A Voice for European Teachers

30 years of ETUCE action for Europe's teachers and education

EUROPEAN TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION
COMITE SYNDICAL EUROPEEN DE L'EDUCATION

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Content

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FOREWORD

Martin Rømer

Nearly two years ago the ETUCE Secretariat was given the task of creating a record of the history of ETUCE from its inception until today. I am proud that we can present this book you now have in your hand.

It is a fact that teachers and education staff in many countries have been among the first to organise themselves into trade unions. Many teacher organisations in Europe were founded more than 100 years ago. In this context, it may not seem important to celebrate or even write the history of ETUCE over only 30 years. Nonetheless, it is important to realise that at the European level teachers were early organisers. They were not pioneers, as world organisations for teachers and education staff already existed, but what was remarkable was that they realised at an early stage the relevance of the emerging European Union for the development of public education as well as for the teaching profession.

ETUCE developments have naturally been influenced by the permanent evolution of the EU but also and above all by an increasing involvement from its Member Organisations which number and confidence in the organisation, its role and rationale kept on growing.

ETUCE was created as the teachers' social partner at the European level and as a defender of teachers' interests and spokesperson to the European Commission. This original purpose of ETUCE remains the same today. Over the years ETUCE developed European expertise that often came into competition with other much less representative organisations or associations claiming they

represented teachers and /or educational matters. The status of being heard at the level of the Commission did not come easily. It was a tough fight and many times internal dissensions and discussions made it difficult to respond effectively. One could say that it was never boring to witness and to take part in the development of ETUCE. The history of ETUCE and its struggle during the last 30 years is both colourful and worth telling. The story may also explain how ETUCE became what it is now and shed light on some of the important developments and experiences that still count.

This book does not intend to tell "the whole truth and nothing but the truth." It is not an academic study. It is the history of ETUCE as seen by many different eyes, and representing the viewpoints of persons who have been in charge of its developments at various stages then and now. Of course it has not been possible to give a full account of all ETUCE related activities.

ETUCE was created as a single structure for the three Internationals at that time to respond to developments in the European Union. The same differences and problems that existed within the European Union also existed within the ETUCE itself. These differences often broke out in internal discussions, especially about how to manage the work of the ETUCE. These discussions intensified after the creation of Education International. This discussion continues today and hopefully the huge experiences from the past will give an understanding of the political context in which ETUCE was created and developed.

ETUCE has constantly developed and adapted its structures and working methods to the changing realities. In many ways ETUCE has developed European Union expertise which is crucial for member organisations and their influence on the European Union policies. Since its origin, ETUCE leaders were convinced of the need to create and develop an effective trade union tool to improve education in Europe.

It has been a huge job to find, compile, study and select the material for this book. The period covered starts at the first very start of ETUCE until just before the General Assembly 2006. Many people have been involved and we owe them thanks for their work. Especially I would like to thank Louis Van Beneden for taking up the very difficult job as chair for the working group. Thanks to all colleagues who participated and to the secretariat for the support.

Brussels, 1 October 2007

Martin Rømer
General Secretary

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

The book before you is not the product of an academic study, but rather the fruits of the collective work of a number of individuals who have had the privilege of witnessing the history of the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE) unfolding.

On the occasion of the ETUCE's thirtieth anniversary, its leaders decided to create a work intended for its member organisations and any other interested readers, charting all that the ETUCE has experienced and undertaken in order to achieve the objectives which, since its inception, have been the driving force behind its ideas and direction. A wise decision indeed, for did not the ancient Chinese teach us that the palest ink is better than the strongest memory? History is a surer guide for the future than the best of intentions.

How was this book written? The ETUCE invited former leaders to bear witness to their experiences and thoughts on the 30 years of commitment to the cause of teachers from the European Community and European Free Trade Association countries. Those who wished to contribute certainly did so on the basis of their own experiences and memories, but they also used the ETUCE archives (reports, positions, publications, etc.). They have been working together since September 2005 and have drawn inspiration from each other in an attempt to find a necessary balance in their arguments. This book is, therefore, the fruit of collective labour achieved through regular meetings of a working group who provided collective authorship. It is not simply the product of research, or a dry or formal interpretation of the organisation's official texts and positions, but rather an account of a history lived out by its authors, intended to be as objective as possible with the help of formally agreed decisions and reports. In order to enrich their texts, the authors invited other past leaders to react to the initial drafts of the chapters. Wherever possible their reactions

were taken into account and the names of those who reacted are listed at the end of each chapter. It goes without saying, however, that the authors are ultimately solely responsible for the content of the texts as published.

The attentive reader will find some inevitable repetitions in the texts, some of them in fact necessary in order that the context of a given chapter can be understood without reference to the others. The references will guide any reader who wishes to find the basic texts in order to obtain additional information and context for the arguments.

It was a major challenge to write this kind of book on the history of the ETUCE, with a commitment to covering the maximum number of subjects which have occupied the organisation over the last three decades and charting the internal and external developments for its member organisations and for external readers. The authors themselves had experienced moments which, in their memories, would play a determining role in the actions or position of the ETUCE, only to prove years later to be mere glitches which had lost all significance for the developments which followed. The reverse is also true. Marginal initiatives which passed almost without debate or reaction have on occasion subsequently turned out to play a determining role in orienting the relationships, initiatives and positions of the ETUCE. The authors are aware that some may search in vain for the memories or moments they cherish. For this reason, their analyses will not always be shared by those people who hold other analyses dear. Even the date of the ETUCE's creation which is the basis of commemorating this thirtieth anniversary – a choice which they justify in the first chapter – may be contested by others who use a different point of reference. Such a question regarding relatively recent events in itself helps validate the decision to write this history.

The important thing to bear in mind is that the authors' intention was to make a sincere and instructive contribution to current

debates which, more than we may realise, originate from and are inspired by a colourful but exciting past. The rich accounts contained in this book are a measure of what the ETUCE is: a vibrant organisation which is open to discussion and diversity of opinion; an organisation which has overcome differences and divergences to succeed in rallying all trade union forces in education and training in Europe behind the defence of the interests of education workers and of public, democratic, open and high-quality education for all. In presenting this work, the authors hope that they have accomplished the task accorded to them to the best of their ability, and helped contribute to increased knowledge of the unique organisation that is the ETUCE.

Louis Van Beneden
on behalf of the working group

Members of the working group:

Paul Bennett, Jean-Marie Maillard, Alain Mouchoux, Luce Pépin, Martin Rømer, Louis Van Beneden, Cees van Overbeek, George Vansweevelt.

From left to right : Jean-Marie Maillard, Alain Mouchoux, Louis Van Beneden, Cees van Overbeek, Martin Rømer, Luce Pépin, Paul Bennett, George Vansweevelt

Chapter 1

A COMPLEX PRE-HISTORY

Louis Van Beneden

The creation of the ETUCE (European Trade Union Committee for Education) and the search to find a representative, workable structure during the early years of its existence can only be truly understood in the context of the development of the international trade union movement after the second world war. It is also quite clear that the specific nature of the education sector, its situation both nationally and across Europe, and the relations between international and national organisations within the sector all played an important part. It would therefore be difficult to explain the obstacles and challenges which characterised the initial faltering steps of the ETUCE without providing information about the general trade union context which formed the backdrop to the events of those years.

GLOBAL TRADE UNION CONTEXT

After World War II, the international labour movement again tried to organize along principles of international comity and the rule of law, this time reflecting both the cooperative spirit of the World War II popular front against the Axis Powers and the San Francisco Conference that promulgated the UN Charter in June 1945 (Futrell et al., p.226). At the beginning of 1945, the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) (founded in 1919) debated a proposal to set up a World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) incorporating all of the world's unions, regardless of race, nationality, religion or political beliefs. At the congress, which took place at the end of 1945 in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, after lengthy debate the only outcome was a partial, conditional agreement. A number of organisations had no intention of affiliating to such an all-encompassing structure. The International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (ICCTU) (founded 1920), for example, had decided not to join the WFTU because some of

the unions involved were too closely linked to "controversial political regimes". The president of the IFTU, Walter Citrine, showed his prophetic side at the congress in Paris when he said:

> "If we go so far as to enter the maze of politics, our international is condemned to fail. It will break up because our opinions on objectives, methods and political approaches diverge so much that they will divide us."

The maze of politics would indeed engulf the trade union panorama very quickly. (Debunne, p. 16 ; Bornard, p. 28).

The major stumbling block was the Marshall plan and the different stances adopted by trade unions towards this plan. Undoubtedly, the Marshall plan was a political development that helped to shape post-war Europe for more than forty years. The American trade union organisations, AFL and CIO, were involved in the project from the outset and were expected to convince their European colleagues to support them. George Marshall, the secretary of state, considered their support and participation essential in creating a democratic check on the advance of communism. Most of the trade union organisations in Western Europe accepted the Marshall plan and decided to take part in the Trade Union Committee of the Organization for European Economic Coordination (OEEC), which was founded 1948. It was the forerunner of the OECD's TUAC/CSC. However, the trade unions of Central and Eastern Europe and communist organisations in the West were vehemently opposed to the idea and the resulting internal tensions were so great that most of the Western European organisations decided to leave the WFTU. Even nationally the divisive effects were soon felt. In France, a significant number of members left the CGT and set up the CGT-FO, which was also to have considerable consequences for the teaching sector, as we shall see later on.

In 1949, former members of the WFTU, largely socialist or social democrats, created the ICFTU – the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. From that point on, in Europe (and in the rest of the world) there were three international trade union confederations: the ICFTU, the WFTU and the ICCTU. It should be stressed that, firstly in the OEEC Trade Union Committee and subsequently in the TUAC, the member organisations of the ICFTU and those of the ICCTU (which became the WCL – World Confederation of Labour in 1968) worked together. However,

cooperation of a similar nature with the WFTU was to remain out of the question for many years to come.

At the beginning of the 50s European structures were set up within the ICFTU and the ICCTU with the national organisations of the 6 countries which had started negotiating the creation of supra-national bodies amongst themselves. At the time of the creation of the ECSC – the European Coal and Steel Community – (18 April 1951) first of all, and in the discussions leading to the setting up of the EEC (European Economic Community) and during its actual establishment, and then with the subsequent creation of Euratom in 1957 (on 25 March 1957 as a result of the Treaties of Rome), trade union organisations made every effort to be acknowledged as essential partners in the European unification process – with mixed results, it must be said. Moreover, the equality which they sought between employers and employees in the EEC's Economic and Social Committee did not materialise. (Of the 100 members of the committee there were only 35 trade union delegates, 22 of which came from the ICFTU, 10 from organisations of the ICCTU and 3 from organisations which were considered to be controversial in the trade union sector, but which had been put forward by their governments).

The decisions taken by the European Regional Conference of the ICFTU in 1966 clearly show the developments which were to lead to the creation of the ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation). Although there were some objections to the pluralist trade unionism put forward by the ICCTU, the decision was taken to pursue cooperation with its European organisation, and even to promote it further through a programme of joint activities. The affiliation of the French CGT and the Italian CGIL was rejected, as was cooperation with the WFTU. It was not only the organisations of the 6 founding member states of the EEC which were invited to join what was termed the "regional", but also trade unions from Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway, which were expected to put pressure on their respective governments to make their countries join the EEC. Lastly, from 1968 on, all organisations from the countries of the EFTA, namely Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Spain and Portugal were invited to take part in actions and activities, i.e. side by side with the organisations mentioned above. Only organisations of a communist tendency were not accepted.

In 1969 things went a stage further. The European Regional Conference of the ICFTU was dissolved and the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ECFTU) was created.

By 1970, the ECFTU was contemplating new measures intended to set up a European Regional Conference of the ILO (International Labour Organisation). The issue of whether to accept bilateral relations with trade unions from Eastern bloc countries was very much at the heart of discussions and was particularly sensitive in terms of relations with the ICFTU, given that the American AFL had just left the ICFTU because of some of its bilateral contacts. The question of whether a European trade union committee should be a regional of the ICFTU had not yet been settled. The general preference was clearly in favour of autonomy without endangering the links with the ICFTU "in order to avoid the direct influence of the ICFTU and reaffirm European trade union autonomy" (*Debunne*).

But national relations also influenced the European debate. The French FO, for example, was against accepting organisations which were not members of the ICFTU because the CFDT (at the time still a member of WCL) enjoyed good relations with the CGT. National reflexes also played a role according to the policy implemented in and by their respective countries, which helps to explain why the TUC in the UK changed its stance and from then on opposed joining the EEC. The belief that a European trade union structure could not be solely restricted to the EEC member states was gaining ground. This naturally meant reaching agreement on some kind of living arrangement with the ICFTU.

On 8 February 1973 the new organisation, the ETUC, came into being but it only incorporated organisations affiliated to the ICFTU. At the ETUC congress in 1974 in Copenhagen individual organisations – members of the WCL's European organisation – joined the ETUC (Decision of the ETUC executive committee sent to the WCL on 28.01.1974). In achieving this, a large number of national level obstacles had had to be overcome. In order to bring about reorganisation of trade union groupings in professional structures also, and to reaffirm the ETUC's autonomy, the WCL's European structure was dissolved (*Debunne, pp.56-57*). The creation of internal structures by the ETUC in order to be able to act at all levels as acknowledged social partners in Europe and in different professional sectors was also significant.

It was only after consultation with the ICFTU and therefore after the congress in Copenhagen that, in spite of the opposition of several of its members, the ETUC's Executive Board decided to accept the affiliation of the communist-leaning Italian CGIL. The other Italian organisations – the CISL and the UIL – supported its affiliation. An application to join from the French CGT was not accepted, though, because Force Ouvrière continued to oppose the move. The requirement to consult and obtain agreement from all the organisations of the country of the applicant prior to affiliation meant that for many years repeated requests from certain organisations to join the ETUCE were systematically rejected.

THE COMPLEX WORLD OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE TEACHING SECTOR

Without a doubt the situation described in the last paragraph had a great impact on the development of the trade union movement in the teaching sector. In 1945, there had also been attempts to create international unifying structures in the teaching sector. However the split which occurred in the WFTU in 1949 also had direct implications for teaching trade unions in Central and Eastern Europe, which, like communist organisations in the West, grouped together in their own structure of a similar political tendency, namely the World Federation of Teacher Trade Unions (WFTTU).

In fact, things were even more complicated in the teaching sector. Teachers' organisations which, for the most part, had been created in the 19th or early 20th century were for the most part professionally-based organisations. Trade union activities were generally focused more on the primary school sector. Teachers from other levels of the education system were organised in specific unions depending on their level or, as happened much later, incorporated into an existing union as a specific group. This was a key aspect in determining the nature of international teachers' organisations.

There was more, too.

> "These divisions, mirroring those which hampered the post-war trade union movement as a whole, could be seen as especially significant for teachers' unions as a result of the intensively ideological nature of education itself, whose structure and content

> raise fundamental issues of moral choice, religious or secular orientation, and social equality" […] "The origins and early development of ETUCE are unusually complex, mainly because of the organisational and ideological divisions in the international trade unions movement at the time of its foundation, as well as divisions among and within national unions"

as stated by Gumbrell-McCormick. (1996, p.90).

It is not our intention here to dwell on the nature of this particular situation, however, it is worth bearing what follows in mind in order to arrive at a better understanding of the earlier historical context. In 1922 the EWI (Educational Workers' International) was set up following a Russian initiative. In 1925 the WFEA (World Federation of Education Associations) was created through the efforts of the NEA in the United States and the NUT in the United Kingdom. In 1926 the IFTA (International Federation of Teachers' Associations) came into being. It was the successor to an organisation which had been created in 1905, the *Bureau International des Fédérations d'Instituteurs* ("An organisation focused on Europe" - Frister, 1988, p.227). In 1926 the International Trade Secretariat of Teachers (ITST), associated to the IFTU (International Federation of Trade Unions), was founded. In 1945, the FIPESO, the International Federation of State Secondary School Teachers, took over from the FIPES, which had been set up in 1912.

As has already been mentioned, all these organisations were more sector-based and recruited members mainly in Europe, particularly in public sector teaching. Private sector teachers also had their international structures but did not really function in the same way as trade unions (for example, the WUCT - World Union of Catholic Teachers).

It cannot be denied that many important trade union organisations were affiliated to these national bodies and continued to be so for a long time, several of them until the creation of EI in 1993. This situation had a great impact on developments within the ETUCE, as we shall see later. Why did these trade unions affiliate to organisations which were based on sectors of the teaching profession? Erich Frister, who subsequently became president of the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions (IFFTU) put it in these words:

> „Actually, the GEW (in 1945) would have had to join the ICFTU, the International Federation of Free Trade Unions. But this would have implied to belong again to an organisation which, internationally, does not play an important role regarding the number of members." (Frister, 1988, p.228)

As will be seen later, the situation was to change considerably but it is worth pointing out that the teaching organisations in question have never seen their tasks as being solely limited to defending the immediate interests of their members. Increasing their professional abilities and a particular attention for community teaching and training objectives were always very much a part of their aims. Frister put it like this:

> "The trade unions have to fight for an education policy, which does not only drill the majority of the population in professional efficiency, but which also guaranties equal opportunities on the private, cultural, social and political level. We appeal to the trade unions, to ensure coherence between education reform, financing of education and employee's interests not only when decisions have to be taken. I should be, rather more, integrated as integral part of special interest politics." (Bistram, 1978, pp.216 en 219).

Through the efforts of the NEA (USA) the World Organisation of the Teaching Profession (WOTP) was created in 1946, as a successor to the WFEA.

This was a development which attempts to create a unifying organisation in 1946 would have to take into account. The IFFTU/ITST, EWI and the CAM *(Confederación Americana de los Maestros*) from Latin America wanted to set up an organisation for the teaching sector within the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). After holding a congress in Budapest, the structure decided to call itself the WFFTU (World Federation of Free Teacher Trade Unions).

In 1949, however, with the Cold War assuming centre stage in world politics, the WFTU was, as we said previously, unable to contain the centrifugal tendencies of its member organizations. Teacher organizations fell into line with the splits in the larger union movement. Under the WFTU, now bereft of its anticommunist members, FISE (the renamed EWI) became the secretariat for teachers in the organization. A cleavage also developed between the professionally oriented, non-political

teacher associations and the trade union-linked, politically engaged organizations after World War II. No group could entirely escape the political atmosphere of the Cold War. On the professional side, relations developed between the new WOTP and the primary and secondary teachers' federations, IFTA and FIPESO, with French leadership and constituencies mainly from continental Europe (*Futrell, et al., pp.225-227*).

The negotiations from 1948 to 1951 led to an agreement between the WOTP, FIAI/IFTA and FIPESO, which was confirmed in 1952 by the creation of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession at a congress in Copenhagen.

IFTA and FIPESO maintained links with the left-wing FISE through a *Comité d'entente*. It was only in 1957 that IFTA decided, under pressure from other WCOTP members, to leave the *Comité* (Futrell, et al., pp.225-227). The FIPESO maintained links with the FISE, a trend which was confirmed each year in the ETUCE general assemblies when decisions were taken on the affiliation of assorted communist organisations.

When the split in the WFTU occurred in 1948, the departure of the non-communist organisations led the FISE to stay with the WFTU. For this reason the non-communist organisations left the FISE and, at an ICFTU congress in April 1951, the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions (IFFTU) once again took over the role of the ICFTU's international professional secretariat for education. This change was formally adopted in August 1951.

From then on, the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions (IFFTU) showed a marked union tendency, whilst the WCOTP was geared more towards professionally-oriented aspects. This difference was to have political consequences. The positions of the IFFTU clearly reflected ICFTU positions during the cold war, since they were regulated by the Milan agreement between the ICFTU and the International Professional Secretariats.

The WCOTP, for its part,

> "although eschewing political party orientation, espoused the values of democracy and respect of human rights, as did its constituent organisations. It is also avowed a fundamental belief in

> the importance of promoting education in all countries" (Futrell et al., p. 227).

It was thanks to its nature – at once professional and politically unaligned – that the WCOTP grew throughout the whole world, especially in developing countries.

All of these divergent elements led to a profound division in the sphere of teachers' organisations. Many of the national organisations, which functioned both as professionally-oriented movements and unions, were obliged to choose between the internationals, but strived to maintain their dual approach, whilst others, particularly in Asia, opted for double affiliation with the WCOTP and the IFFTU. The truth was that many organisations, WCOTP members, affiliates of national trade union confederations and members of the ICFTU, WFTU, or the WCL exerted a broad degree of influence over the ETUCE once it had been set up.

In the WCL the teaching organisations of its members were part of it public services international – the INFEDOP/EUROFEDOP – for many years. In 1963 they were reorganised into the *ICCTU's International Trade Union Council for Teachers* (WCL). On 3 September 1970 the Council became an independent professional sector of the WCL, under the name CSME/WCT (*Confédération Syndicale Mondiale de l'Enseignement - World Confederation of Teachers*).

Just to make things more complicated, it is worth remembering that some national organisations, whether federated or not, were members of the IFFTU, the FISE or the WCT and the WCOTP. This situation was to have a great deal of influence over events during the early years of the ETUCE.

Therefore, on the eve of the creation of the European Trade Union Committee for Education, there were at least 5 international teachers' organisations which claimed to be representative at European level and hoped to obtain formal recognition in the EC. They were the IFFTU, the WCOTP and two of its relatively independent components – the IFTA and the FIPESO, and the WCT. (Not to mention a significant number of organisations which were corporatist and/or professional in nature and which were also trying to forge links with different EC bodies. Just to give a few

examples, there were the European organisations of head-teachers at all levels, teacher-trainers, history teachers, etc.)

References
See end of chapter 3 (p. 65)

Abbreviations
See p. 294

Box 1

The founding date of the ETUCE:
Was it the 21.11.1969, the 16.6.1975, the 12.10.1981 or the 13.11.1984?

When the ETUCE celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 2005, some organisations expressed doubts about the exact date that the committee came into being. What is the truth of the matter?

1. In chapter 1 on the origins of the ETUCE we said that as early as 1969, on the initiative of a number of national organisations, a European committee was set up.
In his letter of 3 March 1973, when negotiations took place between the IFFTU and the WCT in order to set up a joint committee, André Braconnier, the secretary-general of the IFFTU, after consulting the European Teachers Trade Union Committee (ETTUC) and the European Committee of the IFFTU, wrote to Coen Damen, the WCT secretary-general: "First of all I have to point out that the ETTUC is a voluntary body without statutes. To date there has been no question of creating a new European organisation." Braconier went on to add that at the inaugural assembly on 21.11.1969, discussions only covered operational procedures. Each organisation taking part in meetings would have one vote, the duration of mandates was not set, organisations would not pay any dues, they would share operating costs, two organisations from the same country would not be allowed to join and the

geographical area covered by the committee was not defined. In issue 1 of EUROPE–EDUCATION, the president of the European Teachers Trade Union Committee, James Marangé, made clear that the initiative behind setting up the committee took account of "the independence of some of their national trade union organisations with respect to workers confederations in their respective countries and the existence […] of international teachers' organisations which are also independent […]. This is in no way about setting up a new international structure. The issue at stake is to ensure that the trade union organisations concerned are fully represented since such representation cannot be properly guaranteed […] in any other way."

2. So from 1973 the IFFTU and the WCT began negotiations on the creation of a true European trade union joint committee. However, in the ETTUC there was a consensus that the work to be carried out should be done on a more stable basis than before. For example, in a letter of 25 July 1974, the ABOP (*Algemene Bond voor Onderwijzend Personeel*), the GEW (*Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft*) and the SNI (*Syndicat des instituteurs*) insisted that it was absolutely essential to have a statutory basis for the committee. At a meeting in Brussels on 13-14 September 1974 the statutory foundations were laid. On 16 June 1975 the ETUCE, a joint committee of the ITST, the WCT and the SNI (Syndicat des instituteurs), became a reality.

3. In 1979 the first crisis came about. Most of the WCT organisations were no longer participating in the committee. On 12 October 1981 an agreement between the IFFTU, the WCT and the WCOTP meant a new start for the ETUCE. Was it the same committee that had been created in 1975 or a different one? In the reports on the meetings leading to the agreement it is stated several times that it should really be a new committee.

A letter from the ETUCE secretary, dated 15 December 1981, in response to a request for information from an American researcher, (Kenneth J. Pitterle, researcher and specialist in International Affairs at the University of Pennsylvania, who was preparing a study on the ETUC) provides us with more information. Aloyse Schmitz, the secretary, wrote the following: *"In fact the*

former European Teachers Trade Union Committee was dissolved on the morning of the 12 October 1981, on condition that the agreement between the international organisations of the WCOTP, ETTUC, WCT and the IFFTU be respected in the inaugural assembly meeting which took place in the afternoon of the same day. That was what happened and the ETUCE was therefore set up as of 12 October 1981."

Schmitz went on to explain the relationship between the ETUCE and the ETUC and the problems surrounding recognition: "In addition […], in fact the ETUCE is not the continuation of ETTUC but replaces all the former trade union organisations for European education." Because of the way that the dissolving of the respective European and international structures was interpreted, the letter was the subject of lengthy debate at the next Executive Board meeting, but nobody took issue with the sentences quoted above.

4. On 15 November 1983 the committee was once again facing a crisis. This time it was the members of the IFFTU who were leaving. After long, difficult negotiations the three internationals managed to reach an agreement to relaunch the ETUCE on the basis of new statutes. An extraordinary General Assembly meeting adopted a new structure on 13 November 1984. Although subsequent statutory changes took place there can be no doubt that the current ETUCE is definitely that same one which took over in 1984.

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So, to come back to the question: When the ETUCE celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 2005, was it right to do so? It is quite clear that 16 June 1975 was the date on which a European trade union committee with proper statutes, including organisations of differing trade union tendencies and ideologies, was set up for the first time. In spite of all the trials and tribulations which have occurred since, it is this format which has survived through to the present day. On the basis of reports on the negotiations which took place in 1980 and 1981 and the reports of the meetings of the Assembly and the Executive Committee during that time, 12 October 1981

can be considered to be the official date that the current ETUCE was set up. However, there can be no doubt that from 1975 there has been continuity in the ETUCE's actions and representation of teachers' unions in Europe, though the internal structures and composition have changed and developed over the years of its existence.

Louis Van Beneden

Chapter 2

1974 – 1984: YEARS OF CRISIS – YEARS OF HOPE

Louis Van Beneden

In short

During the first years of its existence the leaders of the ETUCE (in the first period ETTUC) were faced with a number of major challenges concerning the existence of several international organisations all of which were seeking official recognition from the institutions of the European Union. Each of the organisations had a specific nature: some were both trade unions and professional bodies, some were purely professional and others advocated purely trade union aims which they wished to defend and preserve at European level while being part of the interprofessional trade union movement. It was therefore not easy to strike a balance between competing organisations in a joint structure that could be effective and representative, as long as a large number were refused affiliation for political reasons or for professional rather than trade union reasons. For the first ten years of its existence the ETTUC's main aim, given the various internal relationships and developments, had therefore been to build structures, strategies and working methods that were acceptable to and accepted by its members and by the bodies with which it had to work at European level. The Committee overcame two existential crises thanks to the tenacity of some of its leaders. Chapter 2 therefore recounts the Committee's internal trials and tribulations. This chapter is necessary to provide insight into how it later became possible to achieve, step by step, a common outlook and joint action above and beyond all national, ideological or trade union frontiers. In chapter 3 we endeavour to show that, once this common structural unity had been achieved, the Committee had to take on European education and training policy and policy proposals in cross-cutting projects which directly affected the interests of schools, students and teachers. Meanwhile, European education policy was becoming*

increasingly important for education and training policy in the Member States and also, of course, for the working conditions and terms of employment of staff in the sector.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT

The idea for a trade union committee had first been outlined in 1969 by James Marangé for the FEN (France) and Henri Rodenstein of the GEW (Germany). On 21 November 1969, on their invitation, teacher trade unions from the six Member States of the EEC initiated the *European Teachers' Trade Union Committee* (CSEE–ETTUC). These were the GEW (Germany), the ABOP (Netherlands), the ACOD/CGSP (Belgium), the FGIL (Luxembourg) the FO/CGT (France), the SINASCEL (Italy) and the FEN (France). All these organisations were from the same political family (socialist/social democratic) and, with the exception of the FEN and the ABOP, all were members of the IFFTU. (The ABOP became a member of the IFFTU on 1 January 1975; as did the FEN on 10 September 1975); they were all organisations "who fully understood our battle for lay values, which they shared" (Georges, p. 75). They were seeking European recognition and wished to inform their members about developments in Europe and become more a part of these developments. In the first issue of "*EUROPE – Education"* in September 1971, the chairman, *James Marangé* reported on activities since the committee's creation. He pointed out that the reason behind the move to set up the committee was inspired

> "by the independence of some of their national trade union organisations with respect to the workers' confederations in their respective countries and the continued existence, despite the split (see chapter 1), of independent and particularly representative international organisations at European level: the IFTA (International Federation of Teachers' Associations) and the FIPESO (Secondary education teachers)".

