enormous opportunity; an opportunity for us to join forces and deliver together on the top political demand of women and men everywhere, the human aspiration and the fundamental right to the dignity of work and dignity at work.

Why is it that we have that opportunity? I think it is because of you. I said at the beginning that this is a very impressive room. What I feel is that there is an energy here; there is a capacity to move forward and there is this desire to make sure that the ITUC is relevant and becomes an instrument that actually helps to change things. Consequently, the opportunity is the capacity that you have to mobilise your own people and also to have international influence.

I have to tell you that you impress me a lot. Looking at you, I feel, myself, empowered. I think about what I have to do when I go out and do the tasks that I have to do representing the ILO and then I think back to this meeting and I think back to this room and I think back to 1st November 2006 in Vienna and I say, "My God, I feel that I have more strength today than I had before". That is a very fundamental thing that you are doing today. (*Applause*) There are those untouchable things that you do not explain, that you do not put on paper, that you do not write about, that is not in an article or a document or a book. But it is the flow. It is the energy that you are generating and the sense of purpose that is present here today with all the difficulties you had to face to get here today.

So I leave this room with an enormous satisfaction and the enormous honour of you having invited me to share this moment, but also with an enormous strength to do what I have to do in terms of the values that we share and the job that you have given me to do. You can certainly have the assurance that, as always, you have, at the head of the ILO, a very, very close friend of the trade union movement. Thank you so much. (*Prolonged applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you very much to the Director-General of the International Labour Organisation. It is true that there is strength emanating from this assembly on 1st November 2006 which will become a day in the history of the international trade union movement. Thank you very much, Mr. Somavia.

Let us now continue our list of speakers. Before we do, however, could I just give you a reminder. Those of you who have already spoken should give the Secretariat a copy of your speech.

**MR. REKSON SILABAN** (Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (KSBSI), Indonesia): Dear Chair and dear colleagues, first of all, let me also thank and congratulate all the trade union leaders who have dedicated themselves to establishing this International Trade Union Confederation.

Greetings from the Indonesian workers and my union, the KSBSI. Today, workers everywhere are under attack -- the consequence of the neo-liberal system coupled with unfair labour practices within global market regulations. The dramatic increase in vulnerable work, such as the informal economy, outsourcing and contract workers, has led to the decline of the power of the trade union.

As we can see, almost everywhere trade unions are losing their membership and are still having difficulty making the necessary adjustments to avoid this continual trend.

The decisions we make today, it is expected, will be able to find a way out and help the labour movement to remain a powerful tool of the workers, to protect their rights and, simultaneously, to check unfair globalisation practices.

While we are fighting for a fair distribution within the globalisation system, we have to underline the importance of strengthening solidarity within the trade union itself. In this new house, the ITUC, we have to develop and keep a spirit of co-operation and good networking and avoid unnecessary competition which causes loss to the workers' movement. On many occasions we expend a lot of energy fighting for our own entities, discriminating against other unions and trying to monopolise all the positions within a tripartite body. This kind of practice should not continue within this new Confederation, otherwise it will be difficult to have a united and strong collective voice.

Big and small unions should have equal rights to express themselves in the ITUC. This is also a part of the implementation of the Convention on Freedom of Association and an important part of the ITUC Constitution which gives a full guarantee for pluralism.

The biggest challenge in the country that I represent, Indonesia, and also other countries in Asia remains that of how to keep up the struggle for recognition of freedom of association, since millions of workers still do not enjoy this fundamental right. Many countries in Asia still have not ratified ILO Convention 87. However, a strong labour movement will be difficult to maintain since trade union densities remain low. Together with the ITUC, we will very enthusiastically search for a strategic plan to overcome this situation because it is only through strong unions and good representation that Asian countries can avoid their workers becoming victims of labour market flexibilisation and exploitation.

Long live solidarity. Long live the ITUC. (*Applause*)

**MS. VANIA ALLEVA** (Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund/ Union Syndicale Suisse (SGB), Switzerland) (*Interpreted*): Sisters and brothers, I want to be very specific and direct in speaking to one of the aspects of the programme. The ITUC wants, through the programme, to step up its international networking. The ITUC has a detailed programme for building up trade union rights with a view to securing social justice.

We must fight against segregation on the labour market and try to make sure that the gap is narrowed in the different countries on an international level and we must do more work in the area of precarious jobs; areas where there are particularly large numbers of immigrant men and women working. If we want to be systematic, we have to fight against systematic discrimination and secure equal opportunities and gender parity. But that means that we must organise migrant men and women; that means both those who have residence permits and work permits and those who do not. Those who do not have regular papers are the ones who are likely to be exploited. This is something that we, as the trade unions, should never ever forget.

Probably the ITUC programme is not very explicit on this but it has to be self-evident. In point 25 in the programme we are told that the ITUC has a responsibility to fight against discrimination against migrant workers who are often the subject of exploitation. In addition, it says that the ITUC and the affiliates must play an active role in promoting equal opportunities. Nowhere does it say, although there is point 48, that its affiliates must systematically try to organise foreign workers, but this has to be done if we want to fight against precarious employment conditions.

We have to organise this part of the workforce to make sure that one part of the labour market is not played off against the other and to

make sure that worker rights are secured. It is not just vital to organise, it is also a very important area for the trade union movement. It is a question of integration as well.

I have experience from a small country, Switzerland, and, thanks to organisation, thanks to active participation and co-determination for migrant workers, we have made progress. Therefore, I want to highlight the points on fighting against discrimination in the programme and I want to call on you to systematically try to organise migrant workers, men and women, since they work in particularly difficult branches of industry, both here and everywhere else. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. CANDIDO RODRIGUEZ MENDEZ** (Union General De Trabajadores (UGT), Spain) (*Interpreted*): Bro. Chairperson, sisters and brothers, with the creation of the International Trade Union Confederation we are sending out a clear message to all working men and women around the world. We have created a vital instrument to face the challenge of globalisation because we want our voice to be heard and we want our demands to be met. We now have a single global organisation which, together with the Global Union Federations, will play a fundamental role to co-ordinate, together with national centres, the workers' struggle in order to implement the fundamental principles of the workers' movement. This is a first vital step to demonstrating that we are capable of overcoming the differences of the past and of uniting in order to fight for the betterment of men and women workers.

This great organisation, at the service of the working class, has been founded with a very ambitious programme. We are going to challenge neo-liberal globalisation which has increased differences, undermined labour rights and weakened, when it has not entirely eliminated, our public social protection systems. We are facing a tough task. Neo-liberal dogma disseminated for years through the media and defended by powerful opinion-makers has managed to convince many citizens that in our society, in our time, the State itself is the problem and that therefore we should shrink it. They have convinced them that taxes are ill-gotten gains that remove free choice from citizens.

The results of this discourse, against which the workers' movement has always spoken out, are appearing now in many of our countries. We are witnessing a vicious circle. Political parties are competing in elections by offering tax cuts. Reduced tax revenues increase the deficit. To avoid increasing the deficit, we see cut-backs in public services.

Consequently, brothers and sisters, although I would offer warm support from the UGT for the ITUC, I would, nevertheless, like to ex-

plain what I think the main lines of trade union work should be in the coming years. First of all, we should defend the role of the State. We must demand public sector by overcoming this deceit; that is, that the market and the State are incompatible. We cannot allow a free market to be governed by the law of the jungle. Instead, it should ensure more and better jobs and better social conditions. We must fight to convince workers, together with citizens and the public authorities, that we must have another kind of globalisation.

Human rights must become an integral part of international trade. No political leader will ever say that he or she is in favour of exploitation of children, of slavery or discrimination against women. So how can anyone argue against instituting a prohibition of these practices in the statutes of the WTO?

Thirdly, I believe that we need to lay great emphasis on demanding the elimination of tax havens. Freedom of transactions and intellectual property rights cannot serve as pretexts for the existence of illegal money-laundering centres which give refuge to terrorists, tyrants and criminal organisations.

Finally, in light of the chaos and disaster caused by North American intervention in Iraq, we must demand that the fight against terrorism take place in conformity with international law. The United Nations and international bodies must replace the unilateral and indiscriminate use of force which sidesteps moral and legal principles.

Let me conclude, sisters and brothers, by asking everyone to commit himself and herself to placing the ITUC programme on the agenda of our daily trade union work in our organisations. The success of the ITUC will be the success of all workers and will demonstrate a strength before employers and our governments. Let us overcome any differences that there may be amongst us. Let us foster internationalism which has always been one of the central axes of the trade union movement. If we are guided by solidarity and internationalism, the triumph of the ITUC is guaranteed.

Today is a great day for the world's working classes. Long live the International Trade Union Confederation. (*Applause*)

**MR. GUGLIELMO EPIFANI** (Confederazione Generale Italiana Del Lavoro (CGIL), Italy) (*Interpreted*): Chair, dear brothers and sisters, today, with the birth of the International Trade Union Confederation, a new challenge is arising. Today, we are a little bit stronger and also a little bit bigger. Uniting sends out an important signal in a world where division becomes the norm. Becoming united is always a



positive sign. When labour is divided labour is weaker. None the less, as I have said, we are a little bit stronger in a world that has a much greater need of workers' rights today. We need democracy and we need trade unions. We know that not everyone agrees with us on that score.

For many people the neo-liberal culture means that trade unions are an irritation which slow down development and which are not useful. For many people trade unions are a problem.

For this reason we must shoulder greater responsibilities. Frequently, each of us in our own countries ask other people to do something for us. We ask our governments, we ask business and we ask the world of culture. But we have something very important in our own hands. We are an actor in development, in democracy and in justice. Consequently, we must strengthen our international campaigns and, first and foremost, the fight against poverty and hunger. (*Applause*)

All signs indicate that there have been very few changes and that too many people are still living below the poverty line with no dignity in life.

Secondly, we must make our voices heard against all wars, the well-known wars and the forgotten wars. As the President of the Austrian Republic said, war never solves any problems and we must say so loud and clear.

Today, we have seen that nuclear rearmament is, once again, a threat to humanity. We must continue to endeavour to achieve equal rights for women and men. Without this there will be no true freedom and true freedom requires real equality between men and women.

Too many recommendations of the ILO go unheeded. I heard Mr. Somavia say that we must become stronger and we must be bolder so that penalties become real. There is too much forced labour, there is too much slavery and there is too much child labour. Our elders are living in poverty and employment is far too precarious for young people who seek work. In too many companies, be they multinational or not, we are seeing more and more limits on collective bargaining. Trade unions without collective bargaining amount to nothing. Here the ITUC may well play its most important role.

I have mentioned a few major objectives. These will be the objectives of the new trade unions and all trade union organisations. All of us are becoming aware that there is a mismatch between the objectives that workers seek and our capacity to provide answers to them. But without us, without this trade union movement which is now so strong and so global, the world of work would have even less hope today. We



represent hope for many, many people and this is something that we need not doubt. Nobody can do our job. It is important, therefore, for this new beginning and this new initiative that this new, wonderful organisation must represent hope for the multitudes. We must not disappoint them because each of us in our own country, our own sector and our own workplace must rise to the challenge and what is being asked of us by workers today. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. LUC CORTEBEECK** (Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (CSC), Belgium) (*Interpreted*): Bro. Chairman, sisters and brothers, it is with great conviction that CSC, along with 89 other organisations affiliated to the WCL, have associated themselves with the setting up of the new organisation, the ITUC. We are sure that this will serve the interests of working men and women.

It is not the structures that should have pride of place, but, rather, the interests of workers throughout the world. This is why I take the liberty of highlighting four priorities: First, I think that the time has come to unify our strength and to promote grass roots trade unionism throughout the world. Despite all the action that we have taken vis-a-vis the international institutions and the multinational companies, we should not forget that the unions' strength lies in their capacity to organise, associate and mobilise working people at local level and on the shop floor, respecting, of course, trade union pluralism and paying special attention to developing global trade unionism which meets the concerns and aspirations of the workers of the south.

Secondly, we give priority to working on behalf of the weakest working groups and we must also defend the interests of those who are not active on the labour market within this new organisation: those who are seeking jobs, those who are ill, those who are disabled, those who have suffered occupational accidents and diseases, workers whose careers have come to an end. These working men and women have the right to take a full place in our movement. This is the reason why building and maintaining their social protection structures must go on through strong social security systems and these must be a priority in our programme of action.

Thirdly, the question of renewing our structures. Even more important is to respond to the new globalised capitalism with a new globalised trade unionism based on a renewal of our programme and our way of acting with a trade unionism which is not only inspired by the old themes and the old questions but which is strongly engaged in the new themes and the new questions of the workers worldwide: the globalised questions of the environment and sustainable development and the way these touch workers all over the world; the new health and

safety risks for workers; the problems of unequal opportunities and discrimination, especially for female and migrant workers and the development of the informal economy, not forgetting the new types of legal and illegal migration.

And, fourthly, the new Confederation has to act on a more result-driven basis. The new Confederation will have to prove that it will be able to get more influence on the international developments. Such a result-driven approach is possible. As an international community of workers, we showed this in Colombia as we showed recently in India with the new prohibition on child labour.

More should be possible, but only if we are prepared to renew our actions and our working methods in favour of a stronger effectiveness and efficiency with an international trade unionism that goes beyond representing the workers but that aims also to unify them by means of more frequent contacts and exchange and by means of concrete international actions.

Dear friends, this is a turning point in the international trade union movement; in trade unionism itself. It can work. It will work with 306 strong national unions who believe that our future lies in the internationalisation of solidarity. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. JOHN SWEENEY** (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), USA): Chair, Sis. Sharan Burrow, Bros. Guy Ryder, Willy Thys, Officers, distinguished guests and friends, I am honoured to speak at this historic Congress. We are uniting the global labour movement despite all the forces that try to tear us apart: hostile governments, corporate abuses, massive poverty, ethnic conflict and unjustified wars.

We come together today united in our belief that a stronger global labour movement will bend the arc of history towards justice. How do we build that stronger labour movement? To succeed we need to ask ourselves some hard questions: How can we make our new trade union international into the powerhouse it needs to be? How can we work together, stronger and more united? How can we create a better world for working families and for generations to come?

First, we need to organise, as the Director-General of the ILO told us a little earlier. We know that trade unions today are shrinking in too many countries and thriving in far too few. The top priority for Unions International must be to reverse this trend. We need to help workers organise the multinational giants. We must help workers organise in the smaller enterprises. We need to help migrant workers organise in

every country and we need to help millions of women organise themselves in the informal economy.

We must strengthen our organising capacity by increasing our commitment and expanding the resources that will cut across industries and reach beyond borders. We must co-operate and co-ordinate our efforts using successful models, like the Committee on Workers' Capital.

Secondly, we need real political change. We can have all the perfect policy positions prepared but unless we are prepared to act and win political power for working families we will not move forward. That is why, in the United States, the AFL-CIO is mobilising as never before to defeat the most anti-trade union administration in living memory. *(Applause)*

We believe that the single most important contribution we can now make, not only to American workers and their families but also to our sisters and brothers around the world, is to rid ourselves of the likes of George W. Bush. *(Loud applause)*

Thirdly, we cannot settle for what may be possible but fight for what is conceivable: securing full respect for international labour rights, reducing the debt burden of developing countries, creating decent work, ending poverty and hunger and achieving quality for all. Working together, we must wipe out anti-worker laws, reverse privatisation and deregulation and reject austerity. Our challenge is greater than changing the cosmetics of globalisation. Our goal is to fundamentally restructure globalisation: what it delivers, how it delivers and, most importantly, for whom it delivers.

Through this new International we are fortifying our solidarity. We are overcoming division for the greater good and building a stronger and more united trade union movement. At the AFL-CIO we are committed to this goal at home and in Unions International. Together we can and will transform our global solidarity into a world at peace with human dignity for all. Thank you. *(Applause)*

**MS. EL GHALI KENZA** (Union Générale des Travailleurs du Maroc (UGTM), Morocco) *(Interpreted)*: Chairperson, good afternoon. The ITUC programme emphasises poverty and inequality. The ITUC must adopt alternatives in order to promote sustainable development and social justice. We must fight against the WTO which does not protect these goals or protect the environment. We are seeing gender inequality. We must overcome that as well. The ITUC must play a major role on these issues in public political debate on corporate social

responsibility and also on collective bargaining rights and the enforcement of collective bargaining agreements.

None the less the ITUC has observed that there is no gender equality and that is not sufficient. What we need, and urgently, is specific measures to favour the unionisation of women and guarantee their rights, including gender equality in the workplace and we must guarantee equal opportunities. (*Applause*)

In addition, we must foster actions in the informal sector where we see more women working with fewer rights under the worst conditions. In addition, we must keep a close watch on the rights of migrant workers. Trade unions in the north must exert greater pressure on their governments so that they ratify the United Nations Convention which protects the rights of immigrants and their families. We must institute co-operation between the trade unions from sending countries and receiving countries in order for immigrants to integrate better in society so that they can organise properly in their host countries.

In addition, international co-operation, the strengthening of the trade union movement and democratisation of the trade union movement are amongst the most urgent challenges facing this new International Trade Union Confederation. And we must demonstrate solidarity with workers in Palestine, in Iraq, in the Lebanon and everywhere where there are armed conflicts underway in the world. (*Applause*) We must strengthen the trade union movements there in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. We have women and men who must join the international trade union movement.

We are determined to go forward together, to fight together and to build a just world where we have equality and decent work for all human beings -- a world in which we overcome inequalities between women and men. Thank you all very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. BERNARD THIBAUT** (Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), France) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers and friends, in solemnly declaring our support for the principles and values of the International Trade Union Confederation, we have all made a commitment to turn the page on the division of the international trade union movement, and we have made a commitment to overcome previous schisms to build, together, a united and pluralistic organisation.

This is a prerequisite for success so as to make sure that, finally, the workers realise their strength in the face of globalisation which promotes profits over the wellbeing of women and men who are made vic-

tims of being put in competition with each other on all continents. The priority is to turn the page and to write a new script together.

To do this, we have to make sure that our common roles are inspired by the climate that prevailed in preparing for this Congress. I would like to express our recognition of Bros. Guy Ryder, Willy Thys and Emilio Gabaglio, who were the architects of the process that has brought us together. Let us work in this spirit of openness and of mutual respect, showing understanding for different trade union practices and different historical traditions -- not because we want to maintain them but because we want to overcome them and build something new.

In the world of work, old trade unionists who were scattered previously have now expressed their will to work and fight together for our common goals. We will be judged on what we do. We have taken the first step; that is, the founding of the new organisation. Let us now start to build a new international trade unionism to change the power mechanics at the global level.

We have to make sure that our new Confederation has credibility with organisations which have not yet decided or who are hesitating to take the step. We have to live together and fight together and help to overcome the reticence which still exists. And we want those who expect us to fail to find that they have been lying.

We have to fundamentally change the course of globalisation, as our texts have said. But to do that we have to have a contribution from everybody and a show of goodwill. Instead of being divided, we should realise that our diversities in the organisation are a stimulant and we have to create the conditions for assembling around common claims for workers, both in north and south.

Everybody must feel at ease in this new organisation. Everybody must be heard and respected. When it is a question of promoting the values and objectives that we share as trade unionists, solidarity among men and women throughout the world -- working men and women -- solidarity in their trade unions is at the heart of our new Confederation. This solidarity is showing in our actions and in our claims. We will see to it that the voice of the workers is heard in international fora and in companies, particularly in multinational companies. It is through solidarity and action in favour of all workers, regardless of the colour of their skin, regardless of their beliefs and regardless of their origins that trade unionism can fight against racist and xenophobic forces who use their hatred to try to maintain their established order.

So it is with clear-headedness and confidence in the future that CGT France makes a commitment to the building of the newly founded International Trade Union Confederation and commits to its development and the success of its initiatives. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. FRED VAN LEEUWEN** (Chairman, Global Union Federations Conference): Chair, sisters and brothers, on behalf of the 11 Global Union Federations, congratulations!

Three years ago, in Miyazaki city, Guy said: “The status quo is not an option”. By moving to found the new International Confederation we have shown -- all of us -- that we share that view. More than that, we show today that we share a vision -- a vision for the future. We share a vision of a quest for democracy, for social justice, for dignity and equality; we share a vision for an end to the oppression of poverty; for the building of our communities; for the full development of every human being. We share a vision of States and enterprises that serve the interests of people and not the other way around.

To achieve that shared vision, we know we must organise. We must organise as we have always done, but organise for the future. We must organise for a future that is uncertain, that may be filled with peril but that has also the seeds of opportunity.

The decision to create the ITUC is a major step forward in organising for the future -- a major step, but not the final one. Structures are important but they will not work unless we make them work. And there will be issues and problems to resolve.

Let me mention three: first, as speakers have assured us this morning, we want to be a movement of independent and democratic organisations. We have all recognised the imperative for unity. But that drive for unity must never be at the expense of our principles. Let us be clear. Organisations that are neither independent nor democratic, not to speak of those with corrupt leaderships, do not belong in our new international organisation.

Secondly, I hope that the ITUC will be a real global union with strong regions, yes; but not an umbrella of five regional organisations. It is natural that we all have our national and regional identities and interests. But in today’s world you will certainly agree with me that we must be clear-sighted about our global mission. We are all world citizens and we must be global actors through the global ITUC.

Thirdly, being independent requires that we are able to pay our own bills. What distinguishes us from many NGOs is that we are membership-based organisations and we do not depend on government sub-

sidies and grants for our basic operations. Sure, we welcome public funds for development co-operation but we should never become sub-contractors for governments nor for their inter-governmental institutions.

Having lived up to my promise of yesterday about the Global Union Federations being, at times, a pain in the neck, let us move on. The founding of the ITUC gives us the chance to create a new impetus for joint action with the Global Union Federations. I think this is very exciting. The Global Union Federations have, as you know, always been very clear about their autonomy; working together in the family as autonomous, independent organisations. But there is an imperative to better co-ordinate our work, together with the ITUC and the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD. More than ever before we must do this.

We, from the former ICFTU family, know that that view is shared by our colleagues from the former WCL. We share a conviction; a conviction expressed forcefully and frequently that we must work better together. We know the prospect of a Global Unions Council, comprising the ITUC, the Global Union Federations and TUAC as equal partners, was an important building-block in the new architecture. This Council, sisters and brothers, will not be a new organisation but will be a mechanism for co-operation, a partnership for action and growth. It should be understood that we are complementary in our work. We are not rivals. Sure, at times, there may be differences but we should not be afraid of that.

In some of our sectors we have already established integration with our counterparts the WCL family. In the case of woodworking and construction that integration has been already achieved and achieved with success, I dare say, to the satisfaction of all concerned. In other sectors discussions are continuing. I am convinced that the Global Unions Council is the key forward, bringing autonomous Global Unions together to organise for the future.

Sisters and brothers, for a birth there should be gifts. For the birth of the ITUC, the 11 Global Union Federations have brought along a gift. At the occasion of this Founding Congress we have published a book entitled "Global Unions at Work Making a World of Difference". It is a great book, a beautiful book, a collector's item to be and we have brought a copy for each and every one of you. When you leave the conference centre you can pick up your free copy at the exits.

Allow me to present the first copy to two colleague General Secretaries and colleague General Secretaries of courage and of creativity



who have made it all possible, Guy Ryder and Willy Thys. Guy and Willy, on behalf of the Global Union Federations, thank you very much for all you have done and allow me to present this copy to both of you.

*(Presentation made amidst applause)*

**MR. YONG-DEUK LEE** (Federation of Korean Trade Unions, FKTU, South Korea) *(Interpreted)*: Chair, brothers and sisters.

We are very proud to witness and to join at this historic moment in the launch of a new international trade union organisation to realise brotherhood is overcoming organisational differences between the ICFTU and the WCL.

The Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), as one of the founding members of the ICFTU, has been fulfilling its roles and responsibilities. The FKTU under the banner of the ITUC, would like to express our recommitment to the implementation of the new international trade union movement at the forefront.

Brothers and sisters, at the Dissolution Congress of the ICFTU yesterday General Secretary Guy Ryder put great emphasis on flexible strategy. I believe we need to take this seriously and implement it in a more earnest manner. I also fully agree with the Vice President of the OGB, who stressed the importance of social partnership in the framework of the social dialogue. Unfortunately, however, flexible strategy and social dialogue are still yet to be the norm in Korea. By rejecting each other, solidarity amongst trade unions has been undermined due to the rich strategy approaches only leading to increasing hardship for working men and women.

Brothers and sisters, the FKTU has waged strong struggles, including hunger strikes and general strikes, in order to protect an ever-increasing number of non-regular workers. However, it is my firm belief, due to my experience of dismissals and imprisonment, that full-scale protective legislation cannot be won in a single stroke. That is why the FKTU adopted a strategic flexibility in achieving the protective legislation step by step. However, some unions are trying to block the passage of the bills in the national assembly, claiming the proposed bills are not perfect.

In the meantime, the number of non-regular workers has increased by 300,000. It is very regrettable to think what kind of benefit such an extremist trade union movement has brought to the workers. Fortunately, the labour management and the Government in Korea reached an agreement on the road map for industrial relations reform



through social dialogue for the first time in its history, earning absolute support from 920,000 FKTU members and from the general public.

Of course, this agreement does not satisfy all of our demands and positions. The abolition of compulsory arbitration is a significant improvement; whereas, union pluralism at the enterprise level and raised payments to full-time union officials remains unresolved. However, the premium credits for a social dialogue among tripartite members are concessions and compromise. Trade unions cannot have all their demands accepted in a social dialogue. The FKTU adopted a step by step approach after taking into account the reality and the environment surrounding the labour management and the government in order to resolve the problems in a reasonable way. However, some trade unionists were resorting to physical violence, even upon myself, and criticising the tripartite agreement as a colossal collusion.

This old fashioned aggression against the FKTU comes out of the organisational interests of the other group and the root of the aggressive trade union movement lies in the democratisation process in the late 1980s. Korea is now a full blown democracy and the labour environment has been dramatically improved. However, some labour union circles still insist on old ideologies of some ten years ago and stick to an antidemocratic and violent movement style, whose ramifications are indifference from the general company and thus plummeting union density, which is down to some 10%.

Brothers and sisters, the FKTU is now ready to lead changes in the current society and in the trade union movement. We will continue to fight in order to achieve social dialogue, solidarity, inspiration of unity and social justice, which are all emphasised in the Constitution of the ITUC. However difficult it may be, we will carry on this fight while respecting the new internationalism of the ICFTU until the day when all of our global workers fully enjoy their basic rights at work.

I stand here to ask for your strong support and solidarity for the FKTU's struggle. Let us formally unite under the flag of the ICFTU. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. MIKHAIL SHMAKOV** (Federation of Trade Unions of Russia, FNPR, Russian Federation) (*Interpreted*): Dear delegates, guests of the Congress.

On behalf of 28 million members of trade unions affiliated to the Federation of Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR), I would like to express at this remarkable moment our full support to the foundation of the new trade union International.

I would like to greet you all, first and foremost the leaders of the ICFTU and the WCL, Guy Ryder and Willy Thys, and their comrades in arms, who managed to complete a very complicated task of bringing together different streams of the world trade union movement and to implement into life a long-term aspiration to unite. Naturally, this is only the first very important step in achieving mutual understanding among trade unions of the world in realising their mission and fully implementing their rich experience of struggle for the interests of working people in raising trade union solidarity to a high level.

Having declared the foundation of the new international trade union organisation, we have now to prove by our unity and our united action that these declarations are not only nice words. To do this, the affiliates of the new International Trade Union Confederation on their national level have to show their sense of responsibility and goodwill to cooperate on the most important issues of trade union activity in spite of the diversity of cultures and methods of work.

I believe that once we become members of the newly founded organisation, we have to overcome mutual suspicion, if there was any, and put an end to unjustified aggression towards each other.

Last year, when we were celebrating the 100th anniversary of the trade union movement in Russia, the three Russian ICFTU affiliates made a statement on their readiness to co-ordinate their positions both on the national and international levels. Moreover, in ten days from now, when the sixth FNPR Congress will start its work in Moscow, questions of trade union unity will be actively discussed by its delegates and the decision which will be adopted at this world trade union forum, I am sure, will be at the centre of the debates.

The same problems must be solved on the regional level as well. In the regions we have to do away with the competition inertia which sometimes deals with confrontation. Europe can serve as a good example. The ETUC, from the very moment of its foundation, had in its ranks European, ICFTU and WCL affiliates.

Europe had another problem because for a long time it was divided into two trade union subregions. One of them, after the changes in the European political and interstate landscape, incorporated new members. At the same time, the trade unions that were left in the second region which had lost its previous monolithism, failed to achieve the level of co-operation and understanding which was shown to them as an example by the first region, despite all the efforts undertaken.

Today, the situation is changing radically. The Founding Congress of the new trade union International will have to adopt a resolution promoting the creation of a unified trade union structure in Europe, the Pan European Regional Council, which will, I hope, become a prototype of the regional organisation of the ITUC. This decision was achieved by the European unions in the course of long consultations which have shown patience, a desire of all participants to understand their positions and to come to a real unity in co-operation in the formerly divided Europe.

Today, on behalf of the FNPR, which participated actively in this process, I can say that undoubted progress has been made. This charges me with a lot of optimism.

The last important question. Today we create an organisation which is looking to the future. We all know that the future belongs to the youth. Thus, we should consider seriously how to involve our young trade unionists in our activities and in the process of decision-making at all possible levels. I am wishing you every success. Thank you very much for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MR. ARUMUGAN THONDAMAN** (Ceylon Workers' Congress, CWC, Sri Lanka): Chair and fellow delegates, it is in the order of things for me to convey to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and World Confederation of Labour in closing ranks to bring the world trade union movement under one umbrella.

As one of the affiliates of the ICFTU, the Ceylon Workers' Congress had been a staunch advocate and a promoter of the ideals, policies and programmes of the ICFTU from the time it was founded.

One of the fundamental principles and driving forces that impelled the formation of ICFTU was as a protest against the authority and policies followed by the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the most important ingredient in the structure of the ICFTU was the decent realisation of power arising out of which Regional Organisations of the ICFTU enjoyed a great degree of autonomy, managing their own affairs within the framework of the ICFTU.

Some of the fears expressed by the affiliates of the Asia Pacific region when evaluating the overall impact of the new international and the structural changes that are part and parcel of its makeup, wherein in unison we expressed our reservations relating to the emasculation of power relating to the Asian Pacific Regional Organisation.

I must state that Bro. Guy Ryder steadfastly weathered the avalanche of misgivings that were generated during a series of meetings

at the APRO Regional Executive Board. In fact, Bro. Guy Ryder reminded me of the brave Horatio guarding the bridge. However, the convulsions ended up in sailing into calm waters and there was general acceptance of the Constitution and provisions of the New International.

Nevertheless, I regret to have to observe that the pendulum has swung right back under the new constitutional provisions. The General Council seems to be the final determinant of all matters referred to. In other words, there is a centralisation of power which was the *raison d'être* for the ICFTU breaking away from the WFTU.

As I said earlier, the structure of the new International is a *fait accompli*, but constitutions can be amended depending on the circumstances. It is in this premise that I would call upon the ITUC leadership to have an open mind about our submissions in this regard and perhaps over time think of viable alternatives.

Another contentious issue is the question of an open door policy as regards new affiliates. We would very much like to urge that the views of the existing affiliates be obtained before a decision is taken to affiliate all and sundry applications for affiliation.

In conclusion, notwithstanding the desirability of trade union solidarity, I would like to say that even if it is gold dust, you do not put it in your eyes. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. STURE NORDH** (Tjanstemannens Centralorganisation, TCO, Sweden) (*Interpreted*): Chair, delegates to Congress, it is a great honour for me to speak to this historic Congress and to give a few views on the ITUC programme.

The world is changing and we in the trade union organisations have to change with it. We have to realise that increased internationalisation (globalisation if you like) means growth and development, which provides many people with opportunities of a better life. That is a very good thing but it also means threats and challenges. People are exploited and worn out. Growth devastates our common natural resources. Profits are distributed so unevenly that our communities are finally torn apart.

The effects of globalisation are not decided by destiny; people can influence them. We are at a crossroads and we have to choose and decide to influence politics in the direction we want and our new organisation is one such instrument. We realise that we have so much in common, we realise that we need to co-operate so as to be able to face up to globalisation in trade union terms and that is why we have formed our new organisation, the ITUC.

Active support for human rights, and not least women's human rights, is part of our fundamental values and most important priorities and for human rights in working life we have a clear responsibility. All workers have the right to live in democratic communities where their rights are respected, but their rights are not always accepted and respected in industrialised nations. We have seen examples of this recently from Australia and the United States and these rights are refused in developing countries. It is very important for trade union rights to be respected everywhere, not just for those who are being refused their rights today; it is important for the rest of us. Free trade unions are necessary so as to make sure that the toughening international competition will not lead to a downward spiral with lower rates of pay and poorer conditions for the workers.

I come from a part of the world where the level of unionisation is high. In the Nordic countries and in Sweden, my country, we have a high level of union membership. Our experience has been that what has been decisive here has, among other things, been the level of unionisation for white collar workers, professional groups. In a global perspective these groups are seldom members of unions to the same extent as other occupational groups and there are many reasons for that. Many are civil servants and are denied the right to join a union or to engage in collective bargaining. In other quarters they simply belong to professional organisations and work on professional issues and not trade union ones.

If we are to be able to organise well qualified professional groups, we in the unions have to find methods which reconcile the interests of a profession with traditional trade union issues. It is our responsibility in the national arena to do the organising and we have to organise these new occupational groups. I am convinced that in the global trade union movement, the ITUC has an important job to do to get information and ideas out and to contribute to recruitment efforts through experience and inspiration.

Trade union development and co-operation is necessary to increase knowledge of workers' rights. We have to contribute to setting up free trade union organisations and we have to provide information on how to recruit. Sisters and brothers, there are huge resources available in the context of the global trade union movement but these resources are not used strategically, rationally or effectively. That is why we need more transparency, better planning and better co-ordination. We, the affiliates, have a responsibility to see that this takes place. We have to develop a working method that means that we use our resources better, but the ITUC has a central role in doing better strategic planning and co-ordinating better in this area.

The Nordic affiliates are prepared to actively support initiatives that mean more transparency, better and more co-ordination of our work and we want the ITUC to play a strong role in that work. Thank you, Chair. (*Applause*)

**MR. JOAO PROENCA** (Uniao Geral de Trabalhadores, UGT-P, Portugal) (*Interpreted*): Chair, dear friends, here today we are witnessing an historic moment with the creation of the ITUC. This reflects the unity of the international trade union movement.

I would like to offer a special word of gratitude to Guy Ryder and Willy Thys, our general secretaries, for the work that they have done and for ensuring that democratic decisions were taken.

This reflects the will of the overwhelming majority of workers in 157 countries. This new organisation is the end point of the pursuit of unity which has been pursued for a long time. We have unity in plurality. We have respect for differences and we base our work on common values and principles as we struggle to build a more fair world of solidarity.

The creation of the ITUC considerably strengthens our collective capacity to face up to the challenges of globalisation and the growing power of multinationals. Our unity will be further strengthened if we establish strategic alliances with organisations, associations and movements who share our common objectives, first and foremost with the International Labour Organisation, which is the privileged platform for tripartite social dialogue.

We have heard some wise words from Ambassador Somavia. He has worked very hard to ensure the achievement of decent work. The ITUC has a fundamental role to play in the ILO. In fact, that is what Mr. Somavia just told us.

With the ITUC we have set as priority economic and social development, sustainable and sustained development; the fight against poverty and exclusion; the fight for equal opportunities and the fight against all types of discrimination, including discrimination against immigrants. Each of us must play an active role in realising solidarity, especially in the context of North-South relations. Our basis must be based on respect between countries and organisations but we must also defend democracy, human rights and trade union rights. We must promote better social protection and decent work.

With the ITUC we are in a position to do more significant work toward unionising workers. We should establish special campaigns for women, young people, workers in the informal economy and independ-

ent workers and immigrants. We should work in networks. We should have exchange of information amongst our different centres. We should ensure better co-operation, in particular in the areas of education and trade union training.

We would like to express our support for the ITUC Programme of Action. We undertake to play an active role in completion of that programme. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. JOSE MARIA FIDALGO** (Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras - Accion Sindical Internacional, CC.OO., Spain) (*Interpreted*): Good afternoon, everyone. Chair, I would like to thank you on behalf of the Comisiones Obreras of Spain for allowing me to speak at this Congress.

Dear Guy, dear Willy, thank you both very much for your work, your honesty and your courage. Dear brothers and sisters, this act is a commitment to construction of world solidarity. This is an event which illustrates its solidarity. If we believe in our Constitution and our statements, if we believe in the need to unite the trade union movement, it is because we have been critical of our current situation.

There are three goals we must aim to achieve. Greater strength first of all, that is increasing membership. Secondly, greater capacity and usefulness. That means greater impact, greater intervention. The third is greater influence. We must increase our negotiating powers and reach agreements with companies, governments and institutions. How are we going to achieve these three goals? I have three ideas.

First of all, we want to achieve greater strength, capacity and influence in each individual country and through solidarity and trade union co-operation on an international basis, we must strengthen the weakest organisations first and foremost. In order to do this, we must start today developing international co-operation practices. We have to co-ordinate our efforts and channel our efforts through our Regional Organisations of the ITUC. Co-operation thereby will become more efficient. Our Regional Organisations must guide us. They must set priorities for us and help us to decide how to distribute our resources to achieve trade union co-operation.

Secondly, on the work agenda of each national centre we must include international trade union action as one of our own activities. It is just as important as our national activities. It should not be seen as a maintenance exercise. Guy Ryder said something to that effect yesterday at the last ICFTU Congress.



Thirdly, we must emphasise unity. All of us will become stronger if we strengthen the ITUC. In order to do this, we must give the General Council a remit to organise a first World Trade Union Day. It should be convened by the ITUC and all of its affiliates when, within a reasonable period of time, this will be possible. Our objectives should be decent work, globalisation of rights and all of the Millennium Development Goals.

Sisters and brothers, we can achieve all of this but it will depend on all of our efforts. Actions speak louder than words. If you speak but do not take action, basically, that is a reflection of powerlessness. Starting today, we are an important independent political actor, which will describe to society, institutions and business our very clear goals and we should speak with a single voice. We will work to overcome the problems of globalisation. We will work to establish rights, the kind of globalisation that we want, a well thought out globalisation for the benefit of everyone.

Today we are making a great commitment. We are representing working men and women around the world. Workers are the world's primary wealth, the greatest wealth of the world. A company's core workers are human capital, but they must not be mistreated. If you mistreat your wealth, you are doomed to fail and it is mortal for society and our civilisation.

Whether or not our voice is heard will depend first and foremost on the action of people who have created the largest International Trade Union Confederation of all time. It will all depend on our commitment, our work. If we do our jobs, no doubt we will be seen as legitimate and our ideas will prevail. We shall continue as we have done so far to change the world together with and for workers of the world. Long live the struggle of workers. Long live the International Trade Union Confederation. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. OLEKSANDR YURKIN** (Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, FPU, Ukraine) (*Interpreted*): Dear colleagues, friends and brothers and sisters.

First of all, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to address the Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation, which will undoubtedly contribute to further development of the international trade union movement. Of course it will take time to fully estimate the consequences of this historical event.

The new organisation will have to unite the international trade union movement so that it will be able to bring more democracy to



the globalisation of the global economy and take control over such an important component as migration. Nowadays, migration has become a global phenomenon. People migrate in search of a better life not just to neighbouring countries but also to the most distant ones, which very often are in another hemisphere. I recommend those of you who doubt this fact to take a walk around Vienna to resolve your uncertainty. According to the UN Population Fund, the number of migrant working living outside their homelands exceeded 191 million people last year.

International migrants make a large contribution to development but they still face serious problems. To address these problems, co-ordinated efforts of the international community are needed, including co-ordinated trade union policy. Migration plays an increasing role in tackling the demographic deficit and lack of labour force, addressing unemployment and poverty issues. At the same time, migration deprives countries of the most skilled workers. Illegal migration leads to higher competition on labour markets, lower wages and higher pressure on Social Services. Illegal migrants often join organised criminal gangs, raising concerns among citizens about a growing threat of terrorism and drugs trafficking.

Nevertheless, both sending and receiving countries benefit from migration. How much this benefit is depends on the observation of the migrants' rights.

Since Ukraine became independent in 1991 it has been facing mass flows of migrants. As a mainly sending country, Ukraine has signed 13 bilateral agreements that regulate employment and social protection issues of Ukrainian citizens working abroad. Yet, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine estimates that more than 3 million Ukrainians work abroad illegally. Their status deprives them of a chance to enjoy legal and social protection. Over 75% illegal Ukrainian workers work 10-12 hours a day or even more. They have absolutely no rights whatsoever. A worker who has suffered from a job-related injury, become ill or asks for decent pay can be fired at any time by their employer without receiving his or her wages.

Once getting inside the circle of criminal interests of mediators and employers, Ukrainian migrants often find themselves in debt bondage and are subject to forced labour. They may even fall victim to human trafficking. According to data of the law enforcement authorities of Ukraine, 1279 trafficking related cases were brought to light in the years between 1998 and 2005 and this is just the tip of the iceberg.

Among negative consequences of migration one should also mention a "brain drain". Scientists and researchers leave Ukraine in

search of better conditions and well paid jobs. Just in the last decade Ukraine has lost more than 500 doctors of science under the age of 50. As a result, many scientific schools have ceased to exist. The Ukrainian labour market already lacks highly skilled workers, technicians and engineers.

At the same time, Ukraine is also a receiving country. According to the official data about 30,000 migrants arrive every year. Their real number appears to be much higher. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MS. RENENA JHABWALA** (Self-Employed Women's Association, SEWA, India): Chair, brothers and sisters, I represent SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association of India, which has for 35 years been organising workers who are the lowest in the world of work in every way; doing the heaviest work, with the lowest earnings and with the most social discrimination. They are the women workers of the informal economy.

I am proud that in spite of all their difficulties, I am here representing our 800,000 women members at the founding of the new international federation and that I bring the congratulations of all these women to this new federation. (*Applause*)

The workers of the informal economy are unprotected, discriminated against and unrecognised. That is what characterises them. They are street vendors providing an important service but with no rights, always subject to violence. They are home-based workers, mostly women, invisible and with no legal protection. They are wage workers, daily workers, contract workers, domestic workers with no recognised employer, precarious work and low wages. They are small producers, small farmers, artisans being overrun and very rapidly marginalised by these huge multinational companies and their unfair competition.

When we first started our union 35 years ago we were told that these are not workers because they have no employer. We were told that it is not possible to organise them because they are scattered and they are fragmented. Our greatest lesson in the last 35 years has been that informal workers want to organise, are ready to organise, are keen and ready to make sacrifices in order to organise. Our membership has gone from a few hundred in the first decade when we were learning, to hundreds of thousands in the last decade and even today workers are joining at a rate with which, quite frankly, we are not able to cope.

The informal economy is very large, the number of workers is very large. In India over 90% are in the informal economy, 60-80% in the rest of Asia, 60-90% in the Continent of Africa, up to 60% in Latin

America and even in the OECD countries they are almost 20%. However, their issues are different and their methods of organising are different. The street vendors struggle against the municipality for space. Home-based workers need legislation to protect them. Construction workers and contract workers need strength to bargain and the implementation of laws. Small farmers need fair trade policies in their own countries and especially at the WTO. All these workers need social security. These are the issues around which they organise.

I must also mention that we are all women. In our culture women are often afraid to speak up. They often do not recognise themselves as workers. Women need unions the most.

We have seen in SEWA that for a woman her union is her organisation where she realises her own personality, appreciates her own work and feels free to be with her sisters. For a woman, a trade union is her mother's home. It is the place she builds solidarity with the rest of her sisters. For informal workers and their organisations and their unions recognition is extremely important. The workers first need to be recognised as workers before they can organise and formulate their demands. Their organisations need to be recognised and appreciated before they can bargain for better conditions or agitate for new laws.

SEWA's journey has shown the difficulties that informal workers and their unions face. In our struggle for recognition we have first had to have the workers recognised and then their organisation. I would like to express our appreciation that at the international level the Global Union Federations very early appreciated the need to organise informal workers. For SEWA, it was the IUF which first recognised it, in 1985, and then the ITTWF and then of course we joined other global federations.

We would like to see our presence here among you as the recognition among the members of the ITUC of the informal workers who today are the majority of workers in the world. These workers are already organising themselves. They are organising themselves locally and internationally into networks like Network of Home Workers, StreetNet street vendors, waste collectors and many others. We urge the ITUC to recognise these workers, to recognise their organising, to recognise their organising power and to bring them into the fold of the trade union movement. We pledge our solidarity in this effort. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MS. MARIA ROZAS** (Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile (CUT), Chile) (*Interpreted*): Dear brothers and sisters, I would like to offer a warm greeting to our friends Willy Thys and Guy Ryder.

I am here to speak on behalf of the CUT, Chile. Our organisation was re-born in the midst of the Chilean dictatorship thanks to the support and solidarity of workers around the world.

Today, at this time, we cannot ignore unity in international trade unionism. Globalisation has crossed all borders and deepened economic inequalities so that the profits are in the hands of very few and there is very little left over for everyone else. This has deepened inequality and differences to an extent that is often intolerable.

However, this globalisation is not only economic. People try to convince us that the values of dignity, solidarity and social justice are obsolete. Today, as we unify the trade union movement, we are seizing a new opportunity and we are creating new opportunities to believe in our capacity to fight and to create an organisation for the service of principles and values that are more important than ever.

We need social peace in the world. Certainly, we need social peace but we cannot have social peace based on exploitation and lack of dignity amongst working men and women around the world. (Applause) Social peace can only exist if we have decent work so that we can live decent lives as Mr. Somavia, the Director-General of the ILO, told us. We need to increase our standard of living but this will only be possible if we are able to make use of our freedom to strengthen trade unions. We must mobilise workers around the world so that they can defend their rights.

We believe that we must have dialogue, yes, certainly. But, together with dialogue, we must also ensure the social and political mobilisation of workers. As Mr. Somavia said, we need to increase power but what is most important is that we make use of this power to build a great future in which free women and men will have decent work and a decent life.

The birth of the International Trade Union Confederation is our opportunity so that we can once again begin to be the builders of our own destiny. We must work with faith and hope, compassion and strength and we must ensure that the ITUC becomes a unified organisation expressing solidarity and mobilising workers.

Chilean workers can act today in freedom, thanks to the workers of the world. Today we are committed to the unity of the international trade union movement and, for that reason, when, next year in Chile, we celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chilean trade union movement, we would like to invite the workers of the Americas, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. We will open our homes to you. We will open

our country to you because our country is free today, thanks to you. So, next year, we should begin building a regional organisation of the Americas which will help us move towards unity on our own continent. *(Applause)*

In this way, on behalf of thousands and thousands of Chilean workers who remained on course and on behalf of thousands of workers who were saved thanks to international solidarity, we want to say that our house is open to you. Thank you for your international solidarity. Long live international solidarity. May other workers benefit from it, the Colombians and our brothers and sisters there whose human rights are being violated every day. On behalf of the workers of Chile, thank you very much for your solidarity. *(Applause)*

**MR. BISHNU RIMAL** (General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT), Nepal): Bro. Chair and fellow delegates, allow me to address this august gathering on behalf of my Chairman, Comrade Mukunda Neupane, who is on this floor leading our delegation.

Bro. Chair and fellow delegates, this is an opportunity for GEFONT to acknowledge the international trade union movement from the family of the ICFTU, the WCL and the Global Union Federations and the national centres of the entire globe for strong support during our struggle against autocracy in Nepal. Let me express our thankfulness to this incomparable gathering of history-makers of the labour movement for the continued support to us Nepalis in our democratic and trade union movement in extremely difficult days of the recent past.

Our full-fledged success in the April Uprising of this year to achieve democracy by defeating the autocratic monarchy and to bring rebels into the negotiation is actually the real outcome of the support and solidarity of the international community, together with our determined militant struggle. And now we are in a phase of difficult transition where your support and solidarity is still inevitable.

The election of the Constituent Assembly, mainstreaming of rebels and restructuring of the State-society economy are the major tasks ahead where the representation, participation and ownership of working class and the trade union movement is to be ensured. Institutionalisation and the fully-fledged guarantee of rights as well as wide coverage of protection and welfare systems are the major labour agenda in our new national context.

We believe this is possible only through a strong united movement in a single union frame, which GEFONT, together with another national trade union centre in Nepal, the NTUC, is trying to develop

very fast. As a partner, we have DECONT in issue-wide joint actions hand in hand as well. This national process in our country is further inspired by the global initiative of the ITUC. Let us rejoice today with you, colleagues, on the historical day of the founding of the ITUC and let me congratulate both of the General Secretaries of the former ICFTU and the WCL, Bros. Guy Ryder and Willy Thys for their visionary leadership.

Colleagues, we have always been moving ahead on the track of our “One Union One Voice” policy. Hence, passing through these historical moments of the trade union movement to declare the new International, we are proud to be a part of the process. Facing hardships and challenges with threats and possibilities, we are now at a glorious point of departure, from where the journey towards a bright horizon with clear view of destination is awaiting for us. Here we would like to stress in favour of the inclusion of other remaining democratic and independent national centres, too.

New hopes, nationally and internationally, have come up to inaugurate a new era of working people. The focus of the international union movement is now to be shifted to the suffering south with its lively links to the north. Our movement should now free itself from the superior mentality of and guidance by the ruling elite of the north. New types of organising initiatives are to be developed, as classical types of organising models have now become insufficient. Coverage should be of all types of workers, both regular and irregular masses. The overwhelming working masses of the informal economy and the documented and undocumented migrant workers in massive scale, we believe, will now be the focal point of the ITUC in addition to the workers in the formal frame of employment. We believe that separate desks for informal economy and ensuring free labour mobility to balance the uninterrupted movement of capital should be the agenda of new initiatives.

Colleagues, friends, comrades, sisters and brothers, still today authoritarian tendencies and violence are influential in the world. Thus, our freedom and democracy is still in a delicate position. One of the reasons for this is that in the developing world there is poverty, unemployment, disparity and various kinds of exclusion. Thus, it should be pacified through social justice and a strong social security system. We believe that rivalry and undue competition in the union movement is an obstacle for progress of the working masses. Unity in diversity is the only viable solution.

We expect to develop an inclusive, fully representative, dynamic and social trade unionism. The entire world is watching our steps and strategies. Let us move forward with new commitments and dedication.

Long live international trade union solidarity. Long live the International Trade Union Confederation. Thank you, brother. (*Applause*)

**MR. ANDRZEJ ADAMCZYK** (“Solidarnosc” Niezalezny Samorzadny Zwiazek Zawodowy (NSZZ)): Chair, sisters and brothers, it was eight years ago, in September 1998, that the Solidarnosc Congress appealed to the international trade union movement urging all democratic, free and independent workers’ organisations to launch a process of unification. Some called us, then, lunatic dreamers. Others said we were irresponsible troublemakers. Now we have the brand new International Trade Union Confederation and even though we dropped the word “free” from the name of the new organisation, we strongly believe in the commitment of all of us to the values of free trade unionism.