However, according to Marangé, given this situation these confederations could not convincingly claim to represent teachers in the six countries of the Common Market. In his editorial he adds that:

> "It has been clearly understood from the outset that there is no question of setting up a new international structure. Rather, it is solely a matter of ensuring representation, with respect to the European bodies, on issues currently facing the Europe of Six and which concern the relevant trade union bodies. Experience has shown that this representation cannot be properly provided by any other means."

As we discussed in the first chapter, the international teaching organisations, the IFFTU and the WCT, were already active at European level and had regular contacts with the EEC. Furthermore, as early as 1969, the IFFTU had set up a *European Committee* which sought greater representation for unions in the six member countries of the EEC. It was, however, the IFFTU General secretary, *André Braconnier*, who took charge of this infant body.

It is also worth mentioning here that, as with the ICFTU and the WCL, there was substantive collaboration between the IFFTU and the WCT, in the OECD's Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC). (The TUAC had been founded in 1948 by the OEEC and continued to operate from 1961 as an OECD committee) and, through confederations in the EESC, the European Economic and Social Committee of the EC. Moreover, they acted together in a common front with the professional sectors of the public service, the post office and telephone and telegraphy sections in the ICFTU and the WCL at the International Labour Organisation in Geneva. This joint action would indeed be stepped up during the period 1970-1974. The establishment of the CSEE/ETTUC without including organisations other than members of the IFFTU, with the initial exceptions of the ABOP and the FEN, and later of the SNI (*Syndicat National des Instituteurs*/Primary Teachers Union) (see below), had been a surprise. It had given rise to suspicions inside both the IFFTU and the WCT and indeed in the WCOTP. The reason for this was quite simple: the SNI was a member of the WCOTP and played a leading role in the IFTA. Why first the FEN and then the SNI? This does need explaining. At the beginning the FEN, whose general secretary was James Marangé, became active in the CSEE/ETTUC. (In 1973 during the discussions between the IFFTU and the WCT, on how to set up a joint European committee, he announced that the FEN had paid membership dues for all its members. This was later going to prove impossible. The SNI, the largest member of the FEN, did not agree with this commitment

made on behalf of their federation and demanded the monopoly of international affiliations for the FEN's member organisations. This was why Marangé was to be replaced by André Ouliac, the SNI's president. (The ETTUC's presidency would continue to be held by the SNI's general secretary until 1983. We shall return to this later). From the beginning, the new committee requested recognition from the ETUC and the EC. It organised two meeting per year and had been received by the President of the EC, Malfatti, on 5 February 1971.

However, structural problems very soon became apparent and prevented the committee from working fully. Before discussing this, it is important to comment on developments in the French teaching sector's trade union movement, as these developments were to affect considerably the ETTUC's first years and had a considerable influence on its action and institutional changes as we shall see later.

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE

In the years following the Liberation, teachers in the public sector in France belonged to the CGT (*Confédération Générale du Travail*) which was a single body at that time, and whose members included revolutionaries, reformers, socialists and communists. In 1948, when a large part of the membership left the CGT to set up FO/CGT *(Force Ouvrière)* (see previous chapter), the teaching unions decided not to choose between the two confederations, but rather set up an independent federation; the FEN (*Fédération de l'éducation Nationale*), which brought together 49 unions, representing nearly 500,000 members. The SNI, with its 220,000 members, was the largest of these. From then on; the reforming socialists dominated FEN policy. "A large majority could be considered as socialists of conviction and in spirit" (Henry, 2002, p. 27) The SNI's preponderance meant, in fact, that the primary school teachers determined policy. Their support for programmes that enabled primary teachers to work in secondary schools was not looked on kindly by the SNES *(Syndicat national de l'enseignement secondaire)*, which, with 80,000 members was the FEN's second largest member. By lobbying hard and with a firm commitment to trade unionism the "Unité et Action" group took control of the SNES.

Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman (1984) consider that "The takeover of the SNES by 'Unité et Action' can be seen as the resistance of secondary school-teachers against the penetration of the primary teachers". The "Unity and Action" group had communist leanings, which was also the case of the SNESup, which was a member of the WFTTU. During the troubled times of the student riots in May 1968; the SNESup was the organisation with the highest profile in university circles. This situation created tension in the FEN, which also affected positions at international level.[1] The issue that united everybody was the passionate commitment to defending the "Republican or lay school" and this was a commitment that they wished to advocate at international level.

The SNI, SNES and some other French teachers' unions were members of the WCOTP; the FEN as such had no international affiliation at that time. By including in the ETTUC first the FEN and then, given the circumstances, the SNI - the FEN's largest member – the organisations setting up the ETTUC were bringing on board the most significant French support then possible. Moreover, the SNI was on the same political wavelength as the other members.

To complete the picture, it should be pointed out, that there were, of course, other teachers' unions in France which played quite a significant role in their country. These were, inter alia, communist-

[1] In his memoirs André Henry, who succeeded Marangé as FEN secretary general, gave the following explanation: *"The FEN's lack of international participation was caused (…) as much by the diversity of its unions and their determination to manage their own external relations, as by the doctrinal divisions between opposing forces in the world."* (Henry, 2002, p. 320). During a meeting in Frankfurt on 5 November 1973, of the SNI and the GEW, it was decided that the FEN would be excluded. *"Eric Frister could not put up with the FEN's pre-eminence. His links with the WCL's Christian unions were inciting him to have them join. But this was hard to imagine given the FEN's block of 450 000 members. By suggesting that the SNI join in its own right, he was able to touch Secretary General Andre Ouliac's soft spot. In addition, by opening the door to the other FEN's union members, and in particular those lead by "Unité et Action" sympathisers, he was hoping to drive a wedge in the French representation to play them off against each other."* (Henry, 2002, pp. 321-322)

leaning organisations which had remained close to the CGT, and the CFDT which operated independently.

A DIFFICULT DEBATE

> "The EU reflects a powerful impetus towards international coordination that has emerged since World War II on the part of nations that had been at the centre of the great and tragic national conflicts of the 20th century" (Futrell, et al., 237).

The fact that six countries had decided to link their fate was very significant. What would be the consequences for the education systems?

When the European Community was established the education sector was faced with a paradox. In the Member States, education was considered to be a key sector in general policy, but in terms of European policy the same countries combined forces in various areas, but formally excluded teaching from European competence. With the exception of vocational training and related teaching, teaching per se was considered to be the exclusive competence of the Member States. The free movement of workers across national borders was considered to be an important factor for development and to stimulate economic growth. Therefore it is not surprising to note that the education of migrant workers' children was nonetheless on the agenda. Establishing European schools also meant that there had to be agreements at European level. These three areas of educational policy did not escape the attention of the unions in the sector and led them to seek structural cooperation at Community level. The Janne report "For a community policy on teaching" in 1973, further highlighted the need for such cooperation. The significance of the ETTUC – later the ETUCE- was that the European institutions had powers to issue directives to member governments in the field of education. Unlike the recommendations of UNESCO, the ILO and the OECD, these directives were integrated into national legislation and were binding. Thus, teachers unions in Europe had incentives to develop an advocacy role beyond national borders (Futrell, et al. p.230).

On 1 January 1973, Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community. To take up the new

challenges, the trade unions in the six founding member states sought to develop cooperation at European level.

The year 1974 was to be a turning point. Commissioner *Dahrendorf* published his report on "*Education in the European Community*" in which he appealed to the Member States, while respecting their right to independent decision-making, to make joint commitments to meeting the common challenges that had been created by developments in recent years. An *Education Committee* was set up and a resolution on mutual recognition of diplomas and certificates, although framed in the context of economic development, had direct repercussions on educational systems. On 3 July, the Court of Justice delivered its conclusions on the *Casagrande* case (national responsibility cannot be in contradiction with European regulations as far as access to teaching is concerned). Furthermore; the establishment of a regional development fund was also going to be of interest to the teaching sector.

But to return to the European Teachers' Trade Union Committee. On 3 July 1974 the GEW, the ABOP and the SNI jointly launched an ambitious appeal. They invited all teachers' trade unions in the European Community, with no conditions set about membership of any higher union body or confederation, to take part in the

> "establishment of a European Teachers' Trade Union Committee which would make it possible to take union action at the level of the European Common Market for inseparable social and professional matters"(…). "The aim is to unite, in one sole body and structure, which can speak with one voice, this unimaginable muddle characterised by competition, rivalry and resentment. We will need a lot of patience." (Georges, pp 75 and 77).

Developments in the following years bore him out.

Taking the new situation into account and without waiting for reactions, the ETTUC continued to work towards recognition by the EC. However other international and national organisations were doing the same thing. It is not then surprising that, faced with this situation and following contact with Commissioner *Dahrendorf* on 13 September 1974, the ETTUC came to the conclusion that it was necessary to contact "the Christians" – meaning the WCT – in order to build a joint body that could be recognised by the European institutions. This was a hard pill for some to swallow. If

they had to accept that other organisations would join the ETTUC, they ought to be "true" unions who supported the right to strike (a German preoccupation according to the GEW). As they had done in the confederation, FO warned that the CFDT was a "leftist" organisation. It was therefore not with a song in their hearts, but rather for reasons of expediency that the discussions with the WCT were initiated, and there were then discussions about drafting statutes and rules of procedure. It is worth remembering that as early as 9 January 1973, there had already been discussions between the IFFTU and the WCT to establish a joint European committee.

Contacts were made with organisations in Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark, as organisations from these countries could now be affiliated to the committee. The fact that most of these organisations were members of the WCOTP created new challenges for the committee. Nevertheless, on 16 June 1975, agreement was reached between the IFFTU and the WCT to set up a joint European committee: the ETTUC – European Teachers' Trade Union Committee. It was particularly significant that the secretariat of the new committee was in the hands of the general secretaries of the constituent bodies: the IFFTU and the WCT: André Braconnier and Coen Damen. The SNI's André Ouliac, a WCOTP member, became the first president. "Without the FEN, but with twelve of its unions" (Henry, 2002, p. 322). (In so doing, the IFFTU made no secret of its intentions of affiliating the FEN and the ABOP to the IFFTU, which did indeed happen a little later).

From the outset, the committee followed an informal path towards formal recognition as a representative partner for the European Community's institutions (the Directorates General for Information, Social Affairs, Research and Science and Education in particular). These efforts were crowned with success as, on 6 September, for the first time a representative of DG V took part in a Board meeting. The drive towards setting up real social dialogue in the teaching sector came up against institutional obstacles relating to the contents of the Treaties on the one hand and, on the other, national sensitivities about traditions and divergent practices. The Committee therefore started out with some serious handicaps, some of which are mentioned by Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick (Gumbrell-McCormick, 1996, pp.80-85):

- As it was the case for other committees the ETUCE "began life as largely 'amateur' efforts"
- Education, alongside many other vital public services, was considered a matter of national sovereignty outside the competence of the EC. There is no institutional basis for social dialogue.
- teachers and other civil servants were initially considered exempt from EC policies on the mobility of workers;
- as the national circumstances and status of teachers and other public sectors workers varied considerably, it was not always easy for their unions to formulate common demands and policies across Europe
- Even within the trade union movement, national unions and their members were frequently unaware of the extent of the committees' activities, and were rarely familiar with those outside their own sector.

During the first years of the Committee's existence, the member organisations were not ready to provide much financial support to invest in an organisation which still had to prove its effectiveness. This meant that "any staffing needs were met by officials of the internationals or of individual unions, who were either seconded to ETUCE or worked for the organisation part-time". For many years, ETTUC officials have had to fight to demonstrate the worth of the organisation, to combat the mistrust in the early stages and to convince the member organisations of their need for greater commitment.

Despite the difficulties the committee started to undertake initiatives which demonstrated to its affiliates and members the importance of the European commitment. Three working groups were set up: on salaries and working conditions for staff in the education sector in the EC countries; on trade union rights and on employment and unemployment among young people.

The committee had asked the ETUC for recognition as an industrial committee. However; given the affiliation of teachers unions from various ETUC member organisations to the WCOTP, the ETUC was not prepared to give recognition in this way.

On 17 June 1974 a letter was sent by the Board to the WCOTP General Secretary, informing him that all democratic trade unions in the nine EC Member States were welcome at the ETTUC. On 4

December a first meeting was held of delegations from the ETUC (Carlson), the ETTUC (Ouliac, Braconnier and Damen) and the WCOTP (Madsen, Thompson and Rehula).

The initial positions of the various partners around the table immediately indicated numerous problems. For the WCOTP, it was essential for the ETTUC not to be based on two, but rather three, international bodies and that all the trade union members of one of the three international bodies and affiliated to an ETUC member organisation should be allowed to affiliate. For the WCOTP this also meant that those organisations which were not members of an ETUC organisation should be allowed on board. In practical terms; this included the communist-leaning organisations. This was a step too far for the ETUC. Such a position would mean fundamentally revising the Statutes which had only just been negotiated. The WCOTP's stance was clearly heavily influenced by the attitude of the IFTA and the FIPESO, who wished to remain independent at European level and, as such, with points of view that were hard for the other partners to accept.

As for the ETTUC, it had no problems in immediately affiliating the organisations from *Great Britain*, *Denmark* and *Ireland* as these countries were EC members. Given their direct links in the international confederations which supported the ETUC - the ICFTU and the WCL - the IFFTU and the WCT felt obliged to consult these bodies before making agreements with the WCOTP. Together they appealed for international solidarity among all 'true democratic trade unions'.

Problems of this type were to dominate the agenda in the following months. At the General Assembly on 26 and 27 February 1974, these matters were tabled. It was clear that the TUC (Trade Union Congress -GB) and the Scandinavian confederations were exerting pressure on the ETUC for it not to recognise the ETTUC formally as long as their unions in the teaching sector were not members. Contact between the ETUC – ETTUC - WCOTP delegations was deemed "not worthwhile" and broken off by the latter. At the General Assembly, speakers spoke against accepting a committee based on three international bodies, given the anti-union stance of some WCOTP members, a standpoint which did nothing to improve the atmosphere.

Another General Assembly took place on 1 and 2 July of the same year. This saw the acceptance of the NASUWT of Great Britain, member of the TUC, which, in the person of Terry Casey was immediately entrusted with a mandate as executive member. Petitbon (DG X) and Jones (DG XII) were there to present the first European action programme for teaching, which focused on the issues surrounding the transition from school to work, education for immigrant workers' children and collaboration in higher education.

Ouliac's successor, Guy Georges of the SNI took over the chairmanship and completed his term of office. His stated aim was to

> "go beyond the different plans and projects of the international bodies in order to achieve an expression and a working model specific to the committee that was being built" […] "the committee's initial character was underpinned by the stiff and punctilious cohabitation of the two international bodies, the IFFTU and the WCT, who considered the SNI to be the bridgehead of their rival, the WCOTP. This was not the case, though, so arguments had to be found to break this implicit alliance between the IFFTU and the WCT."

he added (Georges, p.78). He also thought that Braconnier and Damen neglected the European committee in favour of their respective international bodies. Radical change was needed; the committee had to have a separate secretariat beyond the influence of the two leaders of the IFFTU and the WCT and block voting had to give way to individual voting, which would entail absolute domination by a few organisations from the largest countries and the marginalisation of the others. The divergent positions of the committee's first leaders naturally did little to instigate a climate of trust.

The committee also wanted to tackle the preparation of an action programme and an information campaign, and commissioned a comparative study on teachers' working conditions which became the subject of a conference held in Bonn on 12 and 13 January 1977. The Executive Board was preparing for a new discussion with the WCOTP delegation. The approach made by Jean Daubard, then IFTA General Secretary, was remarked on as he had taken it upon himself to develop closer contacts with the ETTUC, which once again highlighted the WCOTP's internal difficulties.

The contact established with Minister van Kemenade (Netherlands), President of the EC council of education ministers, on 5 November 1976, was an important milestone in the ETTUC/ETUCE's history and was to be the first in a long series of meetings with the successive presidents of education ministers' council, some of which were constructive, some were disappointing, but they all aimed to advocate the ETUCE/ETTUC's positions in the European institutions.

AN INCREASINGLY UNCOMFORTABLE SITUATION

In December 1976, the WCOTP sent a delegation to the ETUC and the bodies of the EC to appeal for recognition; most probably prompted by some of its members who, in their national environments, were members of organisations affiliated to the ETUC. Given the circumstances it was an attempt doomed to fail. In January 1977, when the ETTUC board invited WCOTP's member unions to a meeting in Amsterdam, it received a letter by return post from L.E. Klason (LF-Sweden) and Fred Jarvis (NUT-UK) declaring that they and other members concerned refused to take part in an international meeting that had not been organised under the WCOTP umbrella. In his letter dated 10 January, Jarvis wrote to Braconnier and Damen that he was

> "astonished to learn that instead of seeking further talks with WCOTP you should then seek talks with unions affiliated to the WCOTP and that you should make such a step without any consultation with the WCOTP. We find this behaviour on your part unacceptable and we could not be a party to any attempt to go behind the backs of the WCOTP".

Both these events, together with the FEN's affiliation to the IFFTU, posed a number of statutory problems relating to representativeness and voting rights and to a great extent hindered activities for that year.

On 12 January 1977, the Bonn seminar, at which Peter Döbrich's report on "Salaries and working conditions" had been discussed, was a definite success. But the situation turned sour at the General Assembly on 13 January after the seminar. During the discussion on the June 1976 – January 1977 Activities Report, relations with WCOTP organisations again provoked great animosity in the Assembly. Furthermore, the precarious financial

situation demanded special attention. Not only were there serious arrears with membership dues, but in addition these had not been increased and were at a derisory level which thus prevented effective action. Membership of the working groups had to be reduced to a minimum. Costs for the secretariat were partially transferred to the secretariats of the two international bodies, whose general secretaries took collegial responsibility. At the Executive Board meeting, on 3 March 1977, preparations were however made for a technical conference on trade union rights to be held on 29 March and for another General Assembly in mid June.

Protests were made, when the president, in agreement with the IFFTU, unilaterally and quite late in the day, decided to adjourn the General Assembly. First there was a letter of protest from the SNES (23 June), which was the prelude to several discussions which gradually worsened the atmosphere. In turn, the board members who belonged to the WCT complained (letter of 18 July) about this decision which had been taken without prior consultation. Furthermore, although everybody knew that this was a matter of potential conflict, they also spoke out against the lack of debate of a proposal which aimed to solve the (French) organisations' voting rights issue raised at the previous board meeting. In addition, the lack of progress in the discussions between the ETUC and the ETUCE did not go down well.

The Executive Board of September 1977 was going to have to avoid the deadlock which seemed imminent. The relationship between the ETUCE and the various bodies of the EC and the ETUC, characterised by the WCOTP's refusal, was also not encouraging. A promise was made that before January 1978, the problems would be set aside and that an adapted draft of the statutes could be tabled.

However, the promise turned out to be empty. At the General Assembly on 25 and 26 January 1978 in Paris, no agreement was reached on the Statutes, because no solution had been found to the distribution of voting rights. The discussions, which seemed to be an internal French matter to the others present, clearly showed that it would be impossible to iron out the differences between organisations which had two and sometimes three different international affiliations (direct or indirect). Terry Casey tried to make the peace by proposing that the French organisations should

come to an agreement amongst themselves and present this to the next General Assembly. Everybody realised that this was an internal conflict in France that was being discussed at European level and the slow progress in the discussions between the WCOTP and the ETUC were the potential source of a crisis. The General Assembly instructed the Executive Board

> "to open negotiations with IFFTU, WCOTP and WCT, in order to prepare a successful modification of the Statutes by June 1978" and "to inform the affiliated organisations of the outcome of its proceedings for the month of April 1978".

In the meantime, the non-payment of membership dues continued to be a cause for concern, as the Paris General Assembly had been organised with funding made available beforehand by the WCT.

AN INEVITABLE CRISIS

Unfortunately the meeting on 2 March 1978 with the ETTUC and WCOTP delegations was no more reassuring despite starting off with an important statement from the ETUCE president on behalf of the Executive Board:

> "The ETUCE is ready to reconsider the principle whereby it is made up of national organisations and is prepared to accept the suggestion that is membership base is the international organisations".

This proposal was attractive to both the WCT and the WCOTP. *Georges* also said that the Scandinavian organisations would be welcome in the ETUCE. In a letter dated 21 February, and confirmed in the meeting by L.E Klason*,* the WCOTP informed the other partners that, according to them, a structure based on the three international bodies was the long-term prospect. The brief of the WCOTP's delegation was only to find a solution to the issue of the relationship with the ETUC, but not with the EC. To everyone's astonishment, the final straw was that, when it came to him, Fred Jarvis said that the NUT had never intended to become affiliated to the ETTUC and, what was more, that they were not in favour of establishing relations with the ETTUC. Never had a solution seemed so far away.

The delegations met again on 18 May 1978 in Paris, but produced no results. The issue of voting rights also remained completely

unresolved and the French organisations were unable to come to an agreement amongst themselves.

More oil was to be thrown on the fire by the letter of 1 September 1978 to the member organisations, signed by Georges, Braconnier, Casey, Frister and Mc Carthy, that is, not only by the president, but also by the board members who belonged to the IFFTU. They wrote that, given its current membership the ETUCE was not operating properly and that the only way out of the difficulties was to amend the Statutes. They recommended two alternatives:

- the first, originating from the WCT, advocated a structure based on the three international bodies. (To help the cause no mention was made that this proposal had already been made by the president of the ETTUC to the WCOTP delegation on 2 March).
- the second, described as neutral, put forward the idea of a committee based on the national organisations and would represent a balance on the Executive Board by means of the election procedure. The international bodies would have a representative on the Board.

It goes without saying that the Board members who belonged to the WCT were not overjoyed by the unilateral initiative made by the president and their IFFTU partners. They prepared their participation in the General Assembly by analysing these developments and confirming their own point of view.

What had to happen happened. The General Assembly on 20 and 21 September 1978 in Amsterdam ended in complete failure. The proposals to amend the Statutes and perhaps include WCOTP members in the ETTUC gave rise to heated discussions and again the internal problems of the French organisations dominated the discussions. What would be done with the organisations which were not affiliated to one of the three international bodies? This was the question posed by those in favour of including the organisations with communist leanings. What to do with the non-union member organisations of the WCOTP?

The climate was truly hostile and the stubbornness of some organisations to accept reasonable compromises on the grounds of a "hidden agenda" prompted the WCT members to leave the General Assembly and assess the situation amongst themselves

before the debate arrived at a conclusion which would be problematic and which would not solve the problems that had been weighing on the Committee for too long a time.

The Executive Board then decided to convene another General Assembly in Paris on 15 and 16 November of the same year.

There was still no solution to the problems which continued to hinder the ETTUC's activities and the WCT announced that its members would not take part in the Paris General Assembly. The deadlock was total.

LOOKING FOR SOLUTIONS

The General Assembly held in Paris on 15 and 16 November 1978, approved the supposedly neutral version of the changes to the Statutes in the absence of the WCT members (with the exception of the SGEN-CFDT).

A provisional board was chosen, pending a definitive decision to be taken at another General Assembly, which was scheduled for 9-10 October 1979 in Birmingham. The WCT was invited to appoint a representative to the new board for a meeting on 19 February 1979, where a seat at the table had been allocated to the WCT. The appointment of this delegate was going to imply the acceptance of the new statutes by the WCT, which was not the case. And accordingly, the WCT did not appoint a representative.

The atmosphere in which all this took place and the way in which European positions were determined by national questions is illustrated by a reference to an internal memo circulated by *Guy Georges* in his own union, the SNI, dated 14 December 1978.

> "We have been able to avoid the intervention of the international bodies in the ETTUC", he boasted, "The SNI, with its 217,000 members out of 800,000 is the organiser, the mainstay and decides the policy. In addition, it is the work programme that we tabled that has been approved by the General Assembly".

The message was clear and showed how important the outcome had been for the internal debate in France and, indeed, provided clear evidence that there had been "hidden agendas".

On 1 December, the SGEN-CFDT appealed to all parties for greater openness and more understanding for each other. They insisted on the need to find an urgent solution to resolve the problem of the affiliation of the WCOTP organisations. The decisions taken by the November 1978 General Assembly had not made it easier to find a solution.

Who needed to take the first step? This should have been made by the ETTUC. On instructions from the Executive Board, the new secretary Aloyse Schmitz (Luxembourg) wrote to the WCOTP on 21 December inviting them to a meeting in February 1979. The board meeting on 19 February, which was held prior to this meeting, looked at the possibilities and suggestions. The main aim was, of course, to have the Committee recognised as an industrial committee by the ETUC. The board could not achieve a consensus on whether a national organisation should be a member or not of a confederation that belonged to the ETUC. The president was certain that by accepting this "the WCOTP would not be able to mask our vision" because, in this way, their international affiliation would no longer be an issue: "no worries about international memberships", was how he put it. However, at the meeting with the ETUC, the ETTUC delegation was alone at the table. The WCOTP had had a separate meeting with the ETUC before the meeting and had left the room immediately afterwards.

During the ETUCE delegation's meeting with the ETUC president, Wim Kok, (who later became Prime Minister of the Netherlands), the latter suggested accepting a rotating presidency instead of a rotating secretariat (ETUC internal memo by secretary Peter Coldrick, dated 17 October 1979). This clearly showed how much the ETUC wished to find a solution to get over the difficulties.

The WCT had not been idle either and had taken its own initiative, because they realised the ETUCE in its then form did not consider the WCT as a negotiating partner as its members were deemed to be ETTUC members. It is important, however, to remember that informal bilateral contacts had taken place beforehand. During a meeting on 17 October 1978 the IFFTU president, Erich Frister, confided in the WCT president, Sef van Wegberg, that he had been most embarrassed by what had happened at the Amsterdam meeting. He had felt trapped by the French situation and had withdrawn from the ETTUC board to bring to the fore his position as IFFTU president. From then on he was going to take part in the

planned consultation with the EC as the representative of the IFFTU and not of the ETTUC. He would work to facilitate meetings between the IFFTU, the WCOTP and the WCT in order to find a workable solution to the problems that had arisen. He even suggested that the WCT should take the initiative for a meeting of the three international bodies (internal WCT memo of 18.10.78). So the letter sent on 12 February in which the WCT invited the IFFTU and the WCOTP to a meeting in Frankfurt on 29 April came as no surprise to the leaders of the international organisations who had been invited. It later became apparent that it had come as a surprise to the members of the IFFTU. In the letter, the WCT reiterated its conviction of the need to unify the teachers' union movement in Europe, but considered that the ETTUC, as it was then, was not effective enough for the purpose. The aim of the meeting on 29 April was to discuss mutual relationships and how to work together in Europe. The ETTUC was informed of this initiative.

There was much manoeuvring in the weeks leading up to the Frankfurt meeting. On 3 March, a WCOTP delegation held a meeting with an ETTUC delegation and the two parties agreed on the principle that only a single new committee would be able to overcome the difficulties. The board should, in part, be made up of representatives of national organisations and representation of the three international bodies. They did not, however, reach agreement on the fact that the committee should have its own secretariat nor on a rotation of terms of office around the international bodies. Nor was there agreement on whether membership dues should be paid directly to the committee of through the international bodies.

A letter from the SNES, dated 26 March 1979, made matters even worse. The SNES found it unacceptable and in contravention of the ETTUC's statutes that all the unions of the 10 EC Member States had not been invited to a conference at Bad Godesberg, but worse still, that the committee had not taken into consideration a large part of Europe. The letter referred explicitly to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and to organisations in Spain, Italy, Portugal and France, which all undeniably had communist leanings.

On 27 March 1979 a bilateral discussion was held between the WCT and the WCOTP. The following day the WCOTP met delegations from the ETUC and the ETTUC. Once again the WCOTP

said that it would not accept affiliation to an existing organisation. An Agreement was quickly reached on the fact that a new organisation should be set up on the basis of national organisations, but with representatives from the international bodies. Again no consensus was achieved on the secretariat and how membership dues would be collected.

Inspired, inter alia, by his contacts with the WCOTP, and taking into account the wide range of sensitivities, *Guy Georges* drafted new statutes which he sent to the member organisations. He asked for their comments before 15 August; but this deadline would later be extended until 20 September.

One Sunday morning, 29 April 1979, a meeting of the three delegations of the international bodies took place at Frankfurt airport. The delegations were well aware of what was at stake and had consulted each other beforehand. After constructive talks, the text of an agreement was drafted and signed by Erich Frister and André Braconnier for the IFFTU, Lars Erik Klason, Fred Jarvis, Wilhelm Ebert and John Thompson for the WCOTP, Sef van Wegberg, Louis Van Beneden and Coen Damen for the WCT. The agreement laid down that each international body would have four representatives on the Executive Board alongside the general secretaries. The committee would be chaired by an independent president. Guy Georges was asked to take the chair. The committee should be recognised by ETUC and the EC and the secretariats of the three international bodies would, in turn, take responsibility for the ETTUC's secretariat. The general secretaries were tasked with drawing up draft statutes on the basis of this agreement and presenting them immediately after 1 October 1980 to a joint assembly of delegates from the three international bodies. The international bodies would have to finance this initiative. The assessment of a first year's activity according to the new statutes would be planned for the beginning of January 1982 and both the EC and the ETUC would be informed of the agreement.

Reactions were not long in coming. On 9 May, the ETTUC board strongly condemned the Frankfurt agreement and decided to do all it could to make it fail. Guy Georges was upset that Erich Frister had also signed the Frankfurt agreement, despite their contacts and the preliminary discussion. What could be made of this? Unlike the other delegations, the IFFTU negotiators had not consulted

anybody in their own camp. This resulted in deep disapproval among the ranks of the IFFTU with all the expected consequences.

On 9 May, John Thompson again discussed the agreement at a consultation meeting between the ETUC, the ETTUC and the WCOTP. It was suggested that Guy Georges should amend his proposed changes to the statutes in accordance with the Frankfurt agreement. Sterner (ETUC) deplored the developments that had taken place. He proposed contacting Hinterscheid, but this should be done only a week before the ETUC conference in Munich, as contact could not be made immediately.

On the same day, 9 May, a letter was sent to the IFFTU president Erich Frister, by Adams (ACOD/CGSP-B), Van Leeuwen (ABOP-Netherlands), McCarthy (TUI–Ireland), Casey (NASUWT-United Kingdom) and Gregorius (FGIL-Luxembourg). According to this letter, the agreement arrived at in Frankfurt contradicted the decisions taken on 19 and 21 September 1978 in Amsterdam. The signatories protested against this lack of consideration for a democratically-taken decision on the part of the president and general secretary of their international body. They said they were ready to continue working in the ETTUC but warned that they would "be forced to the conclusion that their future loyalty to IFFTU must be re-appraised".

Frister replied immediately in a letter dated 10 May that the Frankfurt agreement was no more than a consultative document and not a definitive conclusion, which was in flagrant contradiction with the agreements that had been made. He also warned the signatories of the letter that the IFFTU was in danger of being in a minority position at international level if they refused to go along with the agreement. On 21 May 1979, a consultative meeting of the ETUC-ETTUC-WCOTP was again scheduled but Thompson could only repeat that he had no mandate to negotiate new proposals. On 2 and 3 July, the WCOTP and the WCT met again to assess the situation.

A few days before, at the ETTUC conference in Bad Godesberg, on 27-29 May 1979, on "Working conditions for teachers in Europe", Guy Georges had again publicly attacked the WCT which, in his view, was behind the Frankfurt agreement. As far as he was concerned, the WCT's organisations were still members of ETTUC (which formally was indeed the case) and he added that "the WCT

organisations should stop sulking". He also said that the "WCOTP's European Committee's organisations should come up with acceptable conditions" to affiliate to the ETUCE. Was this an opening ?

The ETUC also took an initiative. Hinterscheid, the ETUC General Secretary, invited the ETUCE, the WCT, the WCOTP and the IFFTU to a meeting on 24 September. Nobody doubted that he "had chosen his camp" (Georges). This would not make it easier to find a solution. By way of introduction he said that a trade union movement in Europe, that was geographically and politically representative and capable of working effectively, was indispensable. The ideal organisation would be based on national affiliations, but he also thought that it would be possible to combine the terms of the Frankfurt agreement. Was it essential to rotate the office of president and secretary? Why not keep the current secretary Aloyse Schmitz for the sake of continuity? Fred Jarvis immediately replied that this was out of the question. John Thompson deplored the fact that one of the partners, the IFFTU, no longer supported the Frankfurt agreement. He said that Guy Georges' draft statutes went some way to meet their concerns, but still did not solve the French problem. The WCOTP was preparing amendments to solve this. He deplored the deadlock, but declared he had no mandate yet to discuss new amendments. Coen Damen also announced amendments from the WCT and confirmed that it was not possible for the WCT to take part in the Birmingham General Assembly given the current circumstances. Fred Jarvis again repeated that Europe was not just the EC and that "the NUT will never join the present ETTUC".

The General Assembly took place in Birmingham on 8 and 10 October 1979. After the Activities Report, developments in the relationships between the international bodies were discussed. The membership of the board, which had been provisionally installed in Paris, was confirmed, in the absence of the WCT organisations.

On 5 October, Hinterscheid had again invited the three international bodies to a meeting on 1 December 1979 in order to comment on the ETUC's programme for vocational training and in the hope that the ETTUC could again work with the support of the three international bodies.

At the board meeting on 20 December 1979 in Frankfurt, the ETTUC confirmed its determination to remain independent. The financial problems, linked inter alia to the non-payment of membership dues by the WCT's organisations had to be solved urgently. In his capacity as IFFTU president, *Erich Frister* said that his organisation would continue to support cooperation within the ETTUC whilst respecting each and everyone's scope of work and responsibility. He added, however, that the ETTUC would only be truly representative when the members of the WCOTP, the WCT and the WFTTU were also associated with it.

1980 - 1981: YEARS OF TRANSITION

The discussions continued bilaterally and with the ETUC. At its June 1980 meeting in Stockholm, the WCOTP European trade union committee adopted a position which made it possible to overcome some of the obstacles preventing agreement. On 23 June, the ETTUC board and the WCOTP delegation confirmed an agreement to build together a committee based on national organisations with an Executive Board made up of elected members and representatives of the three international bodies and only one administrative secretariat.

The General Assembly, held in Dublin on 7 and 8 October, was briefed on a European conference that had taken place in June on statutes, in-service training and trade union rights in Europe. The study that had been commissioned in Birmingham had not yet been started and the study on salaries would only follow in 1980-1981. Discussions with the WCOTP were proceeding positively, but had not yet reached a conclusion. The rapporteur noted that there were still serious stumbling blocks. The NASUWT reiterated its opposition to the affiliation of organisations which were not members of a confederation or affiliated to the ETUC. How would it be possible to make sure that small countries were represented? It was therefore deemed necessary to continue the discussions.

At the same time work was continuing to find acceptable solutions on other fronts. There were, for example the very open "penthouse discussions" between André Braconnier (IFFTU), John Thompson (WCOTP) and Louis Van Beneden (WCT) on the sidelines of a symposium organised by an international committee on 10-14 November 1980 in Tel Aviv. Would it not be easier to find a

solution to the problems in Europe by improving cooperation, albeit structured, at world level? It was also high time at that level to calm things down. By taking into account everyone's strengths and weaknesses and their common past, and by developing existing links and joining forces, it was possible to combine the whole for everybody's benefit. The conclusion was that each of the three was going to test the waters gently in his organisation to see whether there was a willingness to work together in this direction, before looking more closely at what it would be possible to achieve. Sadly, Braconnier died unexpectedly on 31 December 1980 and a few months later, John Thompson was killed in a car accident in Hungary. Nothing was left of the path from Tel Aviv.

It was therefore not until October 1981 that the revamped ETTUC could spread its wings. As had already been envisaged in the Frankfurt agreement, it became a committee based on the three international bodies with an independent president, Guy Georges. Schmitz stayed on as secretary and Casey as treasurer. ETUCE was finally fully recognised as a trade federation of the ETUC (see also chap. 6).

Yet the committee still suffered from teething troubles. Undoubtedly, as the difficulties and contradictions came to the fore, it was clear that the wounds of the past had not yet healed. Arguments regularly broke out between the two vice-presidents Adams and Jarvis, which did nothing to facilitate cooperation. These tensions continued to weigh heavily on proceedings.

The committee tried to improve its contacts with the outside world. EC Commissioner Ivor Richards received a delegation from the committee. Contacts were also established with the Commission and the parliamentary committee on education. As a result – at the Luxembourg General Assembly on 16 and 17 November 1982 – there was no denying that real progress had been made; but the atmosphere was far from euphoric.

ANOTHER CRISIS ON THE HORIZON

The Committee's finances were still not very healthy. In January 1983 it was decided that, for budgetary reasons, membership of the working groups would have to be limited to the members of the enlarged Board. Jan van den Bosch would monitor professional

action and John Pollock would look at the problems of vocational education and training for young people. The ETUCE would be represented in the rally to be organised by the ETUC in Brussels and would also participate in the meeting of the ETUC's working group on teaching and training on 16 and 17 June 1983. Alain Mouchoux was to report back on unemployment issues and a NATFHE representative on new technologies.

A meeting of the Council of Ministers for Education, which had been postponed until 1982, would take place on 30 May. On 9 and 10 March an ETUCE delegation met the various political groups in the European Parliament in Strasbourg and, on 24 April, a very positive contact was made with the chair of the parliamentary committee, B. Beumer. On 26 April, a delegation was received by the chair of the Council of Ministers for Education, D. Wilms (Germany).

The regional seminar on unemployment among teachers, held in Bonn on 16 and 17 May 1983, was a great success and the meeting with the European Parliament's committee on 10 October provided an opportunity to make some interesting contacts and exchange information. In fact, as it began to work more deeply on substantive issues, the committee was gradually getting over past problems, despite frictions in the Executive Board about the application of the rules of procedure.

New tensions surfaced on 13 September 1983 when preparations were being made for the forthcoming General Assembly. It turned out that there was one too many candidates for the posts to be filled in accordance with the agreements made between the international bodies. Where was the problem? In the rota system approved after each term of office, the presidency would pass on to a candidate from an international body other than that of the outgoing president. As it happened, *Fred Jarvis* was a candidate and, like *Guy Georges,* came from a WCOTP member organisation. The WCOTP considered, without a shadow of a doubt, that *Georges* had always sat as an independent and that he had never been included in the WCOTP delegation. In their view, it was therefore perfectly legitimate to put a candidate forward for the presidency and the rota system would only be applied from that moment on - a new obstacle. And over and above this interpretation of the agreements, the respective presidential candidates were problematic in light of the experience of previous meetings.

The last Executive Board meeting, chaired by Georges on the eve of the General Assembly, started off with 'political' statements from the three international bodies. Mouchoux, for the IFFTU, Pollock for the WCOTP and Damen for the WCT all stated that they wished to respect the agreements reached and that the president should be the spokesperson of the Committee and not the representative of his/her national organisation. The WCOTP and the IFFTU had different interpretations of the meaning given to the candidacies. In the conclusions to the Activities Report, Georges had rightly pointed out that the ETUCE had been

> "the result of a patient and often difficult process. Despite divisions in the international trade union movement, it had succeeded in bringing together, in one organisation, European Community and European Free Trade Area organisations who identified with the trade union outlook of the European Trade Union Confederation and with the development of a free trade unionism, independent of political, philosophical or religious movements".

However, Georges also warned the board against playing with fire and that unity in responsibility was necessary if the Committee was to survive. His appeal was not very successful.

The General Assembly on 15 November 1983 was opened with a statement from the vice-president Jaak Adams. The 1981 agreements had been a compromise, he said, approved by all the partners and had produced two years of fruitful work. Now, we were again confronted with a considerable problem. The balanced representation that had been achieved using a rota system was now jeopardised because the organisation, which had already held the presidency for these two years had again put a candidate forward. From then on, some of the IFFTU member organisations decided to suspend their participation in the committee and to withdraw the candidates they had put forward. They also requested the IFFTU to do the same.

It turned out later, considering the results of the elections which took place after this statement that all the candidates from IFFTU organisations had been elected by a large majority despite the intervention. The WCT and WCOTP candidates, excepting one, had also been elected. Formally, therefore there were as many candidates elected as posts available.

After the meeting, the new Board convened in the absence of the IFFTU's organisations' elected members. It was decided to send a letter to the leadership of the IFFTU informing them that their candidates had been elected. It was also confirmed that; in accordance with the rota system that had been agreed, a vice-president's post and a treasurer's post had been reserved for the IFFTU candidates. In the meanwhile, Hans Bähr was asked to assume provisionally the responsibility of treasurer. The international bodies were to receive a letter inviting them to meet as soon as possible to bring an end to this difficult situation. The ETUC was officially informed of the state of play and a delegation was appointed for the ETUC colloquium on education and training to be held on 29 and 30 November.

A few days later, on 19 December 1983, another Board meeting was held. It was essential to take some urgent decisions which had been overlooked at the General Assembly. Given the prolonged absence of Fred Jarvis, the president elect, following a car accident, the two vice-presidents, Louis Van Beneden and Daniel Dumont, took over the presidency in turn for a few months until the return of Jarvis.

Norman Goble gave his report on the contacts he had had over the previous few days with eight IFFTU representatives, including the president Al Shanker. As no solution to the problems was expected in the short term, the three international bodies were again invited to restart negotiations to overcome the difficulties. As a goodwill gesture, two places in the delegation for the ETUC colloquium on education, training and employment, on 29-30 March 1984, were held open for the IFFTU delegates.

The situation required urgent action to produce an ETUCE policy document on the themes that it had not yet discussed internally, but which were on the European Union's agenda. Initially, Norman Goble and Louis Van Beneden undertook to draft a document, summarising the key points of the WCOTP's and WCT's policy positions in a text to be adopted by the ETUCE.

Why was this so urgent? The Gaiotti di Biase report, which was on the European Parliament's agenda, put forward a number of proposals on training and education for migrant workers, teacher training, youth unemployment, education for the disabled, new technologies, the effects of the economic crisis on education

budgets, vocational education, the transition from school to active life… There was no doubt that if the ETUCE did not give its views on these matters it would lose face. Furthermore; appointments had already been made with the president of the council of education ministers, Savary (France) and the chair of the parliamentary committee, Beumer. The policy position paper had, of course, to be submitted to the members for consultation and review. A working group on adult training and continuing education was also going to be set up as these matters were topical in all the relevant structures. New contacts with the ETUC and the three international bodies were also established.

The Executive Board of 2 February 1984 received the draft policy paper with proposals to be put forward as priorities for inclusion in the Gaiotti di Biase report during the first reading. The draft was then sent out to member organisations with a request for them to submit comments and proposals for amendments. The contact with the ETUC had been extremely constructive, yet a major problem remained, the lack of sufficient resources. In light of the initiatives planned by the EC, Hans Bähr was appointed rapporteur on new technologies and Daniel Dumont was tasked with continuing education.

On 26 April 1984 the meeting was held with the president of the council of education ministers, Savary (France) with a view to consultations on the education ministers' council's agenda. During the meeting, Savary expressed his interest in creating a database at European level on teachers' working conditions. The Commission representatives at the meeting were keen to work with the ETUCE on this project. Although the education ministers' council did not go on to ratify this proposal, given the reticence of two ministers, the immediate outcome of the meeting was that a Dutch consultancy was commissioned to undertake a comparative study on salaries and working conditions for employees in education in the Community countries.

During the meeting of the three international bodies, on 2 May, agreement was reached that some of the amendments to the ETUCE statutes should be discussed. It did seem that the wind was changing. This was certainly the case, but the fact that the ETUC had invited some other teachers' representatives to the ETUC colloquium, without first consulting the ETUCE, might again put a spanner in the works. On 8 June another meeting of the three

international bodies was held. It was clear that attitudes had changed, but nonetheless reaching agreement was still not in sight.

The Executive Board, again chaired by *Jarvis*, examined the situation at its meeting on 19 June, and discussed which matters needed priority consideration by the General Assembly, given that the situation was still unclear.

Unfortunately, two new incidents had happened in the meantime. At the ETUC's council meeting in Geneva on 14-15 June, Matthias Hinterscheid, informed by the discontented confederations of the changes that had taken place at the ETUCE, recommended that the ETUC withdraw its recognition of the ETUCE. Jarvis and Van Beneden, who attended this meeting, reacted fiercely, because the information that Hinterscheid had written in the memo circulated to the members was partial, one-sided and contentious. Fortunately, the ETUC council decided not to rush into a hasty decision about this proposal and adjourned the matter until a later date. The second incident, according to Jarvis, was that IFFTU members had approached the European Commission's DG V and asked them to stop financing the ETUCE's activities (see report Executive Board 19 June 1984). Of course, this was not likely to encourage peace. Nevertheless, it was decided quite wisely not to dwell on these incidents and to continue consultation in order not to close all the doors.

On 12 November 1984, the General Assembly gave a favourable assessment of the Committee's achievements, which was obviously a positive development. Dawson and Bennett presented a report on adult training and continuing education and Hans Bähr presented his report on new technologies. The reports were discussed and adopted. Without a doubt, however, attention was focused on the amendments formally tabled by the COV (Belgium), which took on board the proposals accepted by the three international bodies. The Assembly also adopted the new statutes with a large majority.

The crisis was finally over! The next day, 13 November, an extraordinary General Assembly, at which IFFTU members were again present, approved the proposed membership of the Executive Board. Under the rota system Adams took the presidency for the IFFTU; the vice-presidents were Jarvis for the

WCOTP and Van Beneden for the WCT. Damen – WCT and Dumont – WCOTP became the new secretaries and Ueberbach of the IFFTU became treasurer.

In their speeches, the ETUC President, Debunne, and ETUC General Secretary, Hinterscheid, who were both present, welcomed the agreement that had been reached. Jones, of DG V, also indicated his satisfaction that unity had been achieved and assured the committee that it would have the support and cooperation of the EC. The policy position paper that the ETUCE had prepared on its external relations was presented by Van Beneden and the financial commitments relating to membership dues and the return of the IFFTU members were outlined by Bähr, both papers were adopted by the General Assembly.

The ETUCE had finally built a balanced foundation on which to prepare its future. From that time on, discussions would no longer be dominated by quarrels over the statutes and, happily, the discussion of policy issues would now be given priority.

Another major structural challenge was looming on the horizon at the end of the 1980s. Political developments in Europe with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of the Warsaw Pact were to affect the situation most profoundly. The ETUCE would also have to adapt to this. These matters will be discussed in a later chapter.

In the period 1985-1990, the ETUCE was thus able to devote all its energy to important policy matters. The overview in the following chapter illustrates what this change involved.

References
See after chapter 3 (p. 65)

Abbreviations
See p. 294

Chapter 3

1985 – 1990: NEW CHALLENGES AND NEW PROSPECTS

Louis Van Beneden

The General Assembly, having managed to solve the difficulties which had hampered the functioning of the ETUCE in the past, was now able to begin building for its future with a new committee, fresh inspiration and unprecedented prospects. The period of interminable debates on statutes and internal relations could be laid to rest, although it must be said that for some time a certain degree of distrust was still palpable. During that period, the rotation of the mandates was scrupulously adhered to. After the presidency of Adams (1985), there followed those of Jarvis (1986), Van Beneden (1987), Mouchoux (1988), Dumont (1989) and Van Beneden (1990). In addition to these, Pollock also held the post of vice-president for one year. Damen, Dumont, Caspers, Rehula, Pépin, Vansweevelt and Denis all worked as internal or external secretaries by rotation, and Uberbach, Bähr and van Overbeek, for their part, were committee treasurers.

Whatever the case may have been, in terms of EC policy, happily the committee had managed to strike the essential degree of balance necessary to function correctly. The number of contacts with the Commission services, with the commissioners themselves, with chairs of the Councils of Ministers for Education and with the European Parliament grew from year to year.

Meetings with the successive chairs of the Council of Ministers for Education became a tradition which led to constructive discussions and specific agreements several times, though sometimes the subsequent results were disappointing. On numerous occasions, interviews with the chairman and secretariat of the parliamentary committee dealing with education took place and an ETUCE delegation took part in its meetings several times. The ETUCE's priorities were debated with commissioners Sutherland (17.9.85), Marin (1986) and Papandreou (10.5.90).

Cooperation with the ETUC also grew. Fritz Rath, the ETUC secretary, followed committee developments closely and integrated the ETUCE into a number of ETUC initiatives, mainly to do with training and education, and also strengthened existing links between CEDEFOP and the ETUCE. Initial contacts with the European Parents' Association (EPA) also took place.

The Council of Ministers for Education, chaired by Mrs. Hussey (Ireland), sought to make the equal opportunities programme a priority. This was an issue which the ETUCE immediately took up with a great deal of interest and one in which it became directly involved, as we shall see later. On this point, it is worth highlighting the survey launched by Mie Osmundsen in 1985, the participation in the EC conference on 27 and 28 November 1985 on equality for boys and girls, and the issue of the situation of women in the teaching profession. The importance of this topic was also pointed out by Luxembourg's minister for education during his speech to the General Assembly on 12 and 13 November 1985 in the Grand-Duchy. The working group on equal opportunities was supported by DG V through Monique Leens and at the General Assembly in 1986, R. Galt, replacing Mie Osmundsen as rapporteur, provided information on activities undertaken in this area. On 25 and 26 May 1987, the ETUCE organised a seminar on the subject, which led to a recommendation which the next General Assembly took a decision on. In the following years, this topic was to feature systematically on the General Assembly's agenda.

The European council's resolution on new technologies, which converted the Ruperti report on "Human Resources" into a political project, marked the start of a period in which education was to be increasingly integrated into a broad range of cross-cutting programmes. This approach set considerable challenges for the ETUCE, because it had to forge alliances outside the education sector in order to be able to manage these developments successfully. Quite clearly, better integration into the ETUC's activities was now essential.

The Gravier decision (13 February 1983), which gave a restrictive interpretation to article *7* of the Treaty, led to a broader debate on the issue of mobility in, through, and via teaching. In 1984, and again in 1987 and 1990, education for the children of travelling

parents (boatmen and women, travelling communities, circus performers, etc.) was on the agenda.

From 1985 onwards the European dimension of education and training was at the forefront of European issues. It was linked mainly to knowledge of languages, training teachers and developing teaching methods. The Adonnino report, "A People's Europe", described the community's main hopes for education and training with a view to promoting European awareness from an early age.

In November 1985, 'How to implement gender equality?' was published and, in Cortina d'Ampezzo, an initial debate was held on a draft Mid-term Programme for education. A second debate subsequently took place in Scheveningen, thus demonstrating the EC's interest in the topic.

On the first of January 1986 Spain and Portugal became members of the EC. Indeed, from a number of different points of view 1986 was a key year in the development of European education policy. On 16 May, minister Deetman (the Netherlands) announced the Mid-term action programme, which was to determine the ETUCE's agenda to a large extent for the following years. The committee obviously reported back on its achievements at regular intervals, adopted formal positions on different aspects of the programme and organised seminars to monitor the way the issue was developing. At a meeting on 4 June, Deetman discussed the project with a delegation. The tenth anniversary of cooperation in European education and training provided a good opportunity to give the policy a new boost. A number of new tasks were entrusted to DG V and a decision was taken to set up a programme of higher education exchanges – so there was no shortage of plans.

At an Executive Board meeting on 16 September 1986, Hywell Jones and Cathérine Moysan from DG V came to comment on the new programmes which had just been decided upon. Obviously much of the interest focused on two programmes – COMETT and ERASMUS. A new programme on new technologies was also launched to highlight the opportunities for training teachers and literacy issues were also on the agenda. Through a cooperation initiative with CEDEFOP, the 14 to 16-year old age group became a specific priority. Language teaching, the consequences of the

Gravier decision, the impact of the social funds, the Equal opportunities project and other issues were all part of the committee's concerns at the time. It had its work cut out for it and over the following months the committee put its back into the work it was carrying out. The ETUCE's contribution was very much appreciated, according to Jones and Moysan.

On 24 July 1986 the COMETT programme was launched. At the time Fritz Rath advocated direct integration of the ETUCE into the ETUC's initiatives in this area. New tasks arose for the working group on new technologies, chaired by Hans Bähr. In March 1985, on the basis of a survey carried out among member organisations, the working group on teaching staff working conditions, chaired by Doug McAvoy, drew up positions for the ETUCE to campaign for in European level discussions. The report by the MEP E. Münch on mobility was to draw attention to this issue. The committee exchanged views with the rapporteur and the parliament's education committee on 23 and 24 September and the Münch report was adopted by the Commission on 9 December 1986.

At the Maastricht conference in 1987, the 1998-20 programme on "the European dimension in study plans, training and educational material" was launched, and in June of the same year the Erasmus programme followed.

Since the court of justice had decided that all of higher education should be considered in the same way as vocational education, it was now fully part of European competence. This represented a fundamental change in the way things had been done up to then! The proposal to create a working group on higher education in the ETUCE was gaining more and more support.

In 1987 a study titled "*The working conditions of teachers in the European Community*", which had been commissioned by the committee at the 'Research for Management' Foundation in Leiden (the Netherlands) was completed. As we have pointed out, this study was the outcome of a meeting which took place on 26 April 1984 between a delegation from the committee and *Savary*, the chair of the Council of Ministers for Education of the time. The refusal of some ministers to allow the ETUCE to take part in setting up a database to provide the foundations for such a study heightened the committee's interest in its findings. Moreover, for some time ministers in Germany, France and Great Britain had

held up its publication. To tie in with the study, the ETUCE organised a seminar at Offenburg (Germany) on 17 to 20 May 1998. The debate on mobility was chaired by Alain Mouchoux, the one on working conditions by Cees van Overbeek and the one on salaries and job security by Eugenio Bressan. The conclusions of this seminar were included in draft resolutions which the rapporteurs successfully submitted to the General Assembly for adoption on 28 and 29 November. At the same time as the seminar, the ETUCE also organised a demonstration in front of the European Parliament in Strasbourg in order to draw attention to the views and expectations of teachers in Europe.

The General Assembly in November 1987 also heard about the ETUCE's activities in the areas of new technologies (Bähr), higher education (Dawson), equal opportunities (Naumann) and working conditions (Pollock), and a debate was held on the action plan for following up on all of this work (Mouchoux). It was clear that EC policy was forging ahead.

On 24 May 1988, the Council and the Council of education ministers adopted a very important resolution on "the European Dimension in education" which converted the mid-term programme into a policy document. The action programme called "Education in the Community: directives for the medium Term 1988-1992" brought about discussions on issues which were to lead to the framing of important articles in the Maastricht Treaty (1992) – mainly on the free movement of persons, quality, mutual information on reforms in education systems, providing education on democratic values, basic training (the PETRA/FORCE programme and the ERASMUS programme) and the developments in higher education and technological challenges. On the whole, this was an ambitious programme which was to shape education policy both in Europe and in the individual member states.

Specific issues required specific initiatives. In May 1988 a seminar on language teaching was organised and the ETUC's seminar on training and vocational education, which took place on 19 and 20 October, was well attended by representatives from ETUCE member organisations. The reason for this strong turn-out was due to the committee's intention to organise a specific seminar in conjunction with CEDFOP in Berlin to highlight the issue of teachers' and trainers' professional qualifications.

The ERASMUS programme was moving into its second phase and the social affairs council presented the FORCE programme in November.

Also in 1988 HELIOS, the first action programme on integrating the disabled was finalised and a resolution on health education was adopted.

The LINGUA programme and the *Teacher Exchange Scheme* (TES) were launched in 1989 and a resolution on improving school drop-out rates was adopted. In 1990 the focus of debates in community bodies was very much on rationalising all these programmes which were underway. Very often progress was hampered by the limitations of Europe's (rather restricted) competences in teaching and education, but the need for broader cooperation between the member states in teaching, education and training was being stressed more firmly than it ever had been before.

Naturally, teacher training was also a significant issue. The Eurydice study on *"Structures of the Education and Initial training systems in the member states of the European community"* by *Blackburn* and *Moisan* was of particular importance. At a conference in Noordwijkerhout in 1991 "The teaching profession in Europe" emerged as a key aspect in the European approach. The green papers on higher education, teaching and vocational training confirmed the European interest in making these topics a higher priority.

On 9 November 1989 the Berlin wall came down. This event marked the beginning of a revolutionary period in relations amongst European countries which nobody could have predicted at the time because nobody expected it to happen. The participants at the ETUCE's Berlin seminar experienced these events at first hand. At a reception in the Reichstag they were able to see the last patrols of VOPOs *(Volkspolizei – People's police)* on the wall from the windows of the room in which a reception was organised. Symbolically they took up hammers and chisels in order to help bring down the shameful wall. But above all they asked themselves what might be the consequences of such an event for cooperation in Europe and how the ETUCE might follow it up through its actions and programmes.