Let me also take this opportunity to thank the ICFTU and the WCL -- we were proud members of both since 1986 -- for the fantastic job they did throughout their histories and also for the crucial and extremely positive role they played in the dramatic moment Solidarnosc experienced during our underground operation.

Some say we had to get together to adjust our activities to new conditions dictated by business. Certainly, we have decided that a global economy requires a global trade union response. But our response will not consist in adapting ourselves to the new business and greed-driven world. On the contrary, our job is to change this world.

How to do it? We have a draft programme of the ITUC before us. But it is not enough to adopt this excellent document. After the Congress, we will come back to our constituencies to implement this programme and the ITUC will make it possible for us to work in unity, in common endeavour and solidarity for a better and more just world. Thank you for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MR. JULIO ROBERTO GOMEZ** (Confederación General de Trabajadores Democraticos (CGTD), Colombia) (*Interpreted*): Bro. Chair, brothers and sisters, perhaps I could start in the framework of this august assembly of women and men workers from around the world. I could start by offering the gratitude of the trade union movement of all workers in Colombia. Certainly, many of us are still alive thanks to your solidarity. You deserve a round of applause for your solidarity with Colombia. (*Applause*)



We have taken an historic step by setting up a new international organisation to defend the rights and interests of the entire working class. We have taken on the challenge of rejecting our differences and we have taken the necessary steps to provide ourselves with a solid instrument which will enable us to face up to capitalist globalisation which is marginalising and excluding the majorities in each of our countries.

We have seen the cooling of the efforts of the ICFTU and the WCL who, together, have been carrying on the struggle for 143 years. We have adopted Standing Orders and a Constitution which sets out the tasks of the new organisation.

None the less, we must still state with clarity that the programme of the new ITUC must be sufficiently transparent about issues that are vital to the workers of the world and this will be achieved in the programme that we are currently discussing.

With this in mind, when we return to our countries we would like to go with the very clear understanding that the ITUC was not founded to make peace with capitalist organisation but, rather, to fight against it and to ensure the solidarity of all workers around the world.

For workers the ongoing work and commitment of the ILO has been exceedingly important with a view to achieving decent work. It is our conviction that, for a job to be decent it has to be dignified, stable and sufficiently paid. Thus, we believe that solidarity is the right course to take in fighting the barbarity of neo-liberalism which, today, is presented as globalisation. The working classes of the world, those who are excluded from society, those who are unemployed, the peasants and the farmers -- the impoverished of the world today because of neo-liberal policies -- are suffering; those who work in the informal sector; children who are required to work; women who are discriminated against; the HIV/AIDS victims, and, in general, those who work in conditions of slavery to pay off their debts, have great hopes for the ITUC.

Brothers and sisters, in the light of this internationalism, we must reiterate our solidarity with the workers and people of the Lebanon and Palestine who have been subjected to extensive aggression. We must raise the flag of self-determination and we must demand the withdrawal of the occupying forces from wherever they occupy around the world. *(Applause)* We must all take the course of peace and never the course of war. *(Applause)*

If we want to be consistent with the organisation that we have created, then we must go on the offensive and confront capitalistic



globalisation which wants to create a downward levelling, making our jobs more precarious, lowering our wages and making everything completely flexible.

Bro. Guy, Bro. Willy, Bro. Emilio Gabaglio, brothers and sisters who worked throughout this process of unification, thank you from the bottom of my heart for your support of the working classes of the world. Thank you for giving us this wonderful instrument so that we can defend the interests and rights of workers around the world. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. JOHN EVANS** (Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD): Chair, sisters and brothers, this is a day when the international trade union movement stands together. It feels very good to be here debating the international Programme of Action of the united global trade union movement, the ITUC. For that, Willy and Guy, I would like to thank you for bringing us, through your determined leadership, to this position.

Unification of the international labour movement makes sense. Within TUAC, which I represent, the ICFTU, the WCL and non-affiliated unions have already worked closely together for over 30 years. TUAC is therefore proud to feature in the ITUC Constitution as part of the structured partnership with the GUFs that will be brought together in the Council of Global Unions. We are determined to be an effective tool for the new International.

As Juan Somavia said earlier this afternoon, we are meeting at a time when our members are bearing the brunt of the inequities of market-driven globalisation. Wages are lagging behind productivity growth whilst the new super-rich at the top of our companies have disconnected themselves from the reality of the work of those they profit from. This cannot be the future that we leave to our children.

We know that unions are a key part of the solution for change. Where unions exist and bargain, there is less low pay, more secure work, less corruption and often more efficient economies and certainly always more just societies.

As Guy said yesterday, the ITUC objective must be to provide effective representation for working people in the global economy and to do this better than we do today. We must ensure that there is no part of this world that is a no-go area for trade unions. We have a duty to ensure that there is no multinational that can foolishly boast that it is “union free”. And we have a duty to ensure that there is no worker in

this global economy who cannot feed her or his family because of the lack of a decent job.

Trade unions in this room now are giving priority to organising and strengthening the movement. This will succeed, first and foremost, because of the actions of our members and our potential members. But these actions do not take place in a political or a social or an economic vacuum. International organisations such as the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, the OECD and the G8 clearly shape the environment in which all our unions operate.

Efforts to change the rules of the global economy are not an add-on luxury to real trade union work of organising. They are an absolutely essential necessity and part of it. We have to win the battle of ideas.

Work in TUAC over the last five years and that planned for the year ahead dovetails exactly with that of the Programme of the ITUC. The consultative mechanism that TUAC provides for unions with the OECD remains a precedent for us in the ITUC to argue to have our voice heard in the international financial institutions and in the WTO.

Together with the ICFTU, the WCL and our affiliates, on some issues -- perhaps too few issues -- we have forced governments to establish, in the OECD, some rules that can be used as tools by all unions in this room.

More than 60 times in the past five years our affiliates and Global Union Federations have used the OECD Guidelines on Multinational Enterprises to challenge corporate wrongdoing. That work must now be extended to China.

In Korea, the OECD continues to monitor the trade union rights abuses against the benchmark of ILO core standards. We must ensure for the ITUC that new members of the OECD also have to respect core labour standards.

And development aid policy, which is set by donor countries in the OECD, again, for the ITUC we have to make sure that the provision of decent work and respect for core labour rights is an essential part of development strategy.

The revision of the OECD Jobs Strategy this year, whilst far from perfect, now recognises that strong unions and co-ordinated bargaining as seen in some Northern European countries, can produce good employment performance.

But we must do more and we must do it better. So now I congratulate the ITUC. In TUAC we pledge to work even harder as part of a reinforced partnership with the Global Unions Council to make a difference and to make sure that one day no one -- no one -- will be denied the right to join a union or have a decent job.

I am optimistic that, together, we can achieve this and we will achieve it. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. KURSHID AHMED** (Pakistan Workers' Federation (PWF), Pakistan): Bro. Chair, Bro. Guy Ryder and Bro. Willy Thys, distinguished brothers and sisters, on behalf of the Workers' Delegation of Pakistan, I feel it my great privilege to convey sincere felicitations on this historic occasion of the merger of the ICFTU and the WCL under the leadership of Bro. Guy Ryder and Sis. Sharan Burrow and Bro. Willy Thys and also this esteemed and august body of distinguished affiliates, all of whom have made this historic decision to unify and to strengthen the trade union movement at the global level.

We have adopted the Constitution which lays down the basic principles. The challenges, for all of us as well as for the new organisation, are: How is globalisation to be given a human face; how fair trade can achieve a better world; how ignorance could be replaced with the transfer of technology and knowledge; how privatisation and deregulation could be replaced with the provision of a safety net for the workers; how the gap between the rich and the poor within the nations and between the nations can be narrowed down; how the basic rights of the workers can be protected and strengthened while, in many parts of the world, workers' rights are being flouted -- some of our colleagues have been murdered, some are in prison and some are victimised for forming the trade unions; and how the ILO supervisory role could be strengthened to influence the financial institutions to protect and promote the basic rights and to strengthen this supervisory role upon the Member States not only to ratify them but also to translate them into practice.

We also have the situation where the resources of the world are being squandered on a mad armaments race and how this race can be replaced with the provision of basic needs to the poor, the majority of which still live on less than \$1 a day in the developing countries.

These challenges pose great opportunities not only to unify but to make a concerted struggle at the international level and also to translate at the national level. We assure you, sir, we are all here to demonstrate our commitment to these objectives and to make a concerted struggle not only at the global level but also at the national level. We assure you, sir, that we will continue to make this dream a reality with our sacrifice

and with our devotion to fulfil the dream of the teeming masses of the poor.

We are coming from Asia where two-thirds of the majority of world live who are poor, and particularly the rural woman. We also have to take into account how the lives of the poor in the rural area can be improved.

We, in Pakistan, have been struggling to translate those principles into reality and by unifying our three trade union centres into one centre as has been stated and we intend to continue to strengthen our struggle for achieving those objectives. We assure you, sir, that we will continue as an affiliate, along with our brothers and sisters in all parts of the world, to achieve those objectives and to make the dream a reality. Long live the International Trade Union Confederation. Long live the unity of the workers.

On behalf of the working class of Pakistan, we have brought something to offer symbolising our love and affection from the workmanship of the workers. I would request my sister to bring and present you with this which says, "Congratulations on the founding of the International Trade Union Confederation". Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

*(Gift was presented amidst applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you very much, Ahmed. It is a gift from our friends from Pakistan.

**MR. MICHAEL DOLEMAN** (Australian Council of Trade Unions, ACTU, Australia): I bring you greetings from the ACTU in Australia.

I raise a question on the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!", and ask: "Is that a slogan of ancient origin?", and "Unite around what?" We will return to that question in due course.

It is very important and timely that the ITUC has been formed because the struggle against globalisation is intensifying and calls for enormous demands on the trade union movement; but it is not unbeatable, it is not a force to be feared, it is a force to be organised against and struggled for. I would like to deal with a number of fine examples that I believe have demonstrated the ability of the working trade union movement to struggle against globalisation and succeed and continue to struggle on the back of those successes.

The union that I come from is called the Maritime Union of Australia and the workers we represent are seafarers and dock workers. The seafaring profession was the first ever business to be global. By nature of its trade, it also ended up the first business in the world to be deregulated, to allow the employers to choose a flag of convenience to best suit their ability to avoid tax and responsibilities for their crews. It allowed the employers to employ crews of convenience -- or, more to the point, crews that could be exploited easier than others. There was no accountability and no method of curbing the excesses of these perpetrators of exploitation on seafarers of the world, predominantly in developing nations.

The International Transport Workers Federation, of which my union is an affiliate, undertook a global campaign many years ago to fight these excesses and to represent those workers with the assistance of trade unions around the world. As a result of that campaign we have seen through over the years, thousands and thousands of seafarers now have pay justice and work in safe environments in the hostile industry of seafaring. The ITF has also been able to influence international bodies such as the IMO and the ILO for decent minimum standards to apply in those areas.

To me, that is a fine example of how unions globally can come together in the interests of workers of the world, but there are other examples of which my own union has been a recipient. In 1998 the Patrick Stevedoring company, with the support of the Australian Government, collaborated together and sacked 2,000 workers on the Australian waterfront with the objective of deunionising and removing that union. We won that dispute. We won it by the hard work of our members in Australia and the support of unions and the community, but equally by the support of unions around the world, including Japan, the United Kingdom, India, the United States, New Zealand and including the ITF and other GUFs. Some unions were able to do some enormous things, like hold up a ship in the United States for 35 days. Other smaller unions took up finance and support for our union. No matter what can be done it is all important in the global struggle.

We are continuing to build global solidarity and I can tell you that the mining and maritime unions in South Africa, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Japan are working together to develop logistical arguments and campaigning under the slogan "From the pit to the port", trying to deal with the logistics of those trades and building solidarity and campaigns in support of each other. So we see the development of the ITUC as complimentary and very important in that development. We also believe that campaigning, in terms of resolutions, is vitally important to give life to those fine resolutions that are

carried here and elsewhere. Without campaigning, those resolutions are inactive.

Delegates, I could not rise before you today without making some brief comment on the political and industrial circumstances in my country, Australia. We have the worst government in the world, in my opinion, at least in the First World, who have just introduced industrial laws that take Australia to the threshold, if not across it, of a fascist state. They have removed the rights of workers and unions completely and our union movement is now in a fight for its life. Our delegation, under the leadership of Sharan Burrow, have just emerged from our national Congress, where the single issue of debate and discussion was uniting the union movement in Australia around a core campaign to defeat the Australian Government. I guarantee you this. If we lose that campaign, our capacity to fight and struggle with our global comrades will be diminished enormously. But I also guarantee you this. That the Australian trade union movement will fight and fight and fight until we defeat this fascist government and emerge a stronger, more organised and reinvigorated trade union movement that will throw its weight ever increasingly behind the global trade union sector for all the right reasons.

Delegates, I raised the question about “Workers of the world, unite!” and its relevance in a contemporary trade union movement. I have never doubted, quite frankly, that workers of the world will unite if they are given correct and strong leadership. In Australia we have a slogan in campaigning that goes, “The workers united will never be defeated.” In terms of providing the leadership for the workers globally, maybe our slogans need to be that national trade union centres united and union leaders of the world unite, then we can all call out together that the world unions united will never be defeated. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. LAXMAN BASNET** (Nepal Trade Union Congress, NTUC, Nepal): Respected chair, fellow delegates, observers, I bring greetings from the workers of Nepal, who are watching this World Congress with great expectation and concern. We are proud to be associated with the great democratic struggle of the global workers’ movement.

The ICFTU’s more than half a century long struggle to protect and build democratic trade unionism will result in a truly global movement after this historic Congress. We look forward to working in and contributing to this great endeavour.

At this historic moment let me share with you some of our concerns. I feel changes in the international political economy and in-

formation technology, all associated with globalisation, pose both challenges and opportunities for us. I hope that this Congress will adequately address these issues. The NTUC strongly believes that in order to face challenges we should be even more committed to the ideals of democratic trade unionism. Each of our constituents should be representative, transparent, accountable, participatory and open to work with social partners. Internal democracy is a must for any trade union to be representative. Solidarity is only consolidated if we have trust, similar fundamentals and adherence to democracy.

The NTUC has always valued and cherished its affiliation with the ICFTU. This is further cemented through our experience working together for democracy. I want to record our gratitude and appreciation for the struggle that the ICFTU and the GUFs showed to us during our struggle for democracy after the King's coup on 1 February 2005. Some of you were present in Kathmandu on that day when the King of Nepal staged a coup, imposed a State of Emergency, jailed our friends and leaders, censored the press and disconnected telephones and the internet.

The ICFTU rose to the occasion and supported us in fighting back without any hesitation. I would like to thank Bro. Guy Ryder, General Secretary of the ICFTU, for his continuing support for our movement in Nepal. Similarly, Bro. Suzuki, President of ICFTU-APRO, relentlessly supported our struggle and even risked to visit us many times during those 14 months of difficult times. We are deeply moved and encouraged by the support that the GUFs gave to us, especially when it protested in front of Nepal's embassies around the world. I want to thank all of you for this support and guidance.

Dear sisters and brothers, the trade union movement in Nepal is young. It emerged only after the historical changes of 1990 and it has a long way to go. I am confident that it will emerge as a mature movement in the future, but for this we need your support and solidarity, as in the past.

After this historic Congress we will be entering a new phase of the international workers' movement. I hope the coming days will be of more challenge since we need to find ways and means to cement our solidarity in the wake of aggressive globalisation.

Thank you very much. I have an appreciation plaque from the workers of Nepal, which I would like to read and present to Bro. Guy Ryder: "Mr. Guy Ryder, General Secretary ICFTU, the Nepal Trade Union Congress has the honour to present workers' appreciation in re-



storing peace, democracy and workers' rights in Nepal." Thank you very much. (Presentation amidst applause)

There is a similar thing for Bro. Suzuki, General Secretary ICFTU-APRO: "Mr. Suzuki, General Secretary ICFTU-APRO, the Nepal Trade Union Congress has the honour to present workers' appreciation in restoring peace, democracy and workers' rights in Nepal."

*(Presentation made amidst applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON** *(Interpreted)*: Thank you very much, Basnet. And thank you to everyone.

Before we adjourn for the evening, let me give you some practical information. At eight o'clock there is a reception at the Town Hall with the OGB and the Town Mayor. Buses are provided for delegates -- and I say clearly for delegates -- at 7.15 in the evening. They will take you to the reception and they will return you to your hotel at 10.15 in the evening.

We will begin again tomorrow morning at nine o'clock. We are adjourned for the evening.

Congress adjourned at 6.15 p.m.

Thursday, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2006

## MORNING SESSION

*Congress re-assembled at 9.20 a.m.*

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (Mr. Carlos Rodriguez) (*Interpreted*): May I ask everyone to take their seats. We are going to hear from various speakers until eleven o'clock and after that we will start the panel. We would appeal to speakers to keep your presentations to four minutes, no more, because a lot of people have been asking for the floor. Let us continue to work our way through the list of speakers. I would like to give the floor now to Bro. Abdessalem Jerad from Tunisia.

**MR. ABDESSALEM JERAD** Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail, UGTT, Tunisia) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers.

I have the pleasure first of all of bringing you fraternal greetings from activists in the UGTT of Tunisia, wishing you every success with this world Congress, a congress held in the birth of a new international which we hope will live up to the expectations of the workers throughout the world in a spirit of solidarity in the face of the challenges of globalisation.

Today we are turning the page and leaving the disputes that divided the trade union movement behind us, disputes which divided trade unionists over many decades, and we are moving into a new era based on common interests and common objectives for all working men and women and all unions throughout the world.

The UGTT, ever since it was founded in 1946, has built on the spirit of solidarity and has been much involved in the trade union movement, has never hesitated to join the global movement and has been very interested in the preparations for the new global organisation.

We are now setting the scene for a new trade union project which has a different vision than the globalisation process. We feel that it is possible to establish a new world free of poverty, exclusion and injustice, which will bridge the gap between north and south and ensure more equitable trade and investment, promoting employment in developing countries and lifting the burden of foreign debt, thus giving hope to young workers of decent work, prosperity and new opportunities.

The workers of the world and their trade unions hope that this new trade union structure will lead to a renaissance of the trade union movement and help it to act as a real force at global level, removing the polarisation that exists, with some people being hostile to our move-

ment. We hope that the new confederation will give hope and we also hope that it will contribute to positive development in the world. We hope that it will help to fight for a better world, a more stable world, ruled by democracy and human rights, where the dignity of peoples is respected within a global framework.

We are sure that this new confederation will mobilise its international social strength and contribute to the establishment of peace, will help to solve disputes and help the Palestinian people to obtain their own state, to restore stability in Iraq and we hope that it will be possible to consolidate our capacity, leading to true free trade unionism in, for instance, the Middle East, which needs this more than the other regions of the world. That region needs the understanding of the international community in a difficult situation and it is essential to promote development which gives people hope.

Peace can provide the climate for achieving all of the objectives set out by our new organisation and this is the best way of consolidating understanding between different cultural traditions. We very much hope that our organisation will play a decisive role in fighting against all kinds of violence and inequality and that it will help to promote our principles among peoples. Long live international trade unionism. Long live solidarity. Long live our organisation. Thank you for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MR. ZDENEK MALEK** (Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions, CMKOS, Czech Republic): Chair, brothers and sisters, distinguished guests.

The time limit of four minutes makes me perhaps more sincere and less diplomatic, especially if one cannot speak in his native language, so I shall be short and perhaps blunt.

Colleagues, I shall first of all refer to our panel this morning. Cohesion or chaos in relation to global institutions I think may be easily translated into other words: peace or war.

With reference to our programme, we all know that global trade and financial institutions stand too often against sustainable development, against social justice and decent work. They do not recognise the linkage between political, economic and social democracy, human dignity included. There are plenty of examples that the present process of chaotically expanding globalisation does not serve all the people.

I just want to point out that International Financial Institutions, as well as the WTO, are member driven organisations and that we should

therefore ask what is the role of our governments in them and what is the role of our parliaments in their decision-making?

Any inequalities, discrimination, domination, mass unemployment, poverty and lack of human dignity brings contra-reactions and also gives grounds for insane terrorism. This chain of reaction inevitably leads to an unsustainable peace which we can observe in so many regions that can one day involve the whole world.

At the end of the '90s there was some analysis which found that there had already been more than 5,000 wars and that if their victims were counted up, mankind already would have extinguished itself once. Some people say that the concept of peace has already stopped being attractive to young people. I am glad, therefore, that Bro. Gabaglio, Juan Somavia and some others brought peace again to our discussion, referring positively to what is contained in our programme.

Colleagues, there is not a stronger voluntarily organised force in the world than trade unions. Let us therefore exploit all the ways so that the xenophobic, racist and narrowly nationalistic tendencies emerging here and there are hindered and that the economic and, parallel to it, social progress for all becomes the true basis for observing fundamental human rights for social justice and renewed sustainable peace all over the world. Thank you for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MS. YOUNG-OK JIN** (Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, KCTU, South Korea) (*Interpreted*): Comrades, I would like to extend warm greetings of solidarity on behalf of more than 15 million workers in South Korea on this historic occasion.

First of all, I would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for your consistent interest and solidarity in the improvement of the labour rights situation and for calling for an end to trade union repression in South Korea. We recognise the significant role the international community has played, such as the ILO, in pressuring for improvement for labour standards. Because of this pressure and solidarity provided by every one of you here today we, the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, are here at this Founding Congress. So we hope that the ITUC can continue this tradition to organise mutual solidarity and support amongst its members to challenge neoliberal globalisation. We the KCTU pledge to be part of this challenge, utilising our past experiences and mobilising our strength.

Trade union and human rights are threatened by neoliberal globalisation. The WTO and International Financial Institutions such as the IMF have already deprived thousands of workers and their families

of things such as rights to access to clean water, public services, quality healthcare and decent work. The Doha Development Agenda has already failed. Even its proclaimed objective to promote development in the south is no longer a reality. We do not want a WTO, we do not want an FTA. We want a labour friendly and equal globalisation based on a new internationalism. In this process, the ILO's role should be more emphasised and effective measures to defend and promote international labour standards should be strengthened.

In spite of the significance of the ILO, I would like to denounce any government that neglects the authority and legal capacity of the ILO. The Committee on the Freedom of Association of the ILO has made 13 recommendations to the South Korean Government to bring labour laws and industrial relations in line with international standards. However, the South Korean Government has never implemented these recommendations legally nor practically. Instead, the Government has chosen to intensify trade union rights repression.

Even during the ILO Asia Regional Meeting, which was held in Busan, South Korea this year, the Government forcibly shut down the local offices of the Korean Government Employees' Union. The Government continued its efforts to consistently destroy the KGEU by organising a nationwide raid, storming the KGEU local union offices on September 22nd. In addition, on September 11th, the South Korean Government decided to postpone union pluralism at the enterprise level for another three years, under the pretext of needing a transition period and to avoid social disruption. However, it should be noted that the Government has postponed union pluralism for the past ten years using the same excuse. How long do South Korean workers need a transition period?

Currently, irregular workers comprise more than 60% of the entire workforce. The majority are women workers. The Government has failed to guarantee fundamental basic trade union rights for these irregular or casualised workers. They are often fired immediately after they exercise their right to organise and try to form a trade union. So the fight for irregular workers is also the fight for women's rights.

Yesterday, the Vice President of the Australian trade union Congress stated that the Australian Government was the worst in the First World. In this light, I should like to say that the South Korean Government is the worst government in the OECD.

Comrades, there are currently 77 members of the KCTU that are held in prison because of their trade union activities. The majority are construction workers and irregular workers. On July 16<sup>th</sup>, brother Ha

Joong Keun, a member of the Korean Federation of Construction Industry Trade Unions was beaten to death by several riot police during a strike. This is Ha Joong Keun, what more can be said? This is the reality we face in South Korea.

We recognise that trade union repression is not unique to South Korea. The attack on workers around the world by governments and corporate globalisation is increasing. Trade unionists are being murdered in Colombia and in the Philippines, trade union rights are being repressed in Zimbabwe and Cambodia and in Australia the right to collective bargaining is disappearing. I would like to add South Korea to this list for its failure to meet international labour standards and stop the brutal repression of workers.

Yesterday, ILO Director-General Juan Somavia stated that organisers in danger can call on him and he would respond immediately. Director General Juan Somavia, the South Korean workers are calling on you now. KGEU members, construction workers and millions of irregular workers are calling on you. They are waiting for your response.

Comrades, the KCTU will launch a general strike on November 15th to stop trade union repression and ensure basic labour rights in Korea. I would like to reiterate a traditional labour slogan that we know so well: “An injury to one is an injury to all.” South Korean workers are calling for your support and solidarity again on November 15<sup>th</sup>. Let us fight together. Let us unite through the ITUC. Thank you. *(Applause)*

**MR. MARIANO MENA** (Confederación General de Trabajadores de Panama, CGTP, Panama) *(Interpreted)*: Chair, members of the praesidium, brothers and sisters, distinguished friends, workers of the world.

The world of workers is celebrating this event. We were able to overcome our differences and work together on points we have in common in order to give life to this new international confederation. Our work is just beginning. We must continue the struggle for a more just world in which working men and women, all people, can live with dignity.

We need to fight against the accumulation of wealth in the world, where the few hold 80% of the wealth. This divide is deepening under the current neoliberal model. We must build a world that is more just and which practices solidarity.

Panama has experienced the consequences of an invasion, an armed invasion by the United States of America. As a consequence of this experience we request, we demand, the immediate withdrawal

of American military from Iraq. You cannot put out a fire with petrol.  
(*Applause*)

This situation is not acceptable to the workers of the world. No invasion, no building of walls, is acceptable, whether these walls are visible, such as the ones the United States is planning to build on its border with Mexico, or even the invisible walls, such as the one being built across from Morocco. Walls will not stop people who are hungry and in need. These problems can only be solved by creating jobs with decent wages in the countries of the Third World. People do not migrate for the fun of it. They do it because they have to.

In the Third World we urgently need solidarity, the support of organisations in the developed countries, because companies from the First World are setting up shop in our countries and what they want to do in our countries is what they are not able to do in their own countries. They are not hiring workers, they are finding slaves. The working men and women of the First World cannot look away in the face of this affront to human dignity.

The International Trade Union Confederation must do its utmost to condemn the external debt of developing countries because this debt is illegitimate. Most of this debt was undertaken by dictatorial governments which had no authorization from their people. Consequently, this debt is illegitimate and has been from the outset. In this great confederation we cannot remain silent because silence means consent and thus a shouldering of responsibility. We must work to protect the environment, mobilising against transfers of radioactive materials. Third World countries can not be used as waste deposits.

For all of the workers of the world there must be a healthy, safe environment. We are talking about human beings, the life and the health of women and men workers. From this podium we demand the cleaning up of the defence fields in Panama which have been left polluted by the US army which operated in our territory. Similarly, we would demand the same everywhere in the world where military exercises have taken place. The ITUC must support us in this endeavour.

Another world will only be possible if we are able to globalise solidarity. Long live the new ITUC. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. JOHN MONKS** (General Secretary, European Trade Union Confederation, ETUC): Thank you very much, Chair and good morning delegates.

I am honoured this morning to bring the very best and warm wishes of the European TUC to our new International Trade Union



Confederation. Many speakers have already pointed out, and others no doubt will do so, that this is a historic occasion. I am glad and I am proud that the European trade union movement has played a part, both as a template and as a midwife, if I may mix the images, in the achievement of establishing the new world body.

As a template I think that we have shown the way. Since 1973 the ETUC has managed to fuse together all the different trade union traditions and to the good of everyone and all. As for the midwife, if he will allow me, I would like to pay homage to Emilio Gabaglio, my predecessor as the ETUC General Secretary, for all the work that he has done in facilitating the birth of the new confederation.

At the ICFTU Congress in Miyazaki, nearly two years ago, I was able to pledge that the ETUC would play a part in the new architecture and would support world trade unionism to the full. We have worked very hard to meet that promise and I think that we have succeeded. We have managed, with goodwill and imagination on all sides, to engage the ETUC in the ITUC process, while preserving our essential autonomy and values.

The ETUC is neither a Regional Organisation nor is it a national centre. We negotiate autonomously working conditions of tens of millions of workers. It is a very practical organisation. It is a very, I think, evident and impressive response to globalisation, building up trade union action in a very important region of the work, negotiating across national borders wherever we can to underpin those who need practical solidarity from the strong to help the weak. So it is a very important role and I hope it is one that others can see that they can use in their own parts of the world. Through solidarity with your neighbours, you begin to build very practical solidarity on a wider stage across the whole of the world.

We deal with a pooled government. We have our own directly elected Parliament in Europe, we have got a common Civil Service in Europe called the European Commission and we mobilise our members for equal rights and justice in the single European marketplace. We will continue to do so. We have much to do. I am not coming here to say it is all perfect. All colleagues from Europe know it is not and we have some big decisions to make next year at our own Congress in Seville, to try and deepen the spirit of Europe, to make Europe a more powerful force both within our own continent and outside too; effective and successful at home and generous across the rest of the world. That, I believe, is our duty; that is our right.

But we do not belong to the Greta Garbot school of social interaction; we do not pine to be alone. It is historic that the ITUC has been established and we want to help it, to nurture it and to support it as best we possibly can without compromising our own essential role and position. So we too, Chair, in Europe, are making some history this week. We have already got a solid draft text for a Constitution for the Pan European Regional Council of the ITUC, which is ranging from Porto to Vladivostok, from the Arctic Circle to the Central Asian steppes. Give or take a little fine tuning, we hope to have launched our Council in the first quarter of next year.

So Europe is bringing its own contribution to the great endeavour that you are undertaking. We stand for economic and social development; we stand for democracy; we stand for the respect of human and trade union rights and we stand for workers everywhere. So I wish you, I wish us, good luck with this great task and very exciting enterprise. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): We would like to inform you that Guy Ryder and Willy Thys will have to go out for just a few minutes. We are honoured by the presence of Sis. Cissé and Bro. Estevez, who will replace them temporarily. Thank you.

**MR. ARTUR HENRIQUE DA SILVA SANTOS** (Central Unica dos Trabalhadores, CUT, Brazil) (*Interpreted*): Good morning brothers and sisters.

We would like to greet all of the working men and women of the world and those of you who are present here today at this important Congress to found the new ITUC.

We would like to express our hope that the new International Trade Union Confederation will help us to carry out concrete action in the struggle of workers and the organisations of workers against the forces of capital -- the forces of capital which are increasingly globalised and which are giving rise to the need for workers to become more and more globally organised internationally.

We must create and strengthen international workers' networks which, above and beyond expressing solidarity, can organise and coordinate actions and mobilisations and exert pressure so that we can achieve victories, achieving our priority goals. We must work hard for economic growth, distribution of wealth and generation of decent work everywhere in the world. In addition, we must fight for agrarian reform and for trade union freedom. This is not possible yet in many places around the world.

In Brazil we have just completed two projects which were controversial. One was to fight against neoliberalism and privatisation and criminalisation of social and trade union movements. The other one worked on changes which began during the first term of Lula's government. With his important victory in a country like Brazil, where there is still considerable extremely serious social inequality (it is one of the worst situations on the planet), this victory of Lula, who has a second term, gives rise to new hopes because this process of change can continue in the second term building on Lula's first term.

Consequently, we are certain that another world is possible and we are sure that the new ITUC will participate effectively in building this new possible world. I warmly embrace all of you. Thank you. *(Applause)*

**MS. GERD-LIV VALLA** (Landsorganisasjonen i Norge, LO, Norway) *(Interpreted)*: Chair, sisters and brothers, fellow trade unionists.

Our 100 years of history in the trade union movement has been about division and rivalry and this is now over. In a world that is largely marked by ruthless market driven liberalism, a strong and united trade union movement is an important counterweight.

The merger of the ICFTU and the WCL will make us stronger, but we all know that the ITUC can only be as strong as its individual affiliates are together. That is why we all have to work hard at home to increase membership of our national trade unions.

In many places the trade union values have been under attack. In many parts of the world trade union work means that people have to risk their lives. We have heard quite a few people talk about this here. We have heard about Colombia, where trade unionists are being killed. In Palestine, Israel's occupation makes it almost impossible to do trade union work.

Norway and the other Nordic countries have today a high level of employment and we have a high level of employment for women. We have a high level of union membership and we have a well developed welfare state. Knowing this, the tripartite system has developed. This is the Nordic model, with talks taking place between the employees, the employers and the authorities.

The ITUC has an important job to do in getting information out on the tripartite system to other countries. The ICFTU did great work in terms of talking to the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO and getting them to include and respect trade union rights. At the IMF and

the World Bank perhaps we can see a few small signs of improvement. They have become maybe a little bit more open to listening to the claims of the trade unions and perhaps have realised that social justice does contribute to economic development, but they still have a long way to go. When it comes to the WTO, we do have still a very long way to go, but it is important in a world where we want open trade to make progress.

The ICFTU did a fantastic job in getting standards included in the WTO Rules. There can never be free trade or just trade when trade takes place in products which are generated by people who work in conditions of slavery, by children and by people who do not have the right to strike. The ITUC should put even more effort into getting respect for the ILO Core Conventions and this is something that should be pressed for in all the international institutions.

The women's situation in the trade union movement is important to highlight in the future. And we have seen here from the number of women delegates that we are doing quite well. Women are 40% of the world's working population and a lot of them work in the informal sector, they very often have low wages, they have temporary jobs and work in environments which are dangerous to health. In the brochure "Women Taking the Lead in the Unions and At Work", which has been produced by the ICFTU for this Congress, women tell us about how important it is to join a union and about their experience.

Women throughout the world carry a heavy burden. Women are still mainly responsible for the home and for the family and at the same time they go out to work and work hard. The trade union movement really must work for political reforms which encourage men to change their attitudes and to shoulder more responsibility at home. Without gender parity at home, without equal opportunities, there can be no parity at work.

Women in the ICFTU and the WCL have worked together in organising and recruiting women into the trade union movement and we are very pleased to see that the new organisation is intending to keep up the good work.

Delegates to Congress, we need a strong international organisation to make sure that women and men, working people throughout the world, have decent jobs. Our vision has to be decent work for all. This is the best remedy if we want to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals and make sure that poverty is history by 2015. We have to work internationally. This has to be part of the fight to get rid of poverty

and to create decent work for everybody. Thank you very much for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MR. JOHN KOLAWOLE** (Trade Union Congress of Nigeria, TUC, Nigeria): I bring you fraternal greetings from the President and the affiliates of the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria.

I also want to seize this opportunity to thank the ICFTU and WCL for carrying my labour centre and other non-affiliated national centres to this organisation. This makes us the first set of babies of this powerful international trade union organisation. A parable in Nigeria says, "If a child appreciates favours of yesterday, he will be guaranteed another favour today." It is our hope that we shall remain the favoured children of the ITUC.

I join other past speakers in congratulating the ITUC. It is our prayer that it becomes the counterforce against oppression, against dictatorship and against the abuses of the multinationals.

I wish to emphasise the need for workers to be united by the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" The ITUC should fashion as early as possible an agenda for the replication of what the ICFTU and the WCL have done yesterday. The merger of these two strong international labour centres should be copied in all countries where there exist more than one labour centre. This will bring to an end interlabour federations' unhealthy competition and opposition, which is particularly responsible for the reasons why many qualified federations have been kept out of both former international trade union centres.

An African adage says that it is difficult to break a bunch of brooms, which is saying that in unity we stand, divided we fall.

The task before the ITUC is enormous. In Nigeria and many developing nations globalisation is the monster which has come to add to the woes of workers. The incursion of liberalisation through the multinationals and the IMF espoused reform agenda is taking away our jobs. Workers are the first victims of restructuring exercises under the private sector participation programmes of our governments. As a baby looks up to the mother as its protector, so do we look up to the ITUC as our protector.

Most antiunion companies come from the industrialised world, who are escaping from the heat in their own countries. Unions of the industrialised world should not relax when these evil geniuses escape to the Third World. They should support us in solidarity, they should help us to build our capacity and expose their evils as quickly as pos-

sible. Many of these organisations are morally and environmentally responsible.

A Nigerian proverb says that it is lack of moral values and appreciation which is the reason why an entire family of rats are thieves. The organisations steal from our sweat. They steal from our rights and our total esteem as producers of the wealth of the nation.

The ITUC should, more than ever before, join African workers and their governments to advocate for debt cancellation. Most of the debts are the dubious signatures of corruption and bad governance. Corruption persists in Africa and in many Third World countries. Corruption is a cankerworm which denies the masses much needed infrastructure, facilities and social services which the masses require to enjoy the dividends of good governance in a democratic setting.

In addition to this is a disease called poverty and illiteracy. I advocate quick co-operation of trade unions nationally and internationally with civil society organisations to demand and fight for social justice, equity, good governance and rapid transformation of the lives of the masses. The transformation of the lives of the workers, and indeed of the masses, should be the reform agenda of the ITUC and trade union organisations worldwide as quickly as possible.

The unemployment market is growing worldwide. It is especially big in developing countries like Nigeria. Beside its social effects, our hope to hand over to the youth our dreams and aspirations may be deemed difficult to achieve if youth will succumb to the pressure to stay out of unions because of lack of alternative employment.

Fighting for job creation or extending trade union activities to investment and other economic activities is the priority which we must engage in. We can no longer sit on the fence in this regard. The trickle down effect of growth in developing countries has not led to any visible development.

Speakers, including the Director General of the ILO, have mentioned the widening gap between the rich and the poor. The magic of globalisation and deregulation is, after all, a poverty of ideas and approach. Our governments in Africa, out of ignorance, selfishness of the leadership and coercion by powerful nations, continue to buy and implement the IMF and World Bank system of the macroeconomy. Many countries suffered severely from structural adjustment programmes. We should lead and come out with advice on programmes which will benefit workers and the masses in general.

I join in advocating the allotment of more positions to youth and women. I am proud to say that the President of the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria is a woman, and a very powerful woman indeed. We should all return home with a strong commitment to empower youth and women. The ITUC should come out with a specific action plan and programmes as well as enlightenment on the informal sector. To organise this sector, or to organise more members into a union into a union today is a difficult legal and operational task.

I also want to bring to your attention the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS in Africa. HIV/AIDS is having a devastating impact on workers and their families in Africa and many other parts of the world. As trade unionists, we have to respond, considerably increasing in our workplace activities on HIV/AIDS for our members. That is because our members demand this from us. We call on you to join us in this response by agreeing union policies, negotiating collective agreements on HIV/AIDS, using the workplace health and safety commitment to monitor progress.

World AIDS Day on December 1 is an important opportunity for us to show our commitment to fight HIV/AIDS by organising activities to create awareness and to support workers who are HIV positive. We have to call on governments to keep their promise of providing treatment to those who need it for universal acceptance by 2010. For this to become a reality, we have to campaign globally, regionally and nationally. We have to keep the pressure on. In keeping the pressure on, Chair, I want you to sensitise this hall and our members by calling all the delegates here to stand up for one minute for dead workers who have suffered and died because of HIV/AIDS. That will help us to realise what pain we are going through in Africa. Bro. Chair, I crave your indulgence to use your offices. *(Applause)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON** *(Interpreted)*: We will take on board our brother's concerns.

*(Congress stood in silent tribute)*

**MR. JOHN KOLAWOLE**: Thank you, Chair. To end this address, I want to finish by quoting another African proverb. The proverb says that when a lizard falls from a huge iroko tree and survives, when it is not commended by anybody, the lizard looks right and left and nods his head up and down to congratulate himself. We have every reason here in this hall to congratulate ourselves. Congratulations comrades, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you Chair. *(Applause)*



**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you very much. May we suggest that speakers stick to the four minutes.

**MR. RUDY DE LEEUW** (Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique, FGTB, Belgium) (*Interpreted*): Sisters and brothers, friends.

In Miyazaki we decided that a new International Trade Union Confederation would not be an end in itself; it would be an instrument to be used by a new international trade unionism which would better serve the interests of working men and women.

From the outset, the FGTB has shared and defended this vision. Unification cannot just mean the opportunistic bringing together of different trade union apparatus. It is a true recasting of the global trade union movement and it should be an opportunity for affiliation for organisations and national centres who subscribe to and implement common values and principles. We are convinced that creating a counterweight is a key element in trade union strategy. This international counterweight is more than ever necessary.

We also plead in favour of democratic governance of the globalisation process. The added value of our new International will be its capacity to combine and join forces which base themselves on common values, principles and objectives. As far as the FGTB is concerned, it is clear the ITUC has a single identity and it is a trade union identity based on the values set out in Declaration of Principles.

As in the past, in this new International freedom of expression will have its rightful place but we remain absolutely convinced that this principle is not synonymous with the introduction of mechanisms which perpetuate old divisions. Importing into the ITUC a form of latent structural pluralism will not help us to join forces in a joint effort based on solidarity. This pluralism is a result of a historic situation and should have our respect, but it is not an end in itself and we do not want to promote it in a way that would generate undesirable parallelism.

We continue in confidence and in a constructive spirit and above all because we believe in this process of unification and support it. We agree to make the effort so as to make sure that at the end of the transitional period we will be truly united within the ITUC. Full unification means this has to take place in all the regions on all the continents and in principle in the branch federations, in the field and in action. In the ITUC there can be no question of the good and the bad. There can only be trade unionists who share common values.

The FGTB has always ardently defended the idea that trade union rights are the very essence, will be the very essence, of the work of

the ITUC and the Committee on Human and Trade Union Rights is an essential tool. For a long time we have worked very hard and very efficiently via mechanisms and tools to defend trade union rights, through networks for instance. The Committee on Human and Trade Union Rights has continued its work and laid the foundations for improvements in the way in which it works and acts. We firmly confirm our support for the ITUC's action in defending trade union rights and want to see the Committee on Human and Trade Union Rights maintained.

Finally, sisters and brothers, I cannot conclude without thanking and congratulating all those who have invested so much time and energy to make sure we are here today to set up this new unified international and I would like to particularly thank Guy, who has spared no effort since Miyazaki and who has, with Willy and Emilio, worked so hard to bring us to Vienna. With him I would like to thank Sharan, our President, Michael and Luc.

The FGTB has put its money on unification and global solidarity. The moment has come to congratulate all those who have taken on responsibility and to thank the new team of leadership: Guy, Mamounata Cisse, Jaap and all those who work at the Secretariat. I would like to thank you on behalf of all the workers in Belgium and FGTB would like to say long live the ITUC. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. BOGDAN HOSSU** (CNS Cartel Alfa, Romania) (*Interpreted*): Chair, delegates to Congress, hosts, friends, sisters and brothers.

This Congress is above all fantastic because it touches at the heart of our aspirations: solidarity. We have been made for solidarity, solidarity which covers the whole world. Trade unionism based on solidarity is our objective. We have to build solidarity because the question is not knowing whether solidarity will disappear, the question is whether we can really build solidarity. Every worker has his or her own problems, own hopes and expectations, own questions regarding the union. That is not a problem. The fundamental problem will only come up if we do not manage to unite individual hopes in a big, consistent, modern project based on solidarity.

We are here today and we have shown through the setting up of a new International that we belong to a trade union movement that has been strengthened, which works in solidarity and this is our best weapon against those who want to destroy us. More than ever, we are moving into a neoliberal era which is individualistic and this individualistic populism shows the difference between active and non-active

persons. Neoliberalism wants the weakest groups in society to shoulder responsibility for their own problems. It wants to replace solidarity with charity. It wants to undermine public service. It wants to sell the monument of social security at a knock-down price, but respect is not something that you get as a gift; respect is something that you earn; respect is something that you impose.

We need a strong counterweight to the new forces at work. We have to work on the corporate world. We have to make the CEOs understand that the workers will be with them if they are with the workers. We have a chance to no longer go back to an era when trade unionism was regarded as a dangerous activity for government. However, there are still companies which make life difficult for our activists and prefer to send a bailiff along rather than a negotiator.

We are experiencing a political and social structure that should guarantee freedom of association, freedom of consultation and freedom of expression. So, brothers and sisters, we must not backtrack in social terms. That is not justified by globalisation nor by the European project. We need to work in a spirit of solidarity, because at the end of the day, we are the ones who have to write the history of solidarity day after day, in good times and in bad. Solidarity has a future. The future belongs to us. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. CHEUK YAN LEE** (Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTU), Hong Kong): Chair and dear brothers and sisters, good morning. The HKCTU was formed in 1990 as the independent democratic union in Hong Kong and now, of course, in China. The HKCTU was formed before the handover to China and after the Tiananmen Square massacre.

I first came to the ICFTU in those years. Over the past years the HKCTU has grown in membership and we continue our struggle for a democratic Hong Kong and also to support our worker compatriots in China to fight for human and basic trade union rights.

When I met with a lot of trade unionists around the world, everyone wanted to tell me that China had changed. Yes, of course, China has changed after all these years. But the changes are only in the economic arena when authoritarian states, depriving workers and citizens of their basic rights, embrace neo-liberalism and free market economy. I shivered when I heard the words “China model” and I hope this will not spread around the world.

Yesterday we received a report that the new ITUC had a membership of 168 million workers around the world. I think you will all agree

we need to organise more workers under the basic values of solidarity, democracy and equality. So my question is: Do we want 100 million more workers to join the ITUC? I think you can guess that I am referring to the Chinese workers. But, of course, I am not inviting the affiliation of the ACFTU, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. I am inviting all of you to work together to support the struggle for the freedom of association of Chinese workers and other workers still living under authoritarian regimes. To work together we need to strategise. So I would strongly suggest that the ITUC continues the work of the China Working Party. I hope that you will share my dream. My dream is that one day the ITUC can hold its Congress in Beijing hosted by the independent and democratic union of China.

We do not want the China model. We do not want the American model. We want the ITUC model where workers have a fair share of globalisation. The support of the independent union in China is also important to our struggle for a fair globalisation and I will also call upon the ITUC to improve our mobilisation of our members to fight for a fair globalisation.

Last year in Hong Kong, in December, we had the WTO. I am glad that the ICFTU had its Executive Board in Hong Kong. But I think we can do more. I think we can get more of our members and mobilise more of our members to all the places where the powerful elite discuss the fate of the workers. We should have had more workers and more members coming to Hong Kong last year so that the union can be more visible. I hope that, in the future, the ITUC, together with all our affiliates, can improve on our mobilisation.

I believe in dialogue. But I also believe in fighting the battle on the street so that the damage of globalisation can be seen by the powerful elite and I hope we can, together, march again for a fair globalisation in the future mobilising more and more members under our banner.

I would like to also have a final word about the programme of the ITUC. I see that the programme embraces a lot of workers' problems but I think we need one more programme: to face the challenge of an ageing population; the challenge of pension funds and the challenge of age discrimination for our older workers. hope the ITUC can take that into account. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. BORIS MONTES DE OCA ANAYA** (Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), Colombia) (*Interpreted*): Chair, brothers and sisters, the CUT Colombia, over the first 20 years of its existence, drew together 720 trade unions and a huge number of members in the midst of a ferocious opponent. We feel that we have seen violations in respect

of the sovereignty of people, we have seen violations of democracy and we would reject all imperialist activities of this kind around the world.

We were able to do this because, as we said at the 39th Congress of the UGT, international trade unionism requires renewal so that it can work more efficiently and effectively against the globalisation occurring around the world so that change will benefit working men and women. CUT Colombia, together with another eight national centres, is participating in the Founding Congress of the ITUC. Our principle is that we must be inside the international trade union structures and not outside waiting for them to institute reform.

The inclusion of the CUT in world trade unionism was decided through a vote of our delegates during our 5th Congress in August this year and that is why we are here in Vienna. We would like to say that we will be present in every arena where we build national, regional, continental and international trade unionism.

We believe that alternatives must be created in the face of the challenges that face us today; that is, neo-liberal globalisation, imperialist aggression, war, authoritarianism, terrorism and a dismantling of labour rights, poverty, the weakening of our national sovereignty and the destruction of the environment.

We would like to say that we firmly believe in the role that workers and trade unions can play to build a better world for one and all and we believe that the ITUC will be a major player breaking the neo-liberal policies that are crushing us. More than 70 per cent much of the workers in the world cannot belong to trade unions today. The ITUC will have to make huge efforts to break down constraints on trade union freedoms. We must develop an inclusive approach and a pluralistic democratic approach. These are the principles which will make it possible for us to grow and for the world trade union movement to become stronger.

Let us launch an appeal that we keep the doors open so that many other national centres can become participants in the process that we are beginning here. We think that we should create a Standing Committee to maintain and establish relations with other national centres so that in the very near future all organised workers around the world can find themselves in a single international trade union confederation.

We are also convinced that globalisation and mobilisation of trade unions is the avenue we will have to take to open up the doors of global social dialogue. We therefore welcome proposals that have been

made at this Congress. The ITUC must commence efforts to mobilise labour around the world around its goals.

CUT Colombia expresses its solidarity with the alternative policies that are emerging in Latin America against neo-liberalism in Brazil, Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia and Uruguay. The social and political processes in Chile, Ecuador, Mexico and other countries confirm the theory that neo-liberalism has failed and is only defended by a few governments on the continent despite its dire results.

Despite the hopeful changes we are seeing in some countries in Latin America, in Colombia we are seeing the full force of neo-liberal policies and this is having social, economic and labour effects. The Washington Consensus is being defeated around the world but it is still guiding the action of employers and the government in our country. Our government is one of the most fervent followers of these policies and the orders of President Bush. So we are facing many challenges. There are violations of trade union and labour rights. Poverty in Colombia affects 59 per cent of the population. Only 20 out of every 100 workers have a labour contract. Our organised presence is weaker than ever. It is something like 2 per cent of workers who are covered by collective bargaining agreements and only 4.6 per cent are members of trade unions.

CUT Colombia has made a commitment to facing up to this very difficult situation. We must undertake a major transformation in the structure of our centres. At our recent Congress, therefore, we adopted a reform of our trade union movement so that the CUT will become a major centre with 18 national trade unions involved in our economic programme.

Given the grave situation of violence, of which we are victims, we would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the international trade union movement for the solidarity that you have shown Colombian trade unionists, beginning with the ICFTU. Over the last five years, 2,250 trade unionists have been killed in our country. More than 90 per cent of them were members of our centre, 2,020 men and 230 women. During the same period there have been death threats against 3,269 trade unionists; 187 have been threatened with death and 1,285 had to leave; 156 were kidnapped, 515 were arbitrarily arrested -- victims of the criminalisation of trade union and social activities; 134 have disappeared and another thousand are victims of daily silent violations of their rights, and discrimination. This is not collected in any of the statistics.

We would also like to express our appreciation for the support we have received from many trade union centres who are represented here. Your assistance has helped us to survive and to begin to re-build everything that we have lost over the last two decades. The tripartite agreement in the ILO establishes a permanent delegation in Colombia and that demonstrates your support. With your permanent solidarity, we will be able to begin a new process to break down the cycle of violence, impunity and destruction of trade union guarantees in our country.