For the key figures of the teaching sector, and therefore for the ETUCE, the events of the following years meant significant

challenges. The reunification of East and West Berlin on 23 May 1990 provided a new context for emerging activities and the establishment of the first bilateral and multilateral contacts with countries of the former soviet bloc during the period indicated that from then on the enlarged European framework would need to be taken into account, both in terms of reflection and initiatives undertaken. This was especially true for the ETUCE's European aspirations.

1991 was set to be a busy year. The mid-term programme required everyone's efforts. Developments in higher education and vocational education particularly showed the need for structural adaptations. The Higher Education and research working group, set up in the late 1980's, was no longer meeting on an *ad hoc* basis but had become a standing committee with a great deal of work on its plate: the mid-term programme, COMETT II, ERASMUS, cooperation with Eastern Europe, financing higher education, equal opportunities, the Sienna conference, etc. All these issues meant that positions had to be formulated, actions organised, contacts established particularly with the conference of university rectors, students' organisations, etc.

It was clear that the EC's effect on education policy in the member states was increasing. This trend, as we shall see later, was further strengthened by the Treaty of Maastricht (1992). Moreover, European social dialogue, the introduction of fundamental social rights and their implication for education all required consideration and action. To quote Futrell et al:

> *"In education, especially at the postsecondary level, the EU has powers that can override national decisions. This makes the need for a structure for advocacy by European teacher unions all the more pressing" (Futrell, et al., p. 237). Or: "The inclusion of the teacher unions from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe presented a challenge for new forms of advocacy work for the ETUCE".*

In the area of vocational education, regional seminars, which were organised in *Spain, Austria* and *Finland*, provided the foundations for ETUCE positions and aroused a great deal of interest among its members. The EESC, *European Economic and Social Committee* and the ETUC counted on ETUCE support in this area.

Mary O'Rourke (Ireland), Chair of the Council of Ministers for Education, confirmed at a meeting in Dublin on 4 and 5 May 1991 that the participation of the ETUCE and other teaching sector partners was of growing importance and was greatly appreciated by European institutional bodies. She reaffirmed her comments when she joined the executive committee on 20 June 1991.

A large number of bodies felt the need to be involved in the European consultation process surrounding education policy. Some voices on the European Commission side even supported an attempt by a certain number of these organisations to regroup in some kind of partnership which was to function on everyone's behalf in contacts with European bodies. This cooperation platform, PLEASE, was intended to be the preferred voice of educational organisers, students, school administrative management, teachers' organisations, etc. The ETUCE did not expect much to come from a rather artificial structure of this nature and advocated maintaining its independence. Additionally, it continued to promote specific relations in which trade union organisations' points of view would be take into account properly, which was not possible in an organisation like PLEASE, since it could only defend often opposing interests through compromises, which would weaken the specific positions of teaching staff. What the committee wanted to do was ensure that its contacts would lead to genuine social dialogue with the partners which were directly involved.

All of these developments, programmes, initiatives and events which we have sketched out above were to play a major part in determining the committee's activities during this period. It goes without saying that the political contacts with the relevant bodies of the EC increased.

The significant number of new tasks meant that the committee had to resolve the fundamental issue of how it should best continue to fulfil the role entrusted to it by its member organisations, given the means and human resources available. This point had already come up in 1985 when a working group had analysed the working methods and efficiency of the secretariat and other committee bodies. In March 1988, the three internationals on which the committee was based met for the first time to assess the situation. In 1990 an administrator was taken on because it had become inconceivable for the committee's internal and external secretaries to cover the administrative workload involved, in addition to tasks

in their respective national organisations. This marked the beginning of an attempt to reach new agreements which could then be converted into suitable statutes. These were adopted by the General Assembly meeting on 17 and 18 December 1990. In this way, the committee established a stable basis for effective, relevant action during the period which it was about to begin. The next chapter contains more information on this subject.

The author would like to thank Jaak Adams, Coen Damen, Gaston De la Haye, Guy Georges, Bob Harris, Fred Jarvis, Alain Mouchoux and Luce Pépin for their valuable comments and suggestions on the first version of chapters 1 to 3.

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Box 2

East-West

From the outset the trade union organisations in the ETUC have adopted an international approach and commitments. In particular, they did not accept the division of the world into two blocks and the political allocations defined when international agreements were made after the war.

The populations of Central and Eastern European countries have never accepted the division of Europe. The ICFTU, IFFTU, WML, WCT and their regional structures have combated this vision of

world organisation since the beginning. The "non-aligned" tendency even played a part in the creation of a trade union organisation, like the WCOTP, which refused to be part of this polarised, confrontational view of the world.

All these organisations, except for the WFTU and the FISE, campaigned for the right of peoples to decide for themselves and set out this out in their policies and demands.

Directly or indirectly, the trade union members of the ETUCE became involved in this approach both at European and national level in order to ensure that collective and individual freedoms be established once again in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and that fundamental freedoms and universal values become a reality there. In the same way the reunification of Germany regularly came up as a symbolic reminder of the situation.

The unification of Germany together with the progressive shift towards democracy of many Central and Eastern countries, and then the dislocation of Yugoslavia all generated a legitimate solidarity among the trade unionists and the educators which took the form of an assistance towards the new trade unions or affiliations to ETUCE, or the support of the extension or the strengthening of the ERASMUS and LEONARDO programmes.

The list of all the initiatives and actions undertaken by the internationals, the ETUCE and the European trade unions with their love of freedom, and out of a feeling of specific solidarity with workers and teachers in the East, would be a long one.

This solidarity also emerged in congress resolutions, supporting those unjustly punished for their political opinions, or in the mobilisation of the media to generate support for these causes.

Everyone remembers the high profile initiatives supporting Solidarnosc and other dissidents from several countries, and their welcome in the West.

The way was open and the ETUCE committed itself to make every effort to help re-build Europe as a continent of democracy once again. One of the most symbolic events occurred during a seminar on vocational training held in Berlin in December 1989 when Louis Van Beneden and Alain Mouchoux wielded pickaxes and took away pieces of the Wall which was soon to disappear.

The General Assembly of 30 December and 1st November of the same year took the decision to gather the General Secretaries of the 3 internationals and to make links with ETUC to know its position as to Eastern Europe.

The action programme adopted for 1990/1992 indicates : « In the last year, deep changes have occurred in Europe […] Central and Eastern countries are moving towards democracy […] In all Europe, many hopes have appeared, together with a renewed freedom, with new perspectives of exchange and cooperation […] a reflection on the development of activities towards eastern countries will be initiated".

The General Assembly of 1996 noted that "the participation of colleagues from central and eastern Europe will undoubtedly entail more spending which will be difficult to budget for this year"... In addition to these trends in the east, the successive enlargements of the EU, to the South, for example, with Portugal and Spain, which were just emerging from dictatorships, and Greece contributed to the commitment made to achieving a peaceful and democratic Europe.

However, it was not until the consequences of the fall of the Wall and the break-up of the Soviet empire began to make themselves felt that an EU enlargement to take in the CEEC could be considered. This process in due course led to the entry of 10 new countries in 2004 and of Bulgaria and Romania on 1 January 2007.

Throughout these years, solidarity found a way, links were forged and developed as be effectively as the rapidly changing situation allowed, and free, independent trade unions affiliated to the education internationals were set up. They organised seminars in the main capitals of Eastern Europe in order to get to know and

understand the nature of the social situations and education, the working and living conditions of teaching staff and also, at the same time, to provide specific help with training and restructuring and with creating free independent trade unions.

It is true, though, that after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the break up of the Soviet Union new situations quickly developed which the trade union movement was not adequately prepared for, even if the internationals and the ETUC developed links with trade union organisations in Eastern Europe almost immediately.

Like the ETUC, the ETUCE got to grips with this new and changing situation very quickly by inviting Bulgaria and Romania to participate as observers firstly, then, because of changes in the statutes, as full members by affiliating them with all the relevant rights at the General Assembly on 4 and 5 December 2006 in Luxembourg.

Alain Mouchoux

A brief reminder of some significant dates:

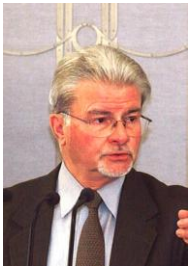
1989	9 November - Berlin wall comes down and borders open
1990	Entry into force of the treaty of German reunification with the disappearance of the GDR
June 1991	Independence for Slovenia and Croatia
1992	Association agreement set up between the European Union and Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia.
1993	Czech republic separates from Slovakia
1996	Bulgaria signs an association agreement with the EU

1998	Official launch of the enlargement process to include Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Estonia
1999	War in the Balkans
2004	10 new countries, including the CEEC, join the EU.
2007	Bulgaria and Romania join the EU

Chapter 4

1991-2000: ENLARGING AND REINFORCING

Alain Mouchoux



In short

Prior periods since the beginnings of the ETUCE had shown the desire of the teaching trade union movement and the world of education both to get organised and to overcome the inherent difficulties in creating and developing such a European committee. This construction process was a patient one, and was not without its share of daunting challenges to the organisation's durability.

For the ETUCE, the decade from 1990 to 2000 was a period of internal and external development, of growth, of increasing its representativeness and of strengthening and improving its actions.

This was prompted and contributed to by:

- *the general and increasingly shared desire to construct a viable and sustainable trade union committee which would be able to confront the realities and new challenges of the time*
- *the acceleration of European history, notably the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet bloc, the successive enlargements of the European Union, the adoption of major treaties in terms of its expansion and functioning of the EU and the increasing demand for more and better education*
- *the key changes within the teaching trade union movement, in particular the merger of the two internationals the IFFTU and the WCOTP on 18 May 1992 and the near disappearance of the FISE.*

The education trade union movement in Europe was able to use these profound changes to ensure that the ETUCE became a voice for teachers and education workers which was heard and taken notice of.

During this decade there was also a need to support and fuel development in education and training through the education policies of the EU and EEA, in particular education programmes: creating, amplifying and strengthening the links and activities with the ETUC and other partners, responding better and on a greater scale to member organisations' requests for coordination and support and, of course, confronting developments in the committee's structure.

This was obviously accompanied by changes to the statutes and rules of procedure, to the way the organisation functioned (with the nomination of a full-time General Secretary already decided at the 1990 General Assembly) and with the move to new, bigger and more functional premises. This necessitated an increase in material means, i.e. subscriptions and resources, for example EU project subsidies.

At the same time it was essential (even more so than previously) for the ETUCE to develop a whole range of analyses, theses, proposals and demands on all the issues concerning the trade union movement on education, training and research.
New working methods became part of the system, with the creation of reflection and working groups which would use the skills and expertise of member organisations to create a body of policy which could be used by all, both at European and at national level.

At the same time, the ETUCE of course substantially expanded its information and internal and external communication policies, and published numerous thematic publications and brochures.

BROADENED HORIZONS

The action programme adopted for the years 1991 and 1992 gave concrete expression to the evolution of the ETUCE in a changing Europe, as its introduction shows:

> *"The Community of 12 is fully committed to the decisive process of implementing the Single Act and to looking towards the political development of Europe. Negotiations are under way between the EU and EFTA to create a new European Economic Area. The Council of Europe is welcoming new Member States. The countries of central and eastern Europe are committed on the path to democracy.*
>
> *Throughout Europe, new hope has been born of the return to freedom, with new prospects for cooperation and exchange. The European Trade Union Confederation is itself committed to restructuring in order to face these new challenges. Alongside the ETUC, the ETUCE will be involved in all actions aiming towards full employment in Europe, the promotion of public services, particularly those of education, training and research, making education the permanent priority for investment in Europe and in particular overcoming the current recruitment crises."*

1991 saw the announcement of changes brought about by the environment and the desire to see the ETUCE grow through, for example, the steps initiated with the ETUC to obtain premises in its new buildings (which became a reality in 1993) and the responsibility given to Doug McAvoy to pursue the special group work developing the statutes, aiming to give the ETUCE a full-time General Secretary with political responsibilities, strengthening the secretariat and making the organisation's work more efficient.

It was also in 1991 that a post of General Secretary was established for the first time. Luce Pépin, who was made available by the WCOTP, occupied the post on a part-time basis. This was a major decision on the part of the three internationals, which were now aiming in the longer term towards the establishment of a permanent general secretariat. This was an essential development for the work of the ETUCE, its structure and its relations with the European bodies, which from that point on were able to work with a single and politically responsible point of contact.

At the same time, and in conjunction with the ETUC, which was also evolving, we campaigned for "the development of real social dialogue on continuing training, an increase in social protection for all workers, the implementation of an ambitious programme to combat inequalities."

End of 1991, Peter Dawson, Executive Board member and former General Secreatry of the UK Teachers' Union NATFHE, was seconded to work as the General Secretary and served until 1993 when Alain Mouchoux took over his mandate. His period of service marked the beginning of a process putting the secretariat on a more professional basis which evolved through the 1990's.

In 1991, successive European Presidencies (Luxembourg, then the Netherlands) decided to focus on teachers, their status and their working conditions. The ETUCE seized this opportunity and invited Minister Fischbach to its Executive Board on 12 March, and decided to extend its reflections on teacher training. In 1992 it created a working group which would lead to the publication of a major document on the subject of "teacher training in Europe".

A NEW STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ETUCE'S ACTION

1992 was an important year for the worldwide trade union movement, as on 18 May the IFFTU and the WCOTP merged and decided on the creation in January 1993 of a new organisation, Education International; the consequences for the ETUCE had already been anticipated by the Executive Board in March.

Links were also strengthened with the ETUC, for example through the participation of the ETUC General Secretary Emilio Gabaglio in the Executive Board in September 1992. Two events demonstrate that there were still numerous difficulties in terms of dialogue and cooperation. The ETUCE was forced to lodge an official complaint with the Dutch Presidency for the insufficient consideration afforded to the committee. During the UK Presidency, the British minister Chris Patten decided at the last moment not to hold an audience with the ETUCE Bureau, even though the meeting had been planned for several months, and the members of the Bureau had already travelled to London specifically for the meeting. This provoked a strong reaction from the Bureau in London and a

statement to the press. The British trade unions and the ETUCE had indeed reacted strongly against a league table of 4500 UK academic institutions which showed that the best results were obtained in the most privileged socio-cultural areas.

The year 1992 saw eruptions of racist violence in several countries, but also at the same time reactions against anti-Semitism and xenophobia; this further strengthened the ETUCE's determination to succeed in their conference of February 1993 on multicultural education, which was the starting point for several years' work on this theme.

The year 1993 saw the achievement of the Internal Market and the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht. January also saw the creation of Education International in Stockholm, and at the June General Assembly, the ETUCE committed itself to working towards restructuring and changes to the way the organisation functioned. This was notably given concrete expression with the creation of a full-time post of General Secretary with political responsibilities: Alain Mouchoux. The ETUCE strengthened its links with the ETUC and priority was subsequently given to intercultural education, higher education and research, and also to work on equal opportunities for men and women, professional training, etc.

This transition period saw the simultaneous pursuit of work on its influential policy statement on teacher education, participation in the ETUC European demonstration against unemployment on 10 December in Brussels, and also the ETUCE's participation in the Economic and Social Committee conference in September on *"The Image of Citizens",* during which it developed its proposals "for better initial and continuing training and for the development of education".

At the same time, the ETUCE communicated its analyses, comments and proposals on the *"Commission Green Paper : the European dimension of education"* and the "Guidelines on Community action". It wrote notably: "The ETUCE warmly welcomes the recognition of the role of education for European citizens" and demanded: "that a greater place be given as a matter of priority to initial and continuing teacher training, to its content, its European dimension, and to the development of learning". The ETUCE also warmly welcomed the importance accorded to lifelong learning, but along with the ETUC it deplored

the lack of concrete commitments and the weakness of measures taken to combat unemployment. The Executive Board also expressed its concern at a tendency towards professional training designed only to adapt a person to an occupation.

In January 1994 the first edition of the ETUCE's quarterly bulletin in three languages (English, French and German) appeared; the ETUCE now had four different informational tools: in addition to the new bulletin it had the circular *"ETUCE infos"*, the monthly newsletter launched in October 1993 and its specialised publications.

In the course of the 1990s, the ETUCE Secretariat developed close relations with the European Unit of Eurydice (of which Luce Pépin was now head). It was during this period that Eurydice took on a new direction by producing comparative studies of European education systems, along with the publication "Key Data on Education in Europe" in conjunction with Eurostat. The good relations developed between Eurydice and the ETUCE ensured that Eurydice's studies were made known to and distributed amongst the member organisations.

A EUROPE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING: A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT

The European Parliament elections of June 1994 were important, as the European Parliament had seen its powers reinforced by the Treaty of Maastricht, in particular with the *"codecision procedure",* which affected the area of education. This was an opportunity for the ETUCE to address the different parliamentary groups, asking them in particular about "commitments to investment and ambitious and sustainable policies for education and training, the importance of higher education and training, equal opportunities for young people, etc."

The process of reflection on the new SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes was launched. The ETUCE General Secretary was named as an expert by the Economic and Social Committee and was also a member of the ETUC delegation on professional training. The debates were important ones, and the ETUCE's demands concerned the need for increased funding and a seat

within an "advisory committee with a status higher than that of a mere observer".

This was also one of the topics of discussion with Commissioner Ruberti, whom the Bureau met in an audience of 17 May 1994 and with whom the ETUCE reiterated its request that representative organisations play a full role in advisory committees, deploring precisely this lack of regular institutional relations between the European education bodies and the social partners.

This sentiment was subsequently expressed keenly: "It is not enough to establish advisory committees if they only consult among themselves and do not structurally call on representatives and actors from the profession. It is not enough to talk about social dialogue, it must be put into practice!"

The conference held by the ETUCE in February on teacher training was a great success. Its analyses and proposals were addressed to all the European bodies with the aim of improving teacher training in Europe. The ETUCE received two responses in particular: one from Jacques Delors, the President of the European Commission, and one from Klaus Hänsch, the President of the European Parliament:

> *"Your general orientations concerning teachers' personal and professional development throughout their career can only be shared. This work also contains several interesting ideas which will feed into the reflections as part of the White Paper." Jacques Delors*

> *"I share your conviction that improved teacher training in Europe is likely to improve the quality of education and training and thus have a positive impact on the growth and competitiveness of our continent." Klaus Hänsch*

A press conference was held in November for the publication of the brochure in four languages on "Teacher Training"; a summary of it was published in 9 languages. There was an increase in the number and importance of meetings with the European Commission's Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth, where Domenico Lenarduzzi was responsible for education. The ETUCE also cemented regular relations with the liaison committee of the University Rectors' Conference.

Numerous European programmes, such as COMETT, FORCE, PETRA, EUROTECNET and LINGUA, expired at the end of 1994. The Leonardo programme for professional training was officially launched in Tours on 2 March 1995 (for the period 1995-1999). It applied to the central and eastern European countries, Cyprus and Malta. The SOCRATES programme, once adopted, was implemented several months later and open to the CEEC countries. The ETUCE expressed its overall agreement with the content of these programmes, but regretted the lack of budgetary ambition and the non-representation of the social partners in the SOCRATES committee.

Box 3

Relations with the ETUC

The tendency towards working closely with the ETUC, which had already become a reality, in being further reinforced today. The ETUC represents a large majority of the working world in Europe and has substantial power over policy-making. It has succeeded in increasing its power and influence over the years and created a structure of clear and effective relations with its 12 industry federations, which include the ETUCE for education and professional training issues.

In these areas collaboration has been developed considerably on issues such as the role and place of education in our societies and the resources to be devoted to it, professional training for young people, requiring close cooperation between education workers' unions, and higher education, the role of which goes far beyond the mere academic training of students. Clearly, training and lifelong learning are themes which have required very close collaboration between the ETUCE and the ETUC in constructing and drawing up demands.

EU programmes such as ERASMUS and especially LEONARDO on professional training have enabled the ETUCE to consolidate its position, sitting in ETUC structures in the bodies instituted by the

Commission. The ETUCE works very closely with the ETUC on the situation of disabled people in Europe, including through joint conferences.

All of this work also reflects the good relations entertained at the highest level between the ETUCE and the ETUC, exemplified by the participation of General Secretary Emilio Gabaglio in meetings of the Executive Board, contributions – interviews and articles – in our Bulletin, the speeches given by Deputy General Secretaries at our General Assemblies in Luxembourg, and reciprocally the presence of sizeable ETUCE delegations at successive ETUC congresses, and participation in European demonstrations such as that on employment in Luxembourg and in various different working committees.

Moreover, the fact that the ETUCE General Secretary is able to participate in meetings of the Executive Committee and Steering Committee has improved mutual understanding and the effectiveness of European trade union activity.

Alain Mouchoux

NEW PARTNERS – NEW CHALLENGES

In 1995 the ETUCE established new contacts with partner organisations with which it would subsequently draw up joint declarations and seek out "the greatest possible number of points of convergence", such as the European Parents Association (EPA), the student organisation ESIB (the predecessor to the European Students' Union – ESU) and the OBESSU. It stepped up the pressure in the area of social dialogue, meeting the President of the European Parliament intergroup, interviewing Commissioner Ruberti in its bulletin and obtaining an audience on 29 June with the new Commissioner Edith Cresson, who had addressed a message of encouragement to the ETUCE conference of 29 and 30 May having also given an interview to the bulletin.

The ETUCE held two major conferences in 1995:

- on 8-11 February in Bruges on quality in higher education, which developed out of the work of the Higher Education Working Group: "How can we guarantee that quality is maintained in a higher education system in development?" This conference, which was the first part of more general reflections on the quality of education and training systems, demonstrated among other things the importance of self-assessment, the need for the participation of the workers concerned and their trade unions in this process and the need to protect academic freedoms. The results of this work were published in October.

- on 3-4 April in Strasbourg on "The consequences of the feminisation of teaching", continued the reflections which were already under way on equal opportunities in education systems and in particular on: part-time and short-term work, European legislation and protection for education sector workers and issues of equality, recognition and promotion of the profession. The conclusions of this work were published in May 1996.

Throughout that same year, the ETUCE pursued its activities in favour of intercultural education and regional seminars were organised in Malmö, Seville, Stockholm and Dublin.

Elsewhere the White Paper "*Teaching and learning: towards the learning society*" was adopted by the Commission. The ETUCE Executive Board meeting in London in December 1995 reiterated its regret at the lack of institutional discussion in the preparatory phase, but supported the idea of making 1996 a year of reflection and proposals on the White Paper. It decided to organise a broad consultation with its member organisations on the following themes: the acquisition of new knowledge, combating exclusion, links between schools and businesses and language learning.

Box 4

The LEONARDO DA VINCI Programme

The EU action programme aimed at vocational training, the LEONARDO DA VINCI programme, was designed to build a skilled workforce by funding action taken by the Member States, using transnational cooperation to improve quality, promote innovation and strengthen the European dimension of training systems. The programme was launched in 1995, but can be considered a direct

continuation of the EU's activities in this field since the mid-1970's.

The programme had three general objectives:

- to improve the skills and competences of people, especially young people, in initial vocational training at all levels
- to improve the quality of, and access to, continuing vocational training and the lifelong acquisition of skills and competences needed to adapt to institutional and technological
- changes
- to promote and reinforce the contribution of vocational training to the process of innovation by fostering cooperation between vocational training institutions, including universities and the business community.

The funding programme was open to the EU member states, EFTA countries, EEA countries and candidate countries. It targeted establishments or training organisations, including universities undertaking vocational training, research centers, private and public firms active in the vocational training field, the social partners and NGO's.

In 2007, the LEONARDO DA VINCI Programme was integrated into an overall EU Lifelong Learning Programme (see chapter 18).

Annemarie Falktoft

Box 5

SOCRATES – EU Action programme in the field of education

EU's action programme concerning education, SOCRATES, was set up in 1995. Its main objective was to build a Europe of knowledge and promote lifelong learning by:

- strengthening the European dimension of education at all levels
- improving the knowledge of European languages
- promoting cooperation and mobility throughout education

- encouraging innovation in education
- promoting equal opportunities in all sectors of education

To these ends, SOCRATES funded various forms of cooperation within the EU: mobility, joint projects, networks, dissemination of ideas and good practices, as well as studies and comparative analyses. The programme targeted all forums of learning irrespective of level, ranging from primary schools to universities and addressed students, teachers and external interested parties.

The programme comprised seven separate actions: COMENIUS (school education), ERASMUS (higher education), GRUNDTVIG (adult education), LINGUA (learning European languages), MINERVA (ICT in education), observation and innovation of education systems and policies and joint actions with other European programmes.

In 2007, the SOCRATES Programme was integrated into an overall EU Lifelong Learning Programme (see chapter 18).

Annemarie Falktoft

THE EUROPEAN CHALLENGE: A NEW DIRECTION

1996 was the European Year of Lifelong Learning. The ETUCE held a conference on this theme in Paris in February. Education Commissioner Edith Cresson spoke at the conference. She demonstrated how important education issues were for the European Commission and said: "education and training have a central role to play. An overall increase in the level of education on a solid foundation of general culture is itself a factor in preventing exclusion."

The conclusions and proposals which the ETUCE drew from this conference would subsequently serve as a basis for demands in several areas:

> "We stress the individual right of every teacher and member of education staff to continuing training, and the logical result of this, i.e. the obligation for public authorities to ensure that each individual has the opportunity to freely exercise this choice." "The role of schools consists in guaranteeing access for all young people to training in new technologies and in particular the acquisition of practical skills."

1996 was also the year for the review of the Treaty of Maastricht, and the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) officially opened on 23 March in Turin, where the ETUCE demonstrated along with the ETUC in an attempt to exert the necessary pressure to obtain significant developments to the Treaty in areas such as employment, taxation and the role of public services, social rights, etc.

The ETUCE General Assembly of 3-5 June would also formally adopt a declaration: "promoting and developing public services". This year was a busy one for the ETUCE in terms of activities, confirming its growth, its influence with various institutional partners and its representativeness, and improving the way in which it functioned.

Relations with the ETUC were strengthened further, a fact testified to by its participation in a meeting of the European Industry Federations, meetings with the ETUC General Secretary, social dialogue meetings and in the ETUC education group, and a conference against racism and xenophobia. The following year the

General Secretary of the ETUCE Alain Mouchoux became a member of the ETUC Steering Committee.

Communication was also developed: some examples of those who featured in the ETUCE bulletin were Achilleas Mitsos, a DG Director, who presented the LEONARDO programme, Klaus Hänsch, the President of the European Parliament, who gave an interview, and also Jacques Santer, the President of the European Commission, who provided a contribution on "education and training at the heart of the challenges for Europe".

The first annual training seminar for ETUCE leaders was held on 1 February 1997. The ETUCE also held its first seminar on research, organised by the Higher Education Working Group. A cycle of regional seminars on professional training was launched in Vienna, with subsequent seminars in Birmingham, Helsinki and Athens. Quality in education remained a permanent preoccupation for the ETUCE, which held a conference in Rome from 21 to 23 March 1997 focussing on professionalism, evaluation and programmes in the context of "the evolution of the purposes and objectives of schools".

Cooperation with the European Parents Association (EPA) continued; there was institutional reflection among the two organisations culminating on 24 November in Copenhagen in a common ETUCE/EPA statement "calling on their members, within their orientations, practices and national and regional competences and responsibilities, and respecting the specific roles of parents and teachers, to lobby in the same direction for the development and improvement of education and training".

1997 was the European Year against Racism and Xenophobia. Despite opposition from some Member States, for the first time in Europe concrete actions were implemented to combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. The ETUCE had held its third regional seminar on "intercultural education against racism and xenophobia" in Berlin on 16 and 17 December 1996 and the fourth regional seminar in Dublin from 12 to 14 January. The ETUCE, buoyed up by the contributions and information gained from these seminars, planned to hold a conference in Strasbourg on 29 September to raise awareness and mobilise teachers and other education workers throughout Europe and commit to in-depth

work to develop mentalities and attitudes in all workplaces and walks of life.

On 5 December, a common statement between the ETUCE and the OBESSU was signed on intercultural education: "Every individual needs to have a basic knowledge of different cultures. Respect for another culture starts with learning about it. Schools are a vital place for learning to live together in society." During that year the ETUCE was also committed at grassroots level, demonstrating against racism, for example in Toulon (France), and also participating actively in all meetings held by the ETUC and the Commission.

The ETUCE decided to publish a Manifesto for Education in which it set out its objectives for education in Europe and teachers' aspirations.

This document, which was presented to the press and sent to the European institutions, relaunched the debate on education and served as a support for the conference held by the ETUCE on 12 May 1997 on education and training: the manifesto would subsequently serve as a reference for the ETUCE's demands in various meetings and audiences.

The ETUCE continued to progress in terms of institutional recognition. It was consulted for the first time as an expert by the European Commission on the future of SOCRATES for the last three years of the five-year programme.

The ETUCE was also invited to Utrecht by the Dutch Education Ministry in February as an expert for a conference on "Safety in schools". The ETUCE General Secretary used this opportunity to state that this issue was an "element of quality at school and in life", that it "should be a concern in education systems" and that there was a need to look for "the multiple social and cultural causes outside schools as well as within their walls". It should be pointed out that the ETUCE had already begun work on this theme in partnership with the EPA and with school student representatives (OBESSU).

The ETUCE has always lobbied for social policy and employment to lie at the heart of European commitments, in particular in combating unemployment. For example, the Executive Board of 6

October 1997 launched an "appeal for employment" among its member organisations and the ETUCE participated in a mass demonstration on 20 November in Luxembourg and in a forum for employment and on trade union proposals to reduce unemployment.

In an interview with the ETUCE bulletin, Emilio Gabaglio notably said: "the link between employment and training is clear to us. We are convinced that a society which does not take care of the next generation is seriously risking its future".

Box 6

The Manifesto

An important landmark in the life of the ETUCE was the publication of the Manifesto in 1997.

The ETUCE was growing in stature, with a reputation as a businesslike organisation, and had become a partner whose opinions were sought out and listened to.

We therefore came up with the idea of stating our ambitions and demands for education clearly and formally at the very moment when education had returned to the forefront of European politics with the White Paper "Teaching and learning: towards the learning society".

Our "European Teachers' Manifesto" reiterated the vital role of education in Europe, and expressed teachers' aspirations to guarantee and promote the fundamental values of education for the years to come in order to ensure progress in our societies, in particular through the training of young people. The Manifesto also reiterated that all European citizens have "the right to a high quality education" and to acquire professional, social and cultural skills throughout their lifetimes. It urged the European Union and its Member States to improve working conditions for teachers and to ensure that they receive high quality initial and continuing training.

Moreover, we once again firmly demanded full recognition of the ETUCE by the EU as a social partner.

This manifesto was sent to the leaders of all of the European institutions. It was used during the European elections and brought to the attention of all of our partners.

Alain Mouchoux

ADAPTING TO MOVE WITH THE TIMES

In 1998 the various working groups set up by the Executive Board met regularly on subjects such as research, education against violence, health education, higher education, professional training and quality in education.

Certain ETUCE activities also acquired an increasing importance: for example, at a time when violence in schools was becoming more widespread, creating greater awareness and requiring prevention and special training for teachers, i.e. linked to education policy.

The fifth Framework Programme for Research encountered some difficulties on its way to adoption, with particular divergences remaining on the scale of funding. The ETUCE contacted the President of the Council of Research Ministers: "In order for new impetus to be given to research policy in Europe, we emphasise that the budget must be revised upwards". Finally, in December 1998, the fifth Framework Programme was adopted with an increased budget. The following year it would incorporate 11 countries from Central and Eastern Europe.

Box 7

Working methods

During this period from 1991 to 2000 barely a meeting of the Executive Board, the Bureau or the General Assembly went by without mention of developing the ETUCE's working methods, its way of functioning and its cooperation with the two internationals.
From 1992/3 onwards the ETUCE rapidly took decisions to ensure that sound foundations and reference texts were available in all its areas of interest, so that any European leader or leader of a member organisation could present and defend the European committee's demands.

It took the opportunity following decisions by the Bureau, the Executive Board and the General Assemblies to look in depth at the broader themes of education and training, culture, research, etc.
The action programme was approved in the General Assembly; it laid down the guidelines, orientations, stages and objectives to be achieved.

Advisory working groups composed of experts nominated and funded by their trade unions were set up under the guidance of a member of the Bureau or the General Secretary. Through three or four meetings per year they produced analyses and proposals which were each validated by the Bureau and the Executive Board before being presented and adopted in the General Assembly.

Alain Mouchoux

INCREASED COOPERATION AND NEGOTIATION

Negotiations among the social partners (ETUC - UNICE - CEEP) had begun in March 1998 on the issue of fixed term contracts, which had tripled in proportion in just a few years. The ETUCE decided to launch a survey on this subject among its member organisations. The result which emerged was that this was "a

problem which is increasing and becoming more widespread. The use of fixed term contracts in education reveals the tendency towards deregulation and budgetary restrictions". The ETUCE therefore stepped up its efforts to reduce this excessive use of fixed term contracts along with its lobbying of the ETUC on this front. This culminated in a European Framework Agreement which incorporated the following elements: "no promotion of fixed term contracts, affirmation of the rule of contracts of indefinite duration".

The ETUCE had been working on quality for several years against the backdrop of European Commission initiatives on this issue, whether to do with school teaching or higher education. In the context of the SOCRATES programme, the ETUCE jointly held a conference with the EPA and the OBESSU in Pisa from 5 to 8 March 1997 on "Partnership and cooperation on quality in teaching". It was no mean feat to hold an event which brought together three organisations at this level which were involved and implicated in teaching quality, and thereby demonstrated the importance of partnership in education on such an issue.

A high point of all the work carried out on quality in education was the organisation of a round table on "evaluating quality in education" on 5 and 6 November 1997 in Luxembourg. It emerged from this that

> "debating the need for quality in education and evaluating it is a natural concern for education systems and workers". "Any evaluation must be meaningful and help make overall improvements to all dimensions of education and training, learning processes, behavioural elements, the social, human and cultural environment and citizenship, and therefore the resources associated with these".

HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH: HARMONISING POLICY

On 25 May 1998 the four ministers with responsibility for higher education in France, Germany, Italy and the UK signed a declaration entitled "Harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system" at the Sorbonne in Paris to mark its 800th anniversary. On 19 June 1999 in Bologna, 29 ministers affirmed their support for this declaration and thereby

decided to "establish the European area of higher education and to promote the European system of higher education world-wide" by 2010. This marked the beginning of a complex and expanding inter-ministerial and inter-governmental process in which the ETUCE and the two internationals were involved (see chapter 13).

4 January 1999 saw the launch of the Euro. The ETUCE welcomed the event and expressed the hope that it would have positive effects on growth, employment, social policy and training.

On 3 and 4 February 1999 the ETUCE held a round table in Luxembourg on violence in schools. This was the first time that teaching trade unions from all over Europe had debated this growing phenomenon in schools. "A climate without violence is important in improving quality in education".

The ETUCE published *"Research in the European Union. The demands of the ETUCE"*, met with European Research Commissioner Philippe Busquin and from 10 to 12 February held its fourth seminar on the subject of research. This considered issues such as funding for research, the pressure to be exerted in favour of research in the short term and researchers' career prospects.

In 1999 the ETUCE also completed its work of four years on quality in education by holding another round table on 10 and 11 November in Luxembourg on "indicators of quality" in connection with the work undertaken by the Commission on the subject, which the ETUCE would continue to monitor closely.

The Treaty of Amsterdam was ratified on 1 May 1999, and it gave increased powers to the European Parliament. The new Commission started work in September, with Viviane Reding as Education Commissioner and Philippe Busquin the Commissioner for Research. The Directorates General were reorganised and Directorate General XXII, with which the ETUCE had continued to entertain close relations, disappeared to become the new Directorate General for Education and Culture.

1999 was also the year of European elections and the ETUCE addressed its expectations and demands for education, research and culture to the European Parliament's parliamentary groups:

> "Education and training represent major assets for Europe's development, economic growth and progress. These are the crucial elements for cohesion, social inclusion and the promotion of European citizenship. They are powerful factors in ensuring and strengthening democracy, defending and promoting rights and freedoms, combating racism and xenophobia and respecting cultural diversity. This requires the governments of the Member States to give lasting priority to investments for education, training and research, including education research."

COMMITMENT IN SOLIDARITY

At the same time, the ETUCE, OBESSU and ESIB addressed a joint statement to the members of the European Parliament's committees on education and on employment and social affairs:

> "Education, training and research play a vital role in the advent and maintenance of democracy in society, and contribute to the participation and personal development of every individual. They represent considerable assets in terms of development, progress and economic growth in Europe." "The OBESSU, ESIB and ETUCE urge you to move forward with the education and training dossier and to promote enhanced social dialogue with students, teaching staff and other education and training workers."

In the course of this decade, the ETUCE confirmed that its role as the representative body for teachers and education workers in the European Union countries, and that it was monitoring all the developments in education systems. The institutional recognition it received in the context of social dialogue, albeit still not fully expanded or clarified, gave the committee new opportunities for action, although each one required the ETUCE to step up its level of professionalism. It diversified its activities and commitments, gradually covering the whole field of education at all levels, as well as the field of research. It was with this aim in mind that the ETUCE constantly produced texts, statements and detailed demands, which were drawn up jointly by ad hoc working groups, validated by conferences and round tables and then adopted by the General Assembly. This ensured that on each occasion the maximum number of different contributions were gathered, and demonstrated the seriousness of its members' commitment in its external relations. This was particularly true of the weekly meetings with successive Presidencies of the Council of Education

Ministers. These were of varying importance, depending on the circumstances and timing, but they all demonstrated that trade unions in Europe were a force to be reckoned with.

Other meetings were significant and very constructive, in particular those with the Commissioners responsible for education and research. The interviews given by many of these figures in the Bulletin – the President of the Commission, the President of the European Parliament, Commissioners, the General Secretary of the ETUC – helped contribute to the reputation, reliability and representativeness of the ETUCE.

There were other fruitful relationships, for example with MEPs and with the Presidents of European Parliament committees. However, the most intense and lasting work was obviously carried out in conjunction with the Commission's education services. Through frequent meetings, exchanges of views and participation in conferences the ETUCE was able to take the cause of education in Europe forward.

These developments and this strengthening of our action and raising of the *"voice of teachers in Europe"* were made possible by teamwork: in the Executive Board and the Bureau, in the working groups and the Secretariat, and of course through the committed involvement of our member organisations.

Box 8

Parent-student cooperation

When it was set up, our committee was called the European Trade Union Committee for Education, and we have tried to live up to the name.

The rapid pace of development of our societies, new ways of relating to knowledge, the development of information and communication technologies, advances made in child psychology, in didactics and teaching methods have had a great impact on schools and universities.

The roles of education staff working in schools, of associations extending school life and obviously of parents, pupils and students themselves have all increased a great deal in recent decades. The concept of education as a partnership between teachers and students, parents, the community and other professionals has become common currency and logically enough parents have become partners for education.

These kinds of changes come at a certain price and institutional and relational difficulties may exacerbate legitimate differences on the responsibilities and competences of the different sides involved. Local, regional and national education committees have been set up bringing together administration staff, teachers, parents and quite often pupils.

Several dozen national parental associations created the EPA – the European Parents' Association – and in 1988 we attended their congress in Strasbourg.

At that time the creation of a European association – PLEASE – was launched. It was intended to bring together educational associations, headteachers, students, EPA parents and the ETUCE's teaching trade unions.

We did not follow up on our participation in this heterogeneous structure, which seemed to be pursuing aims other than the promotion of education in Europe.

However, the need to cooperate with parents' associations from the EPA was always a factor in proceedings, and on 5 January 1995 the first ETUCE-EPA meeting took place. The two organisations, after a lengthy exchange of views on parent-teacher relations, decided to develop their relationship further and drafted a protocol about joint responsibility for the education of young people. Subsequently, successive meetings in 1996 tried to achieve "the highest number of possible points of convergence whilst respecting the specific nature of both sides" in order to set up an ETUCE-EPA partnership. On 24 November 1996, at the EPA/ETUCE conference, we managed to draft a joint declaration: "Education and training of quality must be constructed by parents,

teachers and education staff who must respect their different responsibilities and be brought together by a shared will to create around pupils and students favourable conditions and an atmosphere for the acquisition of basic knowledge, and the rational integration of external influences as well as education for responsibility." "The ETUCE and EPA call on their members to act in this way in order to develop and improve education and training."

Relations have developed continuously with mutual participation in EPA congresses and ETUCE general assemblies or in joint conferences, such as the one in Pisa in March 1998 on quality in teaching, or in Copenhagen on violence in schools.

This kind of exchange and cooperation has helped to strengthen the image and reputation of both organisations, which are seen as very representative in the field of education. Due to our concept of education, the ETUCE has simultaneously forged and then further developed relations with the organisations which represent pupils and students, the OBESSU and the ESIB, which in 2007 became the European Students Union.

Our reasons for this have not changed: education is not the sole responsibility of teachers and young people have a huge role to play in their own training and in achieving success for all, and therefore in contributing to progress in education systems and in higher education.

The first contacts were formalised in 1996 when the ETUCE presented its opinions, comments and proposals on the Commission's white paper "Teaching and learning: towards the learning society", at conferences organised by the ESIB, and then by the OBESSU.

These contacts then became more extensive and formalised with mutual participation in conferences, colloquia and seminars or in drawing up demands for higher education with the ESIB or, for example, with the ETUCE-OBESSU joint declaration on inter-cultural education.

This multiple partnership, with the ETUCE in a central role, has showed that it is possible to promote common demands for progress in education through cooperation between different stakeholders. Moreover, the seriousness and representativeness of organisations like the ETUCE, EPA, OBESSU and the ESIB were clearly demonstrated when David Coyne, the director general, integrated a compulsory consultation mechanism with these organisations.

Alain Mouchoux

Chapter 5

2000-2005: MATURING IN THE FACE OF NEW CHALLENGES

Jean–Marie Maillard

In short

The years from 2000-2005 were characterised by several major challenges for the ETUCE: in terms of European policy, the Lisbon European Council meeting of heads of state and government made education and training a key aspect of the European union's economic and social strategy for 2010. The education ministers defined common objectives for education systems for the same period for the first time and they came up with a detailed work programme to achieve them through the open method of coordination. This offered a new framework for ETUCE activities in line with work already being undertaken on education quality, training teachers and teaching modern languages. In addition to this, following the decisions taken in Nice the previous year, preparations were underway for the biggest European enlargement for some time, in terms of the number of countries involved. Without neglecting what had been done up to that point, the ETUCE would now have to increase its activities and provide the required resources to achieve its goals in terms of organisation, financing, information and training for new members, and in order to develop and strengthen social dialogue in education, in conjunction with ETUC activities. Structural development thus continued, on the basis of these developments and EI's strategy in its negotiations with WCT at world level, intended to lead to the creation of an EI-ETUCE Pan-European Structure.

LISBON – A TURNING POINT

At the European Council meeting in Lisbon the heads of state and government adopted a set of conclusions which were supposed to be both forward-looking and dynamic. The idea was to make Europe the "most competitive and most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustained economic growth accompanied by more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" by 2010. Even if the initial considerations were, for the most part, economic in nature, the quality of education and training provided by education systems in different countries was now of strategic importance. The two benchmarks were obviously the United States and Japan. The Education Council asked the Commission to work on a certain number of objectives, namely:

> "A European framework (which) would define the new basic skills to be taught as part of lifelong training: the skills for information technology, foreign languages, technical knowledge, entrepreneurship and social skills."

This meant going much further than the 1999 report setting out sixteen quality indicators, which was drawn up by a group of experts at the request of the European education ministers meeting in Prague. In 2001 a report was to be presented on the tools required to measure the desired progress in order to achieve higher quality. It was to make clear which basic skills were to be acquired by pupils and suggest studying the relevant indicators which would allow individual progress in achieving these joint objectives to be measured. This scenario implied unprecedented levels of coordination in an area defined by the treaties as national competence.

The report on the "Concrete future objectives of education systems" was presented to the Stockholm European Council meeting in March 2001. The process started in Bruges on vocational training was also confirmed under the name of the "Bruges-Copenhagen process". A "Detailed work programme on the objectives of education and training systems in Europe" was presented to the Barcelona Council meeting in March 2002. The proposed mechanism for the work was the "*open method of coordination*", which had been used notably for economic policy. The concerns expressed by the European Commission communication on "Lifelong education and training" were an integral part of this programme and the wish to use an approach

which involved seeking out synergies with activities carried out outside the EU framework, such as the Bologna Process for higher education, was also set out. It was decided that the candidate countries for the next enlargement, which were already involved in the reflection process, would also take part in the work to be carried out. From 2003 the whole project would be termed the "Education and training 2010 work programme".

The ETUCE welcomed the important priority placed on education, but found itself facing difficulties when it came to being recognised by the Council of Education ministers as a representative, competent partner. The directorate general for education and culture was more forthcoming – discussions with the director for education even took place in January 2002 to see about devising a compulsory consultation mechanism with the ETUCE, EPA, OBESSU and ESIB. These discussions were fruitless because the ministers rejected the idea. Paradoxically, students were the only group whose views were regularly sought by the council, since the French minister for education, Jack Lang, had taken it upon himself to invite them when he was president of the Education Council in 2000. With the ETUC's support, the presence of ETUCE representatives was ensured in several technical groups set up to contribute to implementing the Education and training 2010 work programme, with the notable exception of the group on quality indicators. This involvement was to be subsequently confirmed in the "clusters" which were set up, such as the one on teacher training and recruitment. The ETUCE has also been part of the ETUC delegation for structured dialogue on education since 2003.

The initiatives selected by the ETUCE at the time were to provide an opportunity for member organisations to discuss matters, compare points of view, and contribute to developing the positions advocated by the ETUCE. On 12 and 13 March 2001 the ETUCE organised a round table meeting in Berlin called "A challenge to education in the new economy – indicators, new skills and lifelong learning in Europe." Though absent from the technical group on indicators, the committee organised a Round Table Meeting on Quality Indicators in Copenhagen on 18 and 19 November 2002. The Danish minister for education attended the inaugural session. The group on quality met regularly in order to review progress, hear the views of experts and representatives of the DG EAC, and prepare information for the board and the Executive Board. Given what was at stake, the Executive Board decided to continue with

just one standing advisory group – the one dealing with education quality.

Box 9

The Open Method of Coordination

The *Open Method of Coordination* is the main cooperation method used to implement the EU Lisbon Strategy within the area of education. This cooperation framework, defined at the Lisbon European Council in 2000, were set up to pave the way for coherent policies in areas such as education where a 'common policy' is not feasible, but where there still is a need for genuine cooperation among Member States.

The Open Method of Coordination is a decentralised approach through which agreed policies are voluntarily implemented by the Member States and supervised by the Council of the European Union. This method is mainly based on:

- identifying and defining jointly the objectives to be attained
- agreeing on benchmarks and indicators to assess progress
- exchange of good practices to put in place mutual learning processes
- peer review to monitor the progress achieved.

Annemarie Falktoft

Box 10

The PISA studies

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an internationally standardised assessment jointly developed by participating countries in the OECD.

The assessments take place in three-yearly cycles assessing how far pupils near the end of compulsory education have acquired the knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in society. More precisely, PISA assesses mathematical literacy, reading literacy, scientific literacy as well as problem solving skills.

So far the OECD has undertaking 3 assessments each with one main focus. The first one, in 2000, was implemented in 43 countries and focused mainly on reading literacy, while the second one in 2003, implemented in 41 countries, focused mainly on mathematical literacy and introduced moreover the assessment of problem solving skills. The last assessment in 2006 was implemented in 57 countries and focused mainly on scientific literacy. For the up-coming assessment in 2009, 62 countries have signed up to participate.

Annemarie Falktoft

EUROPE IN THE FACE OF MARKET-ORIENTED GLOBALISATION

The creation of the WTO, as the successor to the GATT, stepped up the pace of initiatives promoting the roll-out of market rules to sectors which had traditionally been sheltered from them, such as education, as part of the discussions on the General Agreement on the Trade in Services. The forces in favour of "full market reign" tried to impose their rules on national education policy, likening it to providing a service to a "customer", in the same way in which a bank operates or in which import-export mechanisms work in international cooperations. Higher education was in the front line of this attack, where countries like the United States, Japan, New Zealand, Australia and even Norway are particularly active. Education International obviously took up cudgels on this issue at world level, which is the rightful scale for its activities.

However, the ETUCE had a particular responsibility. Negotiating commercial agreements is a competence of the European commissioner for trade, who acts on the basis of mandate from the Council. Already at the summit in Nice in 2001, the ETUCE had

taken part in the lobbying activities carried out by several of its members with respect to their own governments. It had been decided in the treaty that the rules for liberalisation would not apply where they might endanger cultural diversity, a key value of the European Union. Subsequently, however, during the last stage of finalising the draft constitutional treaty by the European Convention, the ETUCE received a warning from the Finnish union, the OAJ. The experts from its Confederation had discovered that the safety net obtained under the Nice treaty had been reduced to covering just audiovisual and film productions. The ETUCE's Executive Board therefore decided to alert all its member organisations so that they would begin to lobby their governments. It gave the secretary-general a mandate and he took up the matter with the European authorities, the European Parliament, and the Convention through the ETUC, so that education would be excluded from the scope of possible negotiations. The rejection in referenda of the draft constitutional treaty in France and the Netherlands in 2005 put a provisional end to the issue.

It was in the same spirit and with the same degree of enthusiasm that the ETUCE actively participated in the ETUC's campaign to defend public services against the draft directive on liberalising the trade in services in the EU, known as the "Bolkestein" directive. The ETUCE's demand was that education be expressly excluded from the scope of the directive. The discussions continue, particularly in the European parliament. However, it does seem clear that a possible new text will have to take trade union views into account.

THE CHALLENGES OF THE ENLARGEMENT

The first challenge for the ETUCE was to consist of bringing the organisations in the future member states rapidly up to speed with the nature of the EU, the policies which are carried out, the existing programmes, decision-making mechanisms and the opportunities for social dialogue. Without waiting for the official enlargement day in May 2004, training seminars and specific round tables were organised for the trade unions of the candidate countries and they were systematically invited to participate in initiatives linked to EU policies. These efforts were coordinated with the ETUC, notably for social dialogue, and were to continue in

2004 and 2005 with the TRACE and social dialogue projects, which are funded by the EU.

The second challenge was of an organisational and democratic nature, although there were also certain financial implications. The increased number of organisations to be represented in the Executive Board was due to increase considerably, thus complicating operational procedures and there was a real risk that there would be fewer and fewer discussions, and that the board would become the real decision-making body. Several decisions on this point were taken at the time.

The number of Executive Board meetings would be kept as low as possible and the Executive Board's mandate would be increased from two to three years. However, to compensate for what might seem to be a reduction in democracy, the board proposed setting up the ETUCE Council. This new body, incorporating all the member organisations (two representatives for each trade union), would meet once a year in those years when no General Assembly was to be held. This would mean that all the member organisations could meet every year instead of once every two years, as had previously been the case. All of these changes were formalised in a text amending the statutes which was to remain confidential. There were other changes planned on EI's side. The first meeting of the new council, as an experiment, nevertheless took place on 2 and 3 June 2003 in Brussels.

The decision was taken to set up four electronic networks: legal experts, chief negotiators and education quality, and higher education and research. Training courses for about 15 people per network were organised in Florence in January 2002 but actually implementing the networks is still posing problems which are not merely technical in nature. However, the higher education and research network, building on the longstanding membership of the EI Higher Education and Research Standing Committee, has proved a valuable addition to work in this sector and has demonstrated the scope for cooperation between ETUCE and the EI Pan European structure. It became clear very quickly that these networks still required face-to-face meetings, and the ETUCE therefore made the effort to organise one meeting per year in parallel with its other meetings. Consideration was also given to the very nature of the work to be carried out and the idea of

transforming the chief negotiators network into a salary and working conditions network emerged.

The third challenge was financial. In 1999, Alain Mouchoux, left office and Jörgen Lindholm took up the post of secretary general. From this point on the ETUCE would have to cover the cost of a full-time post. On top of this, there were the budget deficits from a period when the delays between the Commission's decision to finance an activity, the activity itself, and the payment of the financial support, or even the difference between the expected amount of the subsidy and the amount actually paid were all recurrent problems for the accounts department. Given the enlargement taking in ten new countries, whose organisations were not in a position to make significant contributions, and the fact that operations and activities were increasing in scale, the situation quickly became untenable. Discussions regarding some of the shortcomings of the Santer Commission led to stricter criteria for allocating European funding, which can now only cover part of the expenses for projects which are submitted with a properly set out financial plan. After the study and report carried out by the treasurer, George Vansweevelt, the Executive Board took several decisions:

- The standing advisory groups were terminated, except for the "Education Quality" group. They were replaced by provisional groups made up of members of the Executive Board (3 or 4) and were to meet before or after the Executive Board and a decision was taken to base them on language considerations, once again to bring down operating costs. So the provisional group on Training Teachers was to work in English, and the one on modern languages in French.

- The guidelines for devising action plans were reviewed. The ETUCE decided to finance just one round table-style activity per year. For other projects a budget framework was set up which included ETUCE authorised expenses (mainly the secretariat) and applications for funding. Subsequent activities were only to be implemented when funding had actually been granted.

- It was decided that the ETUCE would receive a limited, gradual increase in the dues paid to EI and an effort was made to make sure that organisations would pay their share

more regularly, on the basis of a more accurate estimate of the actual number of their members.

PURSUING LONG-STANDING PROJECTS

The European Years dedicated to particular issues provided an opportunity to apply for funding for related activities and to define and update the ETUCE's positions. This was the case for 2001, the "European Year of Languages". The provisional group for Languages updated the text adopted in 1989, when the LINGUA programme was launched. It also showed that a number of the ETUCE's propositions were still relevant. Organising the Round Table on "Language Teaching and Learning" in Lisbon on 19 and 20 November 2001, and taking part in the closing seminar for the year organised by Viviane Redding in Brussels, meant that the Committee was able to have a say in the objectives of the "Education and Training 2010" work programme.

In social dialogue the desire to create the right conditions for sectoral dialogue in education has always been an important issue for the ETUCE. The diverse range of teachers' statutes in different countries, from civil service employee through to practically a member of the liberal professions, with different contractual conditions, did not seem at first to offer much chance of defining common strategies on career development, for example. The same was true when it came to employers – they included states, German länder, autonomous regions, town councils, districts and schools themselves. The ETUCE decided to begin exploratory discussions with two existing organisations, the CEEP (European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation) and the CEMR (Council of European Municipalities and Regions). After several meetings, bearing in mind the limited representativeness of these two organisations in the education sector, the decision was taken to compare approaches and try to find common avenues to explore on a topical issue: teacher training and recruitment problems in several European countries. A joint ETUCE-CEEP-CEMR was held in Brussels on 24 and 25 October 2002, which has since been followed by regular meetings. The content of social dialogue in education and the best ways to further its development and promote it across the board, in spite of the diverse range of employers, were discussed in regional seminars (Slovenia in

November 2004, Vilnius 2-3 July 2005) and in a conference in Amsterdam on 30 September 2005.

On teacher training the 1993 publication of a policy statement on "*Training Teachers in Europe"* had caught a lot of people's attention. For the first time, an attempt had been made to tackle the actual content of training courses and to provide guidelines for improvements in quality. In 2001 the ETUCE decided to "review" its proposals by creating a provisional working group on the basis of the new rules – there would be three members of the Executive Board, one of whom would be a vice-president, and the group would work in English. The group quickly agreed that rather than a substantive change in the proposals, it would make more sense to analyse the critical situation of teacher recruitment, particularly in Sweden, the United Kingdom, France and Germany. The group's work provided input for the joint ETUCE-CEEP-CEMR seminar (24-25.10. 2002) and led to the report adopted by the 2003 General Assembly and the endorsing of the European campaign – "Europe Needs Teachers" – as part of the action programme. The campaign led to a range of initiatives, communications, contacts with different bodies, ministers, etc. which focused on the need to attract high quality newly-qualified young people into the profession through better salaries and improved working and training conditions, and resulted in the *ETUCE Hearing on Teacher Education* on 17 January 2005.

Quality in education has been a concern of the ETUCE for some time. Since 1995, and the Bruges conference on quality in higher education, the committee had had a working group on education quality issues. In March 1996, the seminar in Rome examined the state of play and during 1998 the working group was transformed into a standing advisory group on quality. It was the largest working group up to that point and met most often. The whole period was characterised by initiatives focused on education, which were sometimes carried out jointly by several international agencies or bodies. Such was the case for the *World Education Forum* organised by the UNPD, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank in Dakar in April 2000, which identified the failure of the objectives set 10 years previously in Jomtien and put back the deadline till 2015. Experts assess education costs, state investment and families and individuals in terms of the social and economic benefits generated, and the concept of human capital is commonly used. Quite often it is the same experts who are

consulted when different international initiatives of this kind take place.