Our presence here in Vienna ratifies the importance of the decisions that we have taken. We are making an even deeper commitment to building the broadest possible trade union action and co-ordination seen in the history of humanity, and this in the framework of the ITUC. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. PETRU CHIRIAC** (Consiliul Confederației Sindicatelor din Republica Moldova (CSRM), Moldova) (*Interpreted*): Dear Chair, dear brothers and sisters, I am honoured to participate in the work of the Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation marking the merger of the ICFTU and the WCL and non-affiliates.

This Congress is a new step and the outcome is the unification of the two trade union centres to create a new trade union organisation. This process can be explained in the globalisation of the labour market. Globalisation has its advantages in rendering help to millions of people but this model of globalisation lacks stability, does not reflect the interests of the workers and is the source of inequality giving no hope for tomorrow.

A lot of workers have to agree to no security at their workplaces and to the conditions of absence of any individual labour contracts. This is the case in Moldova. We can come to a conclusion that we, the trade union leaders representing the labour sphere, will have to re-structure the process of globalisation and give it different features. It is clear that the changes in the ICFTU have to take place at all the levels. This means that we will have to fill the vacuum among the national and international trade union movements.

The future of the trade union movement at all levels depends on the development of international syndicalism led not only by our vision of solidarity but by understanding the fact that globalisation will bring about mutual tendencies for the national and international trade union movements. Consequently, we have to have a strong trade union movement and, as far as the affiliation of the national trade union centres to the ITUC are concerned, I think that the General Council will have to concede the applications from the trade union centres if they are free,



democratic and independent so that the new Confederation will only benefit from that affiliation. It will serve only for the interests of the new Confederation.

Speaking about the violations of trade union rights, it is rather widely spread out and it takes place in Moldova as well. Such violations taking place in the world economy have to be eradicated because they can be the source of unjustified competition violating international labour standards. Trade union rights are the main feature of the basis of human rights and all the workers all over the world.

For the last four years the interference in trade union matters at the workplace is taking place everywhere in our country. Our Confederation was informing the ICFTU and the ILO about systematic and serious violations of trade union rights in Moldova which contradict ILO Conventions 87 and 98. Actually, what we were trying to do for the last few years was this. We wanted the government to respect our basic rights and freedoms and to be able to have a dignified life without any violations of democracy. We wanted to provide for all the trade union members a dignified life and not the co-existence and reclaimed eradication of economic malpractices and restoration of decent work and human dignity after all.

The Trade Union Confederation of Moldova, as much as we can, takes an active part in the setting up of a civil society in Moldova seeking a new mentality and existence. Our calls for non-interference into trade union matters over the two affiliations do not find any response.

Our attempts to have an agreement with another trade union centre, Solidaritate were rejected. I think that the new Confederation will try to do its best to work in the interests of the working people.

Finally, I would like to say that this Congress, which is taking place in Austria, the country of wars, is a new page in the history of world syndicalism. I would like to express every thanks to all the organisers and founders of this forum. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. JULIO CESAR FIGUEROA BAZAN** (Central Unitaria De Trabajadores Del Perú (CUT), Peru) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers, delegates to the Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation. First of all, let me offer you a warm greeting from the workers of Peru, the workers in multinational companies, in the private sector, public sector workers and self-employed workers. Let me emphasise self-employed workers because I want to insist on the distinction between workers who create their own work and workers who work in the informal economy. We cannot lump the two sec-

tors together and that is because the informal economy is something that we want to fight against but self-employed workers who create their own work should be promoted and developed because they are demonstrating that they are able to overcome the crisis created by the neo-liberal model.

For the CUT Peru, the founding of the International Trade Union Confederation represents significant progress in international trade unionism in the light of the facts that we have now taken on board the conviction that as long as we remain separate from one another, whatever efforts we may make, the current model will remain in effect but, through unity, we will probably be in a much stronger position to face up to this model provided, of course, we do our utmost and not only do we found this new ITUC but that, in addition, we take action to build on our past endeavours.

In addition, we feel that this new International is being founded on a very significant basis and this is in the ITUC programme. Many of the brothers and sisters here have reiterated these points many times, but we need to say as well that the efforts made in recent years have already produced many initiatives and proposals to help us overcome the current crisis.

Nevertheless, we feel that there is something missing from this Confederation and this Congress must meet the expectations of the workers of the world. It is not sufficient to create the instrument, nor is it sufficient to make proposals and simply to keep informed. It is necessary to take action. It is necessary for workers to know what they are becoming involved in. They need to know that, starting today, our confrontation with the current model will mean changes and we must be in a position to positively influence the situation for the benefit of one and all.

Thus, I would like to put a request to the Presidency. Would you please ask the Congress to set a specific date on which all workers around the world will mobilise to defend the programme of our new International. The purpose of this would be to celebrate, by the end of the year, the anniversary of human rights and this will be a first step towards changing the model which has created such misery around the world. Long live the International Trade Union Confederation. (*Applause*)

**MR. RAFFAELE BONANNI** (Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (CISL), Italy) (*Interpreted*): Dear Chair, dear brothers and sisters from all over the world, today is the start of a new phase in the history of the international trade union movement. After over

a century of division, free and democratic trade unions from all over the world have finally come together. We hope most sincerely, as we meet solemnly here, that all of those who cannot be with us here today because they are not free or democratic yet will one day be able to join us and share with us this wonderful new home.

My organisation, the CISL has worked very hard, together with many other organisations, to achieve the results that we are celebrating here today. We have always supported Emilio Gabaglio's crisis work as facilitator and, together with all of you, we would like to take this opportunity to warmly thank him.

We have worked very hard towards the founding of the new International Trade Union Confederation in order, effectively, to deal with globalisation and the political challenges posed by far-reaching geopolitical changes and the growing economic and social imbalances.

Friends, these changes require an international trade union which is capable of finding new opportunities for dialogue and capable of playing a much more active role in the major organisations that govern the world economy such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation and indeed the multinational companies themselves.

Confronted by international financial capitalism, which is so strong today and which imposes its logic aimed solely at achieving maximum profit from trade and which encourages financial speculation with the resulting injustice, calls into question democracy itself. In the face of this, the new International Trade Union Confederation will have to succeed by focusing its choices on promoting decent employment and dignity of human beings as the values of civilisation and democracy even now in the millennium that has just begun.

Moreover during this new and complex phase, the tools for participation and collective bargaining that have traditionally characterised our work at a national level will now have to be adapted and indeed re-launched by all of us in order to re-assert workers' rights, worker protection and the promotion of quality work for all men and women everywhere around the world.

The International Trade Union Confederation, moreover, will have to become the driving force for action aimed at organising and unionising young people and workers everywhere around the world. That includes informal work, which we see more and more all around the world, tele work and temporary work; indeed, all types of precarious employment that cannot be characterised as decent or quality work.

So we have to create a trade union and we have to promote a society and labour movement founded on equality; gender equality between men and women and aimed at overcoming all forms of discrimination, including discrimination against migrant workers whose rights are denied whether these workers are legal or illegal. This is even more the case when they are not legal.

Unfortunately, today, we still have to face the challenges posed by the struggle against child labour, forced labour and all forms of slavery that, unbelievably, still exist in a world that has never before experienced such a rapid acceleration in progress and scientific and technological advances.

That is why here, at this extremely important Congress, we fervently appeal to the ITUC and all of its affiliates to launch, here in Vienna, an international campaign against forced labour, child labour and all the new forms of slavery involving all governments -- all international institutions -- in a common platform -- our platform, which must also constitute a commitment on the part of companies.

In order to achieve all of the objectives of our Constitution, we will also have to be willing to transfer to the new organisation the power of representation and negotiation and the power to draft agreements that may prove necessary in order to strengthen every level of the new international trade union structure.

Interdependence amongst productive sectors and the international trade context represent yet another challenge and require a truly organic response which can cause changes in this situation. It is for this reason that we re-confirm the need for an effective process of integration of the Global Union Federations in the new Confederation which we are setting up here in Vienna. This will make it possible to intervene more effectively in the complex international macro-economic framework safeguarding, of course, the appropriate levels of autonomy but, at the same time -- and this is what is important -- promoting a united federal role.

In the face of positive demographic trends witnessed in every continent with the increase in life expectancy, our Constitution reminds us of the importance of solidarity between generations. The international trade union movement must therefore also tackle phenomena caused by an ageing population and growing social exclusion of the young by adopting tools that are capable of dealing with these important challenges, and not only in industrialised countries.

All international organisations must effectively tackle these problems using tools designed to promote solidarity between generations, to protect the interests and rights of retired workers and to promote pensions for the elderly, and to promote the employment and social inclusion of young people. The new International Trade Union Confederation should involve organised retired workers in social promotion in the defence of welfare for older generations and in helping the weaker and more marginalised sectors of society. We therefore call for these objectives to be included in the ITUC Action Programme.

We also ask that the Action Programme provides for the constitution of a Human and Trade Union Rights Committee and there should be a specific Working Group on China for the promotion of trade union freedom and fundamental rights in that country because these rights are trampled upon in that country.

Finally, the new International must assume the historic task of promoting social justice by promoting a global economic model which is able to counter injustice and to affirm freedom, equality and solidarity. This is something we wish to state most clearly. This will enable us to become the pillars for the protection of the rights of workers, youth and the elderly. It will enable us to be actors for peace and to oppose the growing spiral of violence and to stop those who, profiting from injustice, feed terrorism and war among nations. The only way to stop this spiral of terrorism and war is to promote social justice.

So, friends, brothers and sisters, today is a great day in the history of the international trade union movement. We are delighted to have worked hard towards achieving this, to have contributed to it and to be involved in it, although we are fully aware of the responsibility that we are all assuming together today. We are laying down the path for new generations to follow and they will have to uphold the fundamental values of solidarity in our constantly changing world. Long live the workers. (*Applause*)

**MR. RENE PAAS** (Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond (CNV), Netherlands) (*Interpreted*): Chair, companores, dear friends, mes amis, liebe Freunde, vriendin, I am proud and glad to be here. The foundation of the ITUC is a very important event. Today we create better opportunities to realise our ideals.

Everybody in this Congress knows how difficult it is to civilise multinationals. We only have to switch on the news to see examples of exploitation, of child labour, of terror, of poverty, of starvation.

This is our global village, the focus of our work, the working place for trade unions. This is a world in which we need all the help we can get; a world in which we need all the friends we can get -- and that is a lot of friends. This is a world in which we must work together to realise our dreams.

Dear friends, today, I want to make some proposals to you. I want to share some thoughts with you about how we can make the ITUC stronger, more effective, more influential and more successful.

In the remaining minutes, I will talk to you about two things: one is pluralism and one is focus.

At the core of the ITUC is her pluralism. If we want to be a real world movement, we will only become strong when we truly recognise our differences and when we value the different cultures and the different ideological roots of all our members.

Some people think diversity is a burden. But it is a treasure. Diversity does not always make things more easy but it enables us to give the right answers in a multicultural world. There is no one answer. There are different multicultural answers and we have to give them.

I live in Holland. Half our country is below sea level but we keep dry feet because of dykes and because of dunes. Let me explain something to you about a dune, because a dune is a miracle. How on earth is it possible that a giant heap of sand does not just blow away? The answer is: grass; very long harsh grass with strong roots; grass that is especially adapted for the conditions along the coastline. Those grasses keep the dune together.

We are the unions that form the ITUC with all our differences in cultures and in beliefs especially adapted to our home situations. Therefore, we are the grass roots that keep a world together.

But let us be frank. It takes courage to be different. It takes a lot of courage in a big world movement to have your own sound and “uniformity” can easily be mistaken for “unity”. Trust can only grow when there is no insecurity; when there is no fear to be yourself. To take away fear among the smaller member unions, the CNV proposes to all of us -- all of you -- forming a Mediation Committee to help solve problems at both the local and at the regional level to get rid of tensions between former members of different world organisations.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, the ITUC does itself a big favour when it moves ahead of trouble. Be proactive. Give trust a chance.

Dear friends, now we have the ITUC, what are we going to do with it? We think the success of the ITUC depends on our ability to formulate practical goals. We must organise the countervailing power in a world of big companies and big money. We must, of course, influence the ILO, the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation and the OECD. We must stimulate them to improve the labour conditions of workers all over the world. But the ITUC is far more than a lobby organisation. The ITUC is us. We, the unions, can contribute.

I will give you two examples. The first one is decent work. In all countries in the North and South we see the growing of the informal economy and of informal jobs, especially in domestic work. The groups who suffer most from the conditions of that work are migrants and women because the groups that always suffer most are migrants and women; groups with the weakest position in society. We want to turn domestic work into decent work. Therefore, the number of formal labour contracts must increase.

Why not use the birth of the ITUC to give ourselves a task? Let us, the unions, the members of the ITUC, increase the number of formal labour contracts in the domestic sector by, let us say, 10 per cent in four years. We can do it. We can create more decent work, so let us do it.

Another example is the power of top managers. A small group earns really ridiculous amounts of money and, at the same time, they reorganise and they ask workers to accept wage cuts. So that is the reality in our world. And they always use the same excuse. They say, "It's the labour market". It is "the world market" for top managers and it is "the labour market" for the other people; for the workers that earn low wages. The result is that, in the last years, the inequality has grown fast and we can stop it. We should stop it. Let us choose for balance. Let us use our influence to stop the growing inequality. We can do it. Focus on fair wages. Let us start today.

Dear friends, the CNV is glad with the birth of the ITUC. We are prepared to give a strong and solid contribution to our new world organisation to make new friends, to be faithful to old friends. We are determined to seize the opportunities; new opportunities for workers; new opportunities for justice; new opportunities for a better world. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. MADEMBA SOCK** (Union Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes du Sénégal (UNSAS), Senegal) (*Interpreted*): Bro. Chairman, sisters and brothers, delegates to Congress, holding this Founding Congress should be described as an historic Congress because we decided, together, to join hands to forget our differences. This is a huge task but



I think we can manage to achieve it if we accept to follow a code of conduct which will help us to deal with the difficulties that workers of the world are experiencing today. In giving birth to this new organisation, we have sealed our fate but I think that, after the Congress, we must make a Herculean effort to reassure the workers of the world who are under attack who are repressed by the policies suggested by the IMF and the World Bank.

Sisters and brothers, for years we have suffered the effects of division and the consequences have been serious for the working world, particularly in the countries of Africa where pressure has been put on us and the quality of life for working men and women on our continent has deteriorated greatly. Inequalities have become more blatant and injustice also more flagrant.

Sisters and brothers, political choices affect the social fabric. Poverty, of course, ravages our countries and you can see this in particular in the ranks of the women and children. I think that the agenda for decent work must become a reality because, today, we face a dramatic situation and the ITUC Action Programme must take on board an important question; that is, clandestine immigration. This issue of clandestine immigration has given rise to human and social dramas in our country, Senegal, and in the Gambia where the slave trade took place in previous centuries and from which countries flows of clandestine immigrants originate. I think that the North has to do something and, since we belong to the trade union movement, we must take our responsibility for dealing with illegal immigration and for ensuring decent work. We are different. We want to remain different but to complement our differences. In any event, we must accept the democratic debate. Only democratic rules can help us to make progress.

Yes, we have set up a new International Trade Union Confederation. Yes, we have to strengthen it. Yes, we must support it. This Confederation must build strong regional organisations and I think the challenge for our Confederation today is to build strong regional organisations where democracy reigns during our debates. I think that we have to break with the past and I think that we have to make progress. I think our new Confederation can help us in the regions to enhance democracy. There is not a lot of it around in our region. So we have to work on it and we have to work on creating social security for everyone. This is really what is at stake. It is a question of human dignity and the ITUC must also help us at national level to overcome our difficulties and our differences and to move towards unity. If we can do this, we will have unified organisations at national level, we will have strong organisations at regional level and that can nurture our international work.

So long live the workers of the world. Long live international solidarity and long live our new Confederation. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

**PANEL I: “COHESION OR CHAOS - THE GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS”**

**THE CHAIRPERSON** *(Interpreted)*: We are now going to move on to the panel. I would like to invite the panelists to come to the top table. We have Juan Somavia, Director-General of the ILO; we have the Director-General of the WTO, and although he has some difficulties of communication that is being worked out; we have the Minister for Development Co-Operation of Germany; we have Aruna Rao, Director, Gender at Work and CIVICUS; and we have an extraordinary Moderator, Eva Pfisterer, Economics Editor of ORF TV.

*(The panel took their places)*

Our Moderator, Eva Pfisterer, is the Economics Editor at ORF TV Austria and she is very well known for her great skill and expertise.

Once we have heard from each of the panelists, delegates will have an opportunity to ask questions. You will find two microphones available on the floor so that you can ask your questions. Please stand in line behind the microphones if you have a question.

Distinguished panelists, esteemed delegates, brothers and sisters, we are now going to begin our first panel during today's plenary. The plenary will discuss “Chaos or Cohesion -- Global Institutions”. We hope that we will have a debate with some leaders of international institutions, representatives of governments and civil society and I hope we will be able to deal with some issues which are of fundamental importance for the International Trade Union Confederation as it begins its task of creating a more just type of globalisation.

Brothers and sisters, every day we hear that wealth is increasing in the world, that global investments are increasing and that profits earned by companies are higher and higher. We are told that, over the last five years, we have achieved global economic growth greater than in any other five year period in modern history. None the less, we also witness, every day, increasing numbers of people losing their jobs or who are not able to earn enough for their families and who are left out of the main economy.

Despite record economic growth over the last five years, the number of people currently unemployed remains. They have jobs in the informal economy and their work goes unrecognised. This is worse

than in the last five years. That means, quite clearly, that the current form of globalisation is creating more and more losers and fewer and fewer winners.

For trade unionists around the world, it is obvious that international institutions and governments are, to a great extent, responsible for the current form of globalisation in developing countries; and in countries in transition and in developed countries and in the international institutions there is less and less room to adopt autonomous national policies, and the IFIs are reducing the influence of governing national institutions which govern national economies.

The international events in trade are undermining national policy as well. When we try to influence work in the international institutions we see that we are not able to make progress. Unfortunately, we are seeing more backward movement than forward movement. The international trade system daily fosters a downward race in diminishing labour standards. We see that the consequences of trade agreements on employment and quality of work are neglected.

The World Bank has recognised that credit should only be given to those companies that meet fundamental labour standards but the main banking institutions still continue to reward countries which undermine employment and undermine workers' rights. The International Monetary Fund has exacerbated financial crises around the world and has been abandoned by many debtor countries. They have no choice but to abandon the dogma that has led to their failure.

Brothers and sisters, these are some of the problems we are witnessing today in my region of the world, in Colombia and in Latin America. I could go on but I think that in light of the experience of the panelists who are with us today and the number of delegates who will want to ask questions, I think I should complete my remarks now and hand over the floor to the panelists. We are very pleased that you are able to join us today.

I would like to turn the floor over to Eva Pfisterer, who is the economics editor for Austrian Television. As I understand it, she is also a university professor here in Austria and I am sure she will be an excellent moderator for our panel. I hope this will be extremely interesting for everyone. (*Applause*)

We are hoping to have an audio contact with Pascal Lamy. I do not think we will be able to get a picture of him on the screen. I will let you know when we are able to establish contact with him.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much, dear Carlos Rodriguez.

Panelists, delegates from all over the world, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honour for me to be able to moderate a discussion with such distinguished persons as the Director-General of the World Trade Organization, Pascal Lamy, who is not yet here on the video; the civil society leader director Ms. Aruna Rao; the Minister For Development Co-Operation of Germany, Ms. Heidemarie Wiececorek-Zeul and the Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, Mr. Juan Somavia.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is an old dream of the labour movement to establish international trade unions acting globally and fighting for social standards, decent work as a fundamental human right, greater gender equality and an end to discrimination. The dream did not come true for Karl Marx and later generations. The Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation here in Vienna is a first step that the dream to end child labour and discrimination globally could become true. The only way that workers in the richer countries can defend their jobs is in an alliance with workers in Asia, in China or India, not in a contest with them.

I would now like to ask Pascal Lamy, Director-General of the World Trade Organization, for his opening remarks if we can get him through the video. We will try to contact him but we will go ahead now with our next speaker.

Our next speaker is Ms. Aruna Rao. Dr. Rao holds a Ph.D. in educational administration from Columbia University, New York and all her life she was a real civil society leader. She is the founding director of Gender at Work, a knowledge and capacity building organisation which promotes women's empowerment and gender equality through institutional change.

Like our last Nobel Prize winner, Ms. Dr. Rao started in Bangladesh with this new approach. Dr. Rao is also a real networker. She has consulted widely with UN organisations, academic institutions and NGOs. She currently serves as chair of the Board of Directors of CIVICUS, the World Alliance for Citizens' Participation. Ms. Rao has written several books on gender at work and several studies. We are interested now to listen to her opening remarks.

**MS. ARUNA RAO:** Good morning everyone.

I would like to extend congratulations on behalf of CIVICUS and Gender at Work to the newly formed ITUC. For CIVICUS in particular

it has been an honour to march side by side with you in the global campaign to end poverty.

Turning to the topic of the panel today, I would like to talk briefly about globalisation, then turn to the issue of gender equality and women's rights and then to put to you a joint proposal which trade unions and civil society organisations are working on, which is for a new women's entity in the United Nations system.

For many of those in this room and after listening to many of the speakers this morning, I think many would agree that the dominant feature of globalisation has not really prioritised human development, human security alongside growth. In fact, it does promote a model of growth which is not sustainable. Increasingly, much of the burden for that agenda of human security and human development -- the agenda's responsibility but not the resources -- is falling on the shoulders of communities, of civil society organisations, of families and, within families, much on the shoulders of women.

The gap between the rich and the poor is increasing in every country of the world and it is not a sustainable model. We need to work to bring equity back into globalisation. Decent work, decent jobs, dignity of work. Those are key aspects of that agenda.

The trade union movement historically has been one to lead the way in building global solidarity, saying that our struggles, our concerns, our compassion do not stop at national borders. This is a critical time when that concern, that sentiment, must be brought back and met together with transnational civil society organisations to ensure global rules of transparency and accountability to promote the kind of agenda we are working for.

At the same time that I say this, I think it is also fair to say and accurate to say that for women and for the women's movement the mainstream has failed them. Mainstream development agendas and mainstream institutions have failed women. Certainly there have been successes but the successes have not been the norm. Economic orthodoxy, including the drastic reduction of government social spending, has hurt poor women the most. The Millennium Development Goals have, not entirely but by and large, reduced gender equality to education and maternal mortality. Governance reforms have not forced states to address their accountability failures when it comes to women's access to resources and services and for the most part institutional reform still means fiscal and administrative reform, rather than making systems work for the poor and specifically making systems work for women.

At the level of formal institutions, whether we look at state bureaucracies, whether we look at transnational corporations and even closer to home, civil society organisations, women's organisations, trade unions, not much has changed. They still tend to reinforce the power of the few, who, for the most part, are unwilling to give up the privileges of power. I believe a key question for us is how do we make institutions accountable to the needs and interests of women and how do we make them responsible to women's voices.

What I would like to share with you in the brief time that I have is a joint intervention that the trade unions, women's organisations and CSOs around the world have come together on, which is at the global level working on UN reform and strengthening intergovernmental and United Nations positions as mediating and empowering institutions.

We have come together to endorse the creation of a new, well resourced independent entity within the United Nations system to work on gender equality and women's rights. We have also specified the foundation of principles of such an entity and I would like to just share them with you. The first is that this entity should have a policy setting possibility on substantive issues of gender equality. It should have the authority to ensure accountability on gender mainstreaming throughout the UN system. It should have an operational mandate, not simply a catalytic role, to ensure that commitments to women's human rights enormous get implemented, and that includes labour rights. I know that is high on your agenda.

We are also saying that this new entity should have autonomy, it should be adequately and sufficiently resourced, which means financially, but it also means in terms of personnel with high levels of substantive expertise. It should have authority and clout necessary for this entity to function at a substantive and political level as a leader for gender equality at the global level but also at the national level. This is not something that we have today.

So I ask you, all of you, to continue with supporting this proposal, to work with the women's movement and civil society organisations worldwide to make this a reality at the global level. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. It has really been a long way for women to get more rights and we are still fighting for more equality worldwide.

Our next speaker is Heidemarie Wieczcorek-Zeul, Minister for Development Co-Operation of Germany.

Heidemarie Wieczcorek-Zeul studied English and history before she started her political career as a leader for the young socialists. She taught for almost ten years in a high school. She was also for ten years a Member of the European Parliament, dealing mainly with foreign trade, international relations and gender equality. Since 1987 she has been a member of the German Bundestag. She is Deputy Chairwoman of the Social Democratic Party and for almost ten years now has been Minister for Development Co-Operation of Germany.

We are happy to have you here in Vienna. The floor is yours, Minister. (*Applause*)

**MS. HEIDEMARIE WIEZCZOREK-ZEUL:** Dear friends and colleagues, I will speak in German, so if you would use your ear-phones it might be easier.

(*Interpreted*): I would like to first of all say thank you for the invitation and I would like to wish you and all of us together success in this project. We need success. I would like to say that with the setting up of the ITUC, finally we have a global player for worldwide social justice. The people of the world have waited long enough for this. Thank you.

I think we really need this global player, which can develop its influence. We have seen globalisation of the financial markets, we have seen globalisation of the information society and of the corporate world, but we need globalisation of solidarity, globalisation of workers' rights and we need to be a counterweight so as to be able to build a fair world order and a fair world economic order. That is the vision, but we have to think about practicalities.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will have the presidency of the G8 next year and globalisation will be one of the central themes. As Minister for Development, in the course of my term of office I have not just talked about this, I have been involved in the practical aspects. Bilaterally and internationally I have been working with the Core Labour Standards of the ILO, integrating them. I am responsible for the World Bank in my office and I have been pressing for the inclusion of the Core Labour Standards in the rules of procedure and also for their being taken on board in banks in general.

I know that it has been a big challenge for independent trade unions and I have to say that if we want a world that works properly in the future, we have to have global rules. We have to stop exploitation of children and we have to stop forced labour, because only then can we



guarantee that there will be democracy deciding over our world and not just the economic forces. (*Applause*)

Tying in with what the previous speaker was saying, let me say that in the world today it is a question of women's rights. We should not be afraid of women's rights. There is also the fight against HIV/AIDS which has to be waged. Over the last ten years, 60% of HIV infections have affected women and we have to make sure that women can decide over their own sexuality and we have to protect their children as well. That is very, very important. It is very important to help the women strengthen their position. (*Applause*)

As far as I am concerned, the issues that we are discussing here together are about democracy because we have to ask ourselves who is deciding over the future in this world? Many people in our respective countries are worried that it will be economic interests that decide. But I think that we have to make sure that it is democratic principles that have their say and I would appeal to you to commit together to this so that the people can decide and not economic circles. That is the right order of things.

I would like to make a practical proposal and I would like to pick up again on what my colleague before me said. I thought it was an interesting proposal. It is really a question of an autonomous project within the UN structure. Perhaps I can pick up on one point which I think is very central to a just process of globalisation. We have the UN Security Council for military issues, with all the problems that we are aware of. But there are other structures and I think that we need to have a long-term vision. I hope that in my lifetime we will see a UN Council set up for economic and social issues, where issues can be discussed at a high level on behalf of the regions. I hope that the ILO and the World Bank and others will be well represented and only then will we be able to have coherence and consistency.

Let me explicitly say that the objective can and should be, in our global world, not the race to the bottom when it comes to rates of pay and social issues; that will cause chaos and it will be against the people. Every year 10 million children die from diseases and they would not die of these diseases in countries that have proper social security. That is chaos and that is something we must change.

We have to have a social and democratic race to the top. We do not want all countries to be under pressure to move downwards. We have to improve people's living conditions and social standards. Let me make a specific proposal. Part of the problem in our countries is due to the fact that there is a race towards getting the lowest rates of

corporate taxation, but always there will be a country where the rate of taxation for companies is lower. I suggest setting up a register which makes it clear which global countries are paying what taxes in which countries, and I think that we would then be able to see what things look like in reality. (*Applause*) I do not think anybody could be against transparency and that is a very important point. Let me say that this is all about securing the future.

On this planet there are 3 billion young people and a lot of them are to be found in countries where development is very difficult to generate. They want jobs, they want respect and they want prospects. I can quote an American President, John F. Kennedy. He said that if we cannot have security for the many millions who are poor, then we will have no security for the few who are rich. He was not an anticapitalist, he was not a leftist, but this is what he said.

Finally, let me make two comments. One is about what we want to do at the Ministry for Development so as to support the international trade union movement. Together with the ILO and the unions, we are setting up what we call a global labour university and a masters course will be offered in Germany on these issues. We are trying, at the same time, to provide the prerequisites for people to obtain this training and have a chance of representing workers in international institutions in a completely different way than has been the case to date.

I have one last point. Maybe it sounds illusory, but I will say it anyway. There are still billions of dollars being spent on the arms race, half of the American defence budget, and only \$100,000 million is being spent on development. Let us change this. Let us take up the fight against poverty. Let us take up the fight against unemployment. Let us take up the fight against the destruction of the environment. Let us take up the fight together on behalf of our planet and let us fight together to make sure that we succeed. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much Heidemarie Wieczcorek-Zeul. You made many interesting points and one we really have to underline. We cannot keep the social standards only with taxation of the workers. We have to fight to make sure that the corporations also pay taxes.

Our fourth speaker is Mr. Juan Somavia, Director-General of the International Labour Organisation. Mr. Somavia also began his career as an academic. He was lecturer on economic and social issues for GATT's trade policy courses in Geneva. He was professor for economic affairs at the Catholic University of Chile and he founded the Institute of Transnational Studies. He was coordinator of the Third World Forum

and participated actively in the restoration of democracy in Chile. For his contribution to peace and human rights, Mr. Somavia was awarded several prizes. In 1998 Mr. Somavia became the first Director General of the International Labour Organisation from the southern hemisphere. In March 2003 he was re-elected for a second five year term.

I would like to ask you now for your opening remarks. (*Applause*)

**MR. JUAN SOMAVIA** (*Interpreted*): Don Carlos, if you will allow me, I am going to take advantage of the opportunity to speak my own language.

The first point that I would like to make is this. The current model of globalisation is not inevitable. Sometimes globalisation is presented as some kind of natural phenomenon like the sun rising every morning and setting in the evening, and consequently everybody just says, "You will have to adapt." It is true the rules have changed and there are new winners and new losers and people say, "That is life, that is the reality, and we'll just have to see how we can cope in this new world." But the truth is that in the process of globalisation there are some aspects which are historical developments and others which can be changed.

What historical developments have taken place? No doubt whatsoever, technological change. Even though, as we see today, sometimes technology does not work properly, but the information technologies that we have seen quite clearly are something that are part of human development, the development of our societies, and for everyone here in this room this kind of technology can help us to mobilise and help us in our advocacy efforts.

This is not just is part of globalisation. It is something that is going to continue. It is having an impact on our work. We see it every day and it is going to affect how we live and we are going to have to learn how to use these new technologies. But what is not inevitable, because it is a product of our policy, are financial policies, trade policies, labour market policies -- policies. If these policies do not work, we can change them. That is the point we have reached today. When we say, "Look, we want fair globalisation", the question we are actually asking is this. We are saying, "In the trade arena we are saying can we make these changes? We want these changes to take place. In the labour policies these are the changes that we want." Although we cannot go into details right now, in each of these cases it is possible to change so that we can have globalisation in which the advantages are fairly distributed. Nobody can say that this is an impossible task. It is a perfectly feasible task.

Indeed, that is the meaning behind the Decent Work Agenda that you have included in your Constitution. The purpose of this is to remind everyone that policies have objectives and the objectives that you are proposing are that policies come together so that there will be more opportunities for decent work. What we have today are instruments. We have been told, "Liberalise everything in all of your policies, shrink the state and let the market do its work and then we will grow, we will have more jobs and everyone will be better off." But that has not happened. So now we have come to an ideological impasse and this is a very practical problem. What we should say is instead of concentrating on these instruments which are just instruments, let us concentrate on our objectives and find out how all policy can be brought together for the purpose of achieving the goal that we have set for ourselves. This is perfectly possible, so why are not doing it?

That brings me to my second point. Perhaps I could pick up on what Heidemarie was just saying. She was saying that there is a problem with democracy. I think one of the major issues today is the question of democratic decisions within international bodies and democratic scrutiny of international institutions; that is, of the decisions they take. These are two different matters.

First of all, democratic decisions within international institutions are something that I, as Director-General of the ILO, am particularly sensitive to. This is the most democratic organisation in the world amongst international organisations when it comes to its structure and its decision-making process. The ILO includes governments, you the trade unions of the world, and employers, so we have representation over a broad swath of society. Let us compare this with the decision-making structure within the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank. There capital controls the vote, and yet these are institutions that do have a decision-making structure which reflects the wealth of nations, but responsibilities are given to them with respect to global policy. That is where we come to the point that Heidemarie raised, who is going to take the decisions?

All of us have asked this question quite legitimately. We have been saying: When did the Washington Consensus get democratic approval? Where is the agenda? What decision was taken to give all of the work to the Washington Consensus? How did that happen? Where is the democratic reality? (*Applause*)

Clearly there are a number of explanations. We are all familiar with these. We are told that the Bank and this and that but the fact is that if you are going to put together a bank then it should have the limited influence of a bank. If, however, you are going to create an in-

strument that is going to define global policy then you cannot have this kind of decision-making structure. This is the kind of argument that we should put forward. That is what I have to say about decisions taken within these institutions.

On the other hand, there is democratic scrutiny of institutions and especially of governments. I think one of the most important areas is to activate our Parliaments, especially the Parliaments of those countries that control the IMF and the World Bank. That is the only way that we can strengthen democratic control or scrutiny which will have legitimacy bestowed upon it from the bottom up through Parliamentary scrutiny. That is the only way to institute democratic control over a government.

The Parliaments have to go to their governments and say, "Look, explain to me what is your policy in Argentina? What is your policy for a particular project in a particular country? Tell us what the reasoning is behind your policy. What is the reasoning behind the support that your government is giving to these projects using our resources? This is an entirely central issue and it was raised by the Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation. We were saying that we need democratic decisions within and democratic scrutiny from without. Here, these play an extraordinarily important role and you can play a major role by getting in touch with your counterparts in national Parliaments. Why not start raising these issues in our national Parliaments and ask the governments what they are doing and how we can build international alliances? We should figure out how to get together and work in this direction.

Finally, and perhaps, since Heidiemarie is with us, I will take this opportunity, I think one of the problems that we have had on labour issues is that, generally speaking, Development Co-Operation Ministers do not pay much attention to this theme. Heidiemarie is an exception. She is not only talking about these issues but she is also taking decisions and carrying out actions and has been doing so in the years during which she has been Minister. No doubt she has set out an approach that has to be followed. But I think that all of you, and especially those of you that come from developed countries, could usefully discuss things with your Co-Operation Ministers: employment, decent work, training, trade union organising, the strengthening of labour ministries and labour tribunals, institution building, how to facilitate the social dialogue. All of these issues should be taken up. We need to hear from the world of labour their views on economic policy. Here, this is the role that you can play in international co-operation.

Let me conclude by coming right back down to earth. What can we do? How can we mobilise? What action can we take? I think all of the things that we have been discussing are feasible. But, at the end of the day, the central issue is democracy; democracy in international institutions. We need to know what these institutions represent and how they can work to strengthen democracy.

Perhaps I could just emphasise what Aruna was saying on this proposal to make progress within the United Nations and create a structure which will deal with women's issues. This is extremely important. Indeed, it is vital. We need to move in this direction and, as has been said publicly, you will have full support from the ILO in this endeavour. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much, Juan Somavia, Director-General of the ILO, (*problem with translation*). The problem is that it lacks a legal framework worldwide and we all have to fight for it.

We are still trying to fix the technical problems we have, but it could be that Pascal Lamy will arrive and we could be in touch with him and also pose questions to him. I would say, however, that we should start the debate now and, in the meantime, the technicians may be able to tell us that Pascal Lamy will show up in front of us.

Dear ladies and gentlemen, delegates, the floor is yours. By your questions you have the chance to enter in as key actors in the global economy. I will now collect a number of questions at a time. Please state your name, from which organisation you come and from which country and to whom you want to direct your question. Please also stick to your questions, and no speeches because some of our distinguished panelists have to leave on time. Please go ahead. You have microphones in the middle of the hall and we can start with your questions. We are looking forward to your questions. Thank you.

**MS. ANA DA CONCEICAO PEDRO GARCIA** (Central Ger-  
al de Sindicatos Independentes e Livres de Angola (CGSILA), Angola)  
(Interpreted): First of all, allow me to thank all of the panelists for your presentations. You have made some extremely interesting remarks and I would like to thank you for the very clear way that you have raised specific issues related to globalisation. As we all know, globalisation has advantages and disadvantages.

In most cases the member countries of the ILO do not even respect the standards set by their own organisation and, of course, they are unable to deal with the problems of globalisation. Also, the rights of

women are constantly violated. We know that when it comes to the disadvantages of globalisation, in particular in Africa but not only in Africa -- of course I am talking about Africa because I come from Angola -- what we have seen is the privatisation of companies. This leads to the unemployment of workers and women are the main victims of this.

In the meantime, we know that if we look at the adjustment policies of the IFIs many countries agree with these policies without taking into consideration the social dimension, and in most countries they refuse to globalise the social dimension. It is only an economic globalisation.

So I would like to know what strategy could be developed. This is a question for all of the panelists, but I would like to turn to the German Minister, first and foremost, to answer this question. What strategy can be developed so that, working together with the ITUC (which we have just set up), it will be possible to overcome all of these obstacles which are affecting workers today? Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. Our next delegate is here.

**MS. CARLA COLETTI** (International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF)): It would have been good to have had Director-General Lamy take part in this panel, but actually the issue I am going to raise is certainly addressed to all the panelists but most importantly to all the delegates to this Congress. It is to ourselves. Our affiliates -- metalworkers -- in many countries, and particularly in developing countries, are telling us that the real issue concerning development, concerning the liberalisation of trade, is employment.

Yesterday, Ambassador Somavia reminded us, and it certainly was not necessary, of the centrality of the employment issue in today's world as an issue of democracy and as an issue of re-founding our society on the apparently lost value of work. We could not agree more, of course.

What does this mean concretely? When we talk of the effects of trade liberalisation, and it is certainly not the first time that trade unions internationally have raised this issue, the key point for us is the question of quality employment as the key goal and as the key indicator of the success of any policies. But, at the same time, we are being told that measuring the employment impact of trade liberalisation policies is either difficult or useless. Apparently many economists say it is over-used because it is clear; it is almost self-evident that freer trade produces more jobs. Others, more realistically (perhaps a bit cynically), say



you cannot raise that issue because the vast majority, if not the totality of the WTO members, do not care about that. They are not prepared to discuss about that.

Why? Ambassador Somavia reminds us it is the international financial institutions who set the rules and indicate liberalisation as the magic recipe including producing not only more wealth but more employment -- quality employment. When we say quality employment for our brothers and sisters, particularly in developing countries, we obviously mean decent work and by that with respect to minimum fundamental standards. But we also mean development -- real development.

Trade unions are not asking the WTO to guarantee the respect of fundamental labour rights. For that there is the ILO and our collective bargaining strength. What we ask is for governments to take their responsibilities and consider the protection and, most importantly, the creation of quality employment as the key goal. In one word, the condition for development.

How would the panelists react to the fact that, apparently, the answer to this demand of ours is: "Let us be realistic. It is not really feasible. Let us think of aid for trades to redress some of the damage caused by trade liberalisation." This is not what we are asking for and I would be grateful for comments on this subject. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MS. AWA WADE TOURE** (Union Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes du Senegal (UNSAS), Senegal) (*Interpreted*): I am from the Independent Trade Union of Senegal. I welcome the creation of our new Confederation and the entity for gender equality globally and I realise that the Committee for the Rights of Women has made a lot of efforts but there have been limits to their work and that is linked to mastering the situation nationally.

My question is this: Is there anything in the mechanism which will make it possible to better monitor the situation at national level? My second question would have been for Mr. Lamy. We would very much have liked him to be there because we want to know how women's issues will be dealt with in the WTO's policies; that is, the involvement of women in the global market. Let us hope that our technicians can get in touch with him. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** I will take one other question.

**MS. RENENA JHABWALA** (Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), India): My question is addressed to the Minister from Germany. The panelists talked about the increasing insecurity of the workers throughout the world and the main thing that is happening is

that the workers in the informal economy are increasing and the informal economy is now, as we have calculated, between 60 to 80 per cent of workers in most of the developing countries in the world.

The issue there is the insecurity of work, the bad conditions of work, the poverty, and especially the lack of social security. My question particularly concerns the governments from the more developed countries whose companies are often going to these countries and creating some of these conditions. Of course, our own companies are also creating these conditions. But can we think of programmes and policies internationally which will support the workers of the informal economy and have especially social security programmes which will help the workers of the informal economy? Have the governments of the developed countries thought in that direction? Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** I think this is probably a question for all of you. Would you like to start, Mr. Somavia.

**MR. SOMAVIA:** Yes. (*Interpreted*): Let me take the first question about strategy. This was the question from Ana Garcia, Angola. I think what is really at stake here is something we have been discussing and that is changing the object of policies. This was mentioned elsewhere as well. In other words, as our friend from Italy was saying, we have to fight to make sure that decent work is at the centre of all of our considerations. That is the question we need to answer.

What is happening today is that we see that politicians will go to the elections but they cannot get elected unless they talk about offering better and more jobs. Then a politician wins the election and the next year he always says, "Is it not great that we have had a growth of 5 per cent or 6 per cent!", as if this was going to solve the problem of employment. But, of course, it has not.

People say that their economies are successful because there is economic growth and per capita growth but it has nothing to do with the everyday realities of people. So I think that the primary strategy should be, whether we like it or not, the creation of quality and decent work is the main objective of our social and economic policies. Whether you are for or against, it is a fact of life. That is what the great democratic demand is.

If we do this, a number of consequences will follow. You can bring together economic financial and labour policy, anti-discrimination, promotion of gender equality and so on and build them around this objective. But if the objective is not set then you cannot and the situation is just that. Today, people are saying, "Look, we have a healthy

economy, we do not have too much of a deficit” and so on. Of course, that is all well and good. Nobody has any problem with that. But people see employment as the result and not the aim and we have to switch that around. Decent work has to be the main objective, not the result. We can build our policies on that basis.

There was a question from the representative of Italy about metalworkers. She used a very important word. She said, “Let us be realistic”. When we propose change everybody says, “Let us be realistic. Please understand that everything you are talking about is very difficult and very complex. The world is changing. It is going in a different direction”. No. I think we have to look at it the other way around.

Those who do not understand the issues we are talking about here are the ones who are unrealistic. And this is very serious. There is a lack -- a deficit -- in decent work. People are concerned about budget deficits but nobody cares if there is a deficit of decent work. These are the values we are seeing today. What this is producing, as I said yesterday, was a loss of dignity at work. This is profoundly affecting the ability of our families to stay together, whatever type of family one may think of, and this is leading to instability in our communities. In many countries it is undermining credibility amongst the decision-makers.

I come from Latin America. We have been struggling very, very hard to recover our democracies but our democracies have not found good answers to these problems. If you do a survey around the region, people will say, “I wonder whether a more authoritarian government would solve our employment problems. If so, perhaps ....”. What can I say? How could I be against that?

So you can see it is no longer a question of whether Treasury Ministers understand or not when they meet at the IMF. This has to deal with world security because these problems are not being solved and we are creating a lot of other problems at the highest levels of society. So who needs to be realistic. those who refuse to recognise how deep the crisis is today. They are the ones who have to be realistic.

Our friend from Senegal was right on the mark. We have to find ways to get an overview of all of these issues and find ways to address these. In the ILO we are doing this through the Human and Trade Union Rights Committee and the Experts Groups determining how to implement the core labour standards and so on.

Finally, all I can say is that I support SEWA. Of course, the ILO has had a longstanding traditional relationship with SEWA. I agree with what you say about the informal economy and social security. I men-

tioned it yesterday. Let me reiterate it today. This is one of the greatest challenges facing trade unions, organising in the informal economy. That is where people are working today. And as long as we do not solve the problem of quality of work we are going to have to continue our actions and we are going to have to continue to strengthen our position in the informal economies and particularly with respect to social security.

I know that this question was directed to the Minister but I think this is a central issue and, as I said earlier, I think we have an awful lot of work to do in that area still. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. Could you say from the ILO point of view, do you have a proposal on how to organise the informal workers?

**MR. SOMAVIA:** You have to back the way people want to organise themselves. So we do not come and say, "Look, this is the way you should organise". We observe the way people are living and people are working and we say, "How can we help you organise the way you want?" For example, there is a strong world movement of street vendors. Quite extraordinarily, they were capable even of changing the policies of the Indian Government to establish a policy for street vendors in India. What we did was to say, "Look, is there a way in which we can help?" And when we are calling on the trade unions to look at the issue of organising people in the informal economy, it is precisely with that same view.

And it is not just organising on a particular issue. You do not organise just as workers. You organise as members of a community. The promotion of the backing of an informal activity has to do with the community. So it is a totally different notion. What you are doing there is promoting local development and by promoting local development you put organisation into the picture. It is organisation at work but also on the social security side and also on the educational side and also in the linkage with the local authorities and the programmes of the local authorities and infrastructure and social policies. It is very different from trying to organise industrial workers, if you will. It is a different operation but absolutely fundamental today. But then you have to understand the specificity of local realities and this is something that international organisations do very badly because they tend to have global policies. In the ILO we look at it the other way around. We want to help people organise the way they feel in their spaces and in their local realities.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you. Minister Wieczorek-Zeul, there was one question especially posed to you, the privatisation prob-

lem. Privatisation, said the lady from Angola, leads to unemployment and the victims are especially women. Probably we cannot hinder privatisation but are there any possibilities that either the State or multinationals who privatise are also responsible for those who are sacked?

**MINISTER WIECZOREK-ZEUL:** For the sake of easiness I will speak English in this round of discussions. I think there were several questions. One question, and I would like to come back to this question, was on how to reform the international organisations. I am not able to discuss definitely on all of them but I know what we have been doing within the World Bank. I did it together with some developing countries' representatives in the Development Committee World Bank and we have had our discussions related to that also with Mr. Somavia and other Development Ministers within the World Bank. I think there are changes which we have to follow up on. One change, as I said, was the question of respect of the ILO standards in respect also of trade unions and their independent work.

The second was, and that I think is important, the so-called adjustment programmes which, before, were used radically within the World Bank in order to privatise and to liberalise capital markets and there has been a change. I know it is not always in the different countries and sometimes governments of countries also hide behind the World Bank because neo-liberalism has come to different places. So, within the World Bank, there has been a change at the time we decided on the Debt Relief Initiative because then we said there should be debt relief for the poorest developing countries and there should be investment in education, in health and in those spheres that, so far, have been hard-hit by the Structural Adaption Programme.

Actually, the IMF used money for development policy in order to put on these adjustment programmes and we have finished that definitely because it was making developing countries poorer instead of giving them more possibilities. But it is a change that we have to build on and there can always be backlashes. That is why it is important to go ahead in this field and also connect -- and this is a point where I would like to use the opportunity in addressing you -- because those countries that are preparing their own poverty reduction strategies should have contact with civil society. They should contact trade unions and they should do that together with their Parliaments as they change from both sides and specifically also from the ground, from the grass roots in society.

Also, if I could come back to this point, one always has to press to go further. The idea that you have to liberalise capital markets is actually no longer put forward very strongly and that is good because in developing countries you cannot press on them to liberalise their

financial markets if they do not have enough rules, laws and everything else, because if they do not, then you make them dependent and put them into crisis.

So I think there are changes that we have to build upon and the question of privatisation is no longer, fortunately, the blueprint that is used in order to put that on developing countries.

Could I raise another question, which was also on the question of trade. So far there are problems with the WTO technically, of course, but if I could make this point also. That is the question of coherence of our own governments and also of the European Union and specifically also of the USA and others. Trade is not an aim in itself. Trade should help in creating growth, responsibility and jobs and that means it has to be differentiated. There has to be the development approach to it and it also means that in some cases, specifically in the poorest developing countries, it can be and has to be asymmetrical; because, if not, if you treat unequals equally, it is going to mean less equality and more inequality. This development point is important.

There is also a change which I have tried very much to put forward; the question of coherence in agricultural policy. If I may say, on the one hand there is a necessity to accept that there is no longer the protectionism that industrialised countries practice. There are some African delegates here, I have seen them speaking before. It is completely unacceptable, you know, to talk of a free market when, on the other hand, for instance in the USA, 25,000 cotton farmers are highly subsidised to the detriment of West African cotton production. That is completely unacceptable and we have to end these types of subsidies. *(Applause)*

I am not just talking about this. I went to Cancun and was looked at by the European Union as, well, being a bit in the way, but in the end, fortunately, the European Union decoupled its subsidies from the cotton production. That is one step in the right direction. So it is worthwhile, you know, to engage in these questions and sometimes perhaps be in the way, but on the other hand it helps.

There was a question from the Indian colleague, which was on the informal sector and specifically the situation of women in this field. On the formal side it is the so-called corporate social responsibility of firms and also the Global Compact, for instance. There are firms who take it seriously but there are also other firms who use it as a public relations initiative. What is important is that in all the Global Compact firms and companies, workers and their representatives have to know that their firm and their company belongs to the Global Compact and

have to make it their own initiatives and also for the future, I propose that we get more binding rules in this question of corporate social responsibility.

Lastly, the question of the informal sector. The colleague spoke about India and you spoke about it. What we are doing together with those governments that want it, we try to also give counseling, if it is wanted, in creating social nets. You know, in some countries, if you get ill, you and your whole family will go into deep poverty. Developing social nets in these countries is something that most of the countries are very much interested in. Of course, they are different in every country but it is one approach which I think we have to take very seriously and we are also supporting not from the top down, but also from the bottom up. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. It sounds too good to be true that the World Bank abandoned the Washington Consensus, but if you say it, I would like to believe it.

**MS. HEIDEMARIE WIEZCZOREK-ZEUL:** If I may say so, to believe is one thing, but it is not a question of believing; it is a question of working and combining every day and getting the right partners. Civil society, governments that are interested, those in international organisations, they have to combine their forces. That is the approach. One has to have a notion but also to be very practical.

**THE MODERATOR:** Dr. Rao, could you also find a strategy as to how to deal with the growing informal sector, the growing informal workers without social standards? I think you are probably very close to them in your work.

**MS. ARUNA RAO:** Thank you. I think the person who asked that question, my colleague from India, Renena Jhabwala from SEWA, is probably the best person to answer that one.

There are a couple of points that were made by colleagues from Angola and Senegal which have to do also with the national level and what happens at the national level. Since my colleagues on the panel have talked about at the global level, I just want to spend a few minutes talking at the national level. Juan made the point very clearly in his remarks that we need to think specifically about the goal of policies and we need to also think very specifically about institutions. I think that is very important to remember because policy reforms do not necessarily open up institutional spaces and participation does not necessarily mean you have influence.



If you look at the question of women's equality within national governments, within national structures, leave aside the global, and then you look at strategies, what are the strategies, we have spent about ten years or so working on something called gender mainstreaming, which has become the goal. That is really a good example of how a means has usurped the goal. The goal is not gender mainstreaming; the goal is gender equality, it is women's rights. If we do not focus on that, then we spend whatever resources are there. You can look at country after country after country. It is working on training and capacity building and sensitising people to what is gender mainstreaming and that does not get you to deal with women's rights and the implementation of women's rights.

I think the other thing that is really important to mention at the level of institutions at national levels is accountability systems. I will give you a small example. In India in the State of Rajasthan there is an organisation called MKSS which has spearheaded the right to information movement in India. They have held things called public audits. We know that government contracts at the local level is where a lot of money somehow disappears. The villagers would hold public audits. They would have a roster, say 50 people are supposed to have been working and being paid on this project. So they would have a meeting in the village and they would call the names and say, "So how much have you been paid? You have been paid 3 rupees? No, I have been paid only 50 paise." Then they would go down to the next person and they would call the name, "This is how much you have been paid?", and the people would say, "No, no, he died four years ago." They keep doing that.

Public audits are a very, very powerful way of actually finding out how the money has been spent. I think that can be done at very different levels. How is the money being spent? Gender budgeting is a way to look at, at the national level, how is money being spent, not simply on the women's allocation to women, but how are public moneys in all sectors being spent so that they benefit women. I think those are some very clear, concrete interventions or accountability tools that we can use at the national level. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. We also should introduce these public audits here in Austria and in other European countries. It is a very good idea.

Because so many people want to take the floor now, we will prolong the session until 1 a o'clock. We are still trying to fix the technical problems in order to have a discussion with Pascal Lamy. Go ahead, but please stick to your question, do not make speeches, because oth-

erwise all the others cannot pose their questions. We will make a last round now with several delegates but please make it short and only pose questions if possible.

**MS. HELENE GNIONSAHE** (Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire, UGTCI, Cote d'Ivoire) (*Interpreted*): I am Helene Gnionsahe. I come from Côte d'Ivoire from the national centre. Our country is hard hit by HIV/AIDS. More or less 10-12% of the population is infected. We have set up a committee and the fight against HIV/AIDS is a big problem. Despite primary care in our country, even in Abidjan we do not have incinerators, for instance. We have this huge problem of AIDS and I would like to know how you can help us in Ivory Coast. How can you help the health services to fight properly and effectively against HIV/AIDS? Thank you.

**MR. EDUARDO VASQUEZ** (Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos, CROC, Mexico) (*Interpreted*): Eduardo Vasquez, CROC, Mexico.

My question is this. Since we are a very young trade union force in the ITUC, how can we create a formal space in economic decision-making circles, such as the WTO, the IMF or the World Bank and so on? How can we create a formal space so that we can have an impact on the decisions that affect the social dimension, so that not only jobs but decent jobs can be created and social responsibilities can be met.

**MS. NAIR GOULART** (Força Sindical, FS, Brazil) (*Interpreted*): Nair Goulart is my name, from Brazil. I am a director of Forca Sindical.

My question is for the Director-General of the ILO and our sister the Minister from Germany.

Based on our experience in Brazil, I think that in Latin America of course trade plays a fundamental role in the economy, but without democratic government, without public policy devoted to solving social problems, this is going to be a problem. You cannot just deal with these things in labour relations. A lot of our workers are working in the informal economy or they have no job. They have no social programmes, they have no right to healthcare and there are a number of other social problems.

My question for the Minister and the Director-General is this. Is there not a way to help strengthen our strategy at national level? Can we not beef up our strategy so that workers can participate in a more decisive way and have a greater influence over public policy, such as the ones we are seeing in Brazil, so that we can reduce social inequal-

ity? If we do not have national public policies and if we do not have influence in organisation and we know that resources are available, but the resources have to be spent on debts that the people did not create, how do you think we can address these problems whilst maintaining democracies in our countries?

I would like to tell you that we are extremely thrilled at the re-election of President Lula with 60 million votes and the approval of more than 60% of our people. Why? Because he invested mainly in social policies in order to increase equality and reduce discrimination, of which women are the worst victims when it comes to globalisation. Thank you.

**MR. BASIL MANGAY** (Côte d'Ivoire): I am Basil Mangay and I would like to put a question to the Director General of the ILO and to you, madam Minister.

Globalisation and the environment. I note that Africa has become the dustbin of the world and people have come to dump toxic waste in my country. What is the ILO doing to protect the countries of the Third World from this? Is there any protection that has been decreed by the European Union? Given the situation in my country, what is the ILO doing and what is the EU doing?

My second question has to do with globalisation and wars. What is the ILO doing about all of these wars and also AIDS? Could we one day envisage, as we have for cigarettes, no longer manufacturing arms? We say no to war and at the same time we continue to manufacture arms. I address myself to the Minister here.

My last question is this. What is the ILO doing about the informal sector and globalisation's effects? Is there not a contradiction in terms? The informal sector is a sector where there are no laws, no rules, but it is also a sector where the players are unfortunately not protected; the people are not protected by social security. We are talking about decent work, we are talking about human dignity and at the same time in the informal sector we have done nothing about that. So what is being done, for instance, for Africa, which suffers under the yoke of poverty?

**THE MODERATOR:** Please could you say from which country you come from, because you did not say it? Basil, could you tell us from which country you come from?

**MR. BASIL MANGAY** (Côte d'Ivoire): I am sorry. I come from Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa.

**MR. TETevi GBIKPI-BENISSAN** (Union Nationale des Syndicats Indépendants du Togo, UNSIT, Togo) (*Interpreted*): I am from the Independent National Centre of Togo and I would like to thank you for putting the question in the context; that is, chaos or cohesion.

Maybe the answers have not entirely taken account of the tensions. In other words, are the institutions driving globalisation equipped ideologically and technically to turn the tide? Because we are moving towards chaos and can we instead move towards global cohesion?

I would like to ask a specific question of Juan Somavia about the reform of the United Nations organisation which is being planned. What will the impact of this be on the ILO? Thank you very much.

**MS. HOSA TIJENGA** (Central Única dos Trabalhadores, CUT, Brazil) (*Interpreted*): My name is Hosa Tijenga. I am from CUT Brazil.

The panelists have raised a number of issues, for example, new proposals for the economy and new labour relations, but we are living in a globalised world and. We have our conference here today, but we are suffering from technical problems and so we are not able to speak to everyone as planned. At the same time we have workers who do not even have access to television or telephone in order to be able to communicate. How are we going to develop new policies for our economies? How are we going to build this new potential world? We need a lot of organising, a lot of struggles and a lot of people, so how are the new international organisations such as the ITUC going to help democratise the media in Latin America, in Europe, around the world? Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR**: Unfortunately I only can take one last short question because we have to be in time because our Minister has to leave us.

**MR. MIGUEL ANGEL VILLA-LOBOS** (Mexico) (*Interpreted*): Miguel Angel Villa-Lobos is my name. I come from Mexico City.

A lot has been said about globalisation and we have been talking about how IMF and World Bank stabilisation policies and structural adjustment policies are affecting us and now with globalisation what we are seeing is great damage to developing countries and Mexico is no exception. With globalisation what we are seeing is privatisation of a large part of our economy. So my question is this. This is for the ILO.

We have seen that public services are being privatised, for example the water supply, rubbish collection, waste water treatment. This

means that public services are becoming private services and unfortunately this is weakening the trade union movement. It means that trade union structures are changing and instead of remaining collective structures they are almost becoming private themselves. What is worse is that people are ending up unemployed and they are going into the informal sector in order to meet their needs and seek a decent standard of living.

My question is what is the ILO doing in the context of globalisation to take action so that governments are not the accomplices of globalisation? What are you doing to ensure protection for workers rather than leaving them in their despair alone? As I say, this is weakening trade unionism as well. This is undermining collective bargaining and individualism is being emphasised. That affects the relationships amongst workers too. Thank you.

**MR. PLACIDO MUNDARAY** (La Confederación De Sindicatos Autonomos De Venezuela, CODESA, Venezuela) (*Interpreted*): Placido Mundaray is my name. I am from CODESA, Venezuela.

I have a question for Dr. Somavia. There has been a decision by the oil workers who were fired by the Venezuelan government. The Government of Venezuela has not taken this into account and they are violating human rights. These workers are suffering considerably in my country. What do you think about this in the ILO, Dr. Somavia?

**THE MODERATOR:** This colleague from Africa has been standing now for the last 15 minutes. Please ask one last question but then I really have to stop. Thank you.

**MR. IBRAHIM FOFANA** (Union Syndicale des Travailleurs de Guinée, USTG, Guinea) (*Interpreted*): I am Ibrahim Fofana. I am from the Guinea national centre.

I would like to put a question to the Minister for Development of Germany. It concerns the Cotonou Agreement on co-operation between the ACP countries and the European Union. Since September 2002 there has been talk of negotiating economic partnership agreements. We realise that among the objectives are not only defining new directions of co-operation, but also the idea is to facilitate the application of WTO rules and stepping up regional co-operation.

My question is what is the European Union planning to make sure that the partnership agreements are negotiated and to make sure that the WTO rules are not in contradiction with the regional standards, particularly in Africa?

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much for your really interesting questions. I appreciated very much that you want to pose so many questions because these are really the experts.

I just want to say something about Pascal Lamy. Because of these technical problems he will not be able to join us on video, but he will tell us something which one of our colleagues is reading at the end of our discussions a few minutes before 1 o'clock. If you want to finish at 1 o'clock I would like to ask you to make the impossible possible, to answer all the questions and also include your closing remarks. Thank you very much. Mr. Somavia please.

**MR. JUAN SOMAVIA** (*Interpreted*): The first question was on HIV/AIDS. The space taken by the ILO is that of the workplace and we work with companies, the unions and public health authorities to do three things. One is prevention, that is education and everything that has to do with prevention; then treatment and perhaps the most important thing is education in non-discrimination. Even though HIV/AIDS has become over the years a known phenomenon, non-discrimination is still a very central element, it is a very important subject for us. We are working with the public sector on prevention treatment and non-discrimination.

Now turning to the question from Mexico on creating a formal venue for international trade unions. You have the ILO and of course trade unions are part of the decision-making process. We have the example of TUAC in the OECD, where they are observers but they are pretty active in the decision-making process. I know that there are representatives of trade unions there. I think we have to go on on a perfectly normal basis, which is that organised workers should have representation in international bodies.

You asked about the United Nations. That is one possible solution. If we are going to have a more integrated UN, the ILO becomes part of that integrated system, although the ILO has its own identity which is tripartite. That means that the rest of the UN bodies will have to take into account the existence of tripartism in the ILO.

I know that the ICFTU and the WCL had direct relations with the IMF and the World Bank. It is important to find a formula for this. Now, of course, that is something that will have to be decided on the basis of future discussions. Forca Sindical asked a question. I think we are all very happy with President Lula's victory. Obviously, he is a longstanding trade unionist and, despite all of the problems that we know about, I think that he has had a very, very productive term in office and so we are all very happy. Would the Brazilian brothers and

sisters please pass on the message to President Lula that we are all extremely thrilled with his victory. (*Applause*)

I think that the central issue here is the role of the State. We know that people are trying to shrink the State and this diminishes the public space. Fortunately, it is being understood that you cannot promote democracy on the one hand and shrink the State on the other, leaving all of the decisions up to the markets. So I think people are coming back to the idea of the State. You have a number of mechanisms in Brazil like the so-called «balsa familia»(?) and these are essential measures.

Turning to privatisation of the public sector, this is related to the previous point. It is true that this is continuing but we have seen events in Bolivia and elsewhere and we are beginning to see a reaction against this privatisation phenomenon. No doubt, the problems that our brother mentioned are the reason for this.

The question is: How do we come to grips with this question? The ILO feels that we should strengthen trade unionism and work together with both government and employers to create a dialogue about privatisation. We have some examples of privatisation taking place in the context of dialogue and we have other examples of privatisations which went ahead on their own. People, of course, are unhappy about that. If you have privatisation with dialogue conditions can be created to provide training for workers who may be made redundant, there is compensation and a number of other measures. So it is all a question of how you do it. In any case, there is less and less pressure for privatisation of public services. That is what we are seeing today.

Let me go on to Brazil's question. I think here the central issue is health policy and in the ILO this is a major issue that we are trying to promote. We have several projects, in fact, that are related to health and the environment so, yes, it is an area that we can discuss. I do not think we have much time now to go into all of the details but it is a very important issue for us.

Also the GUFs can play a very important role here because this is something that has to be dealt with sector by sector too in the countries of origin; the informal economy and contradictions between the official economy and the informal economy. Here, what we have to do is look at what conditions people have at work and what we see is that there are a lot of people working in the informal sector so we have to strengthen the voice of these workers and focus on the results of their labour. We were discussing this earlier. Naturally, if we strengthen people who are currently defenceless and have no legal protection in the informal sector, as we help them the objective, of course, is for them to come



into the informal economy. There is no doubt about that. But you have to start off with where people are today and look at the situation. Of course, in the long run, we want them to become part of the official economy.

You asked about reform of the United Nations and the UN system. In the ILO I have a positive view of this. What we are saying is that the United Nations has to get together at the international level. But we can all act together even at the national level. That is essential because of this trend for all the international organisations, all of the bilateral donors to go into a national country. Each goes in with his own project and his own activity and then, after the fact, you are asked for reports about what happened with the resources. At one point Tanzania said, «Look, we had to produce 4,000 reports last year about all of the different separate activities, so let us stop this. It is just not on.

We are talking about unification. What is important is that you have to unify around national priorities where you, the workers and the ILO, through the National Decent Work Programme, all have to play a central role. That is what we should do otherwise you are going to end up with isolated relations in certain departments of the government which speak with the international organisations. This will be useful if we have national level participation by your centres who work together with us in the ILO Decent Work Programme. The whole United Nations can contribute to this. Obviously, we need appropriate governance and so on and we have to work in this direction.

On the subject of the oil workers in Venezuela, our experience in the ILO is that when we take a decision -- here it would be the Committee for Trade Union Freedoms -- there is not an immediate impact. What I can tell you is that, systematically, when you stick with it you continue to seek solutions. When you do not stop the dialogue you begin to see results. If a Colombian had asked me two years ago, «What is the ILO doing in Colombia, given what is happening?», I would have said, «We are working on it. We are trying to reach some kind of agreement». The agreement was reached but only two years after the fact. So these are things that obviously cannot be dealt with by the ILO alone. But what we do is persistently apply pressure. Colleagues from Poland, South Africa, Chile and others have seen this. We have seen this in Zimbabwe, Myanmar, Belarus and so on. I am sure you are aware of what we are doing. The same goes for Venezuela. We are trying to work on these solutions, taking a longer perspective, and we believe that history has proven that we will be capable of defending workers' rights. That is our task, that is our mission and that is what we are doing. (*Applause*)

**MINISTER WIECZOREK-ZEUL:** On those questions that were put to me, could I first say some words on HIV/AIDS. One thing is important. It is also the responsibility of those who have political or economic responsibilities in the respective countries. If there are Heads of State that give wrong messages and do not openly say that you have to protect yourself and that you have to use condoms in order not to be infected, then it is the wrong messages and no campaign against HIV/AIDS will be successful. So it is the responsibility also of Heads of State also in developing countries and we have to make them responsible. There is nothing more important than protecting your people against this. This is one specific point which I think is important.

The second point is the point about where we can be helpful where we are; that is, we have to help. We do that in participation with about 50 countries to help, on one hand, so that prevention is there; that is, social marketing, for instance. What we also have to do that still has to be done together is that in the national bodies that co-ordinate the financing of programmes of the Global Fund to fight HIV/AIDS more women are included. If it is only male representatives, women's interests are not sufficiently taken into consideration and are not sufficiently respected. That is a major point.

The financing of the Global Fund to fight HIV/AIDS is decisive. More financing is necessary and I can tell you that I have at least, with much argumentation, reached the point that, during the G8 German Presidency, the fight against HIV/AIDS will be a major point. That is also important from the point of view of financing. That we also have to do, of course. *(Applause)*

The last thing is the question specifically to African countries that the generic drugs are there and that people -- indeed poor people -- can also have these drugs. Besides the necessity of the Global Fund, I want to mention one point I am really proud of that we do in German Development Co-Operation in co-operation with some African countries. You must know that according to international law and also the WTO rules there is no possibility for new drugs that are discovered after the year 2005. There is always the protection of the patent in this field so it is very difficult to have them in the poorest countries. But there is one exception and that is the least developed countries. They have an exception until 2016. What we are doing now, and we are hopefully doing with governments from African countries, is to help them in their production in this specific field. Believe it or not, we even do that in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

What we also help with is the certification process of drugs that are constructed and found and produced in those countries. So there are

possibilities. One has to use them and we have to do it together. That is the question of HIV/AIDS.

The second point was the question of, «We are changing international organisations». Juan Somavia has spoken on the UN. I want to mention one specific point which I have tried to do since some years, I must say, and hopefully we will have some success. We tried to change the voting rights within the World Bank. Strangely enough, so far also the representatives of African countries have not been so enthusiastic on this. So I would like to motivate you. I cannot be more African than Africans. Please try to motivate your governments to use the possibilities to try to get ahead in changing voting rights within the World Bank because then African countries would have more possibilities. What is not sensible is that you have big emerging countries, the USA and so on, having more voting rights but it has to be the poor countries that so far are neglected in the voting system.

The last point is, once again, the question of Africa. Also there one always has to be very practical in transparency. For instance, there is this Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative which we and other governments support which means that in the field of the production or extraction of specifically oil or petrol the firm that is doing the job (and that is normally from an industrialised country) has to put down, transparently, what they gained from this process and what they paid to the developing country. And the developing country is also asked to publish in its budget how the money is used. I think that is an instrument that could also be used in other fields, construction and other areas, and this is also a possibility to include civil society because they are the ones that, hopefully, also will monitor the process in the countries.

My last point is the question of EPAs, which is the so-called free trade agreements between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, the so-called EPAs which the colleague from Africa mentioned.

To be very short on that, since it is going to be a major task of the German Presidency at the beginning of next year, we are in a dialogue with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Actually, for two days they were in Germany. We talked about it and we will take care of it. We tried to push for it, that the aspect that is discussed is from the point of view of development and fighting poverty and that they can be asymmetrical because you cannot demand African, Pacific and Caribbean countries to have free trade on all sides. So they have to be asymmetrical and we will co-operate with the ACP countries in order to reach that.

Can I finally say, because it is the last round here, to all of you who are here and to all of the organisations that you represent, all the best for what you try to achieve and let us keep the spirit that you had here in this round and we had in this round. But for this globalisation of co-operation the world would be poorer. Please, let us try to reach our aims together. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Madam Rao has to leave immediately for the 'plane, but she will answer a few questions and make her closing remarks.

**MS. RAO:** I am in the enviable position of not having any questions directly put to me because I feel like I am more a part of the floor; I am not a government or an international government representative. There are so many questions that you have asked which I, too, ask, which would share in the concerns that I share. They are again going back to the question of the national level and the importance of working at the national level. Some of our own representatives in international financial institutions are sometimes the biggest blocks to the goals that we share, the goals that we want to promote. That becomes a very big problem for us. So we need to work more with our own Finance Ministries and our own Finance Ministers to promote a social development agenda and to promote an agenda for equity.

Because I do have the floor, I just also want to say that another issue which has not really come up but that we need to be very vigilant about, and particularly vigilant about the gender dimensions of this, and that is the new aid modalities and basket funding and how it is going to be extremely difficult. On the one hand it is laudable that governments within this framework have greater autonomy. On the other hand, we have seen over and over again that that autonomy does not necessarily lead to an equitable agenda. So we need to be very vigilant about ensuring that women's rights and gender equality issues stay on that agenda and that we can track whether or not our own governments, who we need to hold accountable in fact, actually deliver on that.

And, lastly, I want to say that it has been a privilege for me to be here, and a real education. I hope that we can continue the kind of partnership with the trade union movement and with women's organisations and other civil society organisations to continue our work. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you, Dr. Rao. We are also very pleased that we had you here. You have to leave now and continue your work which is very precious for all the informal sector and all the women. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

As I told you, as we could not cope with the technical problem, a message will be delivered now from Pascal Lamy and a colleague of mine will read this message for you.

*(Message from Pascal Lamy read by Mr. Tim Noonan)*

**MR. PASCAL LAMY:** «I know the technicians have been working very hard on both sides. I want to thank them but unfortunately we could not get a video or a two-way audio connection. Globalisation is market capitalism and technology. We only got market capitalism without the technology. I am sorry it did not work. I nevertheless attended the whole discussion and just want to react very briefly on three issues.

«First, we need to harness globalisation. It will be positive or negative depending on us. Who is us? Nation states, international organisations and civil society. We all, as Juan Somavia said, have to work for a better coherence -- coherence between trade and labour, trade and health, trade and environment, coherence between health and labour, labour and environment.

Secondly, most of this coherence, as said by Heidemarie Wiecek-Zeul, lies within the nation state, but we can help in our international organisation and you can help in leveraging more strongly nation states for coherence.

Thirdly, on this important question of the impact of trade opening on employment, my answer is that overall trade opening creates jobs, but this is more or less true depending on the quality of our domestic policies, such as education and training. In order to improve coherence even modestly, the ILO and the WTO will publish jointly a study on the impact of trade on employment. So we are trying at our level. Please make sure that the new unity which the trade union movement has shown also contributes to this improved coherence.»

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, panelists, delegates, this reunion in Vienna is historic and very important. From now on international capital has an international counterpower, the International Trade Union Confederation.

Globalisation has weakened the trade unions for many reasons. Now when the trade unions stand together globally, fighting in solidarity for decent work, the defence of human rights and social standards, this kind of brutal globalisation can be tamed. Without social justice and standards for everybody, democracy will also be endangered.

I wish you all the best now and in future. Thank you for your interesting questions and the interesting answers. Have a nice day and enjoy Vienna. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): We would like to thank the panelists for this very important one hour and 50 minute debate. Now we would like to invite everyone to enjoy your lunch and please be here at half-past two.

Congress adjourned for lunch at 1.12 p.m.

Thursday, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2006

## **AFTERNOON SESSION**

*Congress re-assembled at 2.45 p.m.*

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (Mr. Adrien Akouété) (*Interpreted*): Delegates, please be seated. Perhaps we could start with the next speaker now.

**MS. AGNES JONGERIUS** (Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging, FNV, Netherlands): Colleagues, it is the first and probably also the last occasion in an international trade union conference where I can speak in my own mother tongue. I will give my speech both in English and in Dutch.

(*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers, for the FNV this is really a historic meeting and it is a very important one. It is also a meeting which gives us a great feeling of satisfaction. Why? Because something is happening. This is something that is very important to the FNV and it is also a project we have been working on ever since we were formed. That is reconciliation of the ICFTU and the WCL.

Our organisation was set up some 30 or so years ago, even more. The FNV was one of the founder members of the ICFTU. We decided to set up our federation and we are always wanting to settle the differences. We always wanted pluralism. We have always believed in the integration of the two confederations and we believed in giving them a single identity always, respecting the principles to which they adhered and their respective values. If our federation did not take an initiative all those years ago to change the structures, it was perhaps because the time was ripe.

Pluralism is not the same as parallelism and at national level you have to remember there is also the international level and I very much hope that this will remain a principle for this new organisation that we have just founded in Vienna.

Of course, we have many activities that have already taken place over the last 30 years where we have had something in common. The FNV has contributed hugely in terms of aid, contributed to development projects in countries in the Third World, and we can see that the ICFTU and the WCL have been very active on the projects front. Really, the thing for the ITUC is to ensure the quality of its projects. The origin of the projects does not matter. It is the quality and the commitment and we hope that we can contribute to pluralism.



*(In English):* For the ITUC this must mean to fight for the right for workers to set up unions of their own choice, but it would be a fatal mistake and a violation of vital trade union rights if that right were to be confused with the duty of the ICFTU to push for diversity of trade union confederations in countries where workers, in their own democratic way, have decided that their interests are best served in one single trade union confederation.

For the rest we subscribe to what the FGTB from Belgium has said about the subject of trade union pluralism. We hope that the remaining WCL structures in the regions and also the structure of the coalition for social development will soon fade away, simply because we find out quickly that we do not need them any more. That was the main thing I wanted to say in this speech.

Chair, allow me to address three small other issues. One is that the FNV is trying to reinforce co-operation between all the Benelux affiliates of the ITUC in the next Congress period. This will include, as far as we are concerned, co-ordination and fine tuning of our trade union development co-operation activities in order to ensure that as many as possible ITUC affiliates will profit from it. It will also concern the representation of the Benelux organisation in the ITUC bodies and in the ITUC structures. Of course we accept an overrepresentation of the former WCL organisations for the transitional period of four years.

In the next ITUC Congress we will seek and find a new and more balanced distribution both in terms of countries, of organisations and of personalities.

*(Interpreted):* Now I would plead in favour of the best possible co-operation and the best possible co-ordination of our policies. I know that there are many tasks awaiting us and in this context I have a few thoughts to share. I do not think that we can let this opportunity pass by. We must make use of the Olympic Games in Beijing to support the unions and the work people in China.

Now I come to my conclusion. We are very happy that a Committee For Human Rights is referred to explicitly in our Constitution and we very much hope that this Committee will soon start its work and will be given sufficient funds to enable the participation of as many colleagues as possible from developing countries. I think that this is one of the most important things for the ITUC. We have to make sure that this Committee works smoothly and I wish it every success. *(Applause)*

**MR. BRENDAN BARBER** (Trades Union Congress, TUC, Great Britain): President, sisters and brothers.

The TUC was proud to host the ICFTU's Founding Congress in London 57 years ago. I am equally proud that this week in Vienna we are taking a further decisive step forward.

The ITUC has the whole-hearted support of the TUC because it asserts the fundamental values of trade unionism that we achieve so much more together than we can apart.

This week, at this historic Congress, we have remembered the sisters and brothers who have sacrificed so much for trade unionism, but we must also remember that such sacrifice is not just in the past. We know how desperately needed international solidarity is in parts of the world where to be a trade unionist can put your very life at risk.

Even while we have been meeting here in the comfort of Vienna, Essam Kadim of the teachers union and Hehmet Zidan of the Iraq Bakuba region of the GFIW have been brutally assassinated for their brave principled efforts to build free, independent secular unions. We honour their memory and we salute the courage of all those in Iraq, in Colombia, in Zimbabwe, in all those parts of the world where trade unionism faces savage and brutal suppression.

In our new ITUC we are building greater unity to strengthen our capacity to offer solidarity and to meet all the challenges of development and globalisation. The formation of the ITUC is providing a spur to greater unity too in many countries around the world where national centres have competed rather than co-operated. Greater national unity too is a precious prize.

I want to concentrate on the issue of organising and the need for the world's trade unions to respond positively and purposefully to the challenge of unbalanced globalisation. We need to pool our knowledge, our experience, our resources. We need to recruit and represent every sort of worker -- white collar, managerial, professional, workers in the informal economy, in precarious employment, in so-called self-employment. We need to recruit and represent all workers, regardless of gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, disability, age or youth because unity is strength. We need to build union strength across borders, along supply chains, among migrant workers and in the vast transnational corporations that dominate the economic landscape.

To do that we will need to marry our traditional values and our experience with new forms of organising, new ways of mobilising the power of workers' capital, new ways too to reach, engage and enthuse the people that we speak for and who we must represent.

The Global Unions Council, bringing together the Global Union Federations with the ITUC and TUAC, has to fashion the tangible mechanisms to deliver and strengthen solidarity in practice as well as in spirit to workers struggling to win the dignity that only trade union organisation can bring.

As we argue for changes in the world of work and to remedy injustice and the imbalances of globalisation, we must not be afraid of the need to change ourselves. This week we are taking an important step and it has taken us a long time to take that step, but soon we have to learn to run, moving as fast as the global capitalism that is shaping the challenges we face. Let us get on with it. Let us get on with it together. *(Applause)*

**MR. SHAHER SAED** (Palestine General Federation of Trade Unions, PGFTU, Palestine) *(Interpreted)*: Chair, brothers and sisters, may God be with you in peace.

Let me first of all convey fraternal greetings to the workers of the world and the affiliates. We would like to express our appreciation for all that you have done to contribute to the unity of the trade union movement. Thanks to Guy, thanks to everyone, thanks to all of those who have been involved in this project. This unity that all workers in the world have aspired to will help to guarantee their rights as workers to a decent life, to decent work. We must put an end to poverty and distribute riches in an equitable and fair way.

This trade union congress is a very important one and it gives us strength to remain unified, unified to face up to policies which go against the interests of the workers. We must fight against the policies adopted by the World Bank and the WTO, policies which could be summed up as follows: they only make the poor in the world poorer.

In our trade union movement we have established unity. This will help us in the social dialogue and help us in connection with the work of the ILO, help us to apply all international conventions and standards in the name of peace and justice. It will help us to fight against segregation and establish gender equality, put an end to child labour and it should also give young people a chance to work.

The most important of all, however, is respect for trade union liberties. The Constitution and Declaration of Principles that we have adopted are very important texts and we hope that we will be able to put an end to the suffering of tens of thousands of Palestinians and Palestinian workers who are becoming poorer and poorer and more and more oppressed, suffering from hunger. Over the last few years, actually

since 1967, we have seen thousands of people wounded, of deaths and of Palestinians arrested. We have a whole army of unemployed because of the policy of occupation. Public servants suffer at the moment themselves from poverty because they have not been paid their salaries for more than seven months due to the blockade and the detention of funds by the Israeli government. More than 150,000 Palestinians are in this situation. When you look at the population, you realise that more than one and a half million Palestinians are below the poverty line, below the subsistence line and they suffer from that.

I would appeal to all of you to do all that you can to put an end to the occupation of Palestinian lands and to put an end to occupations wherever they may take place in the world, because occupation of countries gets in the way of real trade union work.

Looking at your programme, we have seen that you are calling on our leaders to work for peace in the world and in particular to solve the Palestinian problem, but not only that, to work for all just causes in the world.

This Congress should be the first step towards international legitimacy and equality and we must put resolutions at the service of peace so that the whole of our region can live in peace, as decided by the international community. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. MANUEL ZAGUIRRE** (Union Sindical Obrera, USO, Spain) (*Interpreted*): Brothers and sisters, I would like to offer you a brotherly greeting in solidarity from the Spanish workers trade union.

Please understand that we share with you the deep feeling that this is a historic moment in time. We are building and living a dream. This is the old dream of unity of the entire trade union movement, of all working men and women around the world. This encourages the working classes and this is a dream we have had for 200 years. On behalf of my trade union, the USO of Spain, I would like to say that this is the dream that has now come true through the creation of the International Trade Union Confederation, which is unitary, pluralist, autonomous and progressive.

We are living a dream and we are doing this because in turn we wish to make a much more profound dream come true. That is the dream of a world with no exploiters and no exploited. A world in which, for once and for all, we will have eradicated suffering and unhappiness amongst humanity. A dream based on the primacy of work solidarity, social justice and peace. These two dreams cannot be renounced. The

dream of trade union unity will lead us to realising the dream of a better world.

Brothers and sisters, this event reflects a historical conviction. Both the ICFTU, the WCL and everyone all understood this. If we are divided, we are doomed to historical failure. United, however, we can continue the struggle together and we will successfully attain our great objectives. However, we are all aware of the need behind trade union unity. It is not just a question of adding up the membership of the ICFTU and the WCL. If we add up all of our numbers, really that only amounts to 10% of the workforce on this planet. That is a huge number of members but it is still insufficient.

Consequently, this first stage of world trade union unity must take good note of the fact that we are not just the sum of the parts. We must understand that we are seeking a new kind of internationalism, that we are trying to create a multiplier effect to raise our credibility and our confidence amongst 2 billion workers around the world, of whom only a small percentage have decided to unite and give meaning to this trade union.

Perhaps, immediately after this Congress in Vienna, our next historic mission is to continue our work so that everyone, every worker on the planet, every trade unionist, will continue to seek the dream of a united democratic workers' organisation and this must include everyone. You see, a multiplier effect requires that everyone participate. We here will not be enough to complete this mission to create a world with peace and social justice.

Immediately after the Vienna Congress, in order to build trade union unity and make it irreversible, to make sure no one will be able to retreat, we will have to meet three or four central challenges. Coming to Vienna and achieving this success has been very important. Our gratitude goes not only to our leaders but also to the thousands and thousands of anonymous trade union activists who have contributed their effort and their will and we have all been willing to overcome our misunderstandings and conflicts of the past. That is how we have accomplished this Congress here in Vienna.

In order for the trade union unity that we are beginning here to become irreversible, first and foremost we must make sure that we remain united in each of our continents and regions. That is not going to be easy. This is the guarantee of our will, that trade union unity not only be a superstructure, distant from the daily realities of workers and our rank and file grass roots organisations. We will have to be creative, imaginative, we will have to be tolerant, respect pluralism. We must re-

spect diversity and benefit from the idiosyncratic societies and cultures of those who make up our ranks in our continents and region. I am a Spaniard and a European so I am quite familiar with the realities of the Americas and I know that we need a pluralistic process. There is not just one process. There are at least two or more where we have different languages and different cultures, but one solidarity, one internationalism and that has to infuse the process everywhere.

A second challenge we are facing is that in the ITUC we must deepen our common project using the structures available to us.

Brothers and sisters, amongst workers, amongst trade unionists, the dialectic is not one of independence and isolation. What we want is functional autonomy, solidarity and unity in our common strategic mission. Here the ITUC must launch this type of initiative, making use of our own structures and those of the GUFs as well. Alone, we are not strong enough to transform this selfish world, this savage liberal capitalistic world. We cannot do it alone.

Finally, trade union unity means that countries which are at the bottom of the pile also have to benefit from this spirit. There is no point in going home and saying, «Look, we are united at world level», when we know there is still division and confrontation in many of our countries and we know that for decades this has divided us. The trade union unity that is born here must be transferred back to our own countries progressively and democratically and it must take root in our own countries and in the daily lives of workers.

Finally, brothers and sisters, I would like to make an observation about the programme of the new ITUC. Overall, for the USO Spain, we think this is a great programme, it will provide us with tools for our work. It is an open programme. It is a programme, though, that all of us are going to have to implement together and the General Council to be elected will be responsible for this task. Along these lines I want to say that one thing that needs to be made entirely clear is that we are not a sweetener for this savage ultraliberal model of globalisation. We are an instrument for the world's workers. We can change this globalisation into something humane based on labour and justice.

Secondly, we have a wonderful instrument in the Constitution of the ICFTU, we have the Solidarity Fund. Let us use it, let us commit ourselves fully. That is the key to our future solidarity. We do not need to invent this instrument, we have got it. We have got our Constitution. Let us use it.

Thirdly, the Arab world in general, the Muslim world in general, needs to take on board this programme, just as we all do in all of our different countries and cultures. The paragraph dedicated to Palestine we think requires improvement. There is no conflict amongst equals, amongst peers. We must have a relationship of equality between Palestine and Israel. That has to be said clearly.

There is a State of Israel with its own historic legitimacy and for decades now it has been complying with the resolutions of the United Nations, but it has not been completing the resolutions and has been condemning Palestine to despair. This paragraph is vital because the solution in Palestine will determine the future of the world. Therefore, I think the paragraph in our text on this must be improved.

We are saying that international law, the United Nations, must prevail and I have to say that we need to have a reference to the people of the Sahara, the Polisario, and we must seek compliance with the United Nations on their territorial rights and to their self-determination.

Let me conclude, brothers and sisters, with a very brief comment that I must make as a Spaniard and a European. It has been said here we agree that the European Trade Union Confederation made a major contribution to launching the ITUC, starting with Emilio Gabaglio's term and going right through to John Monks' term. The ETUC has always promoted dialogue and friendship between the ICFTU and the WCL for more than a decade now but, sisters and brothers, it is precisely for this reason that the debate that has opened up in the ETUC has to be finalised in a crystal clear way.

The ETUC and the ITUC must work together in order to increase our strength and it looks, paradoxically, as though the ETUC may not end up being an affiliate to the ITUC and I think that does not make any sense. I hope that here in Europe we are able to work together to solve this problem on a democratic basis. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MS. VIVIANE GEORGEN** (Letzebuerger Chreschtliche Gewerkschafts-Bond, LCGB, Luxembourg) (*Interpreted*): Sisters and brothers, friends. With the setting up of the ITUC, the unions have pooled their efforts and potential in order to face up to the challenges that have existed for a long time due to the globalisation of the economy and the strategies of employers at global level. This project has been in the pipeline for a long time and it goes beyond the frontiers of nation states.

Given developments in the world today, we must join forces in the trade union world so that the unions have a say in a world that is



constantly changing, a world which is ignoring human values and creating risks and inequalities. Far too often these lead to poverty and also there are risks to people's health. Fighting a scourge like HIV/AIDS should be a priority for us and we should not turn our backs. Another major problem is the risk to the environment: pollution, rising sea levels, desertification of or arable lands. Given these challenges, we have to find replies.

Commitment on the part of we trade unionists is necessary. Each country in the world must have its own social model. Decent work for everybody, living wages, decent living and working conditions, a just world. These are values that put human beings before profit, which put mankind before other structures and which make sure that the interests of capital do not have pride of place. We must work against all forms of discrimination and for equality in all areas of work.

As President of the ETUC Women's Committee, I salute the commitments made by the ITUC on parity, integration and non-discrimination. The ETUC and the Women's Committee of the ETUC has always fought for these policies and I would point out to the future leaders of the ITUC that they should draw on the experience that exists and on existing structures.

One final point that is close to my heart is the situation of young workers, young men and young women. Precarious jobs for them should lead us to do more for them because they are going to be leading our unions in the future and if we make a commitment, all of us together, we will be able to build a better world.

The setting up of the International Trade Union Confederation was the right decision to make and the right way to go. Thank you very much for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MR. SANJEEVA REDDY** (Indian National Trade Union Congress, INTUC, India): Chair, I am happy to be present here today when a historic landmark event is being witnessed. I refer to the merger of the ICFTU and the WCL into a new entity, namely the International Trade Union Confederation. As per the Declaration of Principles, it is stated that the ITUC salutes the sacrifice of generations of working men and women who fought for social justice, freedom, democracy, peace and equality. We are happy that the confederation will address itself to the issues of collective rights and individual liberties, including freedom of thoughts, expression and association. It is also heartening to note that the new body condemns all forms of discrimination and restores human dignity into an equality.

I would like to add that the new organisation has to take some positive steps. More than one and a half billion people earn \$1 a day and a number of people are starving and in debt. Those developing countries require some concrete steps from the new trade union organisation. The world may be seen through different eyes, those of developed countries and of developing countries. In developing countries particularly in the informal sector millions of people are suffering because of the application of token labour laws and their standard of living is far below the poverty line. The workers are suffering and the international trade union movement has to take note of this and formulate a concrete policy and programme and then we can seek justice for our own colleagues and our own workers.

The current era of globalisation has brought in its wake certain irritant like workers being benchmarked against technological developments. Workers feel threatened due to apparent insecurity of jobs both from technology as an input and management strategy for outsourcing and contracting as a cost effective business imperative. Jobs are being contracted in the guise of competition and speed of delivery. Job permanency is giving way to an increasing threat and a feeling of insecurity. There is also a growing tendency of skilled labour from developing countries migrating to developed and industrialised countries, lured by higher emoluments and appreciative valuation of their skills.

In turn, developed countries are becoming more competitive through cheaper labour wages they dole out to migrant labour. Globalisation thus is improving the economy of developed countries at the cost of developing countries. Trade unions are also bearing this onslaught of management. It is our fervent hope that this new body, the ITUC, which has been birth by the unification of the ICFTU and the WCL, will work towards restring the dignity of labour in developing countries. Workers need to be treated with dignity and their right to work should be respected. Let not the management thrive only on increased business income in developed countries on the helplessness of developing countries unable to provide a job to their skilled personnel. There should be equality. Let there be the creation of a decent workplace, where the workers are ensured fair wages for decent living and in an environment which is worker friendly.

Another factor which needs our continuous attention concerns the Global Strategy on Occupational Safety and Health. In addition to safe working conditions, a good union and a competent leadership should promote occupational safety and health through integrated action such as advocacy, awareness raising, knowledge development and sharing experiences to maximise the impact.

It is my hope that the ITUC will work with the strength, energy, resources, commitment and talent of its affiliates and their members in meeting their objectives and making trade union internationalism an integral part of their charter and ensuring that members from developing countries are given input and guidance and also a helping hand. The trade union movement of developing countries has to be strengthened to fight capitalism and fight the antilabour governments. Whereas they are highly necessary, the developed countries' trade unions have to work in co-operation with and give a helping hand to the developing countries' trade union movement. Only then can you bring justice and equality to this world. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you very much.

**PLENARY PANEL II: «GLOBAL UNIONS -  
GLOBAL BUSINESS»**

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): We are now going to move on to the second panel. The theme is: Global Unions -- Global Business». We have the panelists. We have Mr. Benydin from Mauritius, Larry Cohen from the USA, Anita Normark from the BWI, and, finally, Brent Wilton, Deputy Secretary General of the International Organisation of Employers. The Moderator will be Aidan White.

Friends, sisters and brothers and panelists, dealing with the employers has always been one of the main tasks, if not the main task, of the unions. In certain cases it has been a fight based on the strength of the unions and the employees involved. In other cases, it has been possible to count on pragmatic and mutual respect. Today, we have embarked on a new phase of the globalisation of the world economy and the employers are raising new challenges for the unions.

To be frank, more than half of the large companies in the world are trying to avoid shouldering their responsibilities vis-a-vis the workers. The major corporate players in the world are acting less and less as employers. They are simply multinationals and, globally, they are integrated. They use their own networks throughout the world but they do not necessarily think about the people who distribute their goods and manufacture them. These companies are increasing their activities, making record profits but are employing fewer and fewer people. Very often they say that they are not responsible for the working conditions of those who manufacture the products they sell because they are using sub-contractors.

Many of the workers still employed by the multinationals are less appreciated than they were previously. They are losing their pension

rights in many countries and they are being forced to accept pay cuts. Clear-sighted employers should be interested in a just distribution and fair treatment of the workers because the workers are those who helped them to succeed in the global economy but they replace the workers overnight and do not even respect their fundamental rights.

Sisters and brothers and delegates to Congress, these are just a few of the problems that the trade union movement -- the global movement -- has to deal with in the face of the global corporate community. I hope that we can now turn to our panel and give the floor to our Moderator and to the panelists. We are fortunate this afternoon in being able to count on Aidan White who will pilot us through the debate. He is the General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists representing a very special group of workers. I think he is the most appropriate person to Chair this round of discussions. Thank you very much. Aidan, you have the floor. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR** (Mr. Aidan White, General Secretary, International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)): First of all, thank you very much, Adrien. I want to say how much of a pleasure it is and an honour to moderate this panel this afternoon. I cannot think of an issue which is more important to the new International Trade Union Confederation than the whole issue of how we regulate our relations with employers and with business.

We have heard, yesterday and the day before and today, continually about the grievances, the injustices and the inequalities that people throughout our movement feel are being visited upon them today. We have a whole number of challenges to face, the greatest of which is to restore some balance in the relationship between the employer and the employed to ensure that there is genuine justice, not merely declarations about such justice but that we create societies that are fair, that provide decent work and that provide justice for all.

I have a panel this afternoon which, in my view, is going to be able to provide you with if not all of the answers then at least some suggestions about how the new ITUC needs to address this central question.

Let me introduce the panel to start with. On my immediate left is Toolsyraj Benydin. He is very well known to all of you who have been campaigning and working, particularly in Africa, for the relief of the poverty and the problems that exist in that continent. I am glad he is able to join us.

Beside him is Brent Wilton, the Deputy Secretary General of the International Organisation of Employers. I said to him today that I was grateful that he came. He comes into the lions' den, it is fair to say. But he comes in with a good heart and a spirit of someone who wants to see genuine dialogue. I have to say to him, as I have already said beforehand, that we would like to see the same spirit shared by a whole number of employers who, today, are responsible for many of the injustices that our members face. But we welcome him and I am sure he will be able to contribute very much to the debate. Brent, thank you for coming.

Beside Brent is Anita Normark. Anita is the Vice-Chair of the Conference of the Global Union Federations and she is the General Secretary of the Building Workers' International. Anita is a great friend and colleague, not just to me but to other colleagues in the Global Unions. She is also someone who understands profoundly the difficulties that our members face, not just our ordinary members but the people living and working in the worst conditions that can be found in terms of the world of work in which we live. Anita, I know, will be able to help us and steer us through this conversation.

Finally, but by no means least, I really want to introduce Larry Cohen. I say that because Larry is a representative of my affiliate in the United States. So I have to be careful about what I say. Larry is the President of the Communication Workers of America and he is here representing the Organising Committee of the AFL-CIO in the United States. He has a great record of taking, head-on, the challenge of organisation in difficult circumstances. And I have to say we are going to need advice about how to deal with difficult circumstances because, today, we live and work in a world which could not be more difficult. We have a new International that has been created. The old ambitions and the old objectives remain there, they remain in place, but we have a new mission and that mission is to try to convert those old aspirations and objectives into a way of finding solutions to the problems that we face today.

Ladies and gentlemen, delegates, this is your panel for this afternoon. (*Applause*)

What I plan to do is this, if it is okay. I want to ask my panelists a question each to give them an opportunity to relax and to maybe say what is on their mind as a result of what they have heard so far at this Congress but also to say a few words about the subject that we are talking about this afternoon. I will give each of them an opportunity -- I am going to ask them a question to see how they deal with it -- and then I

very much want to open up the conversation with you participating as well.

I would like to start, actually, with Anita. Anita, you, perhaps as much as anyone within the Global Union Federations, are very much involved in the fight against poverty and also in the campaign for decent work. You have placed a lot of faith in International Framework Agreements as providing a mechanism for us being able to have a renewed dialogue with employers that can begin to remedy some of the problems that we have touched upon already. Do International Framework Agreements -- apparently 50 have already been negotiated -- provide a complete answer or part of the answer to the problem about improving social dialogue?

**MS. NORMARK:** Thank you, Aidan. I represent sectors with a lot of informal work and a lot of poverty. It is construction, it is the wood and forestry sectors, it is the building materials. It is a very tough sector in which to try to create a dialogue. It is also a very tough sector in which to try to create better and decent working conditions.

We are one of the GUFs who have, as you say, put quite a lot of work into the Global Framework Agreements. But it is one of the tools. If we look at our industry, there are a big number of multinational companies but there are also many, many small companies and it is an industry where we have a lot of sub-contractors and sub-sub-contractors and suppliers.

Under the Framework Agreements the process is, for us, like this. We set up a model contract based on the ILO standards which we discussed in our Governing Bodies. We used that as our tool for negotiation with the companies. We tried to target and get a critical mass of companies in our sectors. We need the help of the unions in the home countries of these companies which means that, for us, it is actually European-based companies, but companies that are very, very active all over the world and some of the largest in their sector.

We negotiate these agreements. It is a long process. It takes time to establish a relationship with the companies. It is not self-evident that they want to do it. On the contrary, they need pressure. For the consumer-oriented companies, for example, we have an agreement with the wood-producing part of IKEA, they need pressure in order to see that if they do not behave well the customers will not come. The construction industry is a bit more difficult because it is secondary and it means that they have to lose contracts if they do not behave well. We have forest companies who are doing clear-cutting and there you have

the environmental aspect. And they have to lose the means to sell their timber if they do not behave well.

I believe that bad management has to cost in one way or the other and we have to use many strategies to do that. The implementation phase always absolutely depends on the unions -- national and local; all the unions in the country of operation. But these agreements do not function in a vacuum. It can never function if the legislation in the country is not working and if the labour legislation is not working. Many, many governments are selling out on this now. It does not work if we do not have the support of the whole Global Union family when it comes to guidelines and rules, whether it is OECD guidelines or whether it is the Global Compact. We need a dialogue, also, with the employers. It has to be in a context. We do the practical negotiation and the follow-up but we need a lot of help and when the companies do not want to talk to us we do campaign. There, also, we have to work together.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much indeed. We will come back to that question later on, I am sure, in the questions about implementation and enforcement, which I think is essential.

That does actually bring me on to something I want to put to you, Toolsyraj Benydin. You, as President of the National Trade Union Council of Mauritius and your work with the WCL, have been campaigning long and hard in Africa, I know, over these issues. There is not a continent that has suffered more from the empty promises of globalisation and the abusive practices of multinationals than Africa.

The question for you is: On this question of compliance and enforcement, how do we ensure compliance with international standards and core labour standards when we have the socio-economic conditions which prevail in a region like Africa?

**MR. BENYDIN:** Thank you, Aidan. You have said «compliance». I think that in Africa ratifying conventions and applying them are two distinct things. We see that more and more with policies like liberalisation and globalisation. Now there is privatisation also and jobs are being lost. We see that through the pressure of the international financial institutions, like the IMF and the World Bank, they are imposing on our governments. Our governments are losing their sovereignty and where they are losing their sovereignty how can they apply these labour conventions? More and more we see that they are in what we call the unique sinking philosophy. They talk now of flexibility, for example; flexibility meaning that employers will feel free to hire and fire employees at their own pleasure. You might be in your job today and



tomorrow you might be losing your job. Jobs are becoming more and more precarious. We do not see that the decent work agenda of the International Labour Organisation is being respected by our governments.

When we say decent work we mean also that we should have a living wage because without a living wage we cannot survive. Some of the colleagues have said more than 1.3 billion live with less than US\$ 1 per day and for US\$ 2 it is almost 3 billion workers. Before, we said people were poor. There were two categories: the poor and the rich. Now we say that we are confronted with two types of class of people: the extreme poor and the extreme rich.

Our governments are destroying jobs through their policies of privatisation. We see now they say, «You can have a job for a certain period, for 10 months or for one year». So we feel that there are problems of application of core labour standards like, for example, freedom of association.

Even when they say they respect the freedom to establish trade unions, in fact the employers consider trade unions, particularly the governments, as being opposing forces. They do not look to us as really, as we call it, «les acteurs de rapport économique et sociale». We are not being considered as such and, like my colleagues from the former World Confederation of Labour used to say, at times they considered trade unionists to be, as we say it in French, «arme à duel». We would consider that we are «arme à duel» but the good ones because we want to promote the welfare of the workers at our own risk and peril.

Today, it has become a challenging job. If you really want to establish leadership in trade unions it is, like we say, a «parcours de combattant». It is a difficult job but we need a lot of courage and I think that with the constitution of this great international labour organisation, the International Trade Union Confederation, I think we will, all together, act as vanguards and with the help of the ILO we will see that the core labour standards should be respected and that social dialogue should prevail at all times.