In 2000 the OECD launched the PISA programme (Programme for International Student Assessment), which involved defining a certain number of basic skills for mother-tongue understanding and expression, mathematics and science. The tests, which involve a series of exercises devised by groups of experts working in conjunction with representatives from national ministries of education, were repeated in 2003 for all 15-year old school pupils and again in 2006. In the cases of the World Bank and the OECD it would be absurd to maintain that they are not really interested in improving education, but their preconditions for this are often economic and this is reflected in their expression of the concepts – cost of education, profitability, human capital, etc. The links between knowledge and skills are not fully analysed and the definition used for "basic skills" sometimes gives the impression of setting these two concepts against each other rather than trying to find the link between them. The repeated calls for efforts to be focused on acquiring these basic skills contain the beginning of a slide towards poorer educational content in syllabuses.

The OECD is also carrying out a study on how attractive the teaching profession is. Besides the considerations which tie in with trade union concerns, the aim of the study is to draw up a profile for a "good teacher". These studies and projects focusing on education no doubt have an influence the way these issues are analysed at European level – indeed, the ETUCE already expressed its concerns at the Berlin seminar in 2001. Even if the publication of the PISA results sometimes leads to worthwhile debate, such as the one in Germany on the unfair nature of the organisation of the education system due to early selection, more often it provides the pretext for clashes about the countries rank in "league tables".

The adoption of the Lisbon strategy and the Education and Training 2010 programme has only served to highlight the importance of continuing and expanding work being done in this area. This is all the more valid since the mid-term review presented by the Commission in 2005 is really an alarm bell indicating that no genuine measurable progress has been made in what are considered to be strategic areas, such as bringing down the number of early school leavers. For the ETUCE it is still essential to act at European level so that the fundamental role of education is

recognised, not just in terms of its economic input, but also in its decisive contribution to social coherence, democracy and personal culture and development. It is up to the committee to work effectively at European level, but also to provide trade unions with opportunities to share their experiences, exchange good practice and develop joint action strategies for tackling their respective governments.

AN ASSERTIVE, MATURING ETUCE

Within the ETUC, of which it is one of the federations, the ETUCE is always involved in all the working groups on education, vocational training and social dialogue. It represents the ETUC in a certain number of meetings and conferences. In 2001 the secretary-general of the ETUCE was invited to become a member of the Executive Board of Eurocadres and the invitation was accepted. This desire is also reflected in the wish to have a higher profile in demonstrations called by the Confederation. It was to take several attempts to achieve success since the member trade unions of the ETUCE preferred to march with their national confederations for reasons of trade union allegiance, and because of understandable organisational considerations to do with starting points. For the European demonstration in Nice the meeting arrangements decided by the Executive Board could not be respected but at the Brussels demonstration in December 2001 the ETUCE banner was present, carried by the secretary-general, one of the three vice-presidents and the secretary. Over time numbers have increased gradually to the extent that, at the last demonstration organised by the ETUC in Strasbourg against the Bolkestein directive, the ETUCE delegation made its presence felt.

The ETUCE's structures were to go through new developments in 2003. The committee's history has shown just how difficult it is to achieve stability, and it is actually quite reasonable to ask on which date exactly it was founded. There have been many efforts and debates along the way to a stable trade union structure, with clear statutes, an elected executive with a fixed mandate, an appointed secretary-general and a solid financial situation. But the ETUCE's strength undoubtedly lies in the desire of national organisations themselves to have an effective European trade union tool, which is untainted by personal clashes, unwillingness to

provide the necessary financial resources or even by old splits between organisations from different internationals.

In 2000, two related issues were to come to the fore. The first was that of European enlargement, which led to an initial attempt to modify the statutes, as previously mentioned, and the second was the unification of teaching trade unions at world level. The discussions dragged on, and some EI leaders began to wonder about what they saw as reservations about reaching an agreement. Documents were drawn up showing that the WCT's European unions were getting more out of the ETUCE than they were contributing to its functioning and representativeness. Over time the EI's regional committee received increasingly precise requests to the effect that the ETUCE should be a structure made up solely of EI members and integrated into the Europe Region. The risk of such a structure not being recognised by the ETUC as a professional federation was expressly identified by the EIE's bureau. The debate was to become clearer in 2003. The ETUCE's Executive Board meeting on 7 May 2003 adopted a declaration recalling the principles that statute modifications cannot call into question (bringing together the European unions of EI and the WCT from the EU and the EFTA, continuing to be one of the ETUCE's professional federations, being a financially autonomous organisation, appointing its own secretary-general, representing its members before EU bodies). A short sentence concluded the text in these terms: "If discussion between EI and the WCT were to lead to an integrated structure the ETUCE's statutes would have to reflect this situation." The ambiguity of this conclusion in terms of the principles mentioned led to a difference in attitude between the ETUCE president and the other members of the board.

A small working group including members of the EIE and ETUCE bureaus was given the task of coming up with proposals for modifying the ETUCE's statutes. As often happens in these debates, it was the "technical" questions which seemed to present most difficulties – duplication of effort, needless expense, etc. However, during the discussions, whilst negotiations between EI and the WCT seemed once again to be the right track, old quarrels began to resurface, such as renewed suspicion about "the Christians", and disputed trade union legitimacy of the ETUC. Some, rightly pointing to higher education, said that globalisation has now outstripped the construction of Europe and that fundamental questions would henceforth be dealt with at world

level. This approach, which has a measure of truth, would have EI as the sole appropriate, sufficiently strong trade union structure for effective action, including at EU level. Most of the ETUCE's office holders were against such a position since it would lead to the weakening, and possibly even the disappearance, of the ETUCE and to leaving the ETUC. They made other proposals. Discussions that summer were tense but some kind of convergence emerged with the "Education International Pan-European Structure for Education International – Europe (EIE) and the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE)". Right up to the last moment, the ETUCE's vice-presidents proposed amendments intended to make the ETUCE an independent financial and political organisation within the integrated structure, responsible for everything covering policies implemented in the EU and the EFTA, in line with the statement of principles of 7 May. These amendments were adopted in September 2003 by the EI regional conference, the ETUCE Executive Board and finally by the General Assembly in December 2003. The positive outcome of international discussions between EI and the WCT, which became an autonomous group within the EI, led to a temporary conclusion to discussions and the Pan-European Structure, set up in 2004, is still functioning today.

This does not mean that all the problems have been solved, and there are certainly a number of improvements to be made. But if the necessary working relationships based on trust are created with the necessary coordinating bodies, each with their own recognised responsibility on the basis of the balance achieved in 2003, and if priority is given to the interests of education and teachers in Europe, the new structure should be able to carry out its role effectively. In 2005, the prospect of a merger appeared on the trade union horizon. This became a reality in November 2006 with the creation, at global level, of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC). The ETUCE is once again facing new challenges.

Chapter 6

UNITING IN DIVERSITY

Louis Van Beneden

In short

An organisation like the ETUCE was forced to recognise that its existence was shaped by the fact that its member organisations belonged to independent internationals which were not simply working within the scope of the EC (as it was; the EU as it became), but rather Europe as a whole. Moreover, European policy was integrated into visions and activities which covered the entire world. The fact of wanting to bring together member organisations with different trade union, political, ideological, professional etc. outlooks did not facilitate coordinated and apposite action. The integration of this movement into the thinking and activities of a European confederation (ETUC), which itself had to take account of the existence of various international confederations, was not a clear-cut matter either. But step by step the ETUCE, like the ETUC, has succeeded in bringing all trade union forces together in unified structures in Europe and, since November 2006, similar processes have taken place in the trade union world as a whole.

In order to understand the significance of the final result, it is worth describing the long search for this unity which extended over so many years. We did this in chapters 1 to 5, and in this chapter we will describe the difficulties encountered during this development process due to the structural challenges faced by the ETUCE in the course of its history.

THE ETUCE IN A CHANGING TRADE UNION LANDSCAPE

Although it may not be obvious to everyone, there are few people in top positions within teachers' organisations in Europe who do not believe that Europe must feature in the outlook of any trade

union worthy of the name. Europe cannot be a matter for just a few individual leaders; a teaching union must invest fully in it, not least for the sake of young people, as it is they who will be called on to construct the Europe of the future.

Not everybody was always convinced of this, and even today there are those who will only venture onto the pathways of Europe with great caution. To paraphrase Clausewitz, we could say that some see European commitments primarily as a continuation of their national activities on a larger field. Even the current difficulties in constructing a unified and interdependent political and social Europe which is more than just a free trade area do not in any way alter the influence the European Union has on Member States' education and training policies. Through the programmes and strategies instituted with a view to achieving the Lisbon objectives of 2000, particularly using the open method of coordination (see box 9 in chapter 5), international trends increasingly determine national policy. The need to unite at all levels where these policies can be influenced only increases the importance of an organisation like the ETUCE.

At supranational level many will only grudgingly concede their sometimes contradictory visions, positions and strategies which have been influenced by history and hinge on national situations. This is true even though relations and situations at that level are not particularly comparable with those experienced at home. Very often the resulting contradictions are of an ideological nature, which makes them hard to overcome even though this would be in the interests of all involved. It is quite clear that this fact sometimes weighs heavily on developments in the supranational education context, despite the fact that over the years there has been a considerable amount of rapprochement which is sometimes overlooked. However, it is important to recognise this in order to be able to understand and interpret the current situation in the international education trade union movement. Developments in the ETUCE must be placed in the context of societal developments throughout the history of relations between the bodies and organisations which have made the ETUCE what it is today.

OVERALL CONTEXT: "THE PRESENT IS THE KEY TO THE PAST. THE PAST IS THE KEY TO THE PRESENT"

In many European countries, teachers organised themselves into professional organisations in the second half of the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th century, initially at primary education level. These gradually transformed into independent trade unions, although their professional nature was not lost altogether. Affiliation to central, inter-professional trade union organisations did not come until later. In the early days many teachers did not feel that they belonged to the working classes, and they were received in trade union circles with a certain degree of suspicion.

Up to the second half of the last century, secondary education had often been rather elitist. As a result of the influence of a broad democratisation and emancipation movement, secondary education had become more or less ubiquitous by the latter decades of the 20th century. To begin with secondary teachers' organisations also operated at a purely professional level but gradually, as the number of educational institutions increased, they too formed trade union-type independent organisations in which the professional aspect did not have the same pre-eminence as before. It was primarily during the inter-war period that trade union voices started to make themselves heard and after the second world war they became the dominant voices.

At higher education level these developments came even later. Even today, university education trade unions are not fully integrated into the general trade union movement in some countries. We will return to this subject later.

In reality these developments meant that trade union organisations were as a rule organised by level of education, and organisations which represented teachers from different levels were for a long time the exception. This division by educational category also continued to be a very important factor at international level until the end of the last century (see chapter 1). Even when integrated into joint structures, the division by category was important in terms of activities, and sometimes even positions. This fact has without doubt been a feature of the development of the international trade union movement and developments within the ETUCE are a perfect illustration of this phenomenon.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ETUCE

The unified approach which these days is generally accepted in the European context (in spite of the divisions by category which persist at national level in many countries) is the result of a slow and difficult process which can be summed up in the following developments:

- From existing professional organisations and category-specific trade unions at international level towards a unified structure.
- From international professional organisations to recognised trade unions.
- From separate, independent organisations to fully-fledged members of inter-professional organisations.
- From wide ideological diversity to unity in action based on mutual respect.

Determining factors in these developments:

- The growing importance of education policy which is guided or steered at international level, by the European Community (as was) and subsequently the European Union.
- Fundamentally modified relationships in the international political context.

In the following paragraphs we will attempt to evaluate these developments in relation to developments within the ETUCE, starting with their interdependence.

THE ETUCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL TEACHING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Our analysis of the successive modifications to the ETUCE statutes over the years (see chapter 9) has demonstrated clearly that it was primarily the changes to the level of representation of the partners in the ETUCE in terms of number of members – and therefore their relative 'weight' – which necessitated these modifications.

In the initial phase, when only organisations from the European Communities founding countries were involved and the WCOTP was not yet a constituent partner, the WCT's share was larger than subsequently, since it had a limited number of organisations outside the European Communities area at that time. The IFFTU did not cover the majority of the organisations in the region in question either. Quite apart from the primarily professional nature of many of the member organisations of the WCOTP (we will return to this later), the fact that the WCOTP was more representative of the profession was above all else the basis of the crisis in the ETUCE in 1978, if nothing else because of the possible consequences at national level (see chapters 1 and 2). Integrating the WCOTP presented the existing committee, which was based on the structures of the IFFTU and the WCT, with challenges which were both internationally strategic and political, and filled with potential consequences for their members at national level.

Why was this? The integration of the WCOTP as a constituent partner profoundly changed the relationship between the internationals in the committee[2]. The WCOTP represented by far the greatest number of members. Moreover, the committee would be forced to find a solution to the problem of double affiliation and this further accentuated the sensitive issue of relations within and among French organisations (see chapter 2). Double affiliation to the IFFTU and WCT was statutorily impossible, but affiliation to the WCOTP and one or two other organisations was nothing out of the ordinary. The consequences in terms of distribution of votes, subscription fees and therefore representation of the internationals created a lot of tension, some of it under the surface, some of it open. Relations with the WFTTU also became an issue. It is worth recalling that affiliation to the WFTTU, which was held by some WCOTP organisations, further aggravated the situation because it was unacceptable to the others, and above all to the ETUC. It is also worth mentioning that affiliation (through their confederations) to the CESI (European Confederation of Independent Trade Unions) left the door closed to a number of candidate members of the committee, and presented the existing members with a divisive choice. As previously described (see

[2] It has been widely noted that the language used in ETUCE meetings was primarily French up to the beginning of the 1980s. Following the affiliation of British and Scandinavian WCOTP organisations, English started to be used as the main language of the committee for internal communication.

chapter 2) the origins of the crisis in 1983 were rooted in the fact that the solutions adopted following the 1978 crisis were not sufficient to keep the peace.

The compromise on the rotation of mandates in the board in 1983, and the dual base for electing members of the Executive Board (alongside representation from the internationals, mainly representatives of national organisations) worked relatively satisfactorily until the end of the 1980s.

In 1989 the ETUCE and its constituent partners found themselves facing a major new challenge. Events in Eastern and Central Europe, starting with the fall of the Berlin wall, followed by the implosion of the Soviet bloc, left the entire teaching trade union movement facing a question: how to integrate organisations from these countries into international activities. The WCOTP was the only organisation which had actual members in that region because it was not only a trade union organisation in nature, but also a largely professional organisation, and because it had members with communist leanings in both the East and the West (a product of incidents in the post-war period described in the preamble to this book). There were contacts at bilateral level, and even cooperation agreements between Eastern European organisations and member organisations of the IFFTU and WCT, i.e. in Poland and East Germany. From 1989 onwards the three internationals established more direct contact with sister organisations in the East. The gradual decline in the importance of the WFTTU further intensified this process.

From the moment the EC concluded formal agreements with countries in the region (1990 onwards), either directly or through cross-cutting programmes affecting the education and training sector, a new question was on the agenda: how should the ETUCE react to this new state of affairs? The issue was further intensified by the fact that the ETUC was gradually integrating organisations from Central and Eastern Europe into its initiatives as and when the EC incorporated them into its fields of activity. It goes without saying that the relative weight of the committee's constituent internationals once again changed profoundly with the integration of organisations from Central and Eastern Europe. Initially, the internationals vigorously defended the idea that action in this part of Europe fell within their own competence although, given the European agenda, they accepted that the ETUCE could develop

initiatives in the region. At the start of the 1990s a gentlemen's agreement was reached, dividing up the field and formalised in new working methods which were designed to avoid duplication. Understandably, the member organisations no longer wanted to work on the same dossiers twice over: once in their international and again in the ETUCE. It was not an easy matter but this agreement facilitated a transitional phase. And this was indeed a period of transition, because in the meantime the IFFTU and the WCOTP had begun talks with a view to merging. This merger would once again radically change ETUCE's situation.

There is no disputing that the changes in geopolitical relations were important in the unification process carried out by the IFFTU and the WCOTP in 1993. However, the merger of its two biggest components presented the committee with yet another huge challenge. Apart from the large EI bloc, the smaller WCT was now the only independent partner, alongside a few independent organisations. The creation of EI in 1993 therefore made the situation simpler from one point of view, but also more difficult from another, since the WCL-affiliated WCT was not part of this new international. Further east, the WCT continued to affiliate a number of important organisations in Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the 1990s, both from countries on the road to integration into the EU and from members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It thereby became more competitive with EI in the region, although it remained by far in the minority in the EU. The result of this was that some leaders within EI were of the opinion that the political weight of the WCT within the ETUCE was disproportionate. The role played in the ETUCE by the WCT in the past gave all concerned cause to hesitate while calculating the direct consequences in terms of structures. When talks began at the end of the 90s and beginning of the new century with a view to unification at world level, this issue was kept under wraps pending the conclusion of the talks. Unification ultimately came about in 2003 through the integration of European WCT organisations into EI. From this point onwards, the link between the ETUCE and EI was an exclusive one, and required examination in terms of structure and policy.

Both the creation of EI in 1993 and the participation of organisations from the former Warsaw Pact area in international activities were logical reasons to seek a new adaptation of the ETUCE's statutes. Nevertheless, the internationals and above all EI

were of the opinion that ETUCE action, even where it concerned countries in the region in question, should be limited to EU activities in the field of education and training, and this was a determining factor. To begin with the problem was circumvented by granting observer status to the organisations directly concerned; subsequently, from 1995 onwards, a structural solution was found by allowing the existence of two European bodies within the same structure; lead by the same people, but with separate secretariats for EU dossiers and others.

It is this situation which has shaped relations between EI and the ETUCE to the present day although, as already stated, the member organisations of the WCT have become members of EI since 2003. The fact that the ETUC remains independent alongside the ICFTU and the WCL has been key in this. It remains to be seen whether the new international confederation which brings together the former members of the ICFTU and the WCL will change this situation. If there are substantial changes in relation to the ETUC and professional action at confederal level, it may be necessary to make structural changes to the industry federations, including the ETUCE. Only time will tell.

THE ETUCE AS AN INDUSTRY FEDERATION OF THE ETUC

The creation of the ETUC as a spokesperson for European confederations affiliated to the ICFTU and WCL in 1973 was one of the motivating factors behind the creation of the ETUCE. The European Commission wanted to establish exclusive cooperative relations with a single trade union partner. While this was the case at confederal level, the same attitude was adopted for contacts with teaching trade unions (see chapter 1). Moreover, there were also pragmatic reasons for promoting such a unified structure; it made it possible to combine two important (historical) spheres of political influence to support trade union positions, which quickly translated into useful contacts. It was no simple matter combining organisations which, for historical, ideological or institutional reasons, were rivals at national level in one European structure, and it sometimes caused disputes or tensions.

In chapter 2 we recalled that the ETUCE had from the very start of its existence demanded recognition as an industry federation of the ETUC. In the beginning this was no easy matter, as teaching

organisations which were members of trade unions affiliated to the ETUC, were members of the WCOTP, not the IFFTU or WCT. These organisations, their unions and the WCOTP demanded their affiliation to a committee recognised for the sector by the ETUC. If this had not been possible through the ETUCE, there would have been no choice but to create a new committee which would accept them. The links between some WCOTP organisations and the WFTTU did not make matters any easier, as the ETUC did not want any relations with the WFTU or its constituents. As long as the ETUCE kept the door closed to the WCOTP but not necessarily to its member unions, the situation remained deadlocked and resulted in the non-recognition of the ETUCE by the ETUC. Some ETUCE organisations, as a result of national experiences and contradictions, used the argument of the non-trade union nature of some WCOTP members to keep the doors closed. One of the criteria used for this purpose was the lack of recognition of the right to strike, which also troubled other organisations. Others argued that organisations which were not members of a union affiliated to the ETUC could never be accepted as members. There were those who suspected the WCOTP's 'true' intentions on the matter. Indeed in 1970 Marangé had justified the creation of a European committee with the argument that what was needed was a committee which respected

> "… the independence of some of their national trade union organisations with regard to labour confederations in their respective countries and the existence […] of independent international organisations, particularly at European level: the FIAI and the FIPESO".

This reasoning was not forgotten.

The first crisis in 1978 was the logical continuation of difficult relations between the internationals which, in the period leading up to the eventual agreement, dominated the discussions using just such arguments. Out of a need to close ranks, an agreement between the three was nonetheless reached in 1981. Throughout the period up to this moment the ETUC had played the role of conciliator and catalyst. The consequence was logical: very swiftly afterwards the ETUC recognised the ETUCE as one of its industry federations, leading to greater cooperation which was beneficial to both the ETUCE and the ETUC.

The integration of teaching unions into national confederations has never been a natural process. This phenomenon is generally fairly well known. Perhaps teachers were for too long reluctant to integrate into working class trade unionism, thinking themselves "different" from the others, or even "better" than them? Either way, mistrust among workers' unions has been slow to decline. It is sometimes said the teaching unions always wanted, and still want, to be in complete control of dossiers relating to their sector and when it comes to defending their professional interests in general education and training policy, and they do not take sufficient account of the general interest. And yet, on cross-cutting issues and social policy positions, the confederations advocate their primacy in adopting positions and take account of teachers' interests in as far as it does not impinge on the general view. In principle this applies to all sectors, but it is rarely so pronounced as in the education sector – an interesting theme for a sociological study, perhaps!

We can illustrate this point by quoting a letter written by Matthias Hinterscheid, then secretary-general of the ETUC, on 21 December 1981 to the President of the ETUCE at the time, Guy Georges. In his letter he announces that the ETUC has recognised the ETUCE as one of its industry federations and also writes, among other things, the following:

> "To formalise matters the committee (of the ETUC) feels it should clarify a point in your letter of 29 October in which you officially communicated your willingness to the ETUC. The end of the second paragraph of this letter where you state that you want to "thereby constitute the 'Education' sector within the ETUC" could be interpreted as an intention to try to take over the task of defining trade union education and training policy for Europe on behalf of the ETUC. It must be very clear that this task falls entirely to the statutory bodies of the ETUC itself, which will, however, be happy to accept your cooperation and advice. In other words: our relations will be the same as those between the other union committees and the ETUC".

The difficulties in cooperation over the period 1981-1983, which we have already looked at in the general overview (chapter 2), were monitored by the ETUC with concern and criticism and, as a result, joint efforts suffered from a certain degree of reticence. When a new crisis erupted at the end of 1983, and the members of

the IFFTU broke off their participation in ETUCE activities, new tensions rose to the surface, primarily under the influence of large confederations which contained IFFTU members and even went as far as demanding the withdrawal of the ETUCE's recognition as an ETUC federation. The ETUC meanwhile followed the latest set of talks between the 3 internationals closely. The fact that Hinterscheid did not seem to feel particularly implicated on a objective basis when he reported the situation in the ETUCE to the ETUC did not help improve the mood, but fortunately it did not have any negative consequences either.

When an agreement (which was definitive) was reached in November 1984 both the president and the secretary-general of the ETUC welcomed it publicly. From that point onwards cooperation with and within the ETUC went from strength to strength. Confidence had been re-established, the ETUCE's contribution to ETUC positions was deemed very valuable and it has since become a key player within in the ETUC. The committee correctly carried out all of its obligations to the ETUC which, among other things, had consequences in terms of the affiliation of organisations which applied to join it.

In chapter 11 we stress the fact that cooperation between the ETUC and the ETUCE has continued to go from strength to strength, in particular in education and vocational training, which is an area of European policy where the ETUC, and with it the ETUCE, has guaranteed structural representation in European bodies. The ETUCE is of course also integrated into the ETUC's other areas of activity, as an equal partner with all the other industry federations in social and labour-related areas. It represents the voice of the education world in all bodies in which the ETUC has responsibilities.

CATEGORY-SPECIFIC OR GENERAL?

It is remarkable to note that for many years it was category-specific organisations which were most heavily involved in the committee, at least to begin with. This should not, however, detract from the importance of the involvement of a number of organisations which aimed to protect staff in all sectors. Although Europe had practically no initiatives concerning basic education (with the exceptions of the European schools dossier and

programmes relating to education for children of migrant workers), it was trade unions representing teachers in primary education which emerged most strongly at European level. Gradually secondary education trade unions – first professional and technical education, then general education – started to become more involved. Topics such as working conditions, equal opportunities, teacher training, quality, new technologies etc. obviously motivated all organisations, irrespective of level and sector. It is quite clear that reluctance to get involved (or perhaps uncertainty over the effectiveness or importance of the dossiers?) hampered the collection of dues in the early years of the committee's existence and led to a refusal to invest sufficiently in European activities, which is amply illustrated in the chapter on the committee's finances. This attitude held back progress towards greater professionalism in its activities and representations.

In chapter 7 we explain the relationship between the ETUCE's work and EC policy on education and training. As the programmes became more concrete and focussed on specific issues, it was of course the specialist national organisations which proved to be at the forefront of activities.

Category-specific sensibilities often weighed heavily on the decisions taken, which can be seen from the early stages of the committee for higher education and research. It is perhaps worth recalling that organisations representing higher education staff, particularly university teachers, are not always well integrated into the teaching union movement in some countries. In such cases they continue to pursue their own policies and are sometimes reluctant to integrate into the general trade union movement, and corporate reflexes are not uncommon. They tend to rely more on internal networks within the university than on trade unions when defending the interests of their members. However, in many countries they are well integrated into the union movement, and sometimes even play a leading role.

When the need for the ETUCE to play a full role at European level became apparent, the question of creating a specialised committee came up. There was a great deal of resistance within the Executive Board to doing this. Which organisations would be invited? What would be their relationship with the other trade unions in the sector? Would they be able to adopt political positions

independently without approval from the Executive Board or the General Assembly?

Initially, it was felt that the most integrated organisations could create an ad hoc committee, on condition that they covered their own meeting expenses and submitted their proposals and conclusions to the Executive Board or the General Assembly, whichever was appropriate. Both the non-university and university sectors of higher education would have to be taken into account. Only after several years of activities was this committee recognised as a statutory committee and its work fully appreciated and put to use in ETUCE positions.

A very interesting sociological study could be written describing the evolution of teaching unionism from the point of view of levels of education and ways in which staff have grouped themselves by category. Parallel developments would probably be discovered between different countries, as well as glaring contradictions. Such a study would certainly have to include the European dimension.

"IF WE COULD DO IT ALL AGAIN…"

When we look at all that has happened in the 30 years of the ETUCE's existence, we could justifiably wonder how it has been possible to overcome the tensions and opposition and achieve a unified organisation which is open to all trade unions in the sector. The contradictions which, even today, sometimes weigh heavily on national relations are not an obstacle to unification at European level. Knowing what we know today, if the committee's history were to be written over from the beginning many chapters would be written differently.

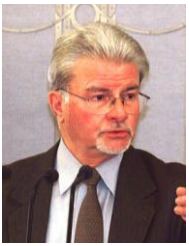
The following short quote may help inspire anyone who is not yet convinced, before they interpret the present as the past rather than a solid base on which to build the future:

> "Perhaps if the future existed, concretely and individually, as something that could be discerned by a better brain, the past would not be so seductive: its demands would be balanced by those of the future. Persons might then straddle the middle stretch of the seesaw when considering this or that object. It might be fun" (Vladimir Nabokov, *Transparent things).*

Chapter 7

RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Luce Pépin



Alain Mouchoux

Naturally enough it is with the European Community and its institutions that the ETUCE has developed the closest relationship over the years. As the first European organisation to work in the areas of culture and education in the post-war period, the Council of Europe was also a body which was of interest to the ETUCE very early on in its history, although relations with that organisation have been more a matter for each separate International. It is important to stress that the ETUCE has also developed, directly or indirectly, various contacts and exchanges with other organisations working in the field of education at international level: the International Labour Organization (ILO), and also the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD, not forgetting UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education (IBE). It is very necessary for representative trade union organisations to make their proposals and demands heard in all places where thinking and theses on education are developed. These relations can develop as a result of "centres of power"; where, for example, the Council of Europe has gradually increased in importance within the Bologna process.

Nonetheless, given the raison d'être and geographical scope of the ETUCE, it is cooperation with the European Community (subsequently the European Union) and the Council of Europe which will be our main focus in this chapter.

Relations with the European Union

by Luce Pépin

The history of the ETUCE is closely linked to that of Community developments in the areas of education and training. This is, of course, due to the fact that the ETUCE was created to represent and defend the interests of teachers and their organisations at European level against the backdrop of a European Community in development, but also to address the developments within the Community which have gradually and inescapably included education as one of the essential dimensions of European construction. As the history of Community cooperation on education shows[3], the Community context has become ever more disposed to taking account of education and training and therefore also to the contributions of an organisation such as the ETUCE.