It is not sufficient for our governments and for the employers to say that we are for social dialogue. They say they are for dialogue but, in reality, there is no dialogue. They are what we call the «dialogue de sourds». I think that there should be a change. They told us that we must change our mindsets, employers and governments. They call upon us all the time to change our mindsets to produce more but why do they not change their mindsets also? They also should change if we are living in a world of change. That is my contribution for this first question.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much indeed. I have to say that the points you make are very much issues taken up in this book which I have a little thing to do with but is actually a product of the Global Union Federations. It is a piece of unashamed propaganda we produced about how good this movement is and how good the work being done by international unions.

But I have to say that the last comment you made does bring me to you, Brent Wilton, to ask you, really, a pretty straightforward question. I thanked you for coming into the lions' den. I just want to quote something from this book which says: «On their side employers believe they have made globalisation their own territory. They have internationalised their work. They have altered their systems of governance and administration. They have reformed production chains and created complex networks of activity. In the process they have found ways to ignore international labour standards and avoid democratic forms of accountability. With more than one-quarter of global economic activity controlled by just 200 companies and multinational corporations responsible for more than two-thirds of all international flows of trade and investment, working people across the world are losing out as deregulation and privatisation open the door to a new wave of corporate irresponsibility».

The question to you is a simple one: We argue here for decent work and a decent life. We get the impression that the employers do not see the connection. Is that true?

**MR. WILTON:** First, let me just express my thanks for the invitation to join you here at what is a very historic Congress, and, on behalf of the International Organisation of Employers, to congratulate the creation of the ITUC.

Now, coming back to your question which is a very large question for a short period of time to respond to, I would love to know where the quote came from because I do not think business would necessarily share that as a universal view.

I think it is very important we remember that multinational enterprises, although big -- although big in terms of impact and although big in terms of global trade -- at the end of the day are not the only employer in the world. Most of your members continue to work in enterprises at national level, often small or medium-sized, and often involving a working proprietor. So the world is not just multinationals, and I think we have to be very careful that we do not lead to the vilification of one part of our society.

I think it is very important as we move forward in terms of social dialogue that we remain open to an inclusive dialogue. History, unfortunately, is full of examples of what happens when you start villifying certain parts of your society and it is important also to remember that business is merely the society at work. Business did not land here from another plant. Business is made up of people of the world at work and I think if we start to create that disconnect between business and the society itself we start to run into difficulties in terms of: How do you create a dialogue?

Do not be surprised if businesses at national level reflect the same concerns and points of view as the society from where they come. Entrepreneurs and business owners are people that were born and brought up in those societies. If you look at many of those industries and if you look at many of the members of your own organisations who work in them, you will see very clearly that businesses do care about the people that work for them just as most employees care about the industry they work for. There is a mutual need to co-exist and to create the right examples and experiences of dialogue to create success in what is a very difficult economic environment for most businesses to operate in. We are not all multinationals, as I said at the outset.

So what we need to do is to make sure that if we are going to take social dialogue forward we start to think about what we mean by social dialogue. Too often these days social dialogue consists of you taking a position and defending it, us taking a position and defending it and then not actually dialoguing about anything. Unfortunately, we do that too often in the only house we have in the UN, which is the ILO. We need to find a way to actually move beyond these principled statements, which are very easy to make. They sound great and they respond well to our constituencies but what do they actually mean at the end of the day in terms of trying to resolve some of the issues that we are talking about?

We need a new social dialogue to undertake means to explore answers to some of these challenges about whether business cares about society. From my perspective, in terms of the International Organisation of Employers, we do care about the society. Where the disconnect is is between yourselves and ourselves. We are not seeing ourselves as part of the solution. Too often we see ourselves as part of the problem. We are a problem to you; you are a problem to us. Now we have a simple choice. We stay behind those problems, defend them to the hilt and let other actors take over societal dialogue. If we cannot show value ourselves, bilaterally or with governments in full social dialogue, then we deserve to be replaced.

So I think the big challenge, as we go forward improving the value of business and society, is to ensure that we are playing our role properly of social dialogue in the sense that it was meant at the time it was invented. Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much indeed. I know that Larry Cohen, who is our last panelist to speak at this moment, maybe wants to come back on a whole number of questions there, and I am sure you all do as well so we will be returning to a lot of the things that you said, Brent. That was very helpful.

Larry, specifically to you, really. You are a born organiser, I think. You have got a great reputation as an organiser. You lead a great union and you come from one of the world's great national labour movements in the United States. You, above all, are someone who really understands there is something of a crisis within the labour movement at this moment, within the trade union movement. We are celebrating the launch of a great and we hope wonderful new International. But what are the prospects for union growth? How do we organise a mobile and a flexible workforce? How do we inspire workers to want to join unions, particularly young people? How do we face up to some of the hard questions that sometimes the unions these days find it difficult to answer?

It seems to me that the greatest organising challenge is ahead of us. We have got great victories in the past -- we know where we came from -- but we are not sure about where we are going. Have you any thoughts on that?

**MR. COHEN:** Sure, Aidan. A tough question, a quick answer and then maybe we will engage our colleagues in the room in the same question.

Really the question you are asking is: What are we going to do? It is easy to sit here and talk and it is easy to talk even to employers. I respect Brent, as you said, for being here but actually, for us in this room, it is a question of: What are we going to do when we leave here? It is about making that kind of plan. It is about acting, not just talking. It is about moving our own resources away from defence. We have heard a lot here in the last day or even three days about defence. We have heard from colleagues in Australia and Korea about who is in the worst shape. I can certainly chime in that in the United States we could compete in the race to the bottom. The question is: What is our positive vision? What is our positive action plan? How do we inspire first ourselves and then the young workers that Aidan is talking about?

My own experience has been that young workers are there when they see change -- change -- not the same thing; when they see a change in the Action Plan. So I think for us in this room the question really is: How do we act together? Not just meet together, not just talk together but act together. How does the executive, as we emerge from here, come up with common action plans? How do the Global Union Federations unite us in key sectors? How do national labour standards look at the linkage between political action and workers' rights and political action and organising? You cannot do one without the other. Those who try to do that or talk about doing that, even in my own country, will fail. They fail every time. It is a political movement.

Organising is part of a political movement. It always has been and it always will be. That does not mean that we do not talk to workers, young workers or older workers. We have to engage those workers. We have to do it, as Anita said, in every sector. We have to engage those workers as well as those bosses but particularly those workers across national borders, making a common action plan, working together, putting resources into those common action plans. There are terrific examples of that not only in the Building Workers' International, not only with the journalists, not only in UNI where we are very active in telecoms, not only in metalworkers but in every GUF -- terrific examples of that. We need to build on those examples.

We need to commit to saying to multinationals, «Yes, to the social dialogue. But, first of all, we will unite ourselves at these multinational corporations. We will act to unite ourselves regardless of where we come from, regardless of what job we do, regardless of whether we are the newest worker or the oldest worker or a retired worker. We understand that our unity is the only plan that will work and that we start with that kind of unity across those borders and at those companies, saying to them, «We will work to design, with you, a global framework», as Anita said, «and if you agree to a global framework based on fairness, terrific. We will work with you». My union has, and most of the the unions in this room have. «But, also, if you will not work with us, we say to you we will fight back. We will resist. We will take action. We will play off and it is not just defence. We will go on the attack». That is what we need to march out of here tomorrow more than ever because employers around this world mostly say to us, «You are on your back. We will keep you on your back. There is no room for you in the global economy». And we have to say to them, «We are not on our backs. We are fighting back!»

**THE MODERATOR:** Larry, thank you very much indeed. I think the theme of unity and unity of action and a unified labour movement is absolutely the right one for this Congress, and I welcome that.

I would like to invite you to join this conversation. Like this morning, I would like you to say who you are, I would like you to say which country you are from, which trade union you represent and I would like you to ask a question. The problem is that all of you in this room are used to making speeches and I know it is fun to make speeches. We have not much time. We have just over 30 minutes so, please, ask your question. Try to make it brief and direct and direct it to which member of the panel you would like to answer it.

**MS. GLORIA MILLS** (Trades Union Congress (TUC), Great Britain): I am from the British TUC representing Great Britain and I want to ask a question of the panel in terms of water privatisation.

The question is: Given that water companies are buying up the industry in Africa, that is, the water industry in other parts of the developing world, what should we be demanding of those companies in terms of corporate social responsibility? Also, do we believe that ethics have a role in terms of economics and how far should these companies be taking on the responsibility in terms of defining corporate social responsibility? Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much for that. I am going to take a number of questions and then I am going to go back to the panel. That question on ethics, water and corporate social responsibility, keep that in mind and we will come back to it.

**MR. FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ** (Telecoms Trade Union and National Union of Workers, Mexico) (Interpreted): This is a question for Larry Cohen and a comment on the work that we are doing in UNI in telecommunications. I am not trying to give anybody any advice, this is just a comment.

I was in Peru last week organising an event with the telephone sector trade unions in the Americas. I am responsible for the co-ordination of telecommunications trade unions and we devised an action plan which included a diagnosis of the condition of the companies that we have to deal with. We have three very large operators: Telefonica de Mexico, American Mobile and Telefonica of Spain, and we decided that the best way to deal with them would require us to do detailed research in order to determine how these companies operate in their anti-trade union activities, above all.

We do not want to be pessimistic, nor do we wish to engender confrontation necessarily with employers, but we would like to establish a down-to-earth dialogue without placing workers at a disadvantage. I think it would be naive to say that we can do this because the

labour laws are in favour of employers, governments are in favour of the employers and the economic conditions are in favour of the employers. So if these conditions do not change, it is going to be very difficult to hold a real dialogue.

So we decided to draw up a diagnosis of this kind in the companies we are working with and try to seek agreement with them. We are considering the possibility of establishing codes of conduct which would require them to respect labour rights wherever they are present, and we hope we will have assistance from our brothers and sisters in Telefonica in Spain. We have worked together with UNI to get an initial code of conduct so that Telefonica of Spain commits to respecting labour rights and then we hope that the other companies in the sector will do the same.

We have defined a strategy to try to change the labour conditions in each of our countries and, carrying out unionisation activities in each of these countries is something we have considered as well, depending on how unionised the workforce is already.

We would like to know how you can establish the conditions so that this international organisation can carry these projects forward. ORIT and the ICFTU had supported us in a study of protective contracts which are a real cancer for us in Mexico and they are spreading around Latin America.

We want to know whether we can count on you for support for this type of study because we feel that this is indispensable.

**THE MODERATOR:** We will come back to that.

**QUESTION** (*Interpreted*): I am from Forca Sindical, Brazil. This is a question for Anita. We now have a new international centre. This is an historic event where two centres are merging and this reflects our great struggle.

We would like to know whether the GUFs today have a strategy in light of the new movement in the trade unions so that we can deal with the challenges of technology and informal work precariousness. And how are you going to deal with the antagonism between the interest in the first world countries and the interest in the larger part of the world which are the emerging or third world countries? Do you, in the GUFs, have any strategy for vocational training access to education? We had to speak a single language to build on our past where we had so many struggles.



We know that in the bureaux of international and national centres today the people are far away from the rank and file, especially the people in Latin America or in Africa where we feel that we are being used as guinea pigs. We would like to know whether you are giving any consideration to the worries and concerns of immigrants and the problems of discrimination. These are questions in the lives of the people of Latin America and Africa. Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. I would like now, if we can, to get some responses from the panel. There were three main themes there, actually. The last one was on the question of: What are GUFs doing and what can GUFs offer -- the question of solidarity in the telecoms in Latin America. The question was put about water privatisation and corporate social responsibility. Would you like to respond to that?

**MR. BENYDIN:** Yes, thank you. I think, with regard to water, that water is a basic necessity. We, in the trade unions, are against the privatisation of water. Water, we said, is a gift of nature. What are the responsibilities of either the government or any private company? They just have to process the water and they are selling that water. I think that we should take into consideration that there are about 1 billion people throughout the world who do not have any access to potable water because they do not even have the means, even what is being provided by government, to have the potable water. Now, when you want to privatise, privatisation means you will have to buy the water at a higher cost. And we are not prepared.

As trade unionists I think that we have to launch, like we said, a crusade, even against electricity or water. These are basic necessities. We feel it should be because the private companies have the means. The only social corporate responsibility they have is to make profits. We want them to share the profits with the workers who are toiling by their own sweat every day. They have to share that amount of profit with the population. I think that this should be the basic fundamental of any corporate social responsibility of multinational companies or private companies that want to process water. Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR:** I want to come on to the other two questions in a moment, but, Brent, I would like you to take up this question which was posed also, which was dealing with the whole question of corporate social responsibility. To what extent is business really engaging in social responsibility and to what extent, in the end, is the notion of corporate social responsibility about image and public relations and protecting shareholder interest and market share value.

**MR. WILTON:** Big questions but a short bit of time. In terms of CSR, I think it is a mixed bag. CSR, when I was going through my early days in industrial relations, was what was called «good management». It actually did not have a label attached to it. It is what people did because it was the most productive thing to do. Now it has been given a label and CSR is becoming a bit of a mixed bag.

There are a number of good examples where companies, particularly those which are larger with more means available to them, have done some very good things in terms of their own sphere of influence. But, for us, CSR should never replace the role of government, in terms of its fundamental and constitutional obligations that it has to the State. So I think we have to be very careful in the CSR debate. We should encourage those companies who are able to do more to do more, but we should not use that as an excuse for governments to step back from the obligation it has to a broader society. So we need to think again about issues that were mentioned earlier of legal compliance.

I think, again, to state from our perspective, legal compliance is a must. People should obey the law, not just in corporate behaviour but in social behaviour. If they are not, then we have to think about it ourselves, trade unions and employers. Why is it not happening? We know in reality that there is a lot of ignorance about the law. We need to do more jointly/separately to make the law available to people, to explain what that law means and how to give it effect.

Too many people think compliance carries cost. That is not necessarily the case at all. Compliance can be done at minimal cost or even no cost. So I think we need to do more and more is being done. I have seen some very good examples where countries, through trade unions and employers, have sat down and put down into writing what the rights and responsibilities and the law are at the national level to make that more accessible.

**THE MODERATOR:** I am sorry to interrupt you but I must return to this point. I do not see the headlines of the financial newspapers full of stories about companies demanding that governments impose standards -- international labour standards or core labour standards or basic rights. So I do not find the idea that companies have got to force governments being taken up by your members.

**MR. WILTON:** But it is like anything in the newspaper, with respect. You never hear about 'planes landing safely and that is what they are meant to do. You only ever hear about the' plane crashes. What we are saying very clearly is that compliance is the basis of how people should operate in a society. You take away the rule of law, you

have anarchy. No one wants that. And you are not going to get people writing into the paper saying, «Letter to the Editor: I am applying the law». No one is going to print it. That is part of the challenge we have in terms of this whole debate. It is being taken over by the CSI glitz that is often associated with CSI activities. I think journalists have a bit of responsibility, as well as reporting about other issues which are a bit more mundane and a little less sexy, that actually can build that understanding at national level.

**THE MODERATOR:** Now don't get down and dirty here!

**MR. WILTON:** It's your fault!

**THE MODERATOR:** Exactly. Larry, the question of solidarity and the struggles in Latin America.

**MR. COHEN:** I think that Francisco's point really is the challenge to all of us: How do we, in concrete ways, build that kind of solidarity at multinational companies -- ones like Telefonica d'Espana where they are at least willing to have some kind of dialogue, but then there is a big gap between the dialogue and the results, or ones like America Mobil where there is no dialogue and in fact there is outright repression of union organising rights in every single instance in every single country? And, as Francisco knows, he is leading that fight because at Telmex they have the same owners, and he and the brave members of the telefonistas have to confront a family with \$35 billion in wealth that controls these companies, to inspire workers across South America, including Brazil where the other question came from, to stick this out and to put real resources in; to say to a multinational like America Mobil, «Wherever you go, we will be there. Wherever you go we will be there and we will be there as a united movement». Again, that is rhetoric.

The question for us in this room and for this ITUC is is: How do we put our resources into those kind of efforts? How many of those kinds of efforts can we concentrate on (1) within Global Union Federations and (2) for some of the largest ones within this ITUC, like the Carsa Group, American Mobile's parent. Can we agree that we will pick certain entities that cut across these sectoral lines: General Electric, outsourcing companies like Accenture or companies like the Carsa Group and then we will put real resources into acting together. We cannot use up all our resources on meetings. If there is one failing of the international labour movement in the last 50 years it is how much resources are left when we are finished meeting, greeting and eating! We need to talk more about working together and how we are going to do that.

I would just mention one other thing in reaction to the question from Brazil. In 20 years for me of doing the global union work, mostly in telecoms, I honestly do not have one example of divisions between the global North and global South in terms of workers. I could give you many examples of employers trying to create those divisions. I could give you one great story of being with John Sweeney in the AFL-CIO with the President of Brazil last year where he told us a story of a major American-based multinational coming to Brazil, seeking a sweat-shop type of condition and threatening him, the President of Brazil, «If we cannot have those conditions in Brazil, we are going to go to China». And he said, «This is Brazil. There will be rights for workers in Brazil and if that means you go to China then you go to China».

We are going to have to act like Lula da Silva acts. We are going to have to talk like that and not worry so much about divisions between ourselves: Fight for that common ground and fight employers who resist and still work with the employers who will work with us.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. Anita, Global Union Federations, what are they offering national unions in this struggle?

**MS. ANITA NORMARK:** I think that first of all we have to remember, all of us, that the focus has to be on the workplace. Whatever tools we use nationally or globally have to help improving the working conditions in the workplace. It is not such a long distance any more because technology is really helping us to change the work that we are doing day-to-day. We get to know instantly when there is a union who has a problem on the work site where they cannot solve it. I get an SMS, I get an e-mail and we have the possibility to act together.

When we work with the multinational companies, for example, in Latin America we create networks. We create networks and it is easy to do that now. We do not even have to meet. We can see that people are in touch with each other. At the Latin American level you asked about migration. We create opportunities for unions in sending and receiving countries to meet and discuss, but not just to meet, but really work together at a distance. The new technology has helped us to make the world smaller and we can focus very, very easily on the workplace problems because we also get to know about them instantly and we publish that.

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. I know that the Global Union Federations, each of them, has quite an extensive programme of education and support and working with networks of na-

tional unions and I think that work is going to be reinforced in the new landscape that has been created around the creation of the ITUC.

Next questions.

**QUESTION:** I have a question which I feel I cannot go on without asking it. The link between the informalisation of the formal economy and the informal economy itself has been systematically linked and when we respond to that question we always say organising and recruitment are among the strategies that we must use. As we are uniting in this ITUC Congress, I think and I know that the aim is to strengthen that strategy, but I am worried that organising alone cannot sustain and bring us back to the normal situation whereby the legislative protection of our government and the ILO in particular would benefit the majority of workers.

We see a situation whereby casualisation has made most of the people who are workers not to benefit from the benefits of standardised legislation and benefits. My question, therefore, is what other strategies can we employ, other than organising to counter the trend of casualisation, of casual work; what other strategies? I embrace the organising and recruitment of the people who are in the informal economy and of the people who are in the formal economy who are casualised, but how do we go back to where the majority of the people would benefit through the protection of legislation through our international Core Labour Standards and through our government?

That question is haunting me because I believe that we need to approach this problem from a multipronged approach. We need to counter it systematically so that whatever is the trend now to have the majority of workers being casual workers, we have to come back and roll it back. I do not find even in my mind in the strategies that we have that organising is enough to do that.

So my question is to the panelists to say what are the strengths that can counter, that can revert us back to where the majority of workers will be benefitting from their independence and the democratic victories that we have gained?

The other second question I have is about why we fight for decent work as a priority. Why is the labour movement quiet on the issue of property, like land, like the economic emancipation whereby the very property we want to distribute to the majority of people. That element I think, as a labour force who are united in unity, we must also prioritise and emphasise. Thank you.

**QUESTION:** My question is to Brent, and to Brent alone. I want to ask you a straightforward simple question simple question and I demand of you a straightforward simple answer, with a little benefit of explanation.

Brent, what do you think a trade union is? Do you think it is a good and useful organisation in the workplace? Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR:** A question from the heart and I know one that is shared by many of you here.

**MR. GIANCARLO BERMUDEZ** (Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres, CEOSL, Ecuador) (*Interpreted*): Giancarlo Berrmudez. I am 26 years old. I come from Ecuador.

This is a question for Brent. A lot has been said about corporate social responsibility and also there was a reference to the great role to be played by the State. In my region, Latin America, many of these states are influenced 100% by the multinational companies, so there is no legal certainty in Latin America. Given the current state of globalisation, given the current financial system and capital flows and so on, it is much easier for the rich to become richer and the poor to become poorer. Why is that? Why is it so difficult to have globalisation with decent work, sustainable development, social justice, education, re-education of child workers, fair pay, social protection, stability, trade union freedoms and peace? Thank you.

**QUESTION** (*Interpreted*): A question to Brent Wilton. We were talking about the social dialogue and the promotion of the social dialogue and he made an appeal to the unions, but the unions are always ready to engage in dialogue. We realise that the social dialogue is positive for us. Often we are asked to join in but the trouble is that once the objectives have been fixed, once growth is a fact, the dialogue breaks down because sharing out the results of production is not something that the employers want to do and we think that there should be a shareout.

So I wanted to ask what can we do? What strategy can we use to make the employers realise that the social dialogue is one thing but also you have to be able to share the fruits of growth?

**QUESTION** (*Interpreted*): There are challenges when it comes to our unification. This Congress has made it possible for us to unify. I have very much admired the speakers who have spoken out and who have been active in the trade union movement. I would like to know what strategy we should base ourselves on to show others that the ef-

forts of the workers can lead to real development and growth? We as workers have to, of course, assume our responsibility.

**THE MODERATOR:** I will now ask Brent Wilton in particular to begin to address some of the questions put to him and I will go through the panel asking them for their final conclusions.

**MR. BRENT WILTON:** In response to the question that I be open, honest and direct, a simple question to a simple answer, do I think trade unions are good and bad, the answer is yes and no. I have seen some very good unions and I have seen some shockers. I have seen trade unions that want to be part of the solution and I have seen trade unions that have been merely destructive. So there is no one size fits all for employers; there certainly is not any one size fits all for you lot either. I think in terms of how unions are seen, that depends on the approach that they want to take to the problems they are trying to address in the workforce. I would have to say to you very clearly that my history of working with trade unions is that it has always been a lot more successful when you have a partner on the other side who is also committed to find a solution to the problem, not merely just to grandstand or to speak to the balcony. In terms of that, I hope I have answered it.

In terms of the other question about why is it difficult to have just globalisation? I think the answer is quite simple. We are all too selfish, all of us. We live now in very selfish times and that is reflected in the way we address a lot of the issues that exist out there in the world. Too often these days the individual, be it an employer, a trade union, a worker, whatever, looks to themselves first before they look to a better good.

In terms of what's happening in Latin America with regard to the influence of multinationals, may I suggest it might be worthwhile that we look to have a dialogue there with some of the national employer organisations that of course are made up of more than multinationals. If multinationals are so dominant, I am sure some of the national employers are pretty concerned.

Social dialogue. Trade unions are always ready to work in the social dialogue because it is good for them. That is true probably. Sometimes employers are not so keen because the outcome is not always so good for them. But where you do have a good relationship, it is like any relationship, you have to work at it. It is very easy when we are all busy to work through an issue, get to a good outcome and move on. What we have to make sure of if we are having a proper partnership at the enterprise level, the national level, the international level, is that you sustain the conversation once you start it and that seems to me to be



the hardest thing to do. It is very easy to start it; it is very hard to sustain it. That is where we need to put a bit more attention.

**THE MODERATOR:** If I can go back to that question, starting social dialogue is the problem. Sustaining it is an issue we have to deal with. One of the difficulties that our members face is that very often these days employers are looking for ways of avoiding any form of social dialogue. The trend is away from going to the table to sort out issues and problems and much more to leaving the workforce defenceless, unrepresented and without a voice. That, unfortunately, appears to be the strategy that is being used by many employers these days so social dialogue is becoming much less of a useful tool for many unions simply because the employers do not appear to be interested.

**MR. BRENT WILTON:** You may be right. It is very easy to generalise such sort of comments but we have to think about why is it not happening? What are the causes that is making social dialogue unattractive, not useful, hard to engage in? I think we both have to look at each other and think hard about ourselves as to what is the benefit from the social dialogue.

Look, to be quite honest, an employer is not going to enter into a dialogue with a trade union if they know that trade union is one of the ones I spoke about earlier who does not want to help with the problem, who does not want to come in and find solutions, wants to grandstand, wants to actually damage the business. If that is the perception that we are dealing with, that is the perception we have to deal with. We have to correct some views, people are going to have to correct their behaviour; both sides of the table. But social dialogue has to be win/win and both parties have to feel that as a result of that process they are moving forward jointly, not backwards.

**THE MODERATOR:** There are a number of questions still to be answered from that last round, including the informal economy. We will come back to that in a moment. I want to take any last questions from the floor before I ask the panel for their last comments.

**MR. JAN SITHOLE** (Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, SFTU, Swaziland): My name is Jan Sithole from Swaziland.

I would just like to know what is the real definition of social responsibility as far as employers are concerned. Unfortunately, this also goes to Brent. I am saying this because we do have situations where one employer -- short of calling names, multinationals -- would retrench so many number of workers one week and constitute a certain amount for a soccer tournament for schools. Would that be called so-

cial responsibility when the families that were retrenched can no longer fend for themselves, can no longer pay for their children at school, can no longer take their children to public healthcare centres? That is one question.

The other question is would it also be considered as social responsibility where you find certain multinationals wanting to have monopolies instead of having competition and therefore hiking prices, particularly where they have the advantage of having businesses in basic commodities such as water, electricity and telecommunications? Thank you.

**MS. MARIA ROZAS** (Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile, CUT, Chile) (*Interpreted*): Good afternoon. My name is Maria Rozas. I belong to the CUT Chile.

I have been listening to Brent Wilton and I would like to say that I come from a country where it is a businessman's paradise for national and international businessmen. Water, telephones and so on were privatised during the dictatorship, when you had a tax-free haven, so we have inherited that and it is almost irreversible, economically speaking, for Chile.

In addition to that, you have said workers are selfish or trade unions do not want to have a conversation. I am talking about the realities of my country. Trade unions in my country cannot even set up trade unions in water, electricity, and telephone companies; they just cannot get started. There was a huge victory in the Telefonica because a collective bargaining agreement was reached. It was not the agreement that we wanted, but at least a conversation took place on the basis of the law.

The big countries in our country who say they are models internationally of how to get rich by exploiting workers are not only electricity, water and telephone, but also social security in Chile, which is privatised. That social security has become the best business. Our pensions are not any better but the companies are earning higher profits because they have no trade unions, they do not have to follow the international labour standards, or even the Chilean standards, for that matter.

So when you talk about corporate social responsibility in Chile and you look at all the companies in the country, in the best of cases they might respect the minimum labour standards that exist in Chile today. Business people, the employers, think they are making a huge sacrifice by implementing very basic minimum standards.

There is another point that I have not heard about during this debate. That is that since the employers have the economic power they

are also manipulating the media, controlling the media. That makes it impossible for workers' demands to be heard in Chile. (Applause)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much indeed. Two more short questions, if possible, please.

**QUESTION:** I come from Guinea in West Africa.

My first question is to the representative of the employers. When you make a comparison of before globalisation and when companies did not have the means that they have today and you compare them with the present globalised world, you notice that companies are not prepared to offer decent wages to the workers because the employers consider wages to be a simple cost factor that has to be reduced at any price. But, of course, if you want to relaunch demand in a country, would you not increase the wages? Why not give the workers what they deserve, particularly in the light of the possibilities companies have today? That is the first question.

Secondly, social dialogue. We have had experience in Guinea in the mining sector, in the public sector, in the financial services sector. Every time we manage to bring the employers to the negotiating table today, they have a tendency to call in managers from another country to negotiate in Guinea. Of course, we find difficulties in getting them to adopt positions which are in conformity with the possibilities that exist on the spot. The workers put forward claims and they are not accepted. So what strategy should we be putting in place given the multinationals that we know today? What should we be doing to lobby the headquarters of these multinationals so that better strategies filter down?

**THE MODERATOR:** Last question. Thank you very much.

**MS. MARIANA GUAMBO** (Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres, CEOSL, Ecuador) (*Interpreted*): Mariana Guambo is my name. I am a representative of the Ecuadorian Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Ecuador, Latin America.

On the basis of our experience we can say that trade unions nowhere, either in my country or elsewhere, are causing the destruction of companies. On the contrary, we build companies, despite the fact that the employers do not even recognise a basic living wage.

Moreover, the large banana companies will never allow trade unions to be set up because they do not want to pay a minimum living wage in my country, which amounts to \$160 in my country. We use the dollar as a currency in Ecuador. They create their own ghost companies and they exploit Ecuadorian children and have them harvest

the bananas. We have Noboa, a large company. Even though it was penalised for allowing the exploitation of child labour, it is still going on. They are still using child labour. Today they are buying up the land, taking advantage of poverty in my country, which was impoverished because of the exploitation of large companies. They are buying votes so that they can buy the President. What am I supposed to do when in my country there is a President who is a businessman and does not even follow the laws of his own country?

My question to the representative of the employers is what can we do in the face of this situation, which is so cutthroat and inhumane and is being carried on by business people in my country and around the world? Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** We have had a wonderful last set of questions. Each of them touch on issues which we could take another couple of hours on each topic to really try to develop. There are important questions here which I think I could ask each of you now to sum up.

The questions related to the informal economy, which is important. The question related to is organising enough; do we have to do more in the trade union movement? The question about the nexus, the relationship, between business and government, when that is in full flow, about the isolation of workers and workers' organisations in particular. All of these issues, it seems to me, are big questions. Each of you now, you have an opportunity to respond.

Brent, you have a particularly large bunch so maybe I will give you the first go.

**MR. BRENT WILTON:** Just quickly, because I know time is tight. With regard to the issues of Chile and Ecuador, I cannot offer you an answer here but what I can suggest is that is that not what the ITUC and the IOE could do? We could talk. We have members in both countries, so does the ITUC. These are the sort of issues we should be talking about organisation to organisation to see what we might be able to do, how we can understand the debates better that are occurring in those countries. The dialogue at the international level can be helpful if we can engage national constituents.

The issue of social responsibility versus corporate responsibility. Language is a very difficult thing in this debate because it often means different things to different people. Social responsibility in our definition is obeying the law. Corporate social responsibility are those actions an employer takes beyond the law, not required of them by the law. The instance that was give, is it socially responsible for a com-

pany to downsize whilst at the same time giving money to a soccer team? Again, that is a very simple statement to make but, again, if the down side is occurring in accordance with the law, then that is socially responsible. If it is not in accordance with the law then that is unacceptable. If at the same time they are able to give money to a soccer team, that is corporate social responsibility. I think both can occur, both can be done properly.

**MS. ANITA NORMARK:** I think that organising is not enough but it is absolutely crucial, because if we do not represent a lot of people, we will never, ever, ever be able to make changes politically. That is the true meaning of independent trade unions. We have to be many and we have to formulate solutions that politicians are forced to accept -- and also the employers.

When it comes to the companies and their policies and the corporate social responsibility, it is very fashionable or it was started some years ago to sign Global Compact agreements and other agreements showing that you are good guys. But when it comes to really changing the culture and the soul of the company, there are very few companies who are doing that. That is why we need a lot of pressure from all of us to make that change happen. It is often referred to the HR department and the HR guys are struggling to try to live up to this, but it does not happen. So I think that is very important. Many companies think it is enough to sign the agreement and then give this money to the soccer team, but it does not help. The company has to change its soul and, by doing that, they will also be able to do better business.

I recently organised a meeting with two competing construction companies, our affiliates in the US. The construction CEO was not very happy to sit there. He did not understand why. He was a building engineer who was used to building houses. He did not understand why the hell he had to sit with us at the global level. It turned out in the end that they do have a problem. They had good policies on health and safety but the implementation is not working. They need the unions for that; they need support for that. The recruitment to the sector is not working because the young people do not want to come into the construction industry.

There were a lot of issues where there is need for dialogue and where we could help in creating that dialogue. I think that there are possibilities to create these platforms for dialogue but we need to be strong to put pressure on the governments and to put pressure on the companies. We have the knowledge about the problems. That is not it. We know what is happening in the workplaces. We can develop strate-

gies to work together to find solutions and sometimes we can even do it with these guys. Thank you.

**THE MODERATOR:** Larry, some last thoughts.

**MR. COHEN:** Sure. First, to that, I think, core question, What are we doing beside organising?, I think part of the answer is: Organising for what? So my experience in organising is: You are not organising so people have a privilege to join a union. (I may think that way). We are organising around a positive vision -- a positive imagination about change: change in a company; change around issues like health-care for all; change around our core principle in this room, bargaining rights and organising rights, which we need to march out of here committed to, regardless of where we are, global North or global South.

So it is not, first of all, just about organising. It is about our imagination, our vision, our plan, our commitment of resources to that plan.

Secondly, my own opinion is, for this ITUC at this historic time, we need to understand much more firmly this link between organising and political action and unity as workers around the world and, through the ITUC, to focus on bargaining rights and organising rights. Without bargaining rights and organising rights, there is no social dialogue. We cannot come to a social dialogue based on begging. We need to come to a social dialogue based on bargaining rights: the right to make a deal, the right to decide, together with an employer, what will it be like at this workplace. That is why we organise. We do not organise just to talk. Babies can talk. We organise so that we have a voice based on power, based on justice and based on a sense that we have a say in the future at the company, in the country, around the world, in global trade agreements. That is where this ITUC can make a difference.

Finally, I have a question back to the audience: Are we ready to spend more of our time and resources to work together for that kind of world? Are we ready? (Cries of «Yes») Are we ready or are we sitting and watching? Are we ready to work together, to organise together, to build a political movement together? Are we ready to do that? (*Cries of «Yes» and applause*) We are ready to do it!

**THE MODERATOR:** We are. I think that is right. And to you, Benydin, finally, you heard everything that has been said.

**MR. BENYDIN:** We are. I say we are ready. We want social dialogue which must be parallel to what we call integrated. We must have participatory democracy. Democracy does not mean elections -- we vote and finish. We, as the representatives of workers, have a mandate. We are elected. We are not self appointed. So governments

and employers must respect us. They should not say, «We do not want to talk to the trade unionists because they are always demanding better working conditions or higher salaries». Today, we must have a fair share. The income must be distributed equally. That is what we want. With the International Trade Union Confederation, I think that there is a need for a new development, an industrial relations strategy. This strategy, I myself and my colleagues here I think, do not have the answer. It belongs to all of us. This is a foundation that, with this organisation, I think it will set in place the necessary forums to move ahead.

We want to move ahead so that our principles will be in line with that of the Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights At Work of the ILO. We want to promote decent work. We want to have permanent jobs. We want to have a living wage that is a minimum required. We will fight all forms of exploitation and discrimination at work and the multinational companies must have clear policies regarding their own corporate social responsibilities.

We must have acceptable working hours because in some enterprises are export processing zones. I think that we have a lot to do. It is a big challenge. Workers are working, and particularly women, for more than 60 hours a week. I think that this is not acceptable. We have to work together to fight all forms of injustice.

We want to have respect for the environment. We want to have proper health and safety regulations at work. I think that is the responsibility of both government and employers to provide us with a healthy working environment. We do not want to have diseases at work and we do not want to have accidents at work. We must promote our own security.

I think we have a lot of challenges. As you say, global business must promote good practice and fair labour practice. That is what we want. When workers now today are speaking about the notion of employability, I think that means that if you lose your job in one particular field you can be re-employed in another field. But are the employers playing their role efficiently? Do they provide us with the necessary training and with the necessary re-training? Do they give us the proper technology so that we do not find ourselves unemployed tomorrow and we cannot feed our own children? I think there are a lot of challenges and it is up to the employers. If they play their role I think they should play a role together but they should not be in alliance with government to crush down labour rights. I think if they respect the partnership then we are prepared to go forward. If they are not prepared to, then, as the ITUC, we will define our own strategies. I think we have a long way



to go together. Thank you very much for your solidarity and support.  
(*Applause*)

**THE MODERATOR:** Thank you very much. We have cut short this discussion slightly simply because there are so many people that want to take part in the plenary discussion. But I want to say, on your behalf, that I am really delighted by the contribution that this panel has made. We have not agreed with everything that has been said by at least one member of the panel, but I think he understands that. But the fact is that he is here and he is actually important to us because we need to have dialogue and we need to develop that dialogue.

I am very, very grateful for the inspirational guidance that has been given from the panel. I think it has been very helpful. It will help shape our agenda in the rest of this meeting and take us forward. So thank you very much to the panel and good luck for the rest of the Congress. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (Interpreted): Thank you, Aidan, for being our Moderator. As he has said, we have a lot of people on the list who want to speak and we have only got 25 minutes left for the debate. Everybody needs to be concise so that as many as possible can take part in the debate because we are going to finish at quarter past five.

We are going to listen now to our colleague from the Congo.

**MR. SYMPHONIEN DUNIA MUTIMAMURA** (Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs (CSC), Democratic Republic of Congo) (*Interpreted*): Dear friends, we would like to share with you the joy that we feel on the creation of this new International Trade Union Confederation.

From our point of view, this is an historic event and it bears witness very eloquently to the degree of maturity that our movement has reached and the trade union leaders from the ICFTU and the WCL. They have understood that, in the face of the neo-liberal policies and in the face of all the challenges they had to, at any price, get common strategies and action off the ground using a single international trade union structure which would prove to be sustainable. That they have done that is really a trade mark. We have to protect it. We have to support it unconditionally. And we have to defend it and help it to develop and survive.

We feel that our new International Trade Union Confederation should play a real role as a counterweight to a range of different partners at all levels vis-a-vis their financial institutions, the WTO, and vis-a-vis the multinational groups. What we need is the involvement of

trade unions in all programmes and all negotiations of an economic and particularly of a social nature and, therefore, to be able to take account of the needs of the workers of the world when developing new agendas at international, regional, sub-regional and national levels.

What I am saying is that, as you know, due to the lack of a consistent economic policy and other problems the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa are living in poverty and indescribable misery and have been doing that for several decades. Different policies claimed to fight against poverty through economic growth and the creation of decent jobs have been tried out in different countries in Africa but, unfortunately, without involving the unions.

We also think that the ITUC, our newly born organisation, is facing a very big challenge, namely, to obtain from our respective governments a promise that the trade unions will always be consulted when political programmes for economic and social development are drawn up. So that has to be one of the ITUC's priorities.

Finally, let me round off by wishing the new organisation a long and successful life. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MS. CAROL BEAUMONT** (New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (NZCTU), New Zealand): Sisters and brothers, greetings on behalf of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions «Te kauae kaimahi», the voice of the workers.

We welcome the formation of the ITUC which will bring increased unity and strength that will work for working people and their families if we truly use this opportunity to building global solidarity -- not just in words but in deeds.

I wish to focus on one aspect of the impact of globalisation and that is the increasing inequality of outcomes for people within countries and between countries, between men and women and between workers in the formal sector and informal sectors. As unionists, we are committed to a just distribution of wealth, but clearly we are a long way from achieving this goal. We must look at changing the way we organise to build greater strength, politically and industrially.

One aspect of the work programme of the ITUC that I wish to comment on specifically is the challenge of multinational business. As unions, we need to recognise that what we do nationally in terms of organising workers must also occur internationally. Multinational businesses are not limited to one country or one region. To organise in these multinational businesses we, as unions, cannot be constrained by na-

tional or regional barriers either. We need to consider what this means for us structurally and organisationally.

We know as unions that what happens to workers in other countries will impact on what happens to workers in our own country. As internationalists, we also care about attacks on workers' rights wherever they occur. We need to find concrete ways of organising that builds from these realities.

In New Zealand we recently won a very significant dispute with an Australian-owned multinational business, Woolworths Australia. That company locked out 600 low paid workers for three weeks to starve them into submission. The workers had had the audacity to seek a national collective agreement. We won that dispute because the New Zealand union movement, the New Zealand public, the Australian union movement and the international union movement, the ICFTU and the ITF, all worked to put pressure on that company and to provide the financial support to ensure that the workers were not starved into submission. That is globalising solidarity!

Currently, our Australian comrades are facing fundamental challenges to workers' rights. Like attacks on the union movement in New Zealand in the 1990s, these attacks are a deliberate attempt to drive down wages and conditions, destroy unions and to significantly weaken the political opposition to the ruling conservative government.

It is not only an attack on workers' rights but an attack on democracy as unions are vital to democracy. Our right to organise industrially and politically is a human right guaranteed by international law. It is not just a workplace right. It is also important at the political level as a countervailing force to corporate power.

The fine fight being waged in Australia cannot be won industrially. It must be won politically. Their fight must be won in the interests of Australian workers and their families but also because there are implications for others if Australian multinational businesses seek to use this approach elsewhere and conservative political parties representing business interests throughout the region seek to replicate it.

In a democratic country such as Australia, there is the opportunity to defeat the current government and their policies. As unions internationally we must work to develop democracy everywhere. We must also ensure that we are strongly organised to use our political power in a way that delivers real outcomes for working people and their families, not just in our own country but also internationally.

The fight against the causes of inequality is undoubtedly a global one. We can only win by organising globally to challenge those who put profits before people. As US Supreme Court Justice Brandeis said last century, «You can either have great concentrations of wealth or you can have democracy. You cannot have both».

Sisters and brothers, we know that progress and fighting inequality and providing decent work for all is not possible without unions. We need to build recognition of this fact. Workers' rights must be strengthened in national and international governments' arrangements and we must insist on our right to be involved in dialogue and decision-making at all levels.

The role of the ITUC is to ensure that our agenda, as outlined in the Constitution, is delivered by unions by working across national and regional boundaries. By the work that we do together and the way that we do that work, we can show that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

Let us use this historic event to re-commit to globalising solidarity. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. KWASI ADU-AMANKWAH** (Trades Union Congress (TUC), Ghana): Mr. Chairman, dear brothers and sisters, the Ghana TUC salutes this historic assembly of representatives of the world's trade union movement and congratulates the Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation for keeping the hopes and aspirations of millions of working women and men alive.

We also pay deserved tribute to the leaders of the dissolved WCL and ICFTU for their courage and perseverance in working to make the dream of global trade union unity become reality.

This achievement of unity is, for us, a signal for renewal of the union movement that must be pursued actively at other levels. Already, resolutions have been adopted in the last few days towards securing unified regional organisations of the ITUC.

We, in Africa, have already expressed our commitment towards achieving this unity and we look forward to the full support of the ITUC itself and that of its affiliates in continuing our steps towards this unity. African workers need solidarity to meet the peculiar challenges that confront us. We have an important contribution to make to the achievement of regional and sub-regional integration in Africa. We have a duty to champion the campaign for fairer terms of trade and a more just international trading system. We have an important role to play in the quest for debt cancellation; in seeking protection for the millions of

African migrant workers; and also in strengthening the on-going initiatives to combat the threat posed by HIV and AIDS. A united African regional organisation is indispensable for ensuring that we can fully meet our responsibilities and we really look forward to international trade union solidarity that assures and promotes this.

The achievement of global unity by the ITUC, in our view, must also inspire all of us towards unity at the national level and an overall strengthening of our movement at that level. We, of course, recognise that in many cases divisions at national level are the products of history and of peculiar circumstances. But while we cannot forget that history we should not be trapped by it. As some have already said: The future begins now. For those who have served their time and will be moving on soon, we pose the question as to what legacies of organisational unity they will leave for their succeeding generations. For those who are fresh in providing leadership we ask what new elements they are bringing in for the achievement of organisational unity. And for those who still have time to serve, what will they do that is new and will help the achievement of unity?

The Ghana TUC fully agrees with the important links that have been made between the quest for unity and the commitment to organising. We believe that strengthening our organising efforts in the formal sector where we have traditionally organised must be duly complemented by strenuous work in organising in the informal economy which is the home of the majority of workers in our country.

We welcome the integration of organisations of workers of the informal economy in the international trade union movement and hope that the ITUC will commit itself fully to support organising efforts in this sector that houses so many millions of workers in developing countries. Long live international trade union solidarity. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. MARCELLO MALENTACCHI** (International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF)): Comrade Chair, on behalf of the International Metalworkers' Federation, I would like, first, to congratulate the new organisation and I would like to share with you the experience that we have within my organisation since we have been able to affiliate many of the Christian unions to our ranks, already 20 years ago. I can promise you that they are completely and fully integrated and I am sure that you will do your best to get them integrated into the new organisation. We will be happy to share with you all our experience and also help you in that process. It can be a long process but I think it is useful and it will be good.

I asked for the floor to make comment on two particular issues which were touched upon in the Panel but also on the part of the programme that we are discussing now. One is on International Framework Agreements and the other one is on the Global Compact.

International Framework Agreements are not the panacea nor the only perfect tool, but -- but -- they are a real and concrete attempt by trade unions to play a global role. I think there are two major objectives with that. One is to force the transnational company to commit themselves to respect and implement fundamental rights in all countries and not just, as they say, follow and respect national laws.

The second one is more internal for our organisation to create an international identity among our affiliates. International Framework Agreements are a key tool to influence the behaviour of employers along the supply chain and the contractor. The transnational company must be challenged to take responsibility and use the power they have vis-a-vis the suppliers and the sub-contractors.

Although International Framework Agreements are far from being perfect and require a lot of work from outside, they are, nevertheless, the only alternative, as far as I can see, to ambiguous and dangerous attempts by employers to use a unilateral code of conduct.

There is a dangerous proliferation of voluntary unilateral initiatives by transnational companies that are no more than just public relation exercises and I am sure that they can undermine the trade union structure.

We believe that the trade union should clearly and unequivocally distance themselves from all these dangerous attempts because they will also undermine the standard-setting as we require and as done by the ILO.

One of those many window-dressing exercises, in my view, is the Global Compact initiated by the United Nations. We are very, very surprised that the United Nations seem to support, instead of reinforcing and strengthening, the standard-setting action of its own specialised organisation or agency such as the ILO.

The Global Compact is used by the transnational company as a convenient excuse to repress and to refuse to engage with the trade union movement and to commit themselves in a transparent way to the respect of fundamental rights. That is why I believe we have to take a stance and distance ourselves from that. That is what I am asking you to do. Thanks a lot for listening to me. (*Applause*)

**MR. NEIL KEARNEY** (International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF)): Chair, brothers and sisters, the best way of paying tribute to the architects of this new International Trade Union Confederation, which allows us to stand united, strong, confident and demanding, is to use it to the full to drive change for workers and their families everywhere.

But creating the global structure is the easy part. The real challenge will lie in translating this new-found global unity into integrated and united trade union action at national and workplace levels.

Such unity of action at every level has never been more needed.

Today's global economy is founded on inequitable trade rules which drive slave-like working conditions, force ever lower wages, longer working hours, child labour and dangerous and unhealthy work practices.

Nowhere is the exploitative nature of unregulated globalisation more obvious than in the textile, clothing and leather sectors where more than 30 million workers, mostly women, mostly young, contribute to world trade through gross exploitation, often in export processing zones, and deprived of trade union protection.

Let us cut to real workers in real workplace situations.

In April this year 19 year old Saliha never worked less than 12 hours a day on 29 of the 30 days in the month knitting sweaters for the US market. She was frequently shouted at and screamed at to speed up production and hit when, under pressure, she made errors. Her piece rate earnings at the month's end were a princely US\$ 6 -- less than 1.7 cents per backbreaking hour.

That is not just exploitation. It is downright slavery! And that is what we must use our new-found global trade union unity to outlaw forever.

Some weeks ago, one hundred 11 to 13 year old children were found in a factory producing garments for the US and European markets. They were working 95 hours a week, including four all night 19 to 20 hour shifts. When they could not make the target, they were slapped, hard, by the supervisor leaving them sore and swollen.

No wonder these kids tearfully say that this is not a life and it would be better to die than live in this world. Again, this is what we must use our new-found global trade union unity to banish forever.



This is the reality of working life in export industries today. It is grossly exploitative and it is totally unacceptable.

Trade cannot be allowed to enslave in this way and the ITUC Programme demand for a workers' rights clause as the centrepiece of trade policy is welcome. This must be more than a demand. It needs to be a crusade fought with confidence and with the expressed aim of cleaning up global supply chains and ensuring decent work for all involved.

Worker exploitation could not happen without the complicity of governments increasingly rolling back labour legislation and ignoring implementation of what remains. We must target such governments, putting them under sustained national and global pressure to protect their working populations.

The Programme condemns the mistreatment of workers in export processing zones. Condemnation is insufficient! EPZs are incompatible with decent work, should be re-integrated into national economies and be subject to the application of national labour laws and international labour standards.

We need also to state even more sharply our revulsion at child labour, declaring war on the practice, including committing to drive employers who exploit children out of business and setting a timeframe for the total elimination of child labour.

Colleagues, the battle for workers' rights needs to be waged at every level but a key to success is securing representative dialogue between workers and management.

The Programme is right to caution on the direction of corporate social responsibility. Trade unions need to re-take this territory from the host of consultants, auditors and quack agencies who are currently colonising it. We must ensure that securing workers' rights is achieved by the freedom of workers to form and join unions and is firmly anchored in mature systems of industrial relations based on social dialogue and using collective bargaining as a main tool for driving change.

To do this, trade unions need the legitimacy that comes from mass membership. Our new-found global trade union unity now needs to be replicated at national and local level. It must become the driver of trade union revival everywhere. It must be used as a springboard for a concerted and sustained global organising effort, utilising the combined energy of every trade unionist to build membership to create unbreakable united union action at every workplace.

Chair and colleagues, do this and we really will have renewed the global trade union movement. So let's just do it. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you, Neil. I give the floor to our good friend Ioannis from Greece and we would like to ask brother Randall from the ITF to prepare.

**MR. IOANNIS PANAGOPOULOS** (Greek General Confederation of Labour, GSEE, Greece) (*Interpreted*): Chair, delegates.

I am deeply honoured to represent the Greek General Confederation of Labour, GSEE, at this historic Congress.

On behalf of the working men and women of Greece I bring our solidarity and fraternal greetings. We also acknowledge the hard work and the commitment of all those who had the foresight and the courage required to propel the international trade union movement into a new age by uniting it.

This new age, however, brings inauspicious tidings to the world of work. Ironically, at the time when globally generated wealth, technological progress and innovation have no historic precedent, poverty, inequality and the most repulsive forms of exploitation have escalated. Global unemployment remains at its highest, with a total of 192 million people without jobs, while 550 million, 60% of them women, work in extreme poverty. The income of the world's 500 richest people exceeds that of the poorest 416 million. This cannot be the way forward for humanity, nor for achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Clearly, the way forward is not to fully empower the market, wipe out all regulation lest it restrains corporate greed and makes the world union free. Clearly, it is down to us as trade unions to call to account this neoliberal model of globalisation and unbridled competition for not delivering jobs, prosperity, stability and sustainable development.

We in Greece believe that the new International in many ways puts us in a better position to do all this. The principles and the values enshrined in the Constitution, the programme objectives of the ITUC provide a solid framework for co-ordinated action and effective strength. This in turn equips us all better to address challenges and problems in our respective countries.

In Greece, one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe is coupled with violations of legislation, insufficient inspection and ineffective social dialogue. A strong presence of undeclared work, migrant labour and a growing informal economy make our trade union movement and collective bargaining literally the only safeguard for our

workers. We have repeatedly mobilised and attempts to dispute the collective agreements framework and dismantle collective bargaining cause us great concern. We have mobilised against such antilabour policies but, as we said to the people from the IMF who visited us recently, we also have our own solid model for development to propose.

Colleagues, friends, the synergy of the new International cannot but make us stronger in our fight against repression and the violation of trade union rights, be that in Burma, Colombia or Belarus. Because we in Greece have suffered under a brutal military dictatorship, the compelling evidence of the ICFTU global survey doubly distresses us. Because our rights and freedom were taken away, we believe in democratic trade unions free of government and political interference, who act in the interests of their members as well as the wider community. The new age is regrettably wrought with violence, armed conflict and environmental disaster.

I conclude by reiterating the commitment of GSEE to peace, stability and co-operation as prerequisites for social justice and equitable growth in our wider region. To this end we have worked, and we will continue to do so in the context of this new International, for fostering a culture of understanding between the working people who first and foremost suffer from the ravages or violence, war and intolerance. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you Ioannis. I will give the floor to the last speaker now, Randall Howard.

The women's and youth session will take place tomorrow, on 3rd November. We will also be showing a video on HIV/AIDS in the world. It is in English but it is available in other languages. Those who are interested could get in touch with the Secretariat.

**MR. RANDALL HOWARD** (President, International Transport Workers' Federation, ITF): Chair, I am going to try and do what other speakers failed to do.

Congratulations to the ITUC. It was a long process leading to a historic result. The process was strongly supported by the GUFs, including the ITF, who all wanted to see a strong, united action-oriented global trade union movement. The ITF played a major part in the birth of the ICFTU and contributed its first two general secretaries. We already have several WCL unions as affiliates, as well as independent groups and we look forward to welcoming the affiliates of FIOST, the transport wing of the WCL, within the ITF family very soon, a principle

which was endorsed by the first Congress of the ITF held on the continent of Africa, in Durban this year.

We understand the need to respect the different traditions in different countries but we are all united in support of the simple principle of strong, effective, democratic transport trade unions which are ready to take action to defend workers' rights.

In a rapidly integrating global economy we need more united trade union action. The ITUC has been a key part of that process. So too will be the birth of the Global Unions Council, bringing together the ITUC, TUAC and the GUFs early next year, which should play a key role in operationalising co-operation and solidarity.

We have been working our GUFs colleagues on issues like preserving public services, organising the global oil and gas industry, organising call centres and catering companies and the growing logistics companies.

The book which Fred presented to Guy and Willy yesterday is a testament to the key role which has always been played in global solidarity by the industrial side of our movement. We should also pay special tribute to Aidan White of the IFJ, who gave up his holidays this year to turn an idea into practical reality. We hope that you will take it home and distribute the book widely.

You can be sure that the new confederation has the full support of the GUFs, and in particular the ITF. It needs it because the sectoral dimension remains by far the best way to bring international solidarity closer to national, regional and local leaders to the rank and file members of many thousands of unions at the heart of this movement.

The theme of our 40<sup>th</sup> Congress in 2002 was «Globalising Solidarity» and it was adopted by the ICFTU Congress in 2004 in Miyazaki, which voted in favour of the creation of this new confederation. We have just completed our 41<sup>st</sup> Congress in Durban, of which the theme was «Organising Globally» -- a theme which we also have no objection to being used in future by the ITUC because it underlies most of the contributions which have already been made to this debate. We have to use the potential of effective trade union action in a global economy to build and strengthen unions everywhere if we are to succeed in fighting the negative consequences of globalisation.

Organising globally means strengthening unions in the key economic hubs and corridors of the global economy and ensuring that unions work together across national borders, but also across traditional industrial borders. Our Global Unions Council will make more effec-

tive the strong practical work which already exists between the different GUFs for the support of the national centres which are part of the new ITUC. The ITF works together with other GUFs on public service promotion and organising the oil and gas industry, as mentioned before, including the increasing use of informal work, contract work, fake self-employment and even, recently, fake co-operatives to remove workers from the protection of trade unions.

We have to realise the potential strength we have. Global capital works across national borders constantly every day. The production, distribution and transport of goods is increasingly integrated by the now famous process of just-in-time production. Services too, even public services, are being transferred internationally. Employers think that they can use the global economy to weaken our union rights and social conditions. We have to prove them wrong by organising ourselves globally.

That is why the ITF has always, throughout its history, been an action orientated body. Mick Doleman yesterday made reference to the maritime industry as the first global industry, so I will not repeat what he said except to emphasise that international standards, whether they be ILO Conventions or agreements, mean nothing unless they are enforced in practice. That is why we have operated a flag of convenience campaign for over 50 years, with union officials around the world inspecting ships and enforcing agreements. It is why we worked very hard with decent ship owners who resent unfair competition to complete the first ILO integrated standard: the Consolidated Maritime Labour Convention, which was adopted this February and soon will be enforceable by port state governments all around the world.

It is why we are increasingly engaged in co-ordinated industrial and political action in defence of union organising. The key thing today is not which union a worker in a particular sector is in, but whether they are in a union at all, and whether it is a strong, independent union which works in the interests of all its members.

We believe that the hard work which has been done to arrive at the creation of the ITUC has been very worthwhile and an important strategic advance for all workers. There is a lot more work ahead of us and the challenges are many. We do have the capacity and the determination to rise to these challenges in advancing and defending the rights of working people across the world. In too many countries the role of organised labour is under attack by governments and capital, leadership being detained and even killed as never before. But speaking for the ITF, we want to emphasise that we must be positive about our strengths and build on them whilst addressing our weaknesses. If we use the im-

portant and strategic foundation of unity laid here in Vienna effectively, we can have a real effective impact on the global economy to ensure that we create sustainable quality jobs through decent work agenda and continue our pursuit of a better world, informed by the values of democracy, human rights and trade union rights; dignity, solidarity and social justice for all workers and citizens of the world, particularly in the poorest countries.

The challenges of poverty and underdevelopment, including the scourge of HIV/AIDS, must be responded to at the highest level in our movement. The ITUC must lead the struggle, given the impact particularly on women and children in poverty ravaged communities. The ITUC must therefore prioritise its campaign by committing resources to educate and fight for accessible and cheap drugs for treatment at workplace and community levels, in alliance with other organisations against governments, employers and multinationals who clearly remain uncaring about the ever increasing rate of infected and affected citizens in the world.

The ITF, in its Congress in Durban, reaffirmed our campaign on HIV/AIDS and committed ourselves do more in the transport sector in particular. We therefore commit ourselves to work with the ITUC and its leadership to advance the struggle against HIV/AIDS. Solidarity forever. Long live the ITUC. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

**ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY CISSÉ** *(Interpreted)*: Brothers and sisters, we have finished a lengthy list of speakers for this afternoon's plenary. On behalf of the praesidium, I would like to thank you for your attention. For those of you who wish to watch the video now, please feel free and I will suspend the plenary for the evening.

*(Video presentation to Congress on HIV/AIDS)*

Congress adjourned at 5.35 p.m.

Friday, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2006

## **MORNING SESSION**

*Congress re-assembled at 9.15 a.m.*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Delegates, we are going to make a start. I think some of your colleagues had a very late night last night but I am sure they will be here before long. Let me tell you what the order of today is.

We will start with the report of the Credentials Committee. We will then have a speakers list until about 11.50, although it will be broken at 10 o'clock for a youth and women's presentation. Can I ask that if you are on the speakers list today, you keep your remarks very short. You can table your whole speech for the record but I am worried we will not get to listen to everybody this morning if we do not keep it to between three and four minutes.

At 11.50, I am sorry, we will have to draw a line under the speakers if they are not all finished. You will of course be able to put your speech on the record and I would encourage you to do that. We will then have a series of resolutions to adopt. We must adopt the programme for the new International. We must endorse the regional agreements so that the work of unification can be done in the regions and we need to endorse the new European regional council. We will of course hear in closing from Guy Ryder and there will be a closing ceremony.

If you are able to stay until the very end then there will be a photo opportunity. I think it would be very nice for people to have an opportunity to have a photo of this historic event. That will take place at the close of the morning.

For those of you who are elected to the General Council in the course of the morning, it will meet at 2 p.m. in the Stoltz room.

With that I thank you and I would ask the Chair of the Credentials Committee to come forward.

### **SECOND REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

**MS. WANJA LUNDBY-WEDIN** (Chair, ITUC Credentials Committee): Thank you, Chair. Sisters and brothers, this is the second report from the Credentials Committee and I think that you have received it on your tables in the official languages so that you can follow the report, even though I choose to speak Swedish.



As you will remember, we had a first report which established which organisations are affiliates of our new International. After that, CNUS from the Dominican Republic came along and asked to meet the Credentials Committee. They asked to meet with us because they felt unhappy because they were not on the list. They felt that the process had not been what they had expected. It is not up to the Credentials Committee to decide on the list because the list has been adopted by Congress. Therefore we told the organisation from the Dominican Republic that the question of their affiliation will be decided by the General Council at its first meeting in June. But we said that the organisation was of course welcome to stay at the Congress as observers at this time. That is clear from paragraph 2 in our report.

The report goes on to mainly deal with the question of gender parity because Article XI in the Constitution that we are expecting to adopt says that we should promote gender parity in our work at all levels and when it comes to the Congress we should try to have gender balance in our delegations so that half the delegation should be women, as the Constitution proposes. If that does not happen, the organisation can explain to the Credentials Committee why gender parity has not been achieved. If it has not been achieved, the General Council will draw up guidelines for the Credentials Committee to work according to. We do not have such guidelines at the moment. We have had different approaches to this in the two former internationals and that is why the Credentials Committee suggests that the Congress ask the General Council to draw up such guidelines so that they are available for the next Congress.

These guidelines could be based on what you find in paragraph 7 and there are four possibilities. Option one is to simply produce a list of organisations who do not have balanced representation. You could say that this is about «naming and shaming» and perhaps it would be sufficiently embarrassing to be on that list. Then, of course, you can restrict voting rights in various ways for those delegations who have not achieved gender balance.

For instance, supposing you have eight delegates in a delegation. If there are three men and five women, then you could say three women have the right to vote and four men have the right to vote and the fifth has observer status. Then you have gender balance plus one.

Or you could go one step further. You could say that you want absolute gender balance. That is what we say in option 3. In the delegation of eight, only three men and three women will have voting rights and two will be observers.

Or you could say that if you have not achieved gender parity, then the whole of the delegation will have to have observer status. Of course this is not an approach that we are going to choose today. We have worked with these issues in slightly different ways in the former internationals, the WCL and the ICFTU.

This time the Credentials Committee has chosen to simply produce a list of those organisations which have not achieved gender parity in their delegations and that list is attached to the report. I have to make a few adjustments because since the list was circulated we have heard from a number of delegations. They have said that they have achieved gender parity. So we have to delete number 5 CGTB Benin; number 9 CNPL Brazil; number 14 CNTD Dominican Republic; number 16 GWC Gambia; number 28 CNV Netherlands. They are to be deleted.

As you will see from the list, we have not just included those delegations that have too many men in them but also delegations with too many women. If you have a sharp eye, you will see that my delegation, LO Sweden, has too many women in it so we are on the list as well. We can say that we changed the representation at the last minute. That can be our excuse and that might apply to a few others as well.

Since we are not restricting voting rights this time, I hope that you can agree to this list. It is anyway a proposal from the Credentials Committee and I can tell those who come from the former WCL that at the ICFTU's last Congress we chose option 2. We chose to restrict voting rights to a certain extent. Perhaps that is what we need to do at our next Congress because we cannot have more than one Congress where we simply produce a list of organisations and do no more. So expect us next time at the Congress to have a Credentials Committee that does not accept just having a list. We will certainly also put forward proposals for restriction of voting rights in some way.

That was about gender parity. Then we have the question of youth participation and representation and we are happy to note that we have taken a step forwards if you compare the situation at the WCL's last Congress and at the ICFTU's last Congress, but we still have not reached the 10% that the Constitution recommends. So here again we have to make some progress by the next Congress. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to see so many young people at this Congress.

That is the end of the second report from the Credentials Committee and I move that Congress make a decision on the basis of the recommendations in the report and also adopt the report. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, Wanja. The report, with the appropriate recommendations listed, has been moved and seconded. Do I see any opposition? (*No response*) Seeing no opposition, I declare it carried. (*AGREED*)

We will now go to the speakers list until 10 a.m., when we will have a youth and women's presentation. Can I call on Victor Villalba.

**MR. VICTOR VILLALBA** (Central Puertorriquena de Trabajadores, CPT, Puerto Rico) (*Interpreted*): Delegates, sisters and brothers, at this Congress, at this meeting with history, we are witnessing the continuing struggle of the world workers' movement. The Puerto Rican workers' central joins you in facing this challenge and reaffirms its commitment to continue this struggle against neoliberal policies which have struck us and continue to strike the people of Latin America and the Caribbean.

As President of the Puerto Rican workers' centre, we wish to reaffirm that not only are we under a moral imperative to face up to policies of exclusion and poverty, which is affecting the whole world because of neoliberalism, but in addition to that we need to take a step forward against the neocolonialist actions of the North American empire. This is done through federal laws and labour laws which are affecting the economic and political development of our country. These have been adopted by the United States Congress without participation at all by the people of Puerto Rico.

As representatives of Puerto Rican workers, the struggle of the international working classes exemplified by this Congress means that we have to continue the demands made historically by CLAT and the WCL. Consequently, we would like to reiterate our struggle against colonial measures. It is a question of principle. We must reject these and condemn them, be they economic, political, social or actions against trade unions.

Today we are pleased to participate as fully fledged members as a Latin American and Caribbean nation as we continue this historic process. We agree that it is necessary to build and make the necessary changes, as Mr. Somavia said during his presentation. None the less, these changes can be discussed and agreed upon and we can consult the rank and file in our trade unions in all of our nations in order to achieve this. Indeed, this is the task to which we are committed and we shall carry out that task in our countries whilst recalling that our countries make up a region, the Caribbean, where there are more than 30 countries and we speak to each other in four different languages. Sisters and brothers, what we are talking about is our identity and our culture.

We take on board the programme of the ITUC and in addition to that we accept unity of working men and women around the world. We would like to reiterate that dialogue and struggle in both our region and our country require their own process, their own dynamics. With this in mind, we express our firm conviction that we will continue this struggle with you. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. My brother was right on four minutes. Because I have to be tough to give everybody a chance, if you go over four minutes, I will indicate that you should wind up and I would ask that you do so. But for Victor, can I say congratulations. You were very well disciplined.

**MS. ANA KNEZEVIC** (Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia, UATUC, Croatia): Dear sisters and brothers, let me address you on behalf of the largest trade union confederation in Croatia. Our country is part of the South Eastern European region that is from the former Yugoslavia, which has experienced great destruction in the war and ethnic conflicts. This is why we remain in solidarity with our trade union colleagues who still suffer global and local war and conflicts.

Sisters and brothers, unfortunately the International Financial Institutions do not care about the people who suffer political instability, transitions and restructuring, as we have learned in all the countries of the South European region: Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania and Kosovo. They simply copy and paste their models and impose them on any vulnerable country in the region or in the world.

There is a slight change in the region of former Yugoslavia and Albania. The IMF and the World Bank at least today pretend that they have consultations with the trade unions, but they do not take into consideration our protests, comments and recommendations. We heard recently that the World Bank has recognised that their model of economical restructuring was not really the best. Their pension reforms all over the world have serious consequences on the level of pensions and the instability of pension funds. We could say that they treat us as laboratory mice, testing their anti-labour and anti-poor reforms and programmes. We are not against privatisation and economic development, but we will fight for sustainable global development with a human and socially sensitive face. We oppose absolute privatisation, especially of public services and natural resources. We oppose absolute market deregulation and the liberalisation of the economy.

Croatia and the countries of the region share the destiny of transitional countries which are trying to switch from the old communist

regime and system in which workers' rights, freedoms and working and living conditions were centrally guaranteed and basically respected. Now we are facing the increase of employment rates, precarious jobs and working conditions, a growing informal economy and ruthless games of multinational companies.

Sisters and brothers, I am convinced that this historical moment of the establishment of the ITUC will open a new page in trade union history and I hope that we have really created a powerful tool. Now it is up to us to use it. The 306 confederations must become trade unions without borders, capable of solving every problem and overcoming each and every obstacle.

The aforementioned International Financial Institutions and multinationals (or the «global masters») must know that we, as the newly formed global organisation are now one power, one voice, which will be a significant counterweight to their arrogance. Global capital requires a global partner and a global response and the ITUC shall provide this response.

Dear sisters, I want to address you as a woman trade union leader as well. We have to recognise that deep rooted gender discrimination is a sad universal reality in the world of work and in society at large. On an everyday basis women are discriminated against. They are underpaid. They do not get equal pay for equal work. They are denied their fundamental rights to employment contracts. They are denied maternity pay and protections. On the global scale, women earn 12-60% less than men and they are almost never appointed to the top leadership positions. This must not be tolerated. In this regard the ITUC, as well as our national confederations and governments, have to adopt gender sensitive mainstream policies. A better, more fair and just place in society and at the labour market and respect of our fundamental rights is not a privilege, but a necessity and a deserved right.

I wish to salute you with our old slogan: «Together we are stronger!» (*Applause*)

**MS. BARBARA BYERS** (Canadian Labour Congress, CLC, Canada): Thank you and good morning, sisters, brothers, comrades.

This year has been a historical year for the Canadian Labour Congress. We celebrated our 50th Anniversary. It has given us cause to think about our years of struggle and solidarity of the working class in Canada and the work that we have been able to do internationally with many of you. So this year, as we celebrate our 50th Anniversary, we also celebrate with the international working class the opportunity

to create this new institution and this new organisation that will move us all forward.

Both of these historical events have given us cause to think about where we want to go to reflect on our past, our present and our future as national and international labour centres, what we can do, what we must do differently or better and what we cannot do.

In Canada we made a decision as a national labour centre, along with our affiliates, that there are some things that the affiliates will do better than we can: organising on the ground directly with their membership, organising workers into unions, negotiating collective agreements. We can organise with all of our affiliates with those same members on overreaching campaigns; things like the Wal-Mart campaign in protest of the corporation that closed a store in Jonquiere, Quebec, because the workers there simply wanted to join a union. We had to stop fooling ourselves that we can be all things to all people and had to organise very clearly with our affiliates, our labour centrals at the provincial and municipal levels, to ensure that we are all doing our jobs of supporting each other in the work that must be done.

Internationally, as we look at this, we must run strong, effective campaigns with the ITUC on issues such as HIV/AIDS, corporate social responsibility and the Committee on Workers' Capital. We need to join collectively in our international voice on many of the issues that have been talked about in terms of human and trade union rights, events which have been organised around this Congress on issues such as Burma, Colombia, Zimbabwe and the Middle East. We need to support internationally the Working Group on China within the broad framework of human and trade union rights.

We cannot slide backwards, though, brothers and sisters and comrades, even for a moment. It is disturbing for many of us in this room that we see that the council target is 30% gender representation for women. That is a target. We must work harder and that is not sufficient. We look at the work of the Credentials Committee yesterday and today. We have many, many organisations that are not gender balanced. That is a slide backwards and it is one that women workers and workers generally do not want us to take. We need to look at not only in the delegations who is there, but who gets to speak from those delegations, because those voices are important as well. We need to consider that the voices of youth cannot be just providing a space here but it must be providing a voice for that space as well for youth.

This is our opportunity to move ahead. Workers do not need us to take them backwards. They need us to take them forward.

Finally, what is the challenge before us today? This is an opportunity for us to reflect on our direction. What is the message we all want to take home to our organisations about this new Congress? That message is, to the workers we collectively represent, we want to take forward a message of justice, of peace and of hope, but we also want to take back a message of the struggle of the working class, of the mobilisation of the working class and of the solidarity of the working class. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. MICHAEL SOMMER** (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB, Germany) (*Interpreted*): Sister Sharan, sisters and brothers.

Over the last few days we have heard a lot about our having written history and that is absolutely true, but what is just as true and important is that we are writing history for the future. We cannot stay at the same point, we have to make progress. I am saying this because we have to realise that our 150 million members expect us to do very hard work to safeguard their interests. The poor in this world expect a strong trade union movement that raises its voice and fights for human rights and decent work.

Why have I asked for the floor? I have asked for the floor for another reason. I think that we have to do everything to maintain the unity that we have formally negotiated. Yesterday we listened to contributions to the debate which showed us that we have different roots. That is true, we do have different roots, but that is a good thing. That provides the diversity of our movement. Since Wednesday we are different roots but a single tree and we have to make sure that that single tree grows (*Applause*)

Let me say in addition that we must do everything we can to create internal unity in our organisation. That calls for tolerance and that calls for being prepared to turn to others to contact them, to fight for the same interests. I am saying this because I have experience of unity. In DGB Germany we have a single union organisation which covers Christians, which covers the political parties, which covers people who have no particular affiliations, but everybody works on behalf of the membership.

The second thing that I wanted to say is that we are not an end in itself. We are the means to an end. We have to make sure that our society has a social dimension. We have to make sure that things get better for people in this world. That means that we have to strengthen our position vis-a-vis the International Financial Institutions -- the WTO, the IMF, the G8 countries who govern the world in a way with the multinationals. We have to be stronger in this respect as well. (*Applause*)



In addition I want to say that we need concrete targets that we should see to it that we realise over the next four years. We have to make sure that the Core Labour Standards of the ILO are implemented. We have to fight against the scourge of HIV/AIDS. We have to make sure that our Regional Organisations grow stronger. This means that we have to fight worldwide for the implementation and respect of worker and human rights. That is fundamental for us.

Brothers and sisters, achieving peace is one of our main aims. In a world where terror and war has created tensions everywhere, it is the job of the international trade union movement to leave no stone unturned in trying to establish understanding among peoples everywhere in the world and not just in the privileged areas of the north.

We have to fight for decent jobs, decent pay, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. Those are our goals but they are also our duties and over the next four years I hope that we will stand together in pressing to achieve those aims. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MS. NICETAS LUCERO** (Federation of Free Workers, FFW, Philippines): Good morning dear sisters, brothers and friends.

We all know that we are at this historic event, the founding of the International Trade Union Confederation. Yesterday from a distance, while seated at the back, I was staring at our logo and my imagination worked with a hungry stomach. Our ITUC logo appeared to me as a fried egg, sunny side up. It reminds me of the saying that in order to make an omelette you have to break eggs, and we did that last 31st October. What is interesting is that we only have one yolk instead of two, because we united into one and our solidarity made it possible.

From today each and every one of us will forever be the foster parent of the ITUC, to nurture and to nourish, to guide and to mould and to cherish. We are all part of these strong links of solidarity that will see through the meaningful and successful existence of our dear confederation. Together we will go where we intend to go and reach where we intend to be. Now there will be no «yours» and there will be no «mine», it will be «ours». I said together.

Much depends on each and every one of us. To reform the world it is wise to start with self-reflection. The realisation of individual powerlessness will encourage us to unite with others. As a broom is made of a bundle of firm stiff twigs bound together, we can be part of the twigs to sweep, to clean up the dirt, the dust and the grime of the world we live in.

As human beings, we are social persons. We are endowed with inalienable rights, skills, knowledge, competence and goodness that we can their share with our fellow human beings. Unity is best with plurality and diversity. We all know we come from diverse origins, Asia and the Pacific, Africa, the Americas and Europe, but we come together because we know where we are heading -- into a world of work and life that is more just, more humane and more free.

Welcome aboard, my dear sisters and brothers, all together let us row in rhythm towards our destiny. God bless our journey.

At this juncture allow me to present a humble token to the ITUC. May I request sister Sharan to accept it.

*(Presentation amidst applause)*

**MR. JOAO CARLOS GONCALVES** (Força Sindical, FS, Brazil) *(Interpreted)*: Good morning sisters and brothers.

The birth of the ITUC it is a good time for all of us. It is a good time for workers at the workplace in various countries around the world because they believe that since this new organisation has been founded, this will strengthen their struggle and I have no doubts about that because this confederation is building upon the ICFTU and the WCL and all of the different centres who are joining this process.

This new process was necessary. It was necessary because there are economic changes around the world: globalisation, transnational companies. The productive processes are becoming increasingly integrated so our workers must be integrated as well in order to respond to these changes. These changes are taking place in our countries, in Brazil, in Latin America and in other countries. We feel that we have workers on one side and employers on the other. But on the side of the workers we can say that many of us are working, but not legally. Their rights are not respected. People are finding their jobs outsourced. People are not able to join trade unions. So it is important for our confederation to continue the struggle in our countries so that we can increase social inclusion, ensure social rights and labour rights so that people can have better lives and a dignified life.

At the same time, despite the differences amongst our countries, we can count on contributions to actions by workers from all the other countries. Sometimes we are almost working in the same company, so we need unity and united action. Similarly, social struggles and collective bargaining agreements cannot be achieved alone. We must develop democratic processes together in our countries. We must advance in the struggle for a social democracy, a participatory democracy.

In Latin America and especially in Brazil now, in light of the events of the past week, we are finding that some of our presidents are committed to the workers' struggle. The President of the Republic sees this process as something that he can do together with the workers, changing the government, changing its structures. Here these changes will only be possible if workers are united, only if the parties who are on the left and protecting the interests of workers join us as well.

The founding of the ITUC gives rise in a context of diverse ideologies, diverse types of action, diverse countries and it will become increasingly an instrument we can use and a symbol that will provide us with enlightenment and continually strengthen our action and our struggles so we will all be able to advance in our solidarity. Success to all of us. Success for all of our peoples. Victory for the workers. (*Applause*)

**MS. AMAL EL AMRI** (Union Marocaine du Travail, UMT, Morocco) (*Interpreted*): Sister Chair, sisters and brothers.

In setting up the new International Trade Union Confederation on 1st November 2006, we were creating the most important event in the trade union world. At the beginning of this millennium the reunification of the trade union movement on the basis of principles of independence and freedom strengthens our conviction at our national centre in Morocco that we need independent, strong organisations working for justice and for liberty. This can have no equal, given the sacrifices that have been made in terms of human life among the workers.

Let me say how proud my organisation is, UMT, to be part of this trade union movement, meeting in the city of Vienna at this Congress. We were there at the ICFTU Congress in 1955. We think that it is important to have a unified trade union movement which is representative but still authentic and which preserves the trade union identity, although forming allies with other democratic players in civil society, participating in the fight using the values and goals that we share.

The fight for social justice cannot be dissociated from the fight for freedom and unity and the new organisation must be able to propose alternatives to the world financial institutions and the WTO because many working men and women throughout the world, large parts of the population, are reduced to poverty and exclusion.

The trade union movement must rethink its strategies and insist on equitable distribution of riches between north and south and negotiate the cancellation of the foreign debt of the poor countries, insist on policies of codevelopment, insist on reforms and democratisation of the multilateral system, with a stronger role for the ILO.

It is time to abolish inequalities and discrimination based on gender. We must demand that the capacity of women is enhanced because only then can we achieve proper economic and lasting development. We must be against the WTO TRIPS Mode IV, which puts the countries of the south under risk. It exacerbates exclusion and leads to fragilisation and ghettoization of the working classes.

We must fight for social justice and against occupation, war and violence. Our globalised solidarity must be unanimous and we must condemn all violence. I am thinking of the Palestinian people and the Iraqi people. Wars create chaos and devastation for whole peoples and particularly for women and children.

We have great expectations of the new International Trade Union Confederation and all of us must make sure that it succeeds. Long live the ITUC! Long live globalised solidarity among working men and women. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. GERARDO MARTINEZ** (Confederación General del Trabajo de la Republica Argentina, CGT, Argentina) (*Interpreted*): Good morning everyone, Sis. Sharan, sisters and brothers.

It is an honour for CGT Argentina not only to participate in this important event for the working men and women of the world but also to be able to briefly explain what the unity of the workers' movement means to us, as formulated in the new ITUC.

The Americas are observing and participating in this process with great hopes and expectations, amongst other reasons because we are in a continent which is in transition, where there is still a lot of inequality. The Americas in general and Argentina in particular have been the field of experimentation under the yoke of the Washington Consensus. This has led to despair among the majority of our people, especially workers. The impact of neoliberal policies and the concentration of wealth have devastated us. This is shameful for human dignity.

None the less, there is a new wind blowing in the region. Today we have governments which have emerged with a different vision, looking straight ahead at the needs of their people and they are promoting changes, so that social justice can become a reality and not a utopia. In fact, they say governing means creating employment and decent work.

We are coming to the end of a very difficult and long tunnel where we have had economic recipes good for the minorities. We know that the new scenarios will guarantee quality of life and our rights. None the less, the strategies and tools needed for this purpose are not yet clear. We need specific policies for each country and each region.

In December 2005 in the Summit of the Americas, we said no to the FTAA. Trade unionists have arisen and are acting and we are working hard against these types of programme. We say integration yes, provided that integration means that there will be equality.

We think that there are two values that must be put forward, democracy and solidarity. Without them we will fail. We are dedicated to the construction of our societies. We want to recover solidarity as a value and an ongoing practice. Hence, we take note of the importance of this Congress as we develop a new tool and structure that will provide input for our struggle to redesign a working man's society. This tool has to be inclusive, pluralistic and must respect diversity and should promote new internationalism in trade unionism. We must properly represent workers and make sure that they prevail over the imperatives of globalisation.

Over the next year we promise to create the regional body. We cannot waste our time. There is no time to lose. This is part of our historic commitment to this new ITUC. We would like to welcome the independent centres that are going to join us as we build solidarity, in particular those from Latin America.

We must not exclude anyone. We must not be stingy in our priorities. We must work together with those who are about to join us. It is high time for world trade unionism. Welcome to world trade unionism. Thank you, brothers and sisters. (*Applause*)

**MS. LAURA GONZALEZ DE TXABARRI** (Eusko Langileen Alkartasuna Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos, ELA-STV, Spain) (*Interpreted*): Good morning sisters and brothers.

Here in Vienna we see the culmination of the process to create a new ITUC. This is a process we have followed with great interest and with great hopes. Our international work began 73 years ago when the ELA joined the Christian trade union confederation which later gave rise to the WCL. Later on, in 1949, under the Franco dictatorship and in exile, we participated in the setting up of the ICFTU. Some 50 years later here we are again, together with all of you, creating the ITUC.

This process is not only something that we desired but we feel also that it is natural because our simultaneous presence in both organisations for such a long time has never created any difficulties or contradictions for us. This is the culmination of a process and a beginning for one and all of a new stage, full of challenges. We are seeing external challenges imposed on us by the world in which we live, where neoliberal

eral policies everywhere, be they in developed or developing countries, has provoked a scandalous upturn in inequality.

The basic debate is the question of distribution of wealth. Although there are some instruments like the social dialogue, which works in some countries but not so well in other countries, we must not have any illusions. The central issue is the power relationship. That the real question. We must unite to combat these policies. It is not just a question of solidarity. In addition, and above all, it is a question of shouldering responsibilities in the trade union movement.

In the coming years we are going to have to face other challenges as well. These are internal challenges. The new ITUC is a united and global organisation in which we all take on the commitment to work together in a spirit of solidarity, democracy and equality, but our strength will depend on our internal cohesion. That will only be possible if we all acknowledge the different internal realities of our lives and the importance of each and every one making a contribution. Regardless of the size, geographical origin or trade union or political culture of each and every one of us, all of us are needed in this endeavour.

It will also be a challenge for us during this new phase to bring in new organisations which represent people in their own countries. We must not exclude anyone.

I can only conclude by making a brief reference to how important it will be to build alliances with other organisations as we carry forward this struggle. In order to strengthen our power we need more than the trade unions. We must make alliances with those organisations and movements which share our struggles and our objectives. That should be one of our strategic objectives as well. At the beginning I said that in the ELA we were particularly excited about the process culminating here today and we are just as excited about starting the new process that is starting here and now. Thank you very much.

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. I would ask that you stay in your seats and I will ask the Youth Committee to come forward for the young people and women's presentation. This is a brief presentation but I think it is very important. It acknowledges the participatory role that we expect that both young people and women will play. I ask them to come on to the stage now.

While they are doing that, can I draw your attention to a document on your tables. It is headed appendix FC/ECC/3 and it is the ITUC General Council list. This is not an accurate document. I repeat, this is not an accurate document. You have had circulated a working

draft. I ask that you tear it up. We would not want you to take home a document that will not be endorsed. You will receive the accurate document as soon as the list has been compiled to its completion. Please find the document FC/ECC/3 and tear it up.

Do we have our representatives of the young people? Here they are. Give them a big hand. (*Applause*)

**MS. YEMISI ILESANMI** (Chair, ICFTU Youth Committee): Thank you very much. Please I would like to ask everybody to put on your earphones because we will be speaking in different languages. If there are any people under 35 in this room, that is still young, not just young at heart -- I know many people are above 35 but still young at heart -- but I want those that are under 35 to please join us on stage if you are under 35. It is for the young workers here.

*PRESENTATION BY THE YOUTH COMMITTEE*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** We are indeed proud of you. We pledge our partnership and our solidarity with young workers and we salute you as trade union leaders of tomorrow. Thank you. (*Applause*)

Now I invite my sisters onto the stage.

*PRESENTATION BY THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE*

Thank you, my sisters. They are much more than dreams for us. These are trade union realities and we will make them work.

Can I ask that we return to the speakers' list for one hour or so. The next speaker on my list is Sis. Carbonneau from CSN, Canada.

**MS. CLAUDETTE CARBONNEAU** (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), Canada) (*Interpreted*): Sis. Chair, sisters and brothers, it is a huge pleasure for CSN Canada to participate in the setting up of our new Confederation, the ITUC. CSN Canada has always felt that workers' solidarity should go beyond borders -- all borders. In our respective battles we realise that we can only properly solve our problems if we extend our international action in the context of globalisation.

Since the end of the Cold War world capitalist economy has seen a huge surge forward without fulfilling any promises to eradicate poverty. It has simply led to more riches. We have seen an increase in the gap between the rich and the poor and, above all, we have seen the emergence of new forms of exclusion. This new problem obliges us to have another look at our ways of taking trade union action at national level and at international level.



The working world is changing at an astronomical rate and even if we try to mitigate the negative effects, we have to see that there are big problems and the trade union movement does not always find efficient answers to the problems. Just an example. The new world industrial order with the increase of emerging economies. This is, of course, going to correct some inequalities between North and South but, at the same time, this is creating more and more inequality in the world of work: closure of companies, privatisation, precarious jobs, exclusion of young people, pandemics, discriminatory treatment of women, proliferation of the informal economy and the non-respect by a number of countries of the ILO's labour standards. We have to ask ourselves whether we are taking action within the right context.

Our new Confederation must define the type of trade unionism that we want to create and try to get to the root of the problem. CSN Canada believes that the new Confederation must go forward. We do not agree on the way the international institutions and the multinationals see globalisation but we cannot hide behind rhetoric which refuses all change.

CSN Canada is opting for an international trade union movement which focuses on human values and mobilisation; mobilisation which identifies problems and offers solutions which are credible, innovative and realistic.

Finally, let me stress the importance of making sure that in our new Confederation we have real representativeness. In setting up our new organisation we are preparing to enter a new era. But we will not be strong enough if we are not open with each other. We have a history which is marked by disputes and rivalries. Despite that, we must give the new Confederation the opportunity of drawing on our rich traditions, the traditions of the component parts. We must transcend sterile divisions and the new International Trade Union Confederation must be unified but it must also be pluralist and representative and move towards the future together defending the rights of workers and giving them a real chance of succeeding.

We have to work on behalf of working women and men throughout the world. Long live solidarity and long live the ITUC. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. Again, can I just ask that you keep your remarks as short as possible so we can get through the list.

**MR. HUGO YASKY** (Central de Trabajadores Argentinos (CTA), Argentina) (*Interpreted*): Sis. Sharan, sisters and brothers from

the sister organisations which, commencing today, are part of this huge international endeavour, the ITUC, I would like to share a few thoughts with you about the values which will emerge from this unification Congress and some thoughts about the prospects that this gives us in the near future on our continent.

As has been said, and we fully agree, we can all feel proud to be players at this historic event. There are times in the lives of nations which sum up decades of searching and struggle and this Congress is one of them. Without the shadow of a doubt, the establishment of the ITUC is a turning point in the history of international trade unionism and this will create new momentum in the workers' movement at a time when activism and social and popular organisations around the world are able to speak out with the slogan «Another World is Possible». So we are adding our bit to the struggle against neo-liberalism and we have seen this in the World Social Forum.

This convergence of the social movement and the trade union movement means that, commencing now, our principle point of reference is the ITUC. This convergence has successfully unleashed a struggle which enabled our continent to say «No» to Bush, «No» to the FTAA and «No» to hegemony. We have been able to open up a new chapter in the history of domination of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

It is through the mobilisation in the cities of Mar Del Plata in the presence of workers and allied movements and with the participation of trade union centres from the Southern Cone that we were able to express this. This would not have been possible, however, without the international ties which give us strength and which break down our isolation which had made us an easy target of the policies of the dominant groups in our respective nations. Long before us they had begun their hegemonic strategies.

So, with this in mind, the founding of the ITUC represents a clear positioning by the trade union movement. It has been a hard lesson, but we have understood that the aggression of the neo-liberal policies will sweep away the rights of the people in peripheral nations and confiscates the rights of the workers in the more central nations so that poverty and exploitation has no borders.

Today, the workers of the world have recovered the best international traditions of the working class. We are standing up to re-affirm that solidarity and the fight for emancipation and the dignity of human beings is one single struggle. Starting here and now, it will have no borders either. In a world which is obsessed by consumerism and indi-

vidualism, our unity will constitute a militant commitment and we will see a re-birth of solidarity against which hunger, war and oppression in all of its forms will be unacceptable.

The Argentinian Workers Centre is determined to build trade unionism based on the principles of independence, pluralism and democracy and we have received generous international support from many of the organisations who are meeting in this new ITUC. Therefore, we are extremely proud and we make a new militant commitment to play an active role in the process of unification. Starting here and now, it must become consolidated and expand to the four corners of the earth. We must extend our struggle so that we can face up to the neo-liberal model of exploitation.

To this end, we are resolved to play an active part in the process of unification in the region of the Americas. We are going to do our utmost so that we can build trade union strength in the Americas which will be capable, without excluding anyone, of forming an umbrella for all workers throughout our continent.

To conclude. On behalf of 1.2 million workers in our centre, the CTA, I would like to express our gratitude to our sisters and brothers in the Austrian centre and those who convened this Congress and say that, commencing now, we will all play a significant role in building a more just world; a world of justice and solidarity. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MS. WANJA LUNDBY-WEDIN** (Landsorganisationen i Sverige (LO), Sweden) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers, this is my fourth World Congress and I have experienced the same things at the previous three. It is wonderful to be able to listen to trade union sisters and brothers from all over the world who have experiences that are similar to mine. What I am trying to say is that, regardless of where we come from, we have experience, which means that we feel we belong together. This also means that we feel we need to develop a common policy to make sure that our members have a good future.

The global competition puts a lot of pressure on us wherever we are in the world. These days, borders are being rubbed out, capital moves freely and companies relocate -- constantly trying to get to the market where the job can be done at the lowest possible wages and on the worst possible terms of employment.

The workforce is also moving across the world. People are fleeing wars, they are fleeing natural disasters and they are fleeing poverty. There is a mobility in the world today that we have not seen previously in history, even though we know that people have always moved

around. But the exploitation that takes place now is the result of global competition and that is a huge challenge to us.

We have similar experience but very, very different situations. Some of us live in welfare states but we can never take them for granted because we are also subjected to constant pressure and demands for deterioration in conditions for our members.

We have just got a conservative government in our country and we can see what the effects are beginning to be for the workers and our members. Even though we are not suffering from war, natural disasters and poverty and we are privileged, we are still exposed to global competition. Regardless of where we are, however, our strength is now that we have a new International Confederation which makes us stronger in every part of the world.

But it is not enough for us to build up a world confederation if we, in our individual countries and individual organisations, cannot organise the workers. If we cannot do that, the new Confederation will not be as strong as we would want it to be.

The big challenge for us today is to be able to organise young people because young people are the future and we have to make sure that we get the young generation into our trade union community. We know that young people also find themselves in a very difficult situation on the labour market.

We must also be able to organise women. We have to have gender parity in our movement and in working life.

We also have to be able to organise migrant workers so that they become part of our trade union community and help us build up our strength in an integrated community and society which is based on everyone's rights. I think that migration is a big challenge for us.

We know that people flee their home countries for different reasons. Just look at the situation in Europe. I think it is shameful that Africans have to lie dead on the beaches of Spain or outside Spain because they have not been able to come further. I think it is shameful when people come to Sweden and apply for asylum, and perhaps they do not have a reason for asylum. I think it is shameful that they then simply disappear into an informal sector where they are given jobs but in disgraceful conditions in our welfare state. So we have an awful lot to work on in the field of migration policy.

If we do not see this as an issue for the ITUC and our regions we run the risk of becoming protectionist so as to be able to save our own

members, and we may close the borders even more. We have to make sure that one of the really important jobs for our new world confederation is to contribute to a migration policy throughout the world that is based on people's equal value and equal rights. We have to have a point of departure; that is, that human rights must apply throughout the world on our labour markets. We have to have a migration policy that does not force people who have fled their home countries into an informal sector with dreadful working conditions. They have to be part of our trade union community nationally and throughout the world. That is one of the big challenges that we are facing.

The other big challenge is about how we have the capacity in our new Confederation to contribute to solidarity work and to our Solidarity Fund so that we grow strong in our trade union development work.

In Sweden we talk about trade union promises. We have a trade union promise that says that we will shake hands and not sell ourselves at lower wages and worse conditions than we have agreed on. But if we have not got equal basic conditions for all workers then people will be forced to sell their own labour and that will dump the wages and dump the prices. They do that just to survive. I think that is shameful and I think our new ITUC must see it as the main task to contribute to solidarity action throughout the world, making sure that all workers can enjoy human rights. We have to see to it that there is a migration policy that means that people can move from place to place throughout the world on decent conditions.

Those are the points that I want to highlight in the context of the new guidelines for our new ITUC. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MS. THELMA LOUW** (Confederation of South African Workers Unions (CONSAWU), South Africa): Chair and comrades from all corners of the earth, it is an honour to be with you here today. I think one of the vexing issues that we have been discussing not only in this venue but also over a cup of tea or over lunch is: What has happened to pluralism in the formation of this new International Confederation? This is an extremely important issue that we need to interrogate over and over again.

The future of pluralism in our new Confederation is in our hands entirely. If we sacrifice this important pluralism to ensure that everyone conforms to one kind of way of thinking, one way of doing things, I think we will sacrifice a great amount as far as debate is concerned. We need to listen to diverse voices. We need to ensure that everyone has a sense that their opinion was considered before decisions are taken and conclusions are reached.

Why is this important? As an African, I can tell you that if I am not convinced that my voice has been heard and that I have been listened to before decisions are made, the ITUC will have lost one of its most important objectives in the role it has to fulfil.

We have seen this already in the G5 where the G5 has refused to open its doors wider and, in response to that, a number of the developing nations have formed a bloc to oppose and counter the G5.

This historic event that we have witnessed over the past two days and today will turn into an historic blunder if we cannot take forward the important principle of pluralism. If we deny pluralism we will nullify the importance of these proceedings and therefore it is a huge challenge to this new Confederation of ours to ensure that this principle is adhered to and fostered in its future life.

The principle of pluralism is as important on gender issues and on youth issues as it is on any other issue. As women, we want to know that we are equal partners, that our voices are listened to, that we are not just put in places to be there and not to be heard after that. We do not want to be beggars and only to receive the crumbs. We want to have an equal say in whatever happens. We want to have decent jobs.

The economists applaud multinationals for their entrepreneurial spirit in finding the cheapest places in the universe to produce their goods but they forget about the human cost. I think it is the responsibility of the ITUC to take this human cost back to these multinationals but also to our own governments where we see the exploitation of our own people by their governments to a greater extent, often, than foreign companies.

What we need to remember, brothers and sisters, is that the cost to the women is the cost to the future of our people. The future of our countries is at stake. If we cannot look after our women and if we cannot ensure that our women have proper working conditions, we create a generation of neglected children. That will have a vast impact on the abilities of those generations to generate income and look after themselves.

As CONSAWU we rely on the ITUC as a forum where we can take hands as partners to address all of these important issues and to ensure that they are listened to and attended to. Thank you, Chair. (*Applause*)

**MR. APECIDES ALVIZ FERNANDEZ** (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia (CTC), Colombia) (*Interpreted*): Sis. Chair, sisters and brothers, delegates to the Founding Congress of the ITUC,

my thanks to my brothers, Guy Ryder and Willy Thys, for your efforts and your work to unite us.

The founding of the ITUC is a highly significant historic event for workers around the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is part of our struggle against globalisation and neo-liberalism. It expresses our solidarity and the solidarity of workers around the world. It represents hope for millions and millions of poor and exploited around the world.

The ITUC is an organisation of workers whose principles will not accommodate models of labour exploitation. These models of exploitation are a tragedy and a scourge for workers in the south where we have abnormal and fragile working relations. These models deny us the right to social security and it also constitutes a denial of the responsibilities of employers. This is a trend which is dangerously making progress in Latin America and this requires international analysis and action in order to find a solution which will respond to these problems and which will reject these new forms of exploitation and which will also help safeguard the existence of our trade unions.

In this scenario, workers cannot remain silent about the terrible crisis that we are seeing in social security and in Colombia, my country, this is a reflection of the disfunctional society that we have. This is going to be tragic for our society. We are going to see unemployment, sub-employment, informal sectors and poverty. And this will mean that our elderly people will become indigent for lack of a decent pension.

The social dialogue is important, too. Decent work and collaboration and co-operation are important, too. We heard from the Director-General of the ILO on that score and we have heard the same from many brothers and sisters. We have a mission, but we have to make sure that our dreams become reality. We must ensure that the social dialogue reflects our aspirations. That is not the case today. We are living in a globalised world in which capital circulates without borders. In contrast to that, migrants are doomed to exploitation and becoming victims of xenophobia. Let us speak frankly. Walls will not hold back poor migrants. What we need is investment to generate decent employment in order to build a society that will be just for everyone around the world

And, finally, I would like to reiterate the gratitude we feel towards international trade unionism. Thank you for your solidarity in defence of our trade unions in Colombia, your support for respect for our human rights and your support in our struggle against assassination with impunity.



We continue to need your solidarity and support so that the agreements reached on a tripartite basis in the framework of the ILO can become a reality so that we will see an end to the persecution of Colombian trade unionists.

Sister and brother delegates, long live the unity of workers of the world. Long live solidarity. Long live the ITUC which will help us to build a better future for working classes. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**MR. VICTOR MANUEL TORRES DE LEON** (Convergencia Sindical (CS), Panama) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sister and brother delegates at this historic Congress, this is an historic event at which we are setting up a new International Trade Union Confederation. For myself, it is a source of great pride to be able to present here today representing my union in Panama.

A whole range of topics and problems around the world have been discussed. These are social, political and economic and we have an institution which defines the current context which is the leading player. I am referring to multinational and transnational enterprises. Everywhere around the world their main aim is profit and they are depriving us. They impose a series of conditions on us in our countries, in particular in developing countries, and this leads to precarious conditions at work. They lay down special conditions in order to achieve their aims to a greater extent. They demand tax breaks. They demand labour flexibility and, as a result, it is difficult to find decent work. In most cases they fail to respect the core labour standards of the ILO.

In this context my centre, Convergencia Sindical, would like to make a proposal to the ITUC. We must promote worldwide negotiating policies with these multinational companies in order to seek a balance and equity or fairness in the social development of our countries around the world.

Panama and the trade union movement to which my centre belongs will be facing a major challenge over the next eight years. That is, that we have to safeguard workers' rights in the context of the enlargement of the Panama Canal project which will be taking place over the next eight years. We have an obligation and a duty to safeguard these labour rights. Similarly, we must oppose the anti-trade union and anti-labour policies which will be brought to us through the multinational companies.

I would like to take this opportunity to refer to a worldwide campaign that we are promoting in Panama as well and that is the campaign

against child labour. Let us continue this struggle. Let us urge the ITUC to emphasise the eradication of child labour.

We would also appeal to the ITUC to support all those processes of unity taking place in Central America, Latin America and the Caribbean. We would also propose that we develop a counterweight -- a counterweight against global companies -- in the face of global companies and global trade unions. Long live the ITUC. (*Applause*)

**MR. PASCAL TODJINOU** (General Confederation of the Workers of Benin (CGTB), Benin) (*Interpreted*): Sis. Chair, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and to congratulate you on your election to this important post. CGTB, my organisation, the Benin National Centre is one of the Founding Members of the ITUC because it believes in unified trade union action in all its diversity.

Sisters and brothers, the birth of the International Trade Union Confederation gives me the happy opportunity of thanking all of those who are behind the birth of this new Confederation just after the dissolution of the old internationals. There was some fear among the African organisations but their nervousness was dissipated by the image of unity and the prospect of unified trade union action and solidarity among workers. We hope that there will now be better contacts amongst us.

Sisters and brothers, to return to the ITUC Programme of Action, I think it is important to re-affirm before this august assembly that the situation prevailing in Africa merits the attention of our new International Confederation.

The continent of Africa suffers from many ills: poor governments, widespread corruption, loss of moral values, pillaging of national resources; marginalisation of women; precarious jobs and the contracting-out of labour; trafficking in children or child labour; clandestine immigration and more and more of the informal economy, etc., etc. On top of that, sister, we suffer from the AIDS pandemic which is ravaging the continent of Africa, not forgetting armed conflicts steered by hidden hands. If we know who is behind them, it is difficult to denounce them.

So, in order to be able to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, the ITUC should do everything in its power to make sure that the national affiliates are reinforced in the fight against AIDS -- a huge challenge to the world of labour.

Also, it must work for cancellation of the debt of the poorest countries and the re-launching of their economies. That is a real challenge. It must step up the capacity of the trade unions and help them

to take an active part in settling conflicts and in supporting, materially and morally, trade unions in countries where war is rife. It must help the women to increase their capacity and get them to participate in greater numbers in the decision-making bodies. It must highlight the importance of implementation of the ILO Conventions and increase the trade unions' capacity for playing an efficient role in the process of democratisation in Africa. In a word, Sister Chairperson, that means that we support the ITUC Programme of Action which will certainly help the ITUC and its national affiliates to the benefit of working men and women.

As far as our national centre is concerned, unity of trade union action is important and you can count on us to help put a stop to the pillaging of natural resources in different countries which is the source of war. Long live worker solidarity. Long live the ITUC and thank you for your attention. (*Applause*)

**MR. MANUEL JOSE COVA** (Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela (CTV), Venezuela) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers, delegates, representatives of workers from around the world, this is the first Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation. In situations such as these we have to think back in history because this new uniting instrument for workers of the world is the fruit of the efforts and devotion of a half a century by both brothers and sisters in the ICFTU and in the WCL to guarantee the freedom and justice and well-being of all workers everywhere.