1976-1984: Tricky beginnings on both sides

The beginnings of the ETUCE, as we have already seen, were tricky, for reasons linked to the complexity and sensitivity of the political construction represented by the creation of the organisation at the start, and the challenge posed for trade union organisations and their structures at international level of setting up a European entity of this kind and making it as consistent as possible. The period from 1974 to 1984 (see chapter 2) also corresponds to the first development phase of cooperation on education by the European Community. This was a key period

[3] *The history of European cooperation in education and training – Europe in the making: an example*. European Commission, Office for official publications of the European Communities, 2006. Author: Luce Pépin.

because, just as for the ETUCE, these years would form the foundation, but it was also a difficult period. The first Community action programme was formally adopted in February 1976 by the education ministers (this was their first formal meeting in the Council of Ministers context). The text on which this programme was based was weak in terms of its application (a "resolution") as education had no legal basis in the Treaty of Rome. The Treaty entirely ignored this area (in contrast to vocational training, which was covered by article 128 EEC), leaving it up to the Council of Europe, an inter-governmental organisation.

Nevertheless, the adoption of this action programme will remain a symbolic moment in the history of Community cooperation on education, marking the willingness of the nine Member States to work together in this area at European level. The implementation of the programme was, however, not very wide-ranging. It was halted almost immediately by opposition, particularly from Denmark (the Community of Six expanded in 1973 to include three new members, making it more difficult to obtain a consensus on the actions to be taken) vis-à-vis actions in fields in the "grey areas" of the Treaty, including education and health. These were the years of the first tottering steps. Not before 1981 would there be an end to the "crisis" and a resumption of work within the Education Council. This would subsequently establish a closer link with the opportunities offered by the Treaty of Rome (mobility, transition of young people into the workforce, etc) in order to take account of the sensibilities of certain Member States, which feared that too keen an interest in education issues at Community level could impinge on their national powers and sovereignty in this area.

These first ten years of cooperation were nonetheless decisive ones because they established the nature (respect for the diversity of national systems, non-harmonisation) and methods (exchanges of information, pilot projects) of future cooperation. It could be said that the area of education implemented the principle of subsidiarity long before it became a key aspect of European construction with the Treaty of Maastricht. In parallel to this, the social partners were forming organisations at European level, with all the same difficulties encountered by the ETUCE (see chapter 2). The ETUCE would gradually establish relations with the relevant services of the European institutions, which were themselves still developing. These services were initially part of the Directorate

General for Research, and were subsequently incorporated into a Directorate for Education, Training and Youth in 1981, within the Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs[4], which marked the bringing together of education and social and employment issues desired by the Commission, to address the growing concerns of the Member States (increasing unemployment, particularly among young people).

These services, in particular in the persons of Hywel Ceri Jones and Domenico Lenarduzzi, would continually express interest and active encouragement for the establishment of a solid ETUCE which would be capable of representing the voice of teachers, and make proposals and support initiatives of interest to them. From the beginning the ETUCE closely followed Community action, by working both under its own initiative on issues/dossiers of interest to its members and in reaction to proposed Community texts (e.g. the 1981 Gaiotti de Biase report of the European Parliament on a Community programme in the area of education). In 1982-84 the issue of the integration of new technologies into education and training systems was high on the Community action agenda. As part of a report on the subject the ETUCE adopted its position at the General Assembly of 12 November 1984. At the same time it adopted a report on adult education and training and on recurrent education, a subject which would not gain importance at Community level only in the 1990s, with the rise of the concept of lifelong education and training.

1985-1992: Community cooperation on education intensifies: closer links are established

The second half of the 1980s, following the adoption of new ETUCE statutes, was a period more conducive to increased activity and visibility for the ETUCE at European level. It was also a period of great change in Community cooperation on education. The field still had no legal basis in the Treaty, but the action undertaken (at the Commission's initiative but with the support of the education

[4] In 1989 a separate entity would be created (the Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth) and in 1995 this would be transformed into a separate Directorate General.

world) and events from 1985 would lead to its inclusion in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992.

The launch of the first Community programmes: the path towards inclusion in the Treaty of Maastricht

An initial decisive step was to be taken in 1985 thanks to the European Court of Justice which, in its Gravier judgement, would give a broad interpretation to article 128 of the Treaty of Rome and the definition of vocational training by including higher education in it. The Commission therefore saw an opportunity to propose wider-ranging programmes for education and training similar to what was being doing in the area of research, with the ESPRIT programme, for example. Comett (university/enterprise cooperation) would be created in July 1986, followed by the ERASMUS programme (university cooperation and student mobility) in June 1987, then PETRA (initial vocational training) in December 1987, YOUTH FOR EUROPE in June 1988, LINGUA in July 1989 and FORCE (continuing vocational training) in May 1990. It was clear that through these programmes, which were not always easy to push through, Community cooperation on education and training was moving into a higher gear and was undoubtedly breeding interest not only in the ETUCE (see chapter 3) but also among various other non-governmental organisations, some of which were founded during this period[5]. The ETUCE working group on higher education, started in 1985 (see chapter 13), provided an opinion on the Commission proposals for the COMETT and ERASMUS programmes and on the recognition of diplomas.

However, these programmes mainly concerned higher education and vocational training due to the ongoing legal limitations. School education played no part. This did not imply a lack of activity in this area, however. In fact, the issue of the European dimension of education was to take on a growing importance in the second half of the 1980s, in particular following the Milan European Council's

[5] Before 1985, the main European organisations which dealt actively with the European institutions were the ETUCE, the ERC (European Rectors' Conference), the ATEE (Association for Teacher Education in Europe) and the AEDE (European Association of Teachers). Organisations founded subsequently include: the European Parents Association (EPA) in January 1985, the European School Heads Association (ESHA) in 1988 and the European Association for Education of Adults (EAEA) in 1989.

approval in June 1985 of the Adonnino report on a people's Europe, which would give an important place to education. The Commission quickly fell in behind this and, with the unfailing support of the European Parliament, launched pilot projects for multilateral school partnerships (MSP) and teacher exchanges (TEX) which would be the precursors to the future COMENIUS action under the SOCRATES programme for education. The resolution adopted by the Council in May 1988 on the European aspect of education would provide the framework of concepts and actions in this area. Language teaching, teacher training and the content of the curricul were key issues in bringing a European dimension to play in the education of young Europeans. They were of major interest to the ETUCE, which also looked at other issues of equal importance at Community level, such as equal opportunities in education (see chapter 12).

With such successful programmes as ERASMUS, which acted at grassroots level and were much closer to the needs of European citizens (some 150 000 students have moved around Europe each year thanks to ERASMUS), and also with the development of political cooperation on issues which are crucial to the development and adaptation of European education and training systems, the second half of the 1980s saw an abundance of Community initiatives. These would act as a catalyst to activity in the ETUCE which, in spite of the complexity of its decision-making structure, also succeeded in moving its activities into a higher gear (see chapter 3) in order to play its part and make its voice heard. Important milestones were established during this period which would lead the EU legislative body to decide finally to include education in the Treaty of Maastricht (article 126) in 1992. Without this rallying and the tenacity of advocates (within the Commission, the European Parliament, the social partners, including the ETUCE, and various other places) of the need for European Union action in the area of education, this step would have been difficult to take.

The relaunch of social dialogue

As we have seen, the context was promising because the work on the people's Europe had generated impetus and increasing importance was being given to the development of "human resources". Jacques Delors was in charge of the European Commission and from taking on the position in January 1985 he made relaunching the social dialogue a priority. The Single Act

entered into force in July 1987 and included social dialogue in its social provisions ("the Commission is to endeavour to develop the dialogue between management and labour at European level"). The pilot group (UNICE, CEEP and ETUC) created in 1989 to maintain and develop the social dialogue numbered education and training in working life among its priorities. Thanks to an ad hoc working group, a joint opinion on education and training was adopted in January 1990 underlining the importance of high-quality basic education and initial vocational training for all. Three other opinions would subsequently be adopted in 1990 and 1991 on the European professional mobility area, the transition of young people from school to adult working life and methods to allow the widest possible access to training. The ETUCE also participated actively in the "Education and Training" working group.

Although progress was undeniably made over the period leading up to the inclusion of education in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, much remained to be done, in terms of increasing consistency in both Community action on education and training and industrial relations between the representative organisations in the education sector. The education dossier at Community level developed quickly and we soon found ourselves dealing with the adopted Treaty on European Union. Article 126 on education and article 127 on vocational training (ex article 128 EEC significantly revised) were to be implemented. Moreover, the consequences of the fall of the Berlin Wall had to be faced, along with the historic chance for reconciliation between European peoples, in which educational cooperation certainly had a role to play (1990: adoption of the TEMPUS programme). Now more than ever, the Commission needed committed and active parties from the social partners and NGOs. It expressed a desire to see increased coordination between all of these organisations to facilitate action and avoid breakdowns in cooperation. But the response to this was not easy. Although some organisations made an effort to ally themselves at the start of the 1990s through the creation of PLEASE, it was clear to the ETUCE that a distinction needed to be made between the representative organisations which were involved in the social dialogue/professional organisations such as the ETUCE, and other NGOs. The ETUCE certainly needed to improve its internal efficiency and consistency, but it also needed to assert itself as a full-fledged representative body with the European institutions and to be recognised as such. This did not preclude close partnerships with other organisations (which was

soon the case with the European Parents Association – the EPA). The ETUCE was aware that the issue of its own recognition by the European institutions was a matter of both principle and effectiveness.

As Community activity on education gained ground, the question of a European structure and a solidly established secretariat in Brussels became more pressing. The first post of General Secretary was created in 1990 (Luce Pépin, who came from the WCOTP), which enabled the Commission and other institutions to start to identify a single representative on behalf of the ETUCE. This first stage was a modest one, as it was a part-time post with no funding. And yet it was a symbolic one for an organisation which, up to that point, had been accustomed to representing itself through the various "officers" from different Internationals. The General Secretaries who followed (Dawson, Mouchoux, Lindholm, Rømer) would also all be committed to rapidly developing the administrative structure, its funding and its effectiveness.

1992-2006: The advent of the knowledge-based society and the Lisbon Strategy

The 1990s: the learning society and lifelong learning

The 1990s were to see a huge increase in the ETUCE's activities. These were years of expansion and consolidation for the ETUCE (see chapter 4). It developed against the backdrop of the significant developments in terms of Community cooperation on education. Following the entry of education in the Treaty (article 126) and a reworking in a new article (article 127) of ex-article 128 EEC on vocational training, the Commission launched an important process to rationalise the existing programmes. The existing six programmes were reduced to just two – SOCRATES for education and LEONARDO DA VINCI for vocational training. This rationalisation was accompanied by new developments. Under the content of the Treaty of Maastricht new actions were started (COMENIUS for school cooperation; GRUNDTVIG for adult education). The SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes were the first ones at Community level to be opened up to Central and Eastern European countries, with a view to their accession to the EU. Although it is still far from meeting the demand, the budget allocated to these

programmes is increasing thanks to support from the European Parliament (since the Treaty of Maastricht, decisions on programmes are taken by co-decision of the European Parliament and the Council).

Political cooperation between Member States also developed over the years, although it would not be until the turn of the century and the strategy drawn up in Lisbon in March 2000 that a real qualitative leap would be made. Jacques Delors' 1993 White Paper "Growth, Competitiveness, Employment" showed the way. It set out the major challenges which the European Union faced (globalisation, enlargement, technological challenges, etc.) and made education and training one of the important areas for investment for the future. This White Paper was the first at Community level to make education and lifelong learning "the grand design to which all national education communities should look". This would be followed by the White Paper on the learning society (1995) which would specify the challenges confronting education and training systems and possible actions. It would produce Community actions on a European language label, *e*Learning, the validation of non-formal and informal skills, second chance schools, the European voluntary service for young people, etc. The ETUCE would make a contribution to the debates surrounding this White Paper. It would stress the White Paper's "important contribution to the debate on the relationship between education and training, between the working world and society". However, it found it to be "too simplistic an approach to education, in particular to vocational training, which is an integral part of general education" and point out that "the educational process should be over-arching and also include personal and social development". The ETUCE also thought that "the White Paper does not give sufficient attention to the role of teachers and the need to invest in the initial and continuing development of teachers' professional skills".

During the 1990s, the profile of the concept of lifelong learning (1996 would be named European Year of Lifelong Learning) and the knowledge-based society rose considerably. The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) stressed in its preamble the "continuous updating of knowledge". In the analysis of the challenges to be met and the actions to taken, the field of education and that of vocational training were now seen together and no longer as two separate sectors. These developments and reflections at

Community level were not without resonance within the ETUCE as teachers were at the centre of the reforms to be implemented (see chapter 4). Of particular interest to the ETUCE was the series of studies on teachers published by Eurydice from 1999 onwards and which touched on the key issues of training and working conditions. The regular meetings held with the various Presidencies of the Education Council and with the Commissioner responsible for education would allow the ETUCE to put across its positions and areas of interest, which mostly covered European-level themes.

Gradually the dialogue was strengthened, but it would not be until the turn of the century and the Lisbon strategy that a real window of opportunity would open in the direction of more structured social dialogue in education at European level. Even though it began and developed in an inter-governmental context, rather than a Community one, another event at the end of the 1990s would offer prospects for strengthening the actions and role of teaching trade union organisations at European level: the launch of the Bologna process for higher education (see chapter 13).

The Lisbon strategy and its impact (2000 -)

The turn of the century was conducive to optimistic declarations and a desire to relaunch action at EU level. The 1990s helped raise considerable awareness at EU level of the economic and social stakes linked to globalisation, the information society and technological changes. The aim was now to mobilise all those involved to enable the necessary changes and reforms to be made. In order to do this, the Heads of State and Government decided in Lisbon in March 2000 on a new economic and social strategy for the EU through to 2010. Knowledge was for the first time placed at the centre of the challenges to be met ("The Union must become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world"[6]). They called explicitly for a "modernisation" of education systems. While it remains a decentralised process which is dependent on the willingness of the Member States for its effective implementation, the strategy drawn up in Lisbon constitutes a new instrument, particularly for areas such as education and training, promoting greater convergence and

[6] Conclusions of the Lisbon European Council, 23 and 24 March 2000.

coordination of policies while still staying within the terms and limitations of the Treaty. It aims to mobilise all the sectors (economy, employment, education and training, information society, health, etc.) and actors (governments, business, social partners, civil society) concerned, via a new working method, the open method of coordination (OMC). The agenda is an ambitious one and requires far-reaching changes in terms of the governance of systems, the way in which reforms are made and the involvement of social actors.

This new strategy rests on drawing up joint objectives for 2010, an exchange of "good practices", developing indicators and benchmarks for 2010 and regular monitoring of progress made towards set qualitative and quantitative objectives. The areas of education and training adopted this new framework through the work programme "Education and Training 2010", the content of which is of major interest to the ETUCE. Improving teacher training is one of the key points of this programme, along with drawing up a joint framework of key competences, information and communication technologies, optimising resources, and developing active citizenship. Benchmarks which the EU must reach by 2010 have been set for areas which are sensitive but crucial for the development of a knowledge-based Europe: reducing the rate of early school leaving; improving reading skills; increasing the percentage of young people completing upper secondary education and the participation of adults in lifelong learning.

The ETUCE participated actively in the expert working groups set up by the European Commission between 2002 and 2004 to support the exchange of "good practices" and, where appropriate, to draw up common guidelines and principles at European level. These activities would lead, for example, to the adoption by the European Parliament and the Council in December 2006 of a recommendation on key competences for lifelong learning. The working group on teachers would draw up common principles on teachers' competences and qualifications. A European Qualification Framework (EQF) is in the process of being adopted by the Council and Parliament. It is clear that the ETUCE's active participation in these working groups and in the activities of the "clusters" (groups of Member States on key themes of the work programme "Education and Training 2010") enabled it to make its voice heard and contribute to the quality of the work done. From the beginning, the ETUCE was a fully-fledged member of the

"Education and Training 2010" Coordination Group (ETCG) created by the Commission in 2005 and composed of Member States, EEA countries and social partners. The ETUCE had supported the creation of such a group[7].

However, as the general mid-term review of the Lisbon strategy established in 2005, the tangible results have yet to be seen at all levels. The strategy as such was not questioned, but the Member States' commitment was deemed lacking. The same applies to the involvement and participation of the actors concerned. The relaunch of the process, via the adoption of guidelines integrating those on the economy (Broad Economic Policy Guidelines - BEPG) and employment (European Employment Strategy - EES), confirmed the place of lifelong training as one of the key points in the reforms to be implemented. Follow-up of these guidelines and recommendations concerning them addressed to the Member States should be given the full attention of the social partners, and therefore the ETUCE. Moreover, a closer link should be forged between the work already done at EU level on this subject and the work of the social partners in implementing the framework of actions which they had adopted in 2002 for the lifelong development of skills and qualifications, which the ETUCE had played an active role in drawing up and monitoring.

It is important to strengthen social dialogue at all levels in order that the Lisbon strategy becomes a shared process and responsibility at national and European level. There is no doubt that progress has been made since March 2000, and in particular since the annual tripartite Social Summit for Growth and Employment was launched in 2003. The ETUCE has participated actively through the ETUC in the structured dialogue launched in 2003 between the Education Council, the Commission and the social partners. The implementation of the Lisbon strategy is of course one of the key dossiers for discussion. The development towards a European sectoral social dialogue in education, in line with the ETUCE's wishes, is likely to take some time given the specific nature of a sector where the State is often the employer. The road to achieving this may, however, be a very interesting one, as social dialogue practices vary from one Member State to

[7] ETUCE position on the mid-term review of the Lisbon strategy, April 2005.

another and learning from each other may enable significant developments to be made.

Relations with the Council of Europe

by Alain Mouchoux

Trade union organisations grouped as federations in Europe have a very long tradition of working with the Council of Europe, first intergovernmental political organisation created after the war, in 1949, based in Strasbourg, the activities of which are essentially based on democracy and human rights, social cohesion, education and culture.

For many years the education trade union organisations have sat and worked regularly in the Council of Europe, in particular in the area of education: the IFFTU, the WCOTP, the WCT, the ETUCE, and at the same time the FIPESO and the FIAI.

These different organisations, which all represent teachers and education staff throughout Europe, have worked together very closely as advisory NGOs in the various sectors in which the Council of Europe is active. This representation has mostly been active and constructive despite the divisions and ambiguities which have meant that overall we have not been able to influence events because of the differences between our sometimes rival union groups.

However, the Council of Europe has a long tradition of reflecting and working on training, education and culture, and also social affairs and the law: a tradition of reflection which nurtures the other European or international structures, whether it be in the framework of the European Convention on Human Rights, culture or education. Moreover, with the successive affiliation of countries from all over Europe which still retain their full powers, the Council of Europe, which in 2005 numbered 46 countries and 800 million

inhabitants, is a place for collective expression, reflection and decisions, or recommendations for countries often in the far east of Europe and in "transition" towards the EU, as shown by Ukraine since the "revolution", or Switzerland and Norway, which are very much committed to the Council of Europe.

The third Summit of the Heads of State and Government held in Warsaw in May 2005 decided to set about a process of closer cooperation and synergy with the EU and charged Luxembourg Prime Minister Jean Claude Juncker with composing a memorandum to this end.

This was already an idea held by various education union organisations, including the ETUCE, which were involved in the Council of Europe, the European Union and at international level, all at the same time: it has always been part of trade union responsibilities to create counter-powers wherever necessary and to sit in bodies where decisions are made.

NGOs (as the Council of Europe calls them), including trade unions, have always been able to and still can influence decision-making – and this includes in the Council of Europe. Moreover, when dealing with other NGOs which are often made up of associations, foundations or consortiums and oriented more generally towards defending interests, principles or practices, it was (and still is) necessary to demonstrate that teaching and education trade unions are at least as capable of defending and promoting the interests of children, pupils, students and education as of protecting the living and working conditions of people employed in educational institutions.

This is all the more important because an idea has developed over the years that pressure groups, lobby groups and ad hoc groups are the best placed to achieve progress in society, as trade unions and political parties are considered old mechanisms, only capable of protecting corporate advantage. It is therefore a place of exchange!

Making the voice of teachers heard in the Council of Europe has therefore been a constant commitment of the ETUCE and fruitful collaborations have developed. Of course, with the successive restructuring within the internationals and mergers, the representations have changed and occasionally decreased for a

number of years, in spite of the encouragement of the Council of Europe, its Directorate General of Political Affairs and its Education and Culture section, which have appreciated the conceptual and practical contributions from diverse organisations, e.g. on teacher training, multicultural first, then intercultural education, language-learning, basic education, etc… many areas in which the ETUCE is very much committed.

Jean Bernard Gicquel, who was a member on behalf of the FIAI, occupied the post of President early on. In 1993, following the IFFTU/WCOTP merger, the issue of trade union representation in the Council of Europe came up: the Internationals (EI and WCT) alone, or jointly with the ETUCE? It was deemed wise not to come down on one side or the other. This meant that the ETUCE, in the person of its General Secretary Alain Mouchoux, was asked increasingly often to contribute its reflections and proposals and the European Commission itself informed the Council of Europe of the level of expertise acquired by the ETUCE in the area of education.

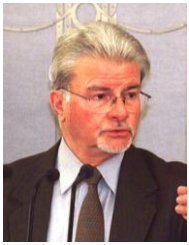
This meant that, in particular thanks to Education for Citizenship, the ETUCE (joined by EI and WCT) has been able to recommence regular work with the Council of Europe. In fact, this broad and ongoing theme concerned and affected both the EU and wider Europe – as is still the case. We were able to demonstrate on several major dossiers (human rights, citizenship, intercultural relations, language learning policy) that the three organisations EI, WCT and ETUCE act in agreement, and therefore effectively.

In this way, the ETUCE representative Alain Mouchoux was able to occupy functions on behalf of the ETUCE such as President of the Education and Culture Grouping, member of the INGO Liaison Committee and of the Bureau of the Conference of INGOs. At the same time, in Strasbourg, the 400 or so approved INGOs were able to obtain participatory status in 2004, a world first in this area, giving them new prerogatives and responsibilities.

The Council of Europe is increasingly recognised as the defender of human rights, democracy and the rule of law in Europe, but it is also considered a think tank of ideas and proposals in the areas of education and culture, which certainly justifies the ETUCE's involvement in its activities.

Chapter 8

THE ETUCE AND SOCIAL DIALOGUE: FROM VALUES TO INSTITUTIONS (1975 - 2005)



Alain Mouchoux

David Poissonneau

A LONG-STANDING ENGAGEMENT

Social Dialogue is an expression which can imply a number of different realities. For this reason the position of those involved in the trade union movement is not always unanimous on the subject. In the European context the definition of the term is even more flexible: for example, the social dialogue in northern European countries differs in a number of ways from that in the south of the continent. Collective bargaining, which is the most meaningful application of social dialogue, is associated with situations which are clearly defined in time and space. Those involved can therefore rapidly grasp the issues at stake and position themselves accordingly. Social dialogue, by contrast, is rooted in a principle; even better, in a philosophical value. This principle is convincingly applied in the institutional framework of the European Union, as we will attempt to describe briefly from the point of view of the teaching union movement.

As everyone knows, the term social dialogue is generally accepted nowadays to describe all forms of discussion, information, consultation and negotiation between workers and bosses. In the education sector, as in other public service sectors, the definition and identification of the employers is no easy matter. As education is a public good which should be accessible to all through a system of public services, political actors, elected by the people, are

accountable and responsible for it. In the context of the open and democratic societies which form the European Union, the sovereignty of the people applies in general terms to the organisation of education. It is the people who choose, through elections and on the basis of their agendas and ideas, those who will run the education system for the duration of their mandate, at whatever level the political responsibility for education is held. However, in a democracy there can be no sustainable social development without constant and close consultation between politicians and organised civil society, represented by trade unions, among others. This is true at national level, and also at European level.

It was on the basis of this fundamental premise that the ETUCE from the beginning tackled the issue of relations with the European institutions and that of the consultations to be established with the 6 education ministers of the time. In 1970, the demand was made for teachers to participate, via their representative organisations, in the discussions of Community bodies. Following a meeting with Franco Maria Malfatti, then President of the European Commission, an official decision was made to create a "contact group" between the ETUCE and the Directorate General for Social Affairs, which was then responsible for training issues.

From the very start, therefore, the ETUCE strove to initiate and establish a real dialogue with the European Commission, its President and Commissioners, and with the successive Presidencies of the EEC (subsequently the EU), in particular with its ministers for education or (where appropriate) social affairs, and also with the elected political bodies in the form of the European Parliament and its specialist committees and those responsible for administration.

For example, the ETUCE General Assembly of 1990 demanded "that a regular and systematic consultation process be established and officially recognised by the European Commission for any occasion that it deals with education issues". This has not always been a straightforward or easy matter: we first had to make our counterparts understand throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s that "constructing and developing" a Europe of the people could not be done in an autocratic and distant manner. Nonetheless, institutional recognition, however indispensable, is not enough if it is not accompanied by thorough and ambitious work and a

permanent increase in quality and professionalism on the part of the trade union organisation itself.

Successive ETUCE leaders have worked towards this, and in favour of transparent relations whereby the political bodies do not make decisions in Brussels, Luxembourg or Strasbourg without notification or prior consultation in all countries. A new responsibility has therefore fallen upon the ETUCE to inform the member organisations of developments in European education and training projects, to solicit their opinions and at the same time to report and be a spokesperson for trade union views and demands. This is why there is such a need for all partners to work with clarity and trust. However, this is not ordained and depends on those involved. The implementation of the principles of this dialogue has been contingent on the political orientation and behaviour of the successive Presidents, Commissioners, ministers and directors. Throughout our history there have been examples of certain ministers failing to see the "interest" in meeting and holding discussions with ETUCE officials or to open up dossiers and work together.

By contrast, Presidents of the Commission, Commissioners, chairs of European Parliament committees and directors of DG Education in the Commission have all come to present their policies and debate them at meetings of the Executive Board or General Assembly, and at themed meetings and conferences organised by the ETUCE.

AN ENCOURAGING EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT

From the 1990s onwards, ETUCE action on social dialogue naturally followed the development of the principle at European level. Under the impetus of the President of the Commission (1985-1994) Jacques Delors, social dialogue at Community level underwent a profound transformation. From 1985 onwards, Jacques Delors invited the European social partners to discuss Community economic and social policy. The historic meeting at Val Duchesse would relaunch the European doctrine of social dialogue, using the skills and expertise gained by the social partners in the field to regulate labour markets. The desire to consolidate the European single market would also strengthen the need for and

the implementation of a strong, cross-industry European social dialogue.

This desire was made tangible in legislation when consultation with the social partners was mentioned in the European Single Act of 1986. The 1990s would see another major step in the development of Community cross-industry social dialogue with the inclusion of the foundations of the current system in the annex to the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993. This system would be ratified by all the Member States in the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997.

From this moment on, the social partners' participation would no longer be reduced to a consultative function. Where they wished to and were in a position to do so, the social partners were now able to pass agreements which would have legal force through the European directives. Moreover, no initiative on social issues could be taken without their prior consultation. These consultations would be the subject of institutional follow-up, guaranteeing that their observations would be taken into account. Social dialogue thereby became an integral part of the system producing European legislation, and those involved in economic and social issues also became involved in legislation which concerned them. We should nevertheless point out that although this possibility exists and is of important symbolic value, the vast majority of the results of social dialogue consist in declarations, common positions and recommendations addressed to the European institutions, the Member States or the national social partners, without any legally binding effect.

During this period the ETUCE consistently strengthened its influence within the ETUC and gradually became the partner with responsibility for issues to do with education, training and research; it thereby found a new springboard, and a new stage from which to assert the demands and specific nature of the teaching profession and the world of education in, for example, major tripartite meetings between the Administration, political bodies and UNICE on professional training. The ETUCE thereby participated in drawing up the agreements concluded by the European social partners on parental leave (1995), part-time work (1997) and contracts of indefinite duration (1999).

A TURNING POINT ON THE EVE OF THE 21ST CENTURY

In 1998 the European Commission indicated its desire to strengthen the sectoral dimension of European social dialogue. With its communication "Adapting and promoting the social dialogue at Community level" (ref.), the Commission took on the role of promoting social dialogue conferred on it in the Treaty by offering the social partners the opportunity to create sectoral social dialogue committees. These committees are authorised to engage in European social dialogue under articles 138-139 of the Treaty in the same way as cross-industry social dialogue. The running and secretarial costs of these committees are borne by the Commission.