A great Venezuelan intellectual, Arturo Uslar Pietri, said: «The future was an invention of the past». That is it. That is what we today are proud of and we are privileged to participate in this event on behalf of my trade union centre.

The ITUC has been founded by building on the precious legacies of the ICFTU, the WCL and the millions of affiliated workers on the five continents. This initiative is the response to what is happening in our world today. Capital, as a result of globalisation, is becoming concentrated in consortia through mergers in order to become more efficient so that capitalists can earn more and more every day. The response of workers cannot be disunity or division and even less confrontation amongst ourselves. The proper response is unity and more unity. The proper response is solidarity and much more solidarity.

The Venezuelan Workers Confederation has always practised unity within the trade union movement and this event will lead us, as soon as we return to Venezuela and our continent, to develop policies which will make possible not only the establishment of a new trade

union instrument in our continent, a united pluralistic diverse organisation which will be much stronger and politically more effective and which will be able to provide answers to the problems of the workers in our region, but, in addition to that, within our countries this spirit of unity and solidarity which is emerging from this Congress, which you can touch and observe here. This will also have to be taken home to our own countries so that there it will emerge as part of a process which will enable us to work together more, strengthened by our unity and strengthened by the efforts of all of the trade unions participating in the ITUC.

Those who fight for workers' rights can do so on behalf of any religious principle or ideology. But if the practical result is the legitimate defence of workers and their families and their right to live in freedom and justice, then unity will prevail over any of our defences.

Outstanding founders of the ICFTU and the WCL, such as Augusto Malave Villalba, who helped found, 57 years ago, the ICFTU is one. I should also mention Dagoberto Gonzalez who was a Venezuelan workers' representative participating in the founding of the WCL. Both of these were members of the Executive Board and fundamental pillars representing workers from Venezuela. They, and others with them, founded our organisations and we here today would like to pay tribute to them and acknowledge the efforts that they made to develop the ICFTU and the WCL which were instruments in our struggle.

Now, with the ITUC, our hope is even greater. This is an effective response to the huge challenges and dizzying changes in the world today. These have had a multi-faceted effect on the daily realities of workers in both the North and the South. We look optimistically and with renewed strength on the possibility that the workers' agenda will have a central place in the international arena. This historic step towards unity reflects, once again, the ICFTU slogan «Globalising Solidarity».

We would like to pay tribute to those who made this historic event possible: Willy Thys, who did everything he could and everything that was necessary within the WCL, and outside the WCL, and also Bro. Guy Ryder. Their names will remain inscribed in the best annals of the history of the international trade union movement. We have been blessed with their friendship and their solidarity. We have also borne witness to the material and personal sacrifices that both of them made so that, together with us, the workers of the world, the ITUC could be established strong and powerful and will be able to work for the benefit of workers of the world to create a world in which workers receive respect and enjoy greater equality, freedom and democracy.

As we also recognise the support and solidarity that the CTV of Venezuela has always received from the international trade union movement, we also renew our commitment to the new International Trade Union Confederation and we take on board the Programme of Action that has been proposed for its members.

The ICFTU and WCL's slogan can be merged because they are complementary in the ITUC: Peace, bread and freedom so that social justice will exist and democracy will prevail. Long live the ITUC. Long live the fight for social justice and democracy. May God bless and enlighten the leaders of our new International Confederation. Thank you very much.

**THE CHAIRPERSON** (*Interpreted*): Thank you, Bro. Cova. I am getting very worried that we will have people who simply will not be able to speak. I know you want to read all of your speech but can you pick the one or two messages, put it on the record and let others at least come forward.

**MR. JAIME OSWALDO ARCINIEGA AQUIRRE** (Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres, CEOSL, Ecuador) (*Interpreted*): First of all I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for allowing me to speak on behalf of the workers of Ecuador and thank you for the honour that you have bestowed upon me allowing me to speak to you in this majestic city of Vienna which will bear witness to the Founding Congress of the ICFTU.

I would also like to express our gratitude to two giants of the trade union movement, our friend Guy Ryder and our friend Willy Thys. Without their leadership it would have been very difficult to turn this new page in our history and see the birth of a new International. I would also like to acknowledge those visionaries who 57 years ago and 81 years ago, respectively, provided the workers of the world with a point of reference in their struggle for justice, freedom and democracy.

The new challenges facing the trade union movement in a globalised world, the dehumanisation of work and «trade without a human face», as the late John Paul II put it, without any doubt at all are more than sufficient reasons for our unity and the strengthening of workers' organisations around the world. Social responsibility must be a constant in a civilised society. This requires public ongoing debate and this must be on our agendas in our national centres as well as on our agenda in the ITUC.

Failure to respect fundamental workers' rights, abusive child labour, inequality and new forms of precarious employment such as

temporary agencies or outsourcing, working by the hour, the change in labour relations through contracts which flout the law, lack of social security, contracts that violate basic health and safety at work, the absence of a fair wage making the workers' and their families' standards of living precarious, are all such that we must redouble our efforts if we want a fairer society in which social rights are an everyday experience and not just theoretical.

The responsibility of current and future generations should lead us to take new initiatives in the trade union movement in order to develop models and policies in our countries to solve the problem of unemployment for young people and also to eradicate child labour and to provide protection for migrant workers and those who are marginalised and exploited. We must ensure compliance with the law and our rights and we must deal with the impact of transnational companies and their new relations with workers.

Growth and development must go hand in hand with meeting the needs for the well being of one and all, not just for a few. That means that all of us must participate in order to achieve equality and social justice. I wonder, what would workers be without their trade unions? Even with our trade unions, we have difficulties making sure our rights are respected and that is reason in and of itself to strengthen our movement. I could not conceal yesterday or today the nostalgia that I feel for the end of an historic and glorious cycle in the trade union movement of the WCL and the ICFTU. Both of these have been recognised by everyone around the world. Nor can I conceal how moved I am to see the emergence of the new International Trade Union Confederation. I am even more moved to say that this unification means that we are going to have a new and bigger house and all we have room for is unity, solidarity and sharing the best of our efforts in order to seek a better future for humanity.

I would like to reiterate my country's gratitude to all of you for enabling us to join you in this new house and also enabling us to share our efforts with you so that all of us will emerge greater. Thank you. *(Applause)*

**MR. MARVIN ANDALL** (Grenada Trades Union Council, GTUC, Grenada): Brothers and sisters, I raise my voice to join in the chorus that has been sung by the numerous speakers before me basking in the glory of this momentous occasion. The mere size of this new International, which is more than 20 times our combined population, has us in bewilderment. We are boastfully proud to be recorded in the annals of history as being present and participating in this Founding Congress.

I am from the Caribbean, a region that has been badly affected -- or rather infected -- by globalisation. This phenomenon faced the region from just after Christopher Columbus became totally lost in his search for a new route to the east. We were colonized by Europe. European colonization brought with it years of atrocities, pain and suffering to the people of the region. The worst was probably the genocide of the Amerindians, the first people of the Caribbean. That which followed was the importation of people from West Africa in tears and chains. Later, indentured servants from India were lured in. We are Indians without caste, Africans without tribes, Asians without dynasty and Europeans without class.

Trade unions play a significant role in the political, social and economic development of our region. Being a region with its fair share of poverty, it is imperative that they continue to do so. However, many challenges face the labour movement in that region. The fact that we consist of many tiny islands that are sovereign states is one of the major challenges. St. Kitts and Nevis has less than 50,000 people, Dominica has less than 70,000 and Montserrat less than 10,000 people. It implies, therefore, that the unions in those territories have very small membership. The teachers' union in Anguilla, for instance, has 108 members. This has further implications for the resources that are available for unions to be able to carry out a programme of activities for its members. The economies of scale have placed many unions in the Caribbean in a precarious position. Some may require special consideration from the ITUC.

After many failed attempts, our political leaders of the Caribbean have only recently mustered the testicular fortitude to establish a single market which is supposed to allow for the free movement of goods, services, labour and capital among the participating countries. It has created the need for networking among the Caribbean trade unions to ensure that workers who move do not lose pensions and other benefits. Furthermore, the unions have to be on a constant watch for companies that may choose to relocate to other territories that have inadequate labour legislation and governments patronising big capital and engaging in unfair labour practices.

Additionally, some of our nations are under structural adjustment programmes influenced by the World Bank and the IMF. This threatens decent work, as governments are forced to streamline the public service. Governments have been encouraged to control expenditure in such a way that the real income of workers is lost. The truth is that the meagre increases that are forced out by the unions are not commensurate with the rapid increase in the cost of living, which means that the workers are forced to accept a lower standard of living.



Moreover, the stranglehold that has been at our throats for the past 400 years is yet to be released. We were forced out of the production of sugar and then bananas by those who control world trade and they claimed then that we were not competitive. Then some of our countries started making significant progress in the offshore banking sector and they were blacklisted. The claim this time was that we were too competitive.

Colleagues, we are fortunate to be living in one of the most beautiful parts of the world. The region is so beautiful that it is often visited by hurricanes, which cause mass destruction and even deaths. In 2004 my island, Grenada, was hit by a monstrous hurricane which destroyed or damaged 90% of the houses and the economy which was dependent on tourism and agriculture evaporated. Ten months later we were hit by another. Jamaica, the Bahamas, Bermuda and a few of the other territories have had challenges with hurricanes as well. Let me take this opportunity to thank the trade unions and the workers from the different parts of the world that came to our assistance in our moments of desperation. Be assured that your contributions went a long way.

The birth of this new International could not have come at a better time for us in the Caribbean. It comes at a time when we are in need of greater commitment to the fight for decent work. It comes at a time when we have to continue to fight to end all forms of discrimination. It comes at a time when workers need to have greater input in the governance of the various territories. We are confident that this new International will give us this new impetus. We pledge to be worthy members of the ITUC. Long live the workers of the Caribbean. Long live the ITUC. I thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. Again, I can only ask you to keep your remarks very short. We are going to be denying people the right to speak if we cannot actually keep them short. You can put your whole speech on the record. At this point we are looking pretty much for greetings only and a message or two.

**MR. MARIO ROJAS VILCHEZ** (Confederación de Trabajadores Rerum Novarum, CTRN, Costa Rica) (*Interpreted*): Sisters and brothers, trade unionists.

I shall take up the chairperson's suggestion and I will not read out a text. When you want to denounce violations of human rights you do not need to read out a text. What you need is the convictions of someone who comes from a country such as Costa Rica, where we have a Nobel Prize winner as a President, where we have a 100 year old democracy which has sold the idea to the world that this is the panacea

for protection of human rights, where in fact in Costa Rica we are still seeing the persecution of workers.

In addition to the statistics of the ILO, we can see that there have been complaints submitted to the trade union rights committees and the experts' committee. They say that we are 17th in the world and 7th in Latin America in the number of complaints about violations of human rights. So this is a situation which leads us to express our concern as trade union leaders because this is a very sensitive issue, the violation of trade union rights.

In the programme of the new ITUC we can see that we are facing a number of challenges. It says that the Congress of the ITUC commits to making fundamental changes in globalisation in such a way as to benefit workers around the world. In the text it says in such a way as to guarantee universal respect for the fundamental rights of working men and women everywhere. Brothers and sisters, this is probably the greatest challenge facing us and this is why we need instruments with which to defend fundamental rights.

Our first instrument is the trade unions. What would we do without trade union freedoms? That said, how do we understand trade union freedoms? You see, it is not just a question of understanding this to mean the right to organise. It should also be understood in its triple dimension. That is, the right to strike, the right to trade unionism and the right to collective bargaining, because if you have a trade union with no collective bargaining agreement it is not a trade union. If we do not have the right to make use of our basic instrument, the strike, to defend our interests, we will be a powerless organisation. These three rights in my country are being denied every single day and I want to bear witness to that before this forum. (*Applause*)

Sisters and brothers, the second instrument available to us is the international labour standards. Director-General Juan Somavia said here that the ILO had its doors open and of course we should take over power in the ILO but not with the current conditions because the WTO is dictating norms and governments accept them. In the ILO our governments say they respect labour standards but they do not, so we are not receiving the treatment we should receive in international organisations.

If the ILO standards were binding, that still will not help us in a globalised world, so we in this confederation should re-examine our position within the ILO. We want the ILO to be strengthened but revisions are needed in the binding or nonbinding nature of international labour standards.

My final point, this is my third element, is human rights, the instrument to protect human rights. These are part of the new challenges facing the ITUC. We should use the instruments available to us of a binding nature in order to ensure that human rights are respected, that we can exercise our rights in the Inter-American Human Rights Court. In my country it took more than 12 years to bring back one of our trade union leaders and the judge said that trade union leaders do not have the right to represent workers. So, sisters and brothers, when it comes to human rights, this is something we should focus on in the ITUC.

One very simple point to conclude, child labour. This is a very sensitive issue for me because I am a school teacher. Child labour is hurting children, but more girls and women than boys, because of sexual exploitation, which is the worst form of child labour. I want to say that governments in our region say -- they say, Chair -- that kids are dropping out of school. No, what we really have is social exclusion and our challenge is to ensure not only trade union freedoms, but also to defend children against exploitation. Long live the new ITUC. Long live workers. Long live trade union freedom. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. I am sorry, my brother, but there is just no more time left. So I again reiterate, please, just greetings and a message or two.

**MS. PATRICIA MENDEZ** (Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos, CROC, Mexico) (*Interpreted*): This is the proposal put together by four organisations, members of this Congress, including Mexican trade unions. I will read it out quickly.

Structural adjustment policies have meant a general deterioration in our quality of life, affecting mainly women workers, placing them at risk of exploitation, precarity, unfairness and poverty. This is despite the fact that women are the majority in work. Because of sexual discrimination, they have lower wages for equal work, minimum training opportunities or promotion opportunities, sexual exploitation, failure to have maternity leave and discrimination in the middle of the 21st century.

Women's work is fundamental to the development of our societies but in the workplace their work has not been recognised, regulated or given its just value. On the contrary, it is used as a variable to lower costs and undermine rights. We require affirmative action policies covering all areas of labour relations related to women's work and this should be included in collective bargaining, in public policy at all trade union bodies to which women belong.

We are facing the challenge of building a new trade union movement. Women workers will join in this effort. We want to have an impact so that the principles and practices of the new ITUC will safeguard the labour rights of women and gender equality. We propose that this organisation should be democratic, independent, proactive, inclusive and have transparent objectives. All decision-making bodies must be collegiate and exhibit gender parity. We must have solidarity with the causes of the working classes and social movements, in particular the struggle of women. We feel that discrimination, unfairness and inequality in the working world must be combatted.

The new ITUC should publicly make a commitment to visibly act to support women in the marketplace and to strengthen their trade union organisations. We must, as part of trade union democracy, promote strengthening of women in leadership positions in the decision-making bodies of our trade unions, through training and awareness campaigns. We must carry out an inclusive policy with gender parity and develop a strategy to strengthen trade union democracy, to advance women's rights and ensure equality between trade union workers, men and women. They should urge governments to ratify Convention 156 of the ILO and to create the necessary trade union mechanisms so that it is implemented in the labour market.

We should work so that affiliates speak out against all forms of discrimination at work for reason of sex, age, ethnic group, religion, education and sexual preference. The new ITUC should sign a political declaration jointly with those who are here at the Congress and the ILO in order to make a commitment to world trade unionism and to recognising the contribution of women to development and generation of wealth. Moreover, agreements should be reached to make progress toward human rights and labour rights of women around the world. Thank you very much. Long live the ITUC. (*Applause*)

**MR. PEDRO ENRIQUE ROBLES SAAVEDRA** (Central Autonomia de Trabajadores, CAT, Chile) (*Interpreted*): Chair, brothers and sister.

It is a great honour for me to speak to this august assembly on behalf of the Southern Cone Workers Council and on behalf of the Autonomous Workers' Centre.

This is a moment of great joy for all of us because this is a historic event as we create the International Trade Union Confederation. We have all said and agreed that in the face of capitalistic globalisation we now need the globalisation of workers and on the basis of our worldwide unity of workers, we see the hopes of millions of men and women

workers. They expect from us not only ongoing systematic work to overcome the existing asymmetries, but also they expect us to achieve a higher value of work and of workers.

The workers of Latin America today place our hopes in very concrete actions. In our countries we have seen the development of an ongoing outrageous practice of subcontracting and flexible labour arrangements. This has led to precarious employment. This is perhaps the distinctive mark and common denominator of the countries of the region. This has had an impact on the quality of life of our workers, men and women and their families.

How are we to understand this? If our countries are rich and produce lots of things that the world needs, why are workers so poor, why are their families so poor? Why do we have so much poverty? Why do we have such a high external debt? Why are the poor countries doomed to pay three to five times more back to repay the debt than what they have received? Why are we allowing this to undermine our economies? A lot of these credits were granted on an irregular basis by Latin American dictatorships. We say that the IFIs and our countries must shoulder their responsibilities for giving so much wealth to dictatorships and antidemocratic regimes. This is one of the main challenges facing our trade union confederation. For this reason, we must all become involved in the task, in Latin America, of putting an end to labour flexibility, subcontracting and precarious employment because for us this is the synonym of poverty. We must exert pressure on all of our governments, consequently, to put an end to this type of exploitation which leads to exclusion and social marginalisation. Taking on board these principles is the fundamental step so that we can say that we have embarked upon the road to sustainable employment and sustainable development.

Today, more than ever, we must demand respect for our women workers but we are the first who must demand gender parity in all of our organisation.

Sisters and brothers, we are facing many common challenges. None the less, our worldwide unity requires that we develop a new way of understanding that pluralism, tolerance and empathy will be vital in the future. We do not only want to be social actors working towards social, economic and cultural objectives that we have set for ourselves. In addition, we want to become the instigators of this change. So now, more than ever, we must complete a new social pact which recognises that workers also contribute to the economic development of our respective countries.

If truth be told, in Latin America most governments only recognise the business sector as contributing to development. Therefore, we think we should foster social dialogue, but not just any social dialogue. It has to be a social dialogue that contemplates social cohesion. It has to include decent work. It has to include development of our families. That is the social dialogue we want. We are asking for nothing more, but nothing less. This will only be possible if we have worldwide unity. We are all facing the same challenge of converting this confederation into a tool to build social justice. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you and I apologise, brother, for the time.

**MR. SHAH MUHAMMAD ABU ZAFAR** (Bangladesh Labour Federation, BLF, Bangladesh): Thank you, Chair, for giving me the opportunity to address the very auspicious Founding Congress of the ITUC here in Vienna, Austria.

First of all, I would like to convey my regards to the leadership, delegates, observers, distinguished guests and the participants representing all the countries around the world.

I also welcome the very respected new international, the ITUC, which is a unification of the ICFTU and the WCL.

Let me say a few words about the trade union movement in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a multiparty democratic country. According to its population, it is the eighth largest country in the world. Its economy is open to the free market. There are 60 million working people, while only 4.4% is unionised. Trade unions are fragmented. Workers' rights are not respected properly. We have many labour laws which are inherited from British and Pakistani rules. Most of the laws are outdated and misinterpreted. Victims are not protected by laws due to the lack of proper implementation of the laws.

Chair, I will shorten my speech. On behalf of our organisation I appreciate the great achievement of the leadership and the officials who have worked hard for the unification process. I also appreciate the warm hospitality the Austrian ÖGB in holding this Congress in Vienna.

I recognise the ICFTU and the ICFTU-APRO's continuous support to our trade union movement in Bangladesh in the last two decades.

I firmly believe this unification will contribute to bringing working people together to build a strong trade union movement for tackling the implications of globalisation nationally, regionally and globally. This unification will give us a new dimension for unification at all lev-

els. We have to pull out our unions from bad political influences, muscle power and any sort of illegal oppression. We should act to ensure decent work, fair wages and social security protection for all working people, which will also contribute to achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

Long live workers' unity. Long live the history of the ICFTU. Long live the ITUC. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, brother. I very much appreciate you cutting short your speech. That was of course Bro. Abu Zafar from BLF Bangladesh, Bro. Pedro spoke before him and the sister who surprised me was Sis. Patricia Mendez. You have to admire a woman who jumped ten steps up the list! I now call on brother Walter Oswaldo from CMC Guatemala and I ask you to be very short.

**MR. WALTER OSWALDO APEN RUIZ** (Confederación de Unidad Sindical de Guatemala, CUSG, Guatemala) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers, trade unionists. It is a great pleasure to be able to greet you on behalf of the CUSG Guatemala. As I do so, I would like to highlight the great joy that we feel knowing that we are participating in the creation, in the founding, of this enormous organisation. We would like to congratulate our sisters and brothers in the WCL and in the ICFTU for having taken this great decision.

This is something which is in our hearts and minds. I am sure that if you could see inside our heads, if you could see inside our hearts, you would get a glimpse of what we feel and what we think; namely, that being here in this great hall, for us, demonstrates the success that we will be able to achieve when we go home to our countries. For Guatemalans, the decisions taken here are extremely important, just as they are important for all of you.

We should also congratulate our brothers and sisters in Bolivia and Brazil for the great example they have set for us, showing the whole world that working men and women can also reach the centres of decision-making power. Let us hope that the rest of us will be able to follow that example. We want participatory democracy. We want to occupy these halls of power which have been occupied by those who do not deserve it.

We congratulate the ICFTU and the WCL for their great success. That will enable us to say that the ITUC is our own. We want the ITUC to prosper and in order to do so we must continue our work, we must be strong. If we are, the ITUC will be strengthened through our efforts. Thank you all, brothers and sisters and God bless you. (*Applause*)



**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, my brother. I appreciate you being brief.

**MR. JAN SITHOLE** (Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, SFTU, Swaziland): Thank you, Madam Chair, and all protocol observed.

The SFTU would like to thank the leaders of the ICFTU and the WCL for the selfless vision and wisdom they had in eventually merging the international confederations.

History informs us that employers and governments thrive on divide and rule and of course reality tells us that unions thrive from unity and solidarity. This action of merger will actually make us even stronger to face the challenges that stand before us, a list of whom I am not going to state because you all know.

The birth of the ITUC has created new hope against all sorts of atrocities brought about by the negative effects of globalisation and policies of the WTO, which continue to mercilessly ravage the economies of our countries.

I come from Swaziland where democracy is a taboo. It is the only absolute monarchy in our continent, where the King appoints the Government and there is no separation of powers. We have been victims of this kind of high handedness but we have survived because of international solidarity and cross border solidarity from our friends, without which we would not be here today. I would like to state also that civic organisations that continue to fight and voice their concerns about the failure of government to democratise are vilified and also ostracised.

This being the case, we do hope that being part of this great history, the ITUC will continue in terms of support of solidarity, not only in Swaziland but everywhere in the world where there are still demands for democracy and human rights for maximum support and solidarity. Long live solidarity. Long live the ITUC. (*Applause*)

**MR. FERNANDO PINA** (Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Dominicanos, CNTD, Dominican Republic) (*Interpreted*): On behalf of the young workers of the Dominican Republic and on behalf of the Dominican Republic national Confederation, we would like to offer you warm brotherly greetings to all of the young trade unionists and all sisters and brothers here.

We have seen a new model of development in the world today and we must concentrate our efforts on young people because otherwise

we will see the maintenance of social exclusion of young people. This is clearly demonstrated by the high dropout rate from school and high levels of youth unemployment. It is also seen in the precarious labour conditions we have and social cutbacks and cultural and health system cutbacks which are affecting young people too. We see this in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, violence, teenage pregnancy and drug addiction amongst young people. This is well-known to you. It is sufficient to recall that youth unemployment is a political phenomenon as well as an economic one. We have seen very high levels in recent years of youth unemployment during periods of crisis.

Our educational systems are directly related to the disparities in educational coverage and over the last decades we have seen failure at school and marginalisation of young people as a result. Young people are socially isolated and that is because we have a legislative void and deterioration in our basic institutions. We see a low level of education and failure to acquire necessary knowledge.

This isolation is worsened and exacerbated by the social models we see in our world today. Young people who are not able to succeed feel guilty and feel very responsible and they feel frustrated. Clearly, we young people are dynamic and we are trying to do the best we can, but we realise that we ourselves must institute change in youth policy in the context of the ITUC. So we seek support in the form of programmes for young people, such as national decent work campaigns for young people, training for trade union leaders for young people and campaigns to organise young people who are not unionised. We think we should have regional meetings and workshops on gender parity too.

We want all trade unions which have youth and women's sections to recognise us. Our trade union has been making huge efforts to create change at national level, motivated by women and young people. We would like to thank the ITUC for the support they have given us in enabling us to speak out about our concerns in today's world.

We would like to call upon all young people around the world in the ITUC and its affiliates, both national and regional organisations. We think that we should create room so that we can seek solutions to the problems of young people today. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. MUSTAPHA BRAHMA** (Confédération Démocratique de Travail, CDT, Morocco): Chair, sisters and brothers, a new world economic order marked by wildcat capitalism in the globalised world is at the root of the economic problems in the world today and we are seeing increasing schisms between the rich and the poor countries and certainly it is the workers who pay in social terms.

That is why our new ITUC must see to it that things change and that things are based on good economic and social governance and that companies are properly taxed. We need to have socially responsible companies. There should be a more equitable shareout of riches so as to combat poverty and exclusion. This means that there must be radical changes in the financial institutions, the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO, where decisions are taken.

There must be Social Clauses in agreements to make sure that people are not played off against each other. We must also respect the ILO's Core Labour Standards. The ITUC must be very vigilant about the situation in the less developed countries, where governance is poor and where political stability is far from having been achieved. In these countries the ITUC must focus in particular on safeguarding the public services and also avoiding migrants moving to the countries of Europe and finding themselves swelling the ranks of the unemployed, leading to racism and xenophobia.

We must fight for the respect of fundamental rights, fundamental trade union rights and economic and social rights. Particularly in the least developed countries, the ITUC must help build up strong regional organisations.

On the African continent we have only 2% of world trade and that is why we need to have a representative Pan-African Regional Organisation which is based on democracy and which provides a place for democratic trade union organisations.

I would like to round off by expressing my national centre's support, CDT Morocco, for the new organisation and support for the Palestinian people in their fight for independence, with Jerusalem as its capital.

I must pay tribute to Willy Thys and Guy Ryder for having succeeded in making this historic project a fact, the founding of the ITUC. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

**MR. MOHAMED ABDOU ADAN** (Union Djiboutienne du Travail, UDT, Djibouti) (*Interpreted*): Chair, sisters and brothers.

It is a great honour and pleasure for me to address you on behalf of the workers of Djibouti, standing before this august assembly representative of workers around the world.

I would like to very briefly tell you about our trade union and social situation, which is of concern to us in Djibouti. Since September 1995, most trade union leaders and the leaders of our national centre

have been without jobs. They are banned from working either in the public sector or the private sector. In Djibouti, free and independent trade unionism is regarded as a heresy and any form of trade unionism as subversion. Trade unionists are harassed, injured and imprisoned for their commitment to trade union activities.

A few months ago, in March this year, four trade union leaders from the UDT, which is my national centre, which imprisoned for one month and the representatives of the international trade unions, the ICFTU plus the ILO, came along to Djibouti but were turned back at Djibouti Airport. Only the representative of the ILO was able to enter the country, but was arrested and expelled without any kind of process.

Very recently the UGT's Secretary for International Affairs was sacked when he was on a training course at the ILO International Training Centre in Turin. On trumped up charges he was thrown out of his job at a ministry. The Djibouti Government shows endless animosity towards free trade unionism and its leaders. This is constant, something that happens on an everyday basis, without let-up.

I hope that the Founding Congress of our new International Trade Union Confederation will send a strong signal to the Government of Djibouti and also to the ILO, so that the ILO will be able to do something. Over the last decade there have been a dozen complaints lodged against Djibouti and I hope that finally an appropriate and adequate solution will be found to the violations of this government of the ILO Conventions on trade union rights.

Thank you for your attention. Long live the ITUC. Long live trade union co-operation and solidarity. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** I am very sorry my sisters and brothers, but I am only going to be able to take two more speakers. If you are not on the list of those two speakers, who are in fact Israel Salinas from CUT Honduras and Bro. Eduardo Garcia representing the CLAT, then I ask that you give your speeches or your messages to our staff on the right and they will be listed, I promise you, on the record. They will be put on the website and you will be acknowledged.

My apologies, but we have just run out of time.

**MR. ISRAEL SALINAS** (Confederación Unitaria de Trabajadores de Honduras, CUTH, Honduras) (*Interpreted*): Thank you, Chair.

On behalf of my national centre, I would like to offer brotherly greetings in solidarity to all the delegates to this great Founding Con-

gress of the International Trade Union Confederation. I would like to thank you for this great opportunity to participate in this event. This is a historic event for the entire working class around the world.

I can completely identify with this event since the CUT Honduras, my centre, decided to adopt its acronym provisionally because in my country we have the opportunity of creating a single centre to represent the interests of workers. The merger of the ICFTU and the WCL did not take place because one or the other was weakened or having difficulties. Quite the contrary. This process of unification is taking place at a time when our organisations must consolidate their efforts and increase their activism and inspire the working classes around the world. There is no shadow of a doubt that we will have a greater impact and be better able to meet the major challenges that are facing us because of free trade agreements and neoliberal policies.

Today the whole world is watching what is happening here in Vienna. Chambers of commerce, governments and all reactionary sectors that conspire against the trade union movement are watching us because they know that the International Trade Union Confederation will be an insuperable obstacle to the application of their exclusive policies and efforts to concentrate wealth in their hands.

We know that our organisations will be better able to fight against abuses and pitiless exploitation of cheap labour thanks to the ITUC. That is especially the case for developing countries, where we have the Maquilladores, which systematically violate workers' individual and collective rights. Rather than work sites, they are much more similar to concentration camps.

Neoliberal policies and globalisation in our country are causing ravages in our country, creating greater misery, poverty, violence and deeper crises. But, at the same time, they are also creating further exclusion and deepening the gap between the haves and the have nots.

We do not oppose modernity or the presence of companies in our countries, but we demand that they respect human rights and dignity of workers. We demand that they shoulder social responsibility to improve working conditions, to pay decent wages, so that people can live dignified, humane lives.

We cannot accept deregulation because changes in the Labour Code and social codes are harmful. This does not benefit workers. It undermines our achievements and undermines our inalienable human rights. We cannot agree with labour flexibility because we have day work and we have to work harder for the same pay and this undermines

workers' dignity. We cannot agree with privatisation if this means that current workers are made redundant and new workers are hired with lower wages and worse conditions. We cannot agree with privatisation because the products that are produced do not benefit consumers.

We will leave this Congress in the hope that we will be able to consolidate the unity that we have created here. We want to continue this process in our regions, our subregions and amongst our countries. That is the only way that we can provide a response to the neoliberal policy consequences.

Finally, we feel it is very important for this august assembly to provide us with the means to defend our trade union freedoms and to make sure that Conventions 87 and 98 of the ILO are properly implemented. We will only be victorious if we are united. Long live the working classes of the world. Long live the ITUC. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Our final speaker is brother Eduardo Garcia representing the CLAT.

**MR. EDUARDO GARCIA MOURE** (Secretary-General, Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores, CLAT) (*Interpreted*): Chair, organisers, sisters and brothers.

I am very grateful for this opportunity to make some specific proposals to you during this historic Congress. We believe our proposals should be included in our Programme of Action.

Let me begin by thanking Juan Somavia, Director-General of the ILO and we would like to remember Emilio Maspera and Luis Anderson who, in 1994, began this process of unification in the Americas. That was completed in 2001, with the agreement that we reached in Bogota.

With this in mind, and speaking on behalf of many brothers and sisters, we say that this is a historic Congress. The follow-up to the establishment of the ITUC is everyone's responsibility, so that now we can establish the appropriate organisations regionally and nationally so that we can meet the challenges facing us. Trade unions are called upon to build unity and a new culture of solidarity and this is something we have to put into practice and not just talk about.

Secondly, trade union freedoms, trade union rights and diversity must be the foundation upon which we will build unity and strengthen it. Poverty undermines unity.

Thirdly, unity has to be built by coming to grips with the changes in our world and the unity of the working classes must overcome inequalities. In Latin America, more than 50% of our workers are in the informal economy and if we are able to legalise them and organise them, this will lead to a strengthening of the trade union movement.

We need to take on board young people and retired people as well. We must overcome class conflicts. The working classes' struggle must be part and parcel with popular struggles and the process of integration and development. We must have sustainable development because we are facing so many challenges. We have the challenge of external debt. We must condemn the external debt of the poorest countries. We should eliminate this debt. We should insist on payment of 0.7% of GDP by those donor countries which have not met this challenge and spent their money on military expenditure instead.

Thirdly, we must demand the elimination of subsidies by rich countries which prevent access of our farm products from Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Fourthly, there must be tax on speculative operations. They do not pay taxes even though they produce wealth. All of this should be used to create decent work and provide us with a basis for development.

Fifthly, democratisation of technical and scientific progress must be one of our goals so that we can see a transfer of technology to all of our countries.

Sixthly, we must reduce military expenditures and the production of arms, which only generate aggression. We should say no to free trade agreements and the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. Yet we must promote trade and we must strengthen subregional processes based on co-operation and solidarity.

In the Americas we have one fundamental objective and that is to eliminate the isolation of the Cuban people and this eternal embargo, which is affecting them externally and which is preventing their self-determination internally. This process is beginning today. It must be carried out democratically, transparently and without any exclusions.

It is only if we are democratic, pluralist and independent in our trade union activities that we can succeed. We must question a unipolar world and the control of the powerful. We must create a multipolar and democratic world which will be good for everyone.

I think we should continue to build on the strategy of the first International in 1964, where it was said that the emancipation of work-



ers' classes has to be the work of the workers themselves, and we must continue the work of the ICFTU and the WCL. We are not uniting out of weakness. We are uniting in order to join forces and to create a worldwide regional and national confederation which can provide specific answers to workers' problems. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, my brother. That brings us to the conclusion of the speakers list and, once again, if you did not get a chance to present your words in person can I apologise but ask that you put them on the record so that you can be acknowledged as having contributed to the proceedings. You have all made enormous contribution to the debate around the programme for the new International. This is the heart and soul of the work that we will do to realise the aspirations that you have set and indeed will endorse here today, and that together with the contributions of those who have given us resolutions particularly regarding peace and the UN (we have a very comprehensive set of those including one from Cyprus). In that context can I acknowledge the sadness of hearing of further atrocities and the death of some trade unionists in Iraq. Indeed, we would not see a trade union forum go past without marking the commitment that we all have to peace, justice and democracy.

You have already had the Programme for the new ITUC moved and seconded earlier in the agenda, you have all made magnificent contributions, you have sat through and listened to those contributions and they will inform the actions that the General Council will mandate on your behalf.

It has been moved and seconded and it is before you. Is there any opposition? (*No response*) Seeing no opposition, I declare the Programme for the ITUC carried. (*AGREED with acclamation*)

Agenda Item 9: Approval of Agreements concerning the Establishment of Unified Regional Organisations of the ITUC (FC/E/9(a)(b)(c))

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** We now have two other sets of resolutions to endorse. I would ask that Guy Ryder would move these. The first of them is the agreements for the regional unification of the ITUC.

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY:** Thank you, Sharan. We are now moving to the approval of the agreements concerning the establishment of unified regional organisations, item 9 on the Congress agenda. Colleagues will recall that unification in Africa, in the Americas and Asia and the Pacific is to be completed in a timescale of one year from the closing of this Congress.

In that context, the regional organisations of the ex-WCL and ICFTU, in each of the regions concerned, has been asked by the respective Executive bodies to conclude formal agreements concerning the process of unification in their region. They were asked to include three elements in those agreements: first, the political commitment to unification; secondly, a calendar leading to that unification and its completion and, thirdly, the modalities for co-operation in the period of transition so that even when two regional organisations continue to exist in parallel we have coherence in our positions and in what we say.

Congress, you have before you the three regional agreements concluded in Africa, in Asia and the Pacific and in the Americas. Chair, perhaps you would like to take them one by one. Document 9(a) contains the resolution on the establishment of the new regional organisation between DOAWTU and AFRO. It is before you for consideration. I would move its adoption.

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** It is before you. Do I see any opposition? *(No response)* Seeing no opposition, I declare it carried. *(AGREED)* *(Applause)*

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY:** The second of the regional agreements is the one between ICFTU-AFRO and the BATU which is in item 9(b) of your documentation. I move its adoption by Congress.

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** It is before you. Do I see any opposition? *(No response)* Seeing none, I will declare it carried. *(AGREED)* *(Applause)*

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY:** The third of the regional agreements is contained in item 9(c) of our agenda. You have the document headed «Statement of Commitment to Unification in the Americas» containing the agreement between ICFTU-ORIT and the CLAT. I move its adoption by Congress.

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** It is before you. Do I see any opposition? *(No response)* Seeing none, I will declare it carried. *(AGREED)* *(Applause)* Thank you, Guy.

Agenda Item 10: Resolution to Approve the Establishment of a Pan European Regional Council (PERC) of the ITUC  
(FC/E/10)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** That takes us to the draft resolution to approve the establishment of a Pan European Regional Council.

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY:** Thank you, Chair. The draft resolution is before Congress. You will see that it is a purely procedural text concerning the establishment of a Pan European Regional Council which will be a structure but not a full regional organisation of the ITUC.

The procedure is set out in the text and it is specified that the draft rules of the PERC, the Pan European Regional Council, will be finalised in close consultation with the European Trade Union Confederation for presentation to a Founding Conference at an early opportunity in 2007. After that, the rules so adopted will be put to the General Council of the ITUC for formal ratification. I move adoption of this draft resolution.

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** It has been moved by Guy Ryder and seconded by Michael Sommer. It is before you. Is there any opposition? (*No response*) Seeing none, I will declare it carried. (*AGREED*) (*Applause*)

So with structures and indeed a programme of work now in place to complement the Constitution, can I ask that the Credentials Committee Report now be given by our sister from Belgium who is replacing Sis. Wanja because she has had to leave. So if I can call on Sis. Ann. Thank you.

#### CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE THIRD REPORT

**MS. ANN VAN LAER:** The Credentials Committee, which met yesterday, hereby submits its Third Report to the plenary session. In our First Report the Committee submitted to Congress the list of organisations eligible for membership to the ITUC. One of the conditions was that each organisation was in good financial standing with their respective international.

Since the First Report we have received information that CRISOL, Bolivia, did not in fact fulfil all affiliation requirements and that NTU, Bulgaria, was in arrears of fees with the WCL. Therefore, the Committee recommends to Congress to withdraw CRISOL, Bolivia and the NTU, Bulgaria from the list of organisations eligible for membership of the ITUC.

For CRISOL, Bolivia, which had been an extraordinary affiliate of the WCL, the Committee further recommends to Congress that CRISOL, Bolivia be added to the list of associated organisations of the ITUC.

## Agenda Item 11: Elections

**MS. VAN LAER:** In line with Article XV we examined the eligibility of nominees for the General Council and the posts of General Secretary and Auditors.

The Auditors. In accordance with the Constitution, the Congress will elect three Auditors. At least one of them shall be a woman. The Credentials Committee considered the nominations received and submits to Congress the following nominations for the three Auditors: Barbara Easterling, Luis Eduardo Gauterio Gallo and Arto Kuusiola.

For the General Council, in reference to Article XIX of the Constitution, the Credentials Committee examined the nominations and agreed that the nominations that you have received on the table, which was distributed, should be submitted to the Congress. Taking into account the ITUC's declared aim to actively promote gender parity, the Committee noted, with satisfaction -- and I want to stress «with satisfaction» -- that the composition of the General Council meets the target of 30 per cent, 30 per cent for the minimum women's membership on the Council, and that each region contributes fairly to the achievement of this target. (*Applause*)

But special responsibility lies on large countries to contribute to gender parity; for example, India. We recommend to switch places between HMS India and SEWA India so that SEWA becomes first substitute and HMS second substitute. We have talked to several organisations and regions to achieve gender balance but also to have organisations from the same countries to achieve unity; unity on how to distribute their places within a mandate. Concerning Mexico, no agreement was reached. Consequently, the places are left open. But the Credentials Committee recommends that CTM, UMT and CROC rotate in the following way: Year 1, CTM has the titular place; year 2, UMT; year 3, CROC and year 4, CTM.

Concerning the nomination of the General Secretary, the Committee informs Congress that 73 affiliated organisations nominated Guy Ryder for the position of ITUC General Secretary. But the Credentials Committee is informed that far more organisations have nominated Guy Ryder in which all the Nordic organisations, COSATU South Africa, one Algerian organisation, ACV-CSC Belgium, ABVV-FGTB Belgium and probably more organisations of the ex-WCL and ex-ICFTU organisations. The Secretariat will therefore check all nominees received and will produce the final list of nominations for publication. (*Applause*)

This is the Final Report from the Credentials Committee and we submit it to Congress. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, Sis. Ann van Laer. We appreciate you supporting the work of Sis. Wanja, along with all of the Credentials Committee members.

The Third Report of the Credentials Committee is before you. It has been moved and seconded. Do I have any opposition?

**MR. JORGE ROBLES** (Union Nacional de Trabajadores (UNT), Mexico) (*Interpreted*): I would like to refer to the recommendation on the election of members to the General Council in our new International Centre.

With all due respect, distinguished Chairperson and sisters and brothers, we request respect for the autonomy of the region because we have three organisations participating but we were not able to reach agreement. Two of us reached agreement, and so I would like to make a recommendation on behalf of the National Union of Workers of Mexico. We recommend that the three posts remain vacant and that we work intensively to find a solution to this problem between now and June which is when the Council will next meet. We request very active participation by ORIT in order to reach a fortuitious agreement and settle our disputes.

I should point out that these differences are not due to humility or arrogance. These are trade union practices which we have not yet been able to reconcile. Thank you. (*Applause*)

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, my brother. With the recommendation of the Credentials Committee that we leave open the Mexican representative spot -- we will return to it in June -- and acknowledging that that is also the recommendation just endorsed by our brother from Mexico, I would declare the elections to the General Council carried. (*AGREED*) Give yourselves a big hand. (*Applause*) This is indeed going to be an historic first meeting of the General Council and it will convene at two o'clock in the Stolz Room.

That takes me to the nomination of the Auditors. It has been moved and seconded before you. Do I see any opposition? (*No response*) Seeing none, I will declare it carried. (*AGREED*) (*Applause*)

That now takes me to the recommendation from the Credentials Committee for the acceptance of the nomination of our General Secretary. With eighty nominations and no opposition, we proudly declare Guy Ryder elected. (*AGREED*) (*Prolonged applause*). Indeed, Guy,

can I say that this is in fact a recognition not only of the proud contribution you have made to date and your extraordinary leadership, along with Willy Thys, in getting us to this momentous unification Congress, but in fact a recognition that your contribution will continue to be the extraordinary leadership that I have already acknowledged. With that, not only do I declare you elected, but I invite you to address Congress. *(Applause)*

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY:** Thank you, Sharan. Congress, thank you, first, for the trust that you have placed in me. I am aware that, with that trust, goes a heavy responsibility. And while I cannot guarantee to you that I will discharge that responsibility successfully or to your satisfaction, I do promise you that I will do it to the best of my capacities and that I will serve all of you equally and without distinction. You can be sure of that.

I must say also it is nice to have a job again! *(Laughter)* Congress, we leave Vienna with an international trade union movement radically transformed and more unified than ever before in its history -- bigger, stronger. And I think that there is good reason to take satisfaction in what we have done and in the contribution that each and every one of you has made.

Sometimes it has not been easy. Sometimes it has looked almost impossible. But we have done it in defiance of those -- and they were quite a few at the beginning -- who said that it could not be done or even that it should not be done.

In that collective effort, Congress, there are two people I want to thank on behalf, I am sure, of you all. First, Willy Thys. *(Applause)* Willy, who led the WCL with such distinction for so many years and with his talents and above all his commitment to our movement made a personal decision that yes, this unification was going to happen and did as much as anybody -- maybe more -- to ensure that it did.

Secondly, Emilio Gabaglio. *(Applause)* The moment when this process was launched was the Congress in Prague of the European Trade Union Confederation when they said farewell to Emilio as its General Secretary. A few people there may have been as naive as to think that that was the end of Emilio's distinguished contribution to trade union internationalism. But, as you see, that was not so. I said, on a previous occasion, that I have learnt so much from Emilio and in the work of these last four years that process of learning has continued. To you both, Willy and Emilio, friends both, sincere thanks. *(Applause)*

Colleagues, if it is true that this week we have made history and if it is true, too, that this achievement has required immense efforts, not really of individuals but of organisations, then I think that we need to take stock of lessons learned along the way and of challenges ahead. The first lesson has to do with the pre-conditions which made unification possible. For my own part, I can identify three of them. The first is quite simply the determination, the political will. That is a commodity that can be made available or withheld at your discretion but which you all decided to make available and which you are going to have to continue to provide if our new International is going to work.

The second is the common ground of our shared principles and values, and I cannot stress them too strongly. We are united because of our community and independent and democratic trade unionism. It is the cement that holds us together in our rich pluralism and in our common house and the lesson we have known for a very long time is that if ever we compromise on these principles we will be divided and our house will fall.

The third, and it is as old as trade unionism itself, is solidarity. We could never have advanced this far without it. If each of you had not been willing to look first at the common and greater good of our movement and thereafter to the specific interests and concerns that all of us brought in our baggage to Vienna, then we would be in a very different position today. The challenge ahead is to make of the ITUC the instrument of the new trade union internationalism that we have all accepted as being necessary and in our hearts we have known that for a very long time to ensure effective representation of working people in the globalised economy.

This week in Vienna we have created the potential. When we go home we have to start the tougher of realising that potential. And, frankly, it remains to be seen whether or not we will be capable of doing it, whether we will be able to live up to the goals that we have set ourselves here in Vienna. Yes, those goals are ambitious: fundamental change in the global economy; social transformation; universal respect to the fundamental rights of working people everywhere. But in today's circumstances and in our circumstances it is simply not realistic to be less ambitious.

In 1949 the President of another Founding Congress of a previous international spoke to this very subject. I believe he spoke to us today as well. He said: «The international which has been constituted is now faced with the actual task of making it work. I am convinced that we shall accomplish this work because it is not too great for our energy and our determination and all the means that we have in our power. We



shall achieve these aims if all the trade union organisations here assembled accept for their future work the categorical imperative that decisions taken in this Congress must be applied at home and everywhere in working not only for national aims but also and more particularly for international aims». That is true today as well. I could not have said it better and I will not try to.

But I will say just a few more things about our common future. So many of you this week have said that our unity is our strength. And it is so. Fewer of you have said, though many I imagine have thought it, that this unity can be fragile as well. History has shown that, in the past, international trade union unity has not been enduring. That means that we have a joint responsibility to nurture and safeguard that unity. That means that our first duty of solidarity is to each other. That is easy to accept in this hall, I know, but it is something that we are going to have to take very seriously as we go forward. It may be less obviously satisfying, less rewarding, in the short term at least, to commit and to strive for the common benefit of the ITUC to make the often invisible investment in our future together and the compromises that sometimes have to go with it. But that is what I am asking you to do today: that, and to be absolutely resolute in rejecting any type or any temptation of organising in tendency or factions in our new pluralist international. That temptation may exist or it may appear in the future. If it did, in it would lie the seeds of our destruction. Our unity would not -- could not -- withstand it and we should not tolerate it. (Applause)

But, Congress, I am sure that our forward road will take us in a quite different direction than that and, as I said at the outset, I promise to work with all of you to make sure that it does.

The message that we send out from Vienna to working people in all lands is that the International Trade Union Confederation is born from our common determination to provide them with a single voice, with strength, with solidarity and with an instrument to improve and to transform their lives, communities and societies. The different traditions, inspirations and histories that have brought all of us here along the converging roads to Vienna are part of our strength. As the ILO Director-General reminded us on Wednesday, we stand on the shoulders of those who went before us. None of us turns our backs on our past history and all of us together assume the task of preparing the way for the next generation.

As we do that, Congress, we can stretch out our hand to those who share our values and ambitions. We invite them to work with us and to join with us when the moment is right. We reach out to the regional organisations, the European TUC with which we have designed

a common architecture, to the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions with whom we want to conclude a formal co-operation agreement and to the organisation of African Trade Union Unity who we wanted to be with us here today.

We look forward to working also with governments, with international organisations and with employers to advance our objectives in the ILO, as elsewhere, in the tradition of dialogue and tripartism. We want to cement a structural partnership with the Global Union Federations to make our shared single movement as strong as it can and must be. And I want to repeat that we need each and every one of them otherwise our house will not be complete.

We want to continue and to deepen our opening to civil society in conditions which respect our different and complementary roles and safeguard our trade union identity. In all of these cases people will find in the ITUC a strong and committed and principled partner.

But to those who oppose us, to those who business is exploitation and repression, whose way of work is dictats and the abuse of financial and political power and whose attitude is arrogance -- and there are still very many -- our message is that the outstretched hand can quickly become a clenched fist and that we will not flinch from confrontation when confrontation is the only way. (*Applause*)

Chair, sisters and brothers, thank you again for making the International Trade Union Confederation a reality. It can be no stronger than you make it; no more effective than your commitment to it. You have made history here. But we have much more history still to write. Our future is not written in the stars and if we fail we should not look for the fault in our stars but in ourselves. We will not let that happen. Too many people look to us for a better future. There is a real weight of responsibility and of history on our shoulders. Together, united and strong, the ITUC will play its part in building social justice, freedom, equality and peace, the ideals that brought us this far and, together, will take us much further still. Thank you.

*(Mr. Guy Ryder, General Secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation, was accorded a standing ovation)*

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** Guy, we salute you, we thank you and we know in your hands our aspirations are certainly sound. With that, we acknowledge your election and wish us all well for the future.

Can I acknowledge that while we have just elected Guy to be our future General Secretary, both organisations that have founded the ITUC -- and indeed those new members -- have had many distinguished

leaders. However, there are a number who have sat through this Congress with us and I hope they have felt pride in watching the culmination of a range of initiatives that they themselves had helped to lay the foundations for.

Can I just acknowledge those who have been present with us: Bill Jordan, Enzo Friso, previous General Secretaries of the ICFTU; Fackson Shamenda, a previous President of the ICFTU -- in fact, my predecessor and I acknowledge and thank him; Fernando Cardoso, a President of the WCL, Willy Perens, a President of the WCL and Carlos Custer, a General Secretary of the WCL. Let us thank them in the appropriate way. (*Applause*)

Agenda Item 12: Close of Congress

**THE CHAIRPERSON:** As we move towards the closing of this Congress, can I first of all acknowledge that we would not have been able to make it possible without the hospitality, the generosity and the sheer hard work of our Austrian colleagues from the ÖGB. Can I acknowledge Tanja Buzec, Elizabeth Stärkl, Karl Heinz Natchtabel, Renate Csorgits, of course, the Vice-President, and Rudolf Hundstorfer, the President of the ÖGB and ask them to come forward so Guy can present them with a small token of your appreciation.

(*Presentations made midst applause*)

Can I also ask that you actually thank LeRoy Trotman and Emilio Gabaglio for opening and facilitating the inauguration of this great moment. (*Applause*)

I have much pleasure, before we get to the choir and their presentation, in making a few closing remarks for your benefit.

Brothers and sisters, you have participated this week in a powerful moment in our history. We have given birth to a child of the workers of the world. We must raise this child with dedication, with education and with courage so that she can be the force for change that we all aspire to. The ITUC, Unions International, must be an exclusive organisation where men and women share power, where young workers and migrant workers can find a home and where they can rise to leadership.

Our commitment to peace, justice, human and labour rights must never dim. Our determination to eliminate racism and xenophobia must be strengthened. We must fight for an end to discrimination and now we must take on a new challenge and a new commitment to rescue our planet from the destructive forces of climate change.

Our world is being shaped by the forces of capital that no longer accept the principles that respect the right of working people, the labour standards of the ILO. The world's people have again become a mere commodity for those corporate giants who chase the greed of profit at all costs. We will not accept this. Labour is not a commodity. The world's people share a humanity that demands rights, human rights and labour rights, along with social protections such that they and their family can live with dignity.

We demand dignity and respect for the world's workers and this week you have demonstrated that with your words and today you have endorsed a programme that progresses this ambition. You have committed to change globalisation to shape the future on the three pillars of social, economic and environmental sustainability. You have committed to target multinational companies that disregard decent work and you have committed to struggle for the global regulation of business. You have put workers and trade union rights at the centre of that struggle with renewed determination to eliminate forced and child labour. You have reaffirmed our commitment to fight for safe and healthy workplaces and to support peace, security and the role of the United Nations.

To achieve this, you have committed to organise, organise and organise; to build a new internationalism that organises for power in the workplace and for political power in and across our nations.

I proudly acknowledge our commitment to demonstrate our capacity to mobilise by mandating the General Council of the ITUC to call a worldwide day of action in demand for fair globalisation and decent work. So, on behalf of my Co-Chairs and myself, I thank you for your co-operation. We acknowledge you for your role in this historic decision to construct a new united international and we salute your courage and determination to shape a better world.

We also thank our staff of the WCL, the ICFTU and, once again, our Austrian colleagues for making it possible for us to participate in this historic week.

You should all raise your hands. Viva ITUC! Viva Unions International! Viva solidarity! *(Applause)*

To take us out, can I welcome this children and young women's choir to sing for you today. *(Applause)*

*(The Founding Congress of the ITUC concluded at 1.35 p.m. with a musical performance by the Choir)*

## **APPENDIX I**

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## **CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

### **FIRST REPORT**

1. The Executive Board of the ICFTU and the Confederal Board of the WCL, meeting in Vienna on 30 October, in consultation with the “contact group”, proposed the following composition for a Credentials Committee of the ITUC Congress of seven members.
2. Thus subject to ratification by Congress, the Credentials Committee would comprise the following seven members:  
Linda Chavez-Thompson    AFL-CIO, USA  
Luis Eduardo Gauterio Gallo    CAT, Brazil  
Wanja Lundby-Wedin    LO, Sweden  
Jeannot Ramanarivo    FMM, Madagascar  
G. Sanjeeva Reddy INTUC, India  
Ed Sweeney    TUC, Great-Britain  
Ann van Laer    ACV-CSC, Belgium
3. Congress is requested to ratify the membership of the Credentials Committee.
4. The first meeting of the Credentials Committee was held on Tuesday 31 October 2006 at 1 p.m. and was attended by all members.
5. The Committee elected Wanja Lundby-Wedin as Chairperson and Rapporteur of the Committee.

#### **List of organisations eligible for membership of the ITUC**

6. The first task of the Committee was to review the list of organisations which submitted their declaration of intent to affiliate to the ITUC, on the basis of the draft ITUC Constitution and draft Programme Resolution, which are submitted to Congress for approval.
7. In their task, they considered if the organisations coming from the ICFTU or the WCL were in good financial standing with their respective organisations and if the organisations coming from the “contact group” had paid the initial quarter of fees required.
8. Consequently, the Credentials Committee submits to Congress in appendix the list of organisations eligible for membership of the ITUC and the list of organisations to be associated to the ITUC.

#### **Congress Presidium**

9. The second task of the Committee was to propose a Congress Presidium for the duration of the Congress.
10. The Credentials Committee submits to Congress the following list of persons to constitute the Presidium and proposes the following officers as the Secretariat of the Congress: Sharan Burrow, Adrien Akouété and



Carlos Rodriguez, as co-Presidents, Guy Ryder and Willy Thys, as co-Secretaries General.

11. The full list of Presidium members is as follows:

Adrien Akouété	Abdessalem Jerad
Brendan Barber	Nicetas Lucero
Toolsyraj Benydin	Myriam Luz
Ednalva Bezerra	Jean-Claude Mailly
Sharan Burrow	Zdenek Malek
Barbara Byers	Abla Masroujeh
Linda Chavez-Thompson	Govindasamy Rajasekaran
Luc Cortebeeck	G. Sanjeeva Reddy
Manuel Cova	Carlos Rodriguez
Rudy De Leeuw	Ricardo Días Rodríguez
Ofer Eini	Guy Ryder
Guglielmo Epifani	Rabiatou Sera Diallo
Eduardo Garcia	Mikhail Shmakov
Julio Roberto Gomez	Rekson Silaban
Mariana Guambo	Michael Sommer
Mody Guiro	John Sweeney
Bogdan Hossu	Tsuyoshi Takagi
Jeliasko Hristov	Bernard Thibault
Lauri Ihalainen	Willy Thys
Yemisi Ilesanmi	Zwelinzima Vavi
Constance Jafta	Manuel Augusto Viage

12. The second meeting of the Credentials Committee is scheduled to take place on Wednesday 1 November at 12.00.

### **Recommendation**

13. **On behalf of the Credentials Committee, the above report is submitted for adoption by the Congress.**

**LIST OF ORGANISATIONS ELIGIBLE  
FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE ITUC**

**ICFTU**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>
Albania	BSPSh		UNTC
	KSSH	Cook Islands	CIWA
Algeria	UGTA	Costa Rica	Rerum No- varum (CTRN)
Angola	CGSILA		
Antigua & Barbuda	AWU	Côte d'Ivoire	UGTCI
	ABPSA	Croatia	UATUC
Argentina	CGT	Curaçao	SSK
Australia	ACTU	Cyprus	SEK
Austria	ÖGB		Türk-Sen
Azerbaijan	ATUC/AHIK	Czech Rep	CMKOS
Bahrain	GFBTU	Denmark	LO
Bangladesh	BFTUC		FTF
	BMSF		AC
	BJSD	Djibouti	UDT
	BLF	Dominica	DTU
	JSL		WAWU
Barbados	BWU	Dominican	
Belarus	BCDTU/BKDP	Republic	CNTD
Belgium	FGTB	Ecuador	CEOSL
	CGSLB	El Salvador	CTD
Benin	UNSTB	Eritrea	NCEW
	CSA	Estonia	EAKL
Bermuda	BTUC	Ethiopia	CETU
	BIU	Fiji	FTUC
Bosnia-Herzegovina	KSBiH	Finland	SAK
Brazil	CGT		AKAVA
	FS		STK
	CUT	France	CGT-FO
Bulgaria	PODKREPA		CFDT
	CITUB	French Polynesia	A Tia I Mua
Burkina Faso	ONSL	New Caledonia	USOENC
	CSB	Reunion	UIR-CFDT
Burundi	COSYBU	Gabon	CGSL
Cameroon	CSTC	Georgia	GTUC
Canada	CLC	Germany	DGB
	CSN	Ghana	TUC
Cape Verde	UNTC-CS	Great Britain	TUC
Central African Rep	USTC	Greece	GSEE
Chad	UST	Grenada	GTUC
Chile	CUT	Guatemala	CUSG
Colombia	CTC	Guinea	ONSLG
Congo	CSTC		USTG
	COSYLAC	Guinea Bissau	UNTGB
Congo (Dem Rep)	CDT	Guyana	GTUC

Honduras	CTH CUTH	Nigeria	NLC
Hong Kong	HKTUC HKCTU	Norway	LO YS
Hungary	Liga MSZOSZ ATUC	Pakistan	Unio PWF
Iceland	ASI BSRB	Palestine	PGFTU
India	HMS INTUC SEWA	Panama	CTRP CS
Indonesia	ITUC	Paraguay	CUT-A
Israel	Histadrut	Peru	CUT
Italy	CISL UIL CGIL	Philippines	TUCP
Japan	JTUC-Rengo	Poland	NSZZ "Solidarnosc"
Jordan	GFJTU	Portugal	UGT-P
Kenya	COTU (K)	Romania	CNSLR-Fratia
Kiribati	KTUC	Russia	BNS FNPR
Korea	FKTU KCTU	Rwanda	VKT
Kuwait	KTUF	St. Lucia	KTR
Latvia	LBAS	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	CESTRAR SWGWTU
Liberia	LFLU	Samoa	CTAWU
Lithuania	LPS "S" (LTU "S") LPSK (LTUC)	San Marino	STUC CDLS CSDL
Luxembourg	CGTL	Sao Tomé E Principe	ONTSTP-CS
Madagascar	FMM	Senegal	CNTS UNSA
Malawi	MCTU	Serbia	CSA Nezavisnost
Malaysia	MTUC	Seychelles	BSPK Kosovo
Mali	UNTM	Sierra Leone	SFWU
CSTM	GWU	Singapore	SLLC
Malta	CGTM	Slovak Rep	SNTUC
Mauritania	UTM	South Africa	KOZ NACTU
Mauritius	MLC MTUC	Spain	CO SATU FEDUSA
Mexico	CTM CROC UNT	Spain (Basque Country)	UGT CC.OO.
Moldova	CSR	Sri Lanka	STV-ELA
Mongolia	CMTU	Surinam	CWC
Montenegro	SSSCG	Swaziland	C-47 SFTU
Morocco	UMT	Sweden	SFL LO
Mozambique	OTM	Switzerland	TCO SACO
Nepal	NTUC	Taiwan	SGB
Netherlands	FNV	Tanzania	CFL TUCTA
New Zealand	NZCTU		
Nicaragua	CUS CST		
Niger	USTN		

Tanzania (Zanzibar)	ZATUC		KESK
Thailand	LCT	Uganda	NOTU
	TTUC	Ukraine	KVPU
Togo	CNTT		FPU
	UNSI	USA	AFL-CIO
Tonga Islands	FITA/TNA	Vanuatu	VCTU
Trinidad & Tobago	NATUC	Vatican	ADLV
Tunisia	UGTT	Venezuela	CTV
Turkey	TÜRK-IS	Yemen	GFWTUY
	DISK	Zambia	ZCTU
	HAK-IS	Zimbabwe	ZCTU

#### WCL

Country	Organisation	Country	Organisation
Aruba	FTA	Hungary	NFWC
Bangladesh	BSSF	Indonesia	SBSI
Belgium	ACV-CSC	Liberia	CONATUL
Belize	CWU	Lithuania	LDF
Benin	CGTB	Luxembourg	LCGB
	COSI	Macedonia	UNASM
Bolivia	CRISOL	Madagascar	SEKRIMA
Bonaire	FEDEBON		USAM
Brazil	CAT	Malta	CMTU
	CNPL	Mauritania	CLTM
	SDS	Mauritius	NTUC
Bulgaria	NTU	Mexico	CNTM
Burkina Faso	CNTB		COR
	USTB	Morocco	CDT
Burundi	CSB	Morocco	UGTM
Cameroun	USLC	Nepal	DECONT
Canada	CLAC	Netherlands	CNV
	CSD	Nicaragua	CTN
Central African Republic	CSTC	Niger	CNT
Chad	CLTT	Pakistan	APTUC
Chile	CATCH	Panama	CGTP
Colombia	CGT	Paraguay	CNTP
Congo	CSC		CPTP
Congo DR	CSC	Peru	CATP
Costa Rica	CMTC	Philippines	FFW
Côte d'Ivoire	Dignité	Poland	NSZZ "Solidarnosc"
Curaçao	CGTC	Puerto Rico	CPT
Cyprus	DEOK	Romania	Cartel-Alfa
Dominica	DAWU		CSDR
Dominican Republic	CASC	Rwanda	COTRAF
Ecuador	CEDOC	St. Lucia	NWU
El Salvador	CATS	Sao Tomé E Principe	UGT
France	CFTC	Senegal	CNTS-FC
Gabon	COSYGA		UDTS
Gambia	GWC	Serbia	CATUS
Ghana	GFL	Sierra Leone	CCOTU
Guatemala	CGTG	South Africa	CONSAWU
Guinea	CNTG	Spain	USO
Haiti	CTH	Spain (Basque Country)	STV-ELA
Honduras	CGT	Sri Lanka	NWC
Hong Kong	JOU	Surinam	OSAV

Thailand	NCPE	Venezuela	ASI
Togo	CSTT	Venezuela	CGT(V)
Trinidad & Tobago	ATSGWTU		CODESA
Ukraine	VOST		

#### **NON-AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>
Angola	UNTA-CS	Nepal	GEFONT
Argentina	CTA	France	CGT
Madagascar	FISEMA	Poland	OPZZ
Colombia	CUT	Nigeria	TUC-N

#### **ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>
Burma	FTUB	Lebanon	CGTL
Cambodia	CLC	Lybia	UGPJAL
Cuba	CUTC-STC	Papua New Guinea	PNG-
Egypt	ETUF		TUC
India	CFTUI	Slovak Republic	NKOS
	ICL		

## CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

### SECOND REPORT

1. The Credentials Committee, which met on 1 November, hereby submits its second report to the Plenary session of the Congress. The meeting was attended by all members except G. Sanjeeva Reddy who was excused.
2. The Committee first heard a delegation from CNUS, Dominican Republic, an organisation that had not been affiliated to either the ICFTU or the WCL, claiming unfair treatment for not being registered on the list of organisations eligible for membership of the ITUC. The CNUS nevertheless confirmed their understanding that the Credentials Committee was not the legitimate body to deal with their specific case. The Committee concurred and informed them that their application for membership would be considered in due course by the General Council in 2007, which would apply the required procedure. In the meantime, the CNUS delegation should continue to attend the Founding Congress of the ITUC with the status of Observers.

#### **Gender parity**

3. The Committee discussed the application of Article XI(a) of the ITUC Constitution that states: "Member organisations shall select their delegates taking into account the aim to actively promote and achieve gender parity in their leadership bodies and activities at all levels. Women shall constitute half of the delegations of organisations having 2 or more delegates. Any organisation which has 50,000 members or less should designate a woman delegate, if women represent 50% or more of its membership."
4. Article IV(d) of the Congress Standing Orders further stipulates that "Any delegation that is unable to comply with the Constitutional provision of Article XI(a) related to gender parity must provide an explanation to the Credentials Committee, which shall take such explanation into account in its report to Congress and make appropriate recommendations, based on guidelines drawn up by the General Council".
5. The Committee therefore RECOMMENDS to Congress to instruct the incoming General Council to draw clear guidelines on appropriate recommendations to be made to Congress by the Credentials Committee concerning cases of non-compliance by any delegation with Article XI(a) of the Constitution.
6. Considering this, the Committee discussed the possible course of action for this Founding Congress and compared options taken by both the ICFTU and the WCL in their respective previous Congresses.
7. The Credentials Committee was of the opinion that, after examination of each specific case, it should have four possible courses of action to

recommend in its reports to the Congress Plenary, these being:

- Option 1: Identification of the organisation concerned in the Committee's report, with no reduction in its voting power;
- Option 2: Restriction of the voting power of the organisation to match the extent to which its delegation meets the parity criteria but taking into consideration the fact that organisations may have an odd number of delegates – e.g. for a delegation of 8 persons including 3 women, the organisation's voting power would be 7.
- Option 3: Restriction of the voting power of the organisation to match the extent to which its delegation meets the parity criteria – e.g. for a delegation of 8 persons including 3 women, the organisation's voting power would be 6; and,
- Option 4: Recommending that no delegates from that organisation be credentialed, meaning that it would have no voting power and that its participants would all be registered as observers.

8. In its consideration of each case, the Credentials Committee would need to ensure fairness and equity in its deliberations and recommendations to the Congress plenary.
9. For this Founding Congress, the Credentials Committee decided to choose Option 1 and to identify the organisations concerned in its report to Congress, but without recommendation to reduce their voting power.
10. The list of organisations not respecting gender parity (not only with more men than women but also with more women than men) is attached in the appendix.
11. However, the Committee wished to draw the attention of the delegates to the fact that the ICFTU, at its last Congress, adopted option 2, meaning a certain restriction of the voting power of the organisations not respecting gender parity in the composition of their delegations.
12. In this respect, the Credentials Committee **RECOMMENDS** to Congress to take a further step at the next Congress of the ITUC. It was the view of the Committee that the work in progress should be continued until the attainment of full parity in representation at Congress.

### **Youth participation**

13. The Credentials Committee welcomed the participation of youth at this Congress and noted that real progress had been achieved by comparison with previous Congresses of the ICFTU and the WCL.
14. At the time of writing the complete registration of delegates was not finished, but nonetheless it was unlikely that the target of not less than 10% for the level of youth participation stipulated in Article XI(b) of the Constitution would be attained.
15. Therefore, the Committee **RECOMMENDS** to Congress to consider this issue further in relation to the Constitution, which should be more



explicit on the requirement of youth representation in the delegations attending Congress and on how the overall target of not less than 10% for the level of youth participation at Congress could be achieved.

16. The third meeting of the Credentials Committee was scheduled to take place on Thursday 2 November at 12.30.

#### **RECOMMENDATION**

17. **On behalf of the Credentials Committee, the above report is submitted for adoption by the Congress.**

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**LIST OF ORGANISATIONS NOT RESPECTING  
GENDER PARITY**

**Delegation with more men than women:**

1	UNTA	Angola	21	ITUC/KSPI	Indonesia
2	CTA	Argentina	22	GFJTU	Jordan
3	ATUC/AHIK	Azerbaijan	23	CGTL	Luxembourg
4	BLF	Bangladesh	24	UNT	Mexico
5	CGTB	Benin	25	COR	Mexico
6	CGT	Brazil	26	UGTM	Morocco
7	FS	Brazil	27	NTUC	Nepal
8	CAT	Brazil	28	CNV	Netherlands
9	CNPL	Brazil	29	NLC	Nigeria
10	CAT	Chile	30	PUF	Pakistan
11	CUT	Colombia	31	CPT	Paraguay
12	FTF	Denmark	32	OPZZ	Poland
13	LO	Denmark	33	ALFA Cartel	Romania
14	CNTD	Dominican Republic	34	CSDR	Romania
15	CFTC	France	35	USO	Spain
16	GWC	Gambia	36	CWC	Sri Lanka
17	TUC	Ghana	37	TÜRK-IS	Turkey
18	GSEE	Greece	38	CTV	Venezuela
19	Liga	Hungary	39	ASI	Venezuela
20	MSZOSZ	Hungary	40	GFWTUY	Yemen

**Delegation with more women than men:**

41	FGTB	Belgium	46	UIL	Italy
42	CUT	Chile	47	UNIO	Norway
43	UATUC	Croatia	48	ELA-STV	Spain
44	DGB	Germany	49	LO	Sweden
45	CNTG	Guinea			

## **CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

### **THIRD REPORT**

1. The Credentials Committee, which met on 2 November, hereby submits its third report to the Plenary session of the Congress. The meeting was attended by all members except G. Sanjeeva Reddy who was excused.
2. In its first report, the Committee submitted to Congress the list of organisations eligible for membership of the ITUC. A condition was that each organisation was in good financial standing with their respective International. Information was received that CRISOL, Bolivia did not in fact fulfil all affiliation requirements and that NTU, Bulgaria, was in arrears of fees with the WCL and therefore, the Committee RECOMMENDS to Congress to withdraw CRISOL, Bolivia and the NTU, Bulgaria, from the list of organisations eligible for membership of the ITUC. As CRISOL, Bolivia had been an extraordinary affiliate of the WCL, the Committee further RECOMMENDS to Congress that CRISOL, Bolivia be added to the list of Associated Organisations of the ITUC.
3. In line with Article XV(c)(iv) of the Constitution, the Committee examined the eligibility of nominees for the General Council and the posts of General Secretary and Auditors and report to the Congress thereon in the following order:

#### **Auditors**

4. In accordance with Article XXXV(a) of the Constitution, the Congress shall elect three auditors, at least one of whom shall be a woman.
5. The Credentials Committee considered the nominations received and submits to Congress the following nominations for the three auditors:  
Barbara Easterling (AFL-CIO, USA)  
Luis Eduardo Gauterio Gallo (CAT, Brazil)  
Arto Kuusiola (SAK, Finland)

#### **General Council**

6. With reference to the Article XIX of the ITUC Constitution on the composition of the General Council, the Credentials Committee examined the nominations submitted by the different regions for the elections to the General Council and agreed that the nominations in appendix to this report should be submitted to Congress.
7. Taking into account the ITUC's declared aim to actively promote gender parity, the Committee noted with satisfaction that the composition of the General Council meets the target of 30% for minimum women's membership on the Council and that each region contributes fairly to the achievement of this target.

## General Secretary

8. The Committee informs Congress that the following 73 affiliated organisations nominated Guy Ryder for the position of ITUC General Secretary:

	<b>Country</b>	<b>Organisation</b>
1	Albania	BSPSh
2	Argentina	CGT
3	Australia	ACTU
4	Austria	ÖGB
5	Bermuda	BIU
6	Bulgaria	PODKREPA
7	Bulgaria	CITUB
8	Burkina Faso	ONSL
9	Burkina Faso	CSB
10	Cameroon	CSTC
11	Canada	CLC
12	Chad	UST
13	Colombia	CTC
14	Congo (Dem. Rep.)	UNTC
15	Côte d'Ivoire	UGTCI
16	Czech Republic	CMKOS
17	Denmark	LO
18	Djibouti	UDT
19	El Salvador	CTD
20	Eritrea	NCEW
21	Fiji	FTUC
22	Finland	SAK
23	Finland	STTK
24	France	CFTC
25	France	CGT-FO
26	Georgia	GTUC
27	Great Britain	TUC
28	Guatemala	CUSG
29	Hong Kong	HKCTU
30	Hungary	Liga
31	Hungary	MSZOSZ
32	India	HMS
33	India	INTUC
34	Indonesia	SBSI
35	Italy	CISL
36	Japan	JTUC-Rengo

37	Kenya	COTU (K)
38	Korea	FKTU
39	Madagascar	FMM
40	Malawi	MCTU
41	Malaysia	MTUC
42	Mali	CSTM
43	Mexico	CTM
44	Moldova	CSRM
45	Mongolia	CMTU
46	Nepal	NTUC
47	Netherlands	FNV
48	New Zealand	NZCTU
49	Nigeria	NLC
50	Norway	LO
51	Norway	Unio
52	Palestine	PGFTU
53	Poland	NSZZ “Solidarnosc”
54	Russia	FNPR
55	Samoa	STUC
56	Senegal	CNTS
57	Senegal	UNSAS
58	Sierra Leone	SLLC
59	Singapore	SNTUC
60	Slovak Republic	KOZ
61	South Africa	CONSAWU
62	South Africa	NACTU
63	South Africa	FEDUSA
64	Spain (Basque Country)	STV-ELA
65	Spain	UGT
66	Sri Lanka	CWC
67	Swaziland	SFL
68	Sweden	LO
69	Switzerland	SGB
70	Ukraine	KVPU
71	Ukraine	FPU
72	USA	AFL-CIO
73	Zimbabwe	ZCTU

## RECOMMENDATION

9. **On behalf of the Credentials Committee, the above report is submitted for adoption by the Congress.**



## **Approval of Agreements concerning the Establishment of Unified Regional Organisations of the ITUC**

### **(a) DOAWTU/ICFTU-AFRO Resolution on the Establishment of the New Regional Organisation**

In view of the Accra Trade Union Declaration of DOAWTU and ICFTU-AFRO of 29 October 2005 relating to the unification of the pan-African regional organisations that has mandated both organisations to work towards the establishment of a new, free, independent, democratic and representative regional trade union organisation on the African continent, and to elaborate the structures and work programme of aforementioned organisation;

In view of the conclusions of successive meetings in preparation for the creation of the new regional organisation for Africa, having resulted in the proposal to hold the constituent congress of the new regional organisation from 27 to 29 November 2007;

Given the elaboration of the preliminary draft statutes and the proposals on the future of the staff of the two regional organisations.

ICFTU-AFRO and DOAWTU commit themselves:

- to create a single regional organisation open to non-affiliated confederations fulfilling the conditions;
- to set up, during the transition period until the creation of the single regional organisation, a permanent structure of dialogue and activity so as to form a united front in all spheres of trade union activity;
- to work out the provisions governing their integration and the timetable for the organisation of the founding Congress of the unitary regional organisation.
- DOAWTU and ICFTU-AFRO agreed within the spirit of the Accra Declaration to jointly undertake the following activities:
  - Mission to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (December 2006)
  - World Social Forum in Nairobi (January 2007)
  - Meeting of the Ministers of Labour and Social Affairs of the African Union (April 2007)
  - International Labour Conference in Geneva (June 2007).
- ICFTU-AFRO and DOAWTU also agreed to hold two joint meetings of the Executive Boards in 2007: one to prepare the International Labour Conference (April-May 2007) and the other to prepare the Congress of the new regional organisation in August 2007.
- The two Executive Boards reiterated their mandate to the Secretaries General of AFRO and DOAWTU to seek favourable solutions to the issue of staff, existing infrastructure and other pending problems.

Done and adopted in Lomé, 12<sup>th</sup> October 2006



**Approval of Agreements concerning the Establishment of  
Unified Regional Organisations of the ITUC**

**(b) Agreement between the ICFTU-APRO and the BATU On  
the creation of regional organization of the ITUC for the  
Asian and Pacific Region**

The ICFTU-APRO and the BATU

WELCOMING the creation of the International Trade Union Confederation in November 2006 in Vienna since the formation of the ITUC will expand the horizon of the trade union movement and promote solidarity in the region;

UPHOLDING the free, independent and democratic trade unionism;

CONFIRMING the balance of power as evidenced by the paying memberships and financial strengths of both organisations in forming new governing bodies; as well as

CONSIDERING special arrangements for the first conference period in the composition of the governing bodies and leadership positions;

Hereby agree to form the New Regional Organisation of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC-NRO) in line with the ITUC Constitution and its resolutions by 31<sup>st</sup> October 2007. During the transitional period, the ICFTU-APRO and the BATU, together with non-affiliated organisations with expressed intention to affiliate to the New Regional Organisation, will work together to formulate policies and to establish a new financial structure of the ITUC-NRO;

In managing the transitional period, the ICFTU-APRO and the BATU will form a steering team composed of three top officials of both organisations;

Before the formation of the ITUC-NRO the ICFTU-APRO and the BATU shall exchange actual memberships of their affiliates in question, which shall be verified, confirmed and accepted by the two organisations.

In facilitating the process, the ICFTU-APRO and the BATU will exchange invitations to first and foremost governing bodies' meetings and other trade union programmes of each organisation, on their own participating cost, conducted both nationally and regionally.

This formation of the ITUC-NRO precludes any future behaviour indicative of a return, in any form, to the divisions of former years and the prolongation of factional attitude that could threaten the full success of the

project. No act may be undertaken that might be associated with divisive policies and finances or parallel or competitive structures vis-à-vis the new regional organisation.

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**Adoption of the agreements on creating the  
unified regional organisations of the ITUC**

**(c) Statement of commitment to unification in the Americas**

CONSIDERING:

- that the process of uniting the union organisations is a strategic requirement for pooling strengths, consolidating trade union power, tackling the existing model of exploitation and responding to working people's problems and aspirations;
- that some important initiatives have been taken in the region and are leading towards the construction of unifying processes within the trade union movement;
- that pursuant to the commitments and advances made by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) together with several independent national confederations and in light of the creation of the International Trade Union Confederation with a view to building a new trade union internationalism, the regional chapters of ICFTU and WCL in the Americas, *Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores* (ORIT) and *Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores* (CLAT), respectively, commit to furthering the unification process currently under way in the hemisphere in order to achieve union unification in the Americas by the set dates. To this end, they commit to:
  1. Continuing with a schedule of joint meetings with the respective Secretariats of ORIT and CLAT to address concrete structural and institutional integration issues.
  2. Setting a date for a joint meeting of the Executive Boards of both regional organisations.
  3. Moving forward with the drafting of statutes for the new organisation.
  4. Setting dates for holding joint meetings with independent trade union organisations that may join in the process.
  5. Scheduling regional theme meetings between both organisations and with independent organisations like the ones held on Education and Human Resources.
  6. Entrusting the drafting of the founding documents for the new regional organisation to a joint committee set up for this purpose.
  7. Adopting joint positions outwards with respect to the trade union movement in general and the countries in the region.

Vienna, October 31, 2006

Víctor Báez Mosqueira      Eduardo García Moure  
General Secretary-ORIT      General Secretary-CLAT

**DRAFT RESOLUTION TO APPROVE THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF A  
PAN EUROPEAN REGIONAL COUNCIL**

The Founding Congress of the ITUC, meeting in Vienna from 1 - 3  
November 2006:

- RECOGNISES the need for appropriate arrangements to be made, in conformity with Article XXVII of the ITUC Constitution, for the establishment of Regional Organisations and Structures to advance the principles, values, and objectives of the Confederation,
- NOTES the transitional arrangements in the Constitution providing for the creation of unified Regional Organisations in Africa, the Americas and Asia and Oceania, by 1 November 2007 at the latest,
- EXPRESSES its conviction that prompt action should be taken for the establishment of a Regional Structure in Europe, and welcomes preparatory work undertaken with the European Trade Union Confederation to this end,
- THEREFORE DECIDES to approve the establishment of a Pan European Regional Council of the ITUC,
- CALLS for the draft rules of the PERC to be finalized in close consultation with the ETUC for presentation to a founding PERC Conference at the earliest opportunity in 2007,
- AND DECIDES that the rules of the PERC will be presented for ratification by the first meeting of the ITUC General Council after the foundation of the PERC.

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FC/E - 25 October 2006



## **PROGRAMME OF THE ITUC**

*(Adopted by the Founding Congress of the ITUC  
Vienna, 1 - 3 November 2006)*

1. The delegates, representing 168 million members of 304 affiliated national trade union centres in 153 countries and territories at the Founding Congress of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), Vienna, 1-3 November 2006 pledge to work together in a spirit of solidarity, democracy, and equality to make the Confederation the instrument of a new trade union internationalism, capable of realising the aims set out in its Constitution.

2. Congress assumes the task of combating poverty, exploitation, oppression and inequality, ensuring the conditions for the enjoyment of universal human rights, and promoting effective representation of working women and men worldwide. It recognises that, to succeed, it must adapt the working methods of the international trade union movement to the challenges and opportunities of globalisation, make international trade union action an integral part of the work of national trade union organisations, and mobilise worldwide action in support of its objectives.

3. Congress instructs the General Secretary to implement the policies set out in this Resolution, combining advocacy, mobilisation, and campaign work and working closely with its partners in the Global Unions Council. It calls on all affiliates to remain active, committed and vigilant in discharging the shared responsibility of globalising solidarity.

4. The policies set out in this Resolution draw inspiration from the rich body of existing policy and experience of all ITUC affiliates, including the decisions of the 18<sup>th</sup> ICFTU World Congress, Miyazaki, Japan, 5-10 December 2004, those of the 26<sup>th</sup> Congress of the WCL, Houffalize, Belgium, 21-23 November 2005, and those of the previously non-affiliated organisations that are joining the ITUC.

### **Changing Globalisation**

5. Congress pledges the ITUC to change globalisation fundamentally, so that it works for working women and men, the unemployed, and the poor. It is essential to the achievement of the permanent aims of the Confederation that the policies of free market neo-liberalism, and the manifest failings and incoherence of the international community in respect of the current process of globalisation, give way to governance of the global economy which:

- Combines the three pillars of sustainable development - economic, social and environmental;
- Guarantees universal respect of workers' fundamental rights;
- Generates decent work for all;
- Puts an end to mass poverty and substantially reduces inequality in and between nations;

- Promotes growth with equitable income distribution.

6. Congress mandates the ITUC to convene a Day of Action worldwide to call for immediate international action to formulate and implement an agenda for a new globalisation, including the ILO's decent work agenda and, as a minimum, full realisation of the UN's Millennium Development Goals. Confronted with unacceptable levels of unemployment and underemployment, the achievement of full employment and decent work for all must be central to this international action. Industrial countries must, without delay, have official development assistance meet the UN-set minimum of 0.7% of gross national product. They must equally take decisive action to end the tragedy of developing country debt, including cancellation of their debt, in priority for least developed countries which respect human rights, the shifting of resources into social investments, and the creation of a fair and transparent mechanism for international debt arbitration and restructuring including a review of public and private debts aimed at identifying the respective responsibilities of creditors and debtors.

7. Combating social inequalities and fighting for redistribution is at the heart of developing a new model of globalisation. An international tax on foreign currency transactions is needed, both to finance development and to curb speculative financial movements with their disastrous social consequences.

8. The provision of quality public services for all people must be at the heart of this new model of globalization. It is the responsibility of governments to guarantee the right to education and equitable access to health and other essential services, including clean water and sanitation. Making life-long education a reality for all is the key to participation in the knowledge society.

9. Effective and democratic governance of the global economy requires fundamental reform of the international organisations concerned, particularly the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation. There must be greater transparency and democracy in the decision-making processes of each and greater coherence in their collective policy positions. At the same time, all organisations must recognise the primacy of human rights over financial, commercial or economic regulations. Governments must take more seriously their responsibility to govern them and to make them work in full coherence and cooperate accountably to achieve democratically decided goals.

10. Congress calls on the ITUC to work, together with its Global Unions partners in the global union federations (GUFs) and the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD, to make international organisations responsive to trade union goals to integrate development, social, labour, environment and gender considerations into their work programmes, and to denounce and confront them if and when they act against the rights and interests of working people and the poor. Dialogue with these institutions needs to be carried out to bring about the deep changes in their policies that are necessary.



11. The IMF and the World Bank continue to implement anti-worker and anti-poor programmes, typically promoting privatisation, trade and investment liberalisation and labour market deregulation. In many countries, these have undermined the capacity of the state to undertake effective governance. The IFIs must adopt the alternatives proposed by the ITUC which would genuinely promote sustainable and socially just development instead of undercutting it.

12. Since its creation, the WTO has been the vehicle for an unsustainable model of trade liberalisation that exacerbates workers' exploitation, developmental inequalities, environmental destruction, and gender imbalances. Congress recognises that the international trading system is not working for development and has to be made to do so, as part of an integrated effort by the whole multilateral system. Developing countries must have the space to pursue domestic industrial development strategies coherent with the decent work agenda, and to play a full part in WTO decision-making processes.

13. Congress further insists on the compelling need for the WTO to address social and labour issues, and calls on it to establish a working group or standing working forum on trade, social development and labour standards, with full ILO participation. The ITUC must work for the incorporation of a workers' rights clause into WTO statutes, which would require all products and services traded between countries to be produced and distributed in compliance with core labour standards. Such a clause would be anti-protectionist, pro-development, and a crucial instrument for social justice in an open world trading system. It should be accompanied by technical cooperation to assist countries to comply fully with labour standards.

14. All these concerns are equally significant in regional and bilateral trade, investment and co-operation agreements. The ITUC must follow such agreements closely and ensure that they duly consider workers' rights and contain clauses to guarantee their implementation. Workers' organisations should have a consultative status in the elaboration and the implementation of the agreements.

15. Congress affirms that vital public services, notably education, health, water, public transport and other essential utilities, must be excluded from negotiations on trade liberalisation, with governments retaining the right to regulate and to protect in the public interest.

16. Congress underlines the need for the international community to implement an overarching strategy for sustainable development. It calls on the ITUC to integrate the link between health and the environment fully into its work, particularly in respect of workplace, enterprise, and national action to protect occupational health and safety and working conditions, and by bringing workers' issues fully into the activities of the Commission for Sustainable Development, the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Environment Programme. It further calls for an end to unsustainable consumption practices, and cooperation for implementation of the Kyoto Protocol to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

### **The Challenge of Multinational Business**

17. Congress recognises that multinational enterprises are a key driver of globalisation, which makes intergovernmental cooperation, and the international regulation of business increasingly necessary and urgent. International business activity, and the changing organisation of business pose particular challenges to the respect of workers' rights. Effective exercise of the right to organise and to collective bargaining is becoming increasingly difficult, as companies use the threat to relocate operations and their increased power to dictate the conditions under which work is undertaken, and to evade their responsibilities to workers and to the communities, societies and environment in which they live.

18. Congress condemns the recent wave of corporate malfeasance and criminality, as well as the indecent levels of compensation awarded by top management to itself. It underlines that existing national legal and institutional frameworks for the regulation of business activity are increasingly inadequate and that binding regulation, as well as further collective agreements, to achieve corporate accountability and governance is urgently needed. Companies must be assigned greater liability for the social, and environmental and human rights impact of their operations, with affected states and parties having access to legal redress and the imposition of penalties.

19. Congress therefore instructs the ITUC to work for the effective national and international regulation of business, including full compliance with the provisions of the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and the ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy. Corporate Social Responsibility must not be permitted to be used as a substitute for the proper role of government and of trade unions. The ITUC should assume a lead role in public policy debate on Corporate Social Responsibility with the purpose of ensuring that such initiatives complement regulation and collective bargaining and agreements. National labour inspection systems are an integral part of such regulation and need to be strengthened.

20. Congress recognises the importance of global social dialogue and welcomes the conclusion of global framework agreements between multinational enterprises and GUFs, with which it instructs the ITUC to cooperate closely to tackle multinational business effectively.

### **Defending and Promoting Trade Union Rights**

21. Congress reaffirms that trade union rights are a key part of human rights at work, that universal and full respect of trade union rights constitutes a key objective of the ITUC and that globalisation adds to the urgency of its achievement. Respect of trade union rights is a precondition for justice at the workplace, in society, and worldwide. Only when workers are able to organise and to bargain freely can they claim a fair share of the wealth they create and contribute to equity, consensus and cohesion in society, and to sustainable development. The violation of trade union rights – still widespread – is a

source of unfair competition in the global economy and needs to be prevented on economic as well as human rights grounds: repression anywhere constitutes a threat to liberty everywhere. The exploitation of the more than 50 million workers, mainly women, in the world's export processing zones (EPZs) provides a concrete demonstration of how governments are succumbing to the pressure of unregulated international competition to deny trade union rights.

22. Congress pledges the ITUC to combat trade union rights violations wherever they occur, and without distinction, in the conviction that trade union rights are an integral part of the human rights of all workers, in all countries, in all circumstances. It will not be deterred by the power and influence of those responsible for abuses or who benefit from them, nor by the bogus arguments they use in self-justification. Congress condemns the impunity which frequently enables the violation of trade union rights by despotic and anti-democratic forces and governments. It further calls on the ITUC to promote and defend the role of the ILO in the setting and supervision of international standards defining trade union rights, including the right to cross-border solidarity action, and its leading role in the international system's shared responsibility to ensure their universal respect. It commits the ITUC to make the fullest use of the opportunities offered in all relevant UN bodies, including the new Human Rights Council, ECOSOC and the General Assembly

#### **Fighting Discrimination, Achieving Equality**

23. Congress pledges the ITUC to campaign to put an end to discrimination in all its forms so that millions of women and men who today are denied jobs, confined to certain occupations, denied advancement at work, offered lower pay, or subject to intimidation and harassment because of their sex, religion, colour, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, political opinion, social origin, age or disability, can live and work in conditions of equality, dignity and justice. It commits the ITUC to securing full and effective application of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value.

24. Congress recognises that deep and pervasive gender discrimination remains a universal reality in the world of work, and in society in general, and that many aspects of globalisation are making it worse. Therefore Congress pledges the ITUC to ensure that the gender perspective is fully and transversally integrated into all its policies, activities and programmes at all levels. Congress knows that the future strength and vitality of the trade union movement depends on women joining its ranks and becoming leaders and calls on the ITUC to adopt an action programme to promote gender parity in trade union structures and the full integration of gender issues in trade union policies, and to combat any discrimination, harassment or abuse of women and obstacles to their progress in the trade union movement. Congress urges the ITUC to redouble its efforts at organising women in the sectors in which women are predominant, working under precarious conditions, or in which trade unions are still poorly represented (informal work, export processing zones, migrant workers and atypical jobs).

25. Congress pledges to uphold respect for diversity at work and in society and actively to promote measures to fight racism and xenophobia, in particular in the workplace and the labour market. It underlines the responsibility of the ITUC to campaign against the discrimination and the unfair and often exploitative conditions of work and life faced by the world's migrant workers and their families. It calls on the ITUC and its affiliates to play a more active and visible role in promoting the rights and equal treatment of migrant workers and in the fight against racism and xenophobia. They must raise public awareness of the contribution to society of migrants, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities and ensure that anti-terrorist measures and asylum policies do not encourage racism and discrimination.

### **Ending Child Labour**

26. Congress commits the ITUC to carry forward the historic struggle of the international trade union movement to eliminate child labour and to ensure that every child can go to school. It rejects arguments that child labour is inevitable, economically beneficial, socially acceptable, or to the advantage of the children concerned and their families.

27. Congress calls on the ITUC to campaign against child labour in all its manifestations, and with proper regard to all its causes and ramifications: in the informal as well as the formal economy; through universal public provision of free, compulsory, quality education and family income support; by building public awareness and commitment; by campaigning for ratification of ILO Conventions 138 and 182 and their respect by employers including in their supply chains; and by maintaining pressure on international organisations to ensure that trade, economic, and financial policies support the elimination of child labour instead of pushing children out of school and into work. The ITUC will work with NGO's which share its objectives, analyses and approach to child labour, prioritise elimination of the worst forms of child labour, and target the specific forms of exploitation of girls and of boys.

### **A Decent Future for Young Workers**

28. Congress recognises that the situation of young workers, who represent the present and the future of the world, is in general extremely vulnerable. Congress recognises that dealing effectively with the concerns and expectations of young working women and men, and achieving their full integration in trade unions, is crucial to the strengthening, revitalisation, creativity and future of the trade union movement everywhere. It commits the ITUC to campaign for decent work, and quality education and training for young people and to promote action to improve organisation and representation of young women and men in trade unions. Congress calls on the ITUC to develop and implement policy and action on young workers' issues, to facilitate the exchange of national experiences, to involve young trade unionists in its campaigns, and to be a catalyst to develop their potential for the movement.

### **Making Workplaces Healthy and Safe**

29. Congress pledges to strengthen occupational health and safety for all workers, to put an end to the loss of over two million lives each year as a result of occupational accidents and work-related diseases. It demands that access to safe and healthy work be accepted as an undeniable right of all workers, recognises that involvement of workers and their representatives reduces injuries and illness, and calls on the ITUC to promote national and international initiatives by and cooperation with employers and governments to promote health and safety.

30. The ITUC will campaign for a total world ban on the use and commercialisation of asbestos; for proper, strengthened safeguards to protect workers and communities that are or will be exposed to asbestos products; and for employment transition programmes for workers displaced by the ban. It will act to stop the social dumping resulting from the replacement of safe and healthy workplaces in one part of the world by more dangerous ones in others.

31. Congress calls for world-wide recognition and observance of 28 April as the International Commemoration Day for Dead and Injured Workers.

32. Congress is convinced that the workplace is a key battleground in the war against the HIV/AIDS pandemic and commits the ITUC to work for strong and effective action to prevent, control, and ultimately eradicate HIV and AIDS. This must include measures to prevent and penalise discrimination on the grounds of HIV status; voluntary, confidential testing and counselling; and care, support and treatment for those who are HIV positive, their families and their communities. The ITUC will encourage trade union education on HIV/AIDS issue, and campaign for justice in the distribution of life-saving drugs in order to achieve universal access.

### **The International Labour Organisation: Global Reference Point**

33. Congress affirms strong support for the International Labour Organisation in pursuit of its enduring historical mandate to promote social justice and the rights and interests of working people worldwide. It commits the ITUC, through the ILO Workers' Group, to strengthen the ILO, to increase the participation of women in it, and the effectiveness of its work.

34. Congress expresses support for the ILO's Decent Work Agenda – the application of international labour standards, policies for full employment, social protection, and social dialogue – which has increased the organisation's standing and visibility, and calls on the ITUC to participate fully in its concrete implementation.

35. Congress recalls that setting and supervising international labour standards remains the ILO's essential core task. It calls on the ITUC to engage actively in all initiatives to strengthen ILO standards-related activities while opposing firmly those whose real intent is to politicise and weaken them.

36. Congress emphasises that tripartism provides the ILO's key comparative advantage and calls on the ITUC to ensure that tripartism remains the central feature of its activities and structures.

37. Congress welcomes the opportunity provided by the report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation for the international community to address globalisation in the context of the ILO's commitment to social justice and workers' rights. It commits the ITUC to act to ensure that the opportunity is not lost and that concerned international organisations, especially the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF take part in joint activity to give effect to the Commission's recommendations and to secure the improved international policy coherence needed for a fair and inclusive process of globalisation. In this regard Congress stresses the urgent need to establish an effective programme of cooperation between the ILO and the WTO on the relationship between trade, standards and other social and employment questions, as well as strengthened interaction with the Bretton Woods institutions.

#### **Peace, Security and the United Nations**

38. Congress affirms the ITUC's commitment to achieving a peaceful and secure world, where people from all countries coexist in mutual respect and tolerance, free of the threat of armed conflict, terrorism, whether by state or by non-state actors, or other forms of violence. Peace is a precondition for achieving trade union goals.

39. Congress rejects unilateralism in world affairs and pledges the ITUC to support in every possible way the principal role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and peaceful resolution of disputes. It condemns the decision in 2003 to launch the war in Iraq in the absence of explicit UN authorisation, and calls for a UN role to end the occupation of that country.

40. Congress calls for the reform and strengthening of the international system as an instrument to promote peace, security and development. This should include a strengthened and more democratic United Nations and the creation of a UN Economic, Social and Environmental Security Council. The recent conflict between Israel and Lebanon demonstrates the need for the international community to be able to act decisively, under the multilateral framework of the UN and the rule of law, to find adequate and timely solutions based on full respect for relevant UN Resolutions.

41. Congress also condemns terrorism in all its forms and under whatsoever pretext, as well as the policies of "preventive war" and "selective assassinations" defended and practiced by certain states. It calls on the ITUC to be alert to ensuring that counter-terrorism measures do not whip up xenophobia and discrimination or erode hard-won democratic rights.

42. Congress recognises that conflicts often have their roots in poverty, inequality, violations of human rights including workers' rights, lack of decent work, corruption, and bad governance, and that trade unions, through their

struggle for solidarity and social justice, can contribute importantly to the preservation of peace. It salutes the role that trade unions have frequently played in promoting tolerance, respect and cooperation between working people across lines of conflict and calls on the ITUC to support and encourage such initiatives and understanding between cultures.

43. Congress declares that a comprehensive peace between Israel and Palestine based on the existence of two sovereign, independent and viable states requires renewed international attention and support as a matter of highest and urgent priority.

44. Congress calls on all countries to work to achieve a world free of weapons of mass destruction within the shortest possible time and to convert war economies into peace economies. It calls for major reductions in military expenditure which diverts resources from urgent development needs and the provision of services, and for new initiatives to regulate and control world production of, and trade in, arms.

45. Congress finally welcomes the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and International War Crimes Tribunals and supports further moves to strengthen the effective scope of international justice.

### **Organise!**

46. Congress highlights the urgent need for working women and men to organise, now more than ever. The benefits of joining trade unions have never been greater or more important. Organising workers is and remains the fundamental task and the top challenge facing all ITUC affiliates, with freely negotiated collective agreements constituting the essential means of realising their members' demands. With organising increasingly taking on an international dimension in the globalised economy, Congress calls on the ITUC, in close cooperation with the GUFs, to provide all support to affiliates' organising activities and to strengthening their capacities.

47. Organising is the bedrock of trade union strength and influence, and provides the basis upon which the global trade union movement can be a genuine countervailing force in the global economy.

48. Congress declares that solidarity requires that trade unions extend the opportunity of trade union membership to the unorganised and that they should organise all workers in their spheres of activity, including the hundreds of millions working in the informal economy, or in non-traditional or atypical situations, such as part-time or temporary work, through extension of full rights and protection to those performing precarious and unprotected work. This must involve renewed commitment to reflect diversity in trade union membership and to organise women and youth.

49. Congress recognises that trade union education is a vital instrument for building the capacity of trade unions and their members to enable them to improve and strengthen their organisations, and to play a constructive, purposeful and creative role in their workplaces and societies. Congress calls



on the ITUC to empower working women and men and strengthen affiliates, particularly in developing countries, through international programmes of education. Such programmes should reflect the main lines of action of the ITUC and be an integral part of its strategy to address the current globalisation process.

50. In this context, trade union development cooperation is crucial. Congress therefore calls on the ITUC to mobilise increased resources for development cooperation, and to ensure that they are managed efficiently and transparently in the framework of an agreed global strategy. It will have specific responsibility in respect of policy formulation, information sharing, and coordination while ensuring the full integration of gender perspectives. Congress calls on all trade union actors to contribute to that objective in conditions of cooperation and openness.

51. Congress calls on the ITUC to work to influence the development policies of industrialised countries and regional and international institutions so that they reflect trade union objectives and include trade unions adequately as development partners.

52. Congress instructs the ITUC to give priority to education of workers regarding their rights. Promoting knowledge and awareness of trade union rights through education is an essential component of work to ensure their full respect.

53. Congress is convinced that the commitment of ITUC affiliates to contribute resources for international solidarity is strong and that it is an important task of the ITUC to provide an efficient mechanism for its delivery. The Solidarity Fund of the ITUC will protect trade unions and trade unionists suffering oppression and strengthen trade union organisation, recruitment and membership, on the basis of clearly defined and agreed goals with clear reporting on the outcomes of their uses. Congress appeals to all affiliates to contribute to the Solidarity Fund.

54. Congress calls on the ITUC to adopt working methods and practices which will put it in the best position to confront the challenges facing trade unions worldwide and to implement this programme of work, and to keep them under constant review. It is essential that the ITUC work, from its inception, in close and systematic cooperation with other organisations in the democratic international trade union movement, and in permanent contact with its affiliates. Congress also calls for it to work jointly with political groupings and other civil society organisations which share its values and objectives and strengthen its capacity to initiate and sustain global campaigns to win broad public support for them. Such cooperation must be based on the independence and freedom of action of the trade union movement.

### **The New Internationalism**

55. Congress solemnly commits to make the ITUC the instrument of a new trade union internationalism for the benefit of all working people. It calls on

all affiliates to unite in common endeavour to put their solidarity and their influence to work for a better future in a more just world.

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November 2006