The ETUCE therefore began the new century with some considerable progress in terms of European social dialogue. Firstly, since 2003 it participates directly in cross-industry social dialogue collectively with the ETUC in the meetings of the European troika on education. These meetings bring together the education ministers from the current, previous and next Presidencies of the European Union and the Commissioner for education. The ETUCE notably defended the point of view and interests of teaching unions in the "Education and Training 2010" process.

Elsewhere, the ETUCE started the twenty-first century with the prospect of seeing one of its flagship aims become reality: the establishment of a social dialogue which is part of the European institutional framework and specifically dedicated to education. The achievement of this aim would truly enable the teaching union movement to become a stakeholder in European action on education in a permanent and institutionalised framework.

The ETUCE has therefore contacted European employers' associations which could be in a position to organise education employers as a group in order to form a European partner: the European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation (CEEP) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR). The creation of a European sectoral social dialogue committee is a political and institutional process requiring several years' work. Establishing such a committee in the hospital sector, for example, took no less than six years. In 2004 the ETUCE Executive Board adopted an action plan on social dialogue, giving the Secretariat a mandate to pursue the process towards a European sectoral social

dialogue in education. In the meantime, the CEEP has proved to be the European partner best placed to organise the employers and lead them, step by step, down the path of European social dialogue. The CEEP has participated in several conferences and seminars held by the ETUCE on this subject.

ETUCE action in this matter was narrowed down and strengthened in the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, in particular thanks to the support of the European Commission, which is itself broadly in favour of a sectoral social dialogue in education. After carrying out two significant studies into the state of social dialogue in education and the organisation of employers in the sector in the 27 Member States of the European Union, the ETUCE held a series of seven sub-regional bipartite seminars covering all of these countries. The CEEP appointed a special representative for these seminars. In general terms, the prospect of a sectoral social dialogue committee for education has been welcomed by national actors. They were able to confirm their commitment to this process at the recent Status Conference towards a social dialogue, which was held in Brussels in June 2007.

EN ROUTE TOWARDS EUROPEAN SECTORAL SOCIAL DIALOGUE

The ball is currently in the employers' court, and they are due to make their commitment in principle more tangible through appropriate actions in the near future. Historically, social dialogue has generally been initiated by the workers, with employers more reticent, not towards the principle, but rather its applications. Social dialogue is not limited to informing employees of decisions taken by their superiors, but rather involves the joint development of these decisions, which can, as one might easily imagine, put employers off. Nonetheless, nowadays social dialogue is recognised by the vast majority of political, economic and social actors as the most modern and ambitious means of conducting industrial relations and regulating labour markets. There can be no doubt as to its effectiveness if we look at the results obtained in countries which have fully integrated it into their political systems, in particular the countries of northern Europe.

This is one of the reasons why the ETUCE is encouraged to believe that the process which has now begun will succeed within a short

time, offering the teaching trade union movement a historic victory; the transformation of one of its core values into a permanent institution which is not subject to political changes.

Extract from the consolidated EC Treaty

Article 138

1. The Commission shall have the task of promoting the consultation of management and labour at Community level and shall take any relevant measure to facilitate their dialogue by ensuring balanced support for the parties.

2. To this end, before submitting proposals in the social policy field, the Commission shall consult management and labour on the possible direction of Community action.

3. If, after such consultation, the Commission considers Community action advisable, it shall consult management and labour on the content of the envisaged proposal. Management and labour shall forward to the Commission an opinion or, where appropriate, a recommendation.

4. On the occasion of such consultation, management and labour may inform the Commission of their wish to initiate the process provided for in Article 139. The duration of the procedure shall not exceed nine months, unless the management and labour concerned and the Commission decide jointly to extend it.

Article 139

1. Should management and labour so desire, the dialogue between them at Community level may lead to contractual relations, including agreements.

2. Agreements concluded at Community level shall be implemented either in accordance with the procedures and practices specific to management and labour and the Member

States or, in matters covered by Article 137, at the joint request of the signatory parties, by a Council decision on a proposal from the Commission.

3. The Council shall act by qualified majority, except where the agreement in question contains one or more provisions relating to one of the areas for which unanimity is required pursuant to Article 137(2). In that case, it shall act unanimously.

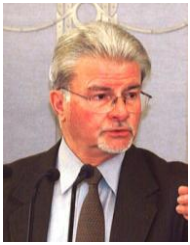
Practical functions of European social dialogue :

		Cross-industry social dialogue	**Sectoral social dialogue**
European social partners	Employers	CEEP, Business Europe (formerly UNICE), UEAPME, CEC, Eurocadres	Sectoral employers' organisations (e.g. Hospeem, PostEurope)
	Trade unions	ETUC	Sectoral union organisations (e.g. FEM, ETUCE, FESPE)
Meetings	Bipartite	Before each European Spring Summit	Sectoral committees
	Tripartite	European social summits (troika)	High level groups

Chapter 9

ETUCE STATUTES

Alain Mouchoux



In short

Statutes and rules of procedure are provisions or rules which are used in the implementation of policy. They are not just management and administrative tools, although they are essential for reliability and for the correct functioning of the organisation. They also reflect the general trends and developments in our societies.

Statutes are therefore of fundamental importance for a trade union organisation when it is set up or when it goes through changes. These texts provide a point of reference which determines areas of responsibility and representation, in addition to the organisation's structure, composition and role and they codify the implementation of objectives set by general assemblies and congresses.

The revision of statutes and rules of procedure is a natural process which takes place as an organisation evolves and develops, when it has to extend its sphere of operations and responsibilities or when it must adapt quickly to new political realities, or even anticipate them. Of course statute modifications also take into account changes which occur in the structure and nature of member trade unions!

Since the ETUCE was created there have been modifications to its statutes in 1974, 1978, 1984, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1997, 2001 and 2003. These have taken place, for example, when political developments in Europe have made them necessary, if only for the series of EU enlargements which have taken the Union from 6 to 9 members and then on to 12, 15, 25 and 27.

They also took place when democracy was restored in central, eastern and southern Europe and the unions from those areas began to join the ETUCE, and when the two internationals – the IFFTU and the WCOTP – merged in 1992.

All of these modifications were perfectly valid because of the dynamic nature of the ETUCE, its advances and ability to adapt and react. They also take account of the major transformations in its trade union, political, economic and social environment and show the ongoing desire in our trade union movement to promote the cause of education and the rights of teaching staff in Europe in an increasingly effective manner.

The ETUCE has gradually become "the voice of teachers in Europe" since the creation of a European teachers' organisation in 1970. To achieve this, it has been necessary to reconcile a range of sometimes contradictory tendencies, converging and diverging views and the common determination to strengthen the place of education in the European Union whilst at the same time conserving national identities, or to integrate into the broad movement of trade union restructuring, whilst retaining the relevant influence of the organisation's component parts.

Moreover, the ETUCE is a federation made up of trade unions which have very different statutes, compositions, roots, natures and traditions. The developments that they have been through can be seen in the way the ETUCE operates, if only from voting rights and the right to balanced geographical representation between the north, south, east and west of the European Economic Area when elections take place for its different posts or offices.

Thus the structure has evolved from one made up of national unions into a committee which in the early days, under the joint responsibility of the three internationals (IFFTU/WCOTP/WCT), though there are still some member organisations which are independently affiliated. However, in the end, the need to take these political, trade unions, social and cultural developments into account has had some positive effects on the ETUCE, since they have reinforced its structure and flexibility and increased the

consistency of its activities and raised their profile, thus benefiting member organisations in Europe.

Of course, there has been some friction along the way. The ETUCE has indeed been through frequent crises in the way it operates and even in terms of its very existence. This was the case when, for example, the WCT left the General Assembly in Amsterdam on 21 and 22 September 1978, or when the IFFTU's decision to suspend its participation on 15 November 1983 triggered a major crisis. However, on every occasion these crises have led to beneficial reworkings of the statutes and the rules of procedure. This was the case in 1984, when a broad exercise in clarifying the prerogatives, composition and functioning of the committee took place.

Successive modifications have introduced more and more precision each time. For example, at the General Assembly in December 1990, it was decided that "all organisations already affiliated in 1983 are members", and the balance to be struck in the representation and rotation of the different offices of president, secretary general, treasurer and vice-president for 1991/92, 1993/94 and 1995/96 between the IFFTU, the WCOTP and the WCT was also defined. This arrangement was suspended at the General Assembly in December 1992, due to the modification of the statutes which was to take place in 1993.

All of these changes were necessary because new developments took place as a result of new areas of responsibility in vocational training, education and further education transferred to the European Union. In addition, social dialogue has strengthened directly between the ETUCE and its partners in the Commission, or through the ETUC. It was therefore necessary to manage these new requirements for work and effective action. This was done, for example, in 1990 by deciding to set up a two-year action programme and to create a full-time secretary-general's post, which then became permanent in June 1993.

It also seemed worthwhile to integrate the changes which had taken place in the ETUC, such as the fact that since 1991 the role of trade union committees, including the ETUCE, was recognised and they now sat jointly with confederations and national trade union organisations.

In December 1994 the Executive Board decided to set up a working group under the president, Doug Mac Avoy, to develop the statutes and working methods "by taking into account EU and ETUC enlargements, clarifying working arrangements between the ETUCE and the internationals to avoid duplication of effort and by setting up tri-partite discussions". These developments were planned for the General Assembly in 1995 but were not discussed until 1996.

In December 1995, the ETUCE Executive Board reiterated a firm commitment to the following principle:

- the ETUCE must be able to act independently in its decision-making, representation and negotiation;
- affiliations with EFTA countries to be maintained;
- improvements to be made in joint projects and in coordination with EI and the WCT in order to eliminate duplication of effort;
- permanent contact with the ETUC to be maintained;
- the ETUCE and its structures to be strengthened.

Moreover, in order to ensure that women had a role in the management bodies, the 1995 statutes stipulate that: "At least five (5) of the twenty-six (26) members of the Executive Board must be women, as must at least one vice-president".

At the General Assembly in June 1996 the decision was taken to set up regular tripartite meetings between EI, the WCT and the ETUCE to achieve better coordination of activities. The creation of these bodies had a positive effect on the implementation of action programmes: for example, 7 of these tripartite meetings were to take place in 1997! It is worth remembering that an initial "four-way" meeting (WCOTP, WCT, IFFTU, ETUCE) had taken place in 1988.

The 1997 November General Assembly, which marked the end of the transitional period for the constitutional developments decided in 1996, established profound changes by carrying out a significant modification of the statutes which was to come into effect in 1998. From then on:

- the General Assembly would take place every two years, jointly with the EI and WCT regional conferences;

- there was to be participation of the trade unions which were members of the 2 internationals in Central and Eastern Europe;
- from then on, the new elected Executive Board would include one member from each EU member state and two representatives from the EFTA countries;
- the Executive Board would be made up of 26 members, a President, three Vice-presidents and a General Secretary;
- the Executive Board would have between 2 and 4 annual meetings in conjunction with the regional committee of the internationals.

The last significant change in the ETUCE statutes took place in 2003 at a meeting of EI and ETUCE bodies in Luxembourg on December 8. This General Assembly led to the creation of a new structure called Pan-European.

The reasons behind such a modification were based on the profound and irreversible change in the situation in central and eastern European countries, and in southern Europe, with the collapse of the USSR. Moreover, increased trade and the globalisation of economies have an effect on European economies. Trade union structures also had to take into account the new EU enlargements – including the main one – which were to bring the number of member states to 25 in 2004, then 27 in 2007, with a majority coming from central and eastern European countries (or from the ex-CIS).

This change in the 2003 statutes was part of the desire for greater coherence and synergy in the activities carried out in Europe, both by the internationals and by the ETUCE. The ETUCE is responsible for EU and EFTA-related topics and the Pan-European Committee coordinates the activities of EI which do not fit into this geographical and political framework.

All of these reasons meant that greater clarification was required and a new role for trade union organisations was emerging within the ETUCE and the internationals, and therefore EI-Europe, to ensure representativeness and greater effectiveness for the trade union movement organised by the ETUCE as a federation of the ETUC.

At the same time, education, training and research were becoming increasingly important because of the internationalisation of the labour market and greater mobility among the population. They also represent a way of responding to the challenge of creating the knowledge-based economy in Europe, which had been launched as part of the Lisbon strategy. There have also been initiatives such as the intergovernmental process for further education (known as the Bologna process), which covers the Council of Europe, and thus goes further than the EU and EFTA.

These new statutes make the ETUCE "an autonomous organisation within the European structure of EI and a European trade union federation of the ETUC" which has "its own assemblies, takes responsibility for its own activities and its own budget and has a secretary general appointed by the Executive Board".

The new EI Pan-European structure therefore incorporates the ETUCE. The Pan-European conference and the General Assembly of the ETUCE is held jointly every three years. The WCT/WCL "takes part in the meetings held by the committee and the Executive Board and the ETUCE bureau as an observer without voting rights".

An essential question for its future and its effectiveness has been raised since the very beginning. In trade union terms, who in Europe is responsible for the "ethical and material interests" of teachers, education sector staff and their … trade unions? Is it the ETUCE directly or the internationals (one, two or three…) through their regional committee or their European structure? This basic question has led to a lot of sometimes very lively debate and power struggles and poses *ipso facto* the problem of constructing the European Union, its true nature, its special characteristics and its political, economic, social and cultural remit, and of course its role in education.

This situation has caused rivalry at different points and has led to tension, even with the ETUC, almost from the outset in 1973. Discussion hinged on whether organisations should affiliate to the ETUCE directly or through their international – and this issue sometimes entailed the risk that the ETUC might withdraw its recognition of the ETUCE. For those involved in the negotiations at the time a great deal of skill was required and the nature of the personal relationships involved played a key role in the outcome…

So the ETUCE has been restructured over the years to respond to new constraints, internal and obviously external demands and new developments. It has not always been easy and the patient, ongoing, unending construction process has taken up a lot of time and energy at each significant stage. Some of these modifications were strategic arrangements to create the right balance of power; others were part of organisational improvements to increase efficiency in the ETUCE, and therefore in European trade union representation. All of them have profoundly renewed its identity and its place and role in Europe. They have all been worthwhile and have enabled the ETUCE to make progress and develop right up to the present day.

c.s.e.e.
e.t.u.c.e.

James Marangé, Henri Rodenstein together with representatives from organisations from 6 countries gathered on 21 November 1969 for the creation of the European Teachers Trade Union Committee

André Braconnier

Aloyse Schmidt

Coen Damen

Guy Georges and John Thompson

Colloquium on intercultural education in May 1993 – from right to left : Paula Dhondt (the Belgian Royal Commissioner for Immigration Policy), Peter Dawson, Alain Mouchoux, George Vansweevelt, Louis Van Beneden, Kristian Pedersen

Dieter Wunder, Christoph Heise, Fred van Leeuwen

Doug McAvoy

Baden Seminar on Vocational Training : the Austrian Education Minister, Louis Van Beneden and Helmut Skala

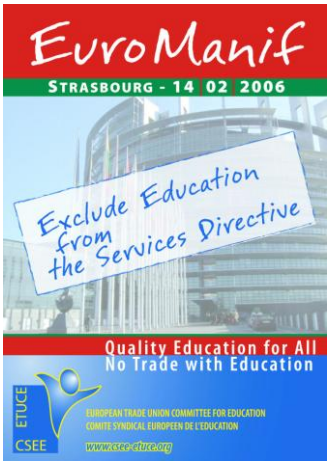
Jean-Marie Maillard and Jörgen Lindholm, at the ETUC Demonstration in Brussels on 13 December 2001

From left to right: Daniel Dumont, Alain Mouchoux, Louis Van Beneden, George Vansweevelt, Roger Denis

Martin Rømer and Jan Figel'

Peter Dawson

'Europe needs Teachers' Hearing



Strasbourg Euro-demonstration in February 2006

Martin Rømer

General Assembly in Luxembourg

Chapter 10

FINANCE: THE LIFEBLOOD OF UNION WORK

George Vansweevelt

Money is indispensable…

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

Dealing with the financial aspects in writing the history of ETUCE cannot stand alone, and can certainly not be disconnected from all the other aspects of ETUCE. Numbers and figures do not tell the whole story, but they give us a hint of our past and present, as far as ETUCE's financial basis is concerned.

Financial resources are an obvious necessity for efficient operation in any organisation and a financial commission or treasurer will always see to it that the governing bodies and the general assembly be regularly informed about the financial situation. They also present the draft budget in relation to the proposed action programme to the general assembly, clarifying issues such as wages of staff members and the necessary resources for equipment and furniture.

Reconstructing the financial situation over the last 30 years is an awesome task, due to the numerous problems which occurred during the early years of ETUCE. A considerable number of documents are lacking, but even with exhaustive documentation, it would be too much of a puzzle to describe the situation and the context precisely.

FINANCIAL REPORTS AND BUDGETS

In this financial contribution we used figures from tracked financial reports and documents. Even more important than the figures as such is the underlying growth and development of ETUCE as a recognised and representative organisation for teachers in Europe.

For better understanding and transparency of this chapter, all numbers and figures are converted into Euro (40,3399 Belgian Francs/Luxemburg Francs = 1 Euro).

THE STARTING PERIOD

In the early years (1975 ff.) of ETUCE, the founding member organisations, the Internationals covered the costs incurred. No treasurer was appointed or elected. The two general secretaries of the Internationals (Mr Coen Damen of WCT and Mr André Braconnier of IFFTU) had competence over the accounts and all the financial operations. The main problem at the time was that the member organisations were not always convinced of the significance and efficiency of a European Committee and therefore didn't want to bring the financial means up to a reasonable level. A supplementary factor was the mistrust between the member organisations themselves. These internal tensions between the unions at the national level had a negative influence on the development process.

The internationals, IFFTU and WCT, and SNI as independent organisations, tried to overcome the differences and problems.

As attitudes changed, the internationals adapted their position to the new situation. It can't be denied that some ETUCE leaders had their own "agenda", which led to a difficult position for the internationals and was not very helpful.

Apart from that, one should not underestimate the impact of the confederations – in particular of the ETUC - because of the non involvement of some of their teacher unions who were affiliated to IFFTU and WCT but not to ETUCE.

The first treasurer (Terry Casey from NASUWT –UK) entered his mandate under the statutes adopted during the Dublin General Assembly, which took place on 15th June 1980. From that moment on, treasurers executed their mandate according to a rotation system (agreed by the internationals). The role of the auditors committees gained importance from 1980 onwards.

THE DEVELOPMENT PERIOD

While the first ETUCE General Secretary, Luce Pépin, appointed in 1991, was seconded on a part time basis directly from WCOTP, her successor, Peter Dawson, was engaged directly by ETUCE for a half time (administrative) job.

In 1993, Alain Mouchoux was assigned as the first full time ETUCE General Secretary with a full political responsibility. The political mandate was decided by the ETUCE Executive Board.

As from 2000, the new structure adopted in 1999 provided for the appointment of an ETUCE treasurer elected among and appointed by the members of the ETUCE Executive Board.

IMPORTANT EVENTS HAD AN IMPACT ON FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Headquarter and currency

As the headquarter of ETUCE has always been (and still is) based in one of the BENELUX countries; all budgets and financial reports were calculated and published in Belgian or Luxemburg Francs (the monetary value is the same) until the reform of the monetary system and the introduction of the Euro on January 1st 2001. Since then, the Euro is the currency used for all financial operations, as well as in reports and budgets.

Secretariat

Another remarkable factor has been the recruitment of a full time secretary in 1990, and the substantial enlargement of staff since.

Structural changes

The successive changes and structural reforms of the ETUCE had a direct influence on the financial management. In the starting period budgets were built up by school years (1/9. – 31.8); later on by calendar years. When the frequency of General Assemblies was changed from yearly meetings to a meeting every two years in 1998, and every three years as from 2001, budgets covered respectively a two years' period and a three years' period.

Integration of WCT
Since 2005, WCT member organisations are fully integrated in Education International and pay their dues to EI. Previously, WCT transferred ETUCE dues received from affiliated organisations directly to ETUCE.

Dues are perceived by the financial department of Education International. Membership fees for European organisations include the world level fee, the European supplement, and the ETUCE dues. Membership fees are calculated in relation to the GDP of the country concerned.

Enlargement of the European Union
The successive enlargements of the European Union had of course important consequences on ETUCE. Many trade unions from the new EU countries became full members of ETUCE, paying dues and taking part in the decision-making process, the definition of the action programme and the planned and organised activities.

Nevertheless it should be underlined that the further growth and development of ETUCE is founded on the selfless voluntary collaboration of many members and participants in working groups, panels or seminars, and especially the time, money and manpower invested from the unions.

Financial contribution from the European Commission
ETUCE took the initiative to seek appropriate financial support by applying to the different EU Programmes, but was always concerned to ensure that it retained its independence of action within the scope of the ETUCE action programme.
A few examples demonstrate the increasing financial support from the European Commission.

<u>Synopsis of the Financial Report for the year 2001</u>:	
Income from projects	€ 176.289

<u>Synopsis of the Financial Report for the year 2005:</u>	
Income from projects	€ 634.420

These amounts give an idea of how important the financial support of the European Commission is today for ETUCE and the implementation of the Action Programme. Furthermore, the substantial increase in the number of member organisations over

the years, and the fees coming from the organisations has, of course, strengthened the capacity of the ETUCE to reach the goals of the Action Programme.

The beginning years

The support consisted almost exclusively in providing meeting facilities (The Monnet building in Luxemburg for General Assemblies, meeting rooms in the premises of the European Economic and Social Committee, Mont des Arts - Brussels) and interpretation free of charge. At that time, obtaining grants was difficult, as member states had the full competence in education matters. As a result, no specific action was undertaken by the EU in this field. ETUCE did, however, participate in projects in favour of migrant children and workers, and in initiatives organised in the framework of vocational education and training programmes. For example, some seminars were organised in collaboration with IFAPLAN, a body that was in charge of the implementation of the EC action on "the transition from school to the active life". On certain occasions, ETUCE also had the opportunity to benefit from financial support through partnership in ETUC projects.

The Treaty of Maastricht

The formal recognition of education and training in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty opened opportunities for ETUCE. Sustained efforts from ETUCE leaders had resulted, over the years, in gaining recognition and achieving a status of representative organisation for the teaching profession in Europe. Cooperation was built, initially in particular with the former DGXXII (Education and culture) ,the former DG V (Social Affairs) in the framework of the Social Program which included training actions, and with former DG X (Information).

The increasing administrative requirements as well as the increasingly strict and severe regulations both for applying for and reporting on projects on the one hand, and the implementation of the projects on the other hand represented a growing workload for the secretariat.

The impact on the finances of ETUCE

It cannot be denied that the numerous projects and programmes which were financed by the European Commission had a considerable positive impact on the ETUCE finances, providing additional income to its own resources coming from the

membership fees. Organizing subsidized activities in conjunction with ETUCE's constitutional meetings such as the Council meeting, the Executive Board meetings, the Panel and working group meetings, contributed to saving a lot of money, mainly on travel and accommodation costs for participants, and in some cases also on interpretation.

The wider range of opportunities to access European programmes and grants did, however, create a lack of transparency with regard to the financial situation of ETUCE, mainly because projects are and were running over different calendar years. In addition, reports on EU projects are subject to a rather long procedure of acceptance. Accurate financial results are therefore available only months after completing the implementation. At the end of the nineties, ETUCE introduced a clear distinction in the budgets between own funds generated through membership dues on the one hand (used for functioning, self-funded activities, and own contributions to EU projects), and income from EU funding on the other hand.

New rules from the Commission

The growing yearly turn-over of ETUCE and the need to secure the eligibility of ETUCE for EU funding, led the officers in 2003 to the decision to submit the ETUCE accounts to yearly external audits, which have since been carried out by Ernst & Young.

During the same period, the European Commission, in a concern to reduce the risk of fraud and to enhance the responsibilities of receivers of EU funding, introduced more and more frequently an additional requirement for obtaining grants, which is to prove its legal status under the Belgian law.

The ETUCE Foundation

This foundation was set up and registered for this purpose in November 2005. The funds required to set up the Foundation were transferred from the ETUCE reserve funds.

In 2006, ETUCE recruited its own full time accountant in order to ensure a closer follow-up on financial aspects. Until then, this task was undertaken by the EI financial department, under the supervision of the ETUCE General Secretary.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to retrace all the financial documents and reports since the establishment of ETUCE (June 16th 1975). In particular among those referring to the starting years, quite a lot are missing or in the hands of the responsible leadership (organisations) at that time. In the early stage, ETUCE went through a period of pioneering work, driven by the personal involvement of individuals and organisations investing considerable time and energy to build a democratic structure. In this climate, it is clear that the interest and care for administrative efficiency, and keeping precise records, was not the highest priority.

As a concrete example we will reproduce an auditors' report of September 18th 1979, in which the auditors made several observations in their report to the General Assembly at the time. On September 1st 1979 the auditors met in Paris in the presence of the treasurer and the General Secretary of ETUCE:

> After verifying the accounts the following observations were made:
>
> 1. it was impossible to verify the accounts before the date of December 31st 1978: Some documents are missing, there is no classification. On the basis of former documents and the according bank documents on the same dates it was nevertheless possible to compose a small accountancy. It was however not possible to sum up a Balance with Assets and Liabilities and a Financial Report of the previous year.
> 2. for the period January 1st until June 30th 1979 at the other hand a verification could take place and the result was that the bookkeeping was correct. The receipts of payments could be presented, but it is notable that the majority of payments covered expenditures before December 31st 1978.¨[…]
> 5. the auditors proposed to the treasurer to keep from the date of June 30th 1979 a precise bookkeeping system, which seems to be already started:
>
>   - an accounts book with incomes and expenditures, per category classified;

- a chronological classification and numbering pieces of all the payments. This numbering should be reflected in the accounts book.
- the same classification should be applied for all the incomes and eventual supporting document
- the double numbering must be consistent and placed on the bank statements […]

7. the collection of membership fees is not satisfying: late payments, identification problems, complicated transfer formalities,…

   The affiliated organisations are requested to pay their fees from July 1st exclusively on the bank account of the ETUCE,…

This report clearly demonstrates the context, the financial situation of ETUCE and the shortcomings of the bookkeeping system and the accounts. The reasons were diverse and complex: political considerations and management approaches, together with a certain laxity, made it difficult to achieve administrative accuracy.

SCHEMATIC OVERVIEW OF BUDGETS AND FEES

To give some idea about the evolution of the financial means of ETUCE, an overview of some data over the 30 years' period is shown hereafter.

Looking at these figures it is important to notice the growth of the financial means available. To some extent, the evolution of the fees paid by the member organisations is indicated in relation to the budgets. As it was not possible provide an exhaustive overview of all the budgets between 1975 and 2005, a limited number of representative figures in budgets and fees is listed.

Year	Budget	Membership fee
2005	€ 679.445	€ 0,2700
2000	€ 428.925	€ 0,1735
1997	€ 315.940	€ 0,1423

1990-1991	€ 273.035	
1987-1988	€ 228.111	
1981-1982	€ 127.724	€ 0,0744
1977-1978	€ 61.024	€ 0,0496

MEMBERSHIP FEES IN RELATION TO STAFF AND ACTIVITIES OF ETUCE

The beginning

The founding members of ETUCE decided, during the first General Assembly on June 16th 1975 that the membership fee per member and per school year was 2 Belgian Francs (value now in Euro : 0,0494). For a long period this membership fee remained unchanged, but from the second half of the eighties the fees were systematically increased and adapted to the needs and the costs for the ETUCE activities, secretariat and staff.

Especially the costs for printing and publishing documents, postage, and telephone/fax bills resulted in a major expenditure.

From the start of ETUCE, the leadership at the time had fixed, apart from the traditional action programme, a number of extra priorities for which the necessary means were made available. Later on, two "Standing Committees" were set up: the Standing Committee for Higher Education and Research and the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee.

ICT period

In the nineties, new information technology developed rapidly and ETUCE was equipped with new computers and software. The efficiency of the secretariat and the quality of work improved drastically by the use of ICT; the documents and the activities in general became very professional.

Today the transmission of data and documents is operated almost exclusively by electronic mail. With these new working

methods, the costs for conventional mailing and phone decreased significantly, while the regular investment in new ICT material generated an increase in expenditure on this budget heading.

Staff and Secretariat

Around the new century, the staffing of ETUCE increased rapidly, continuously strengthening professionalism of the secretariat. The salaries currently represent the most significant expenditure in the budget. The salaries of staff were from the beginning linked to the salary scales of EI. Only for the General Secretary, the salary package is agreed upon in negotiation with the appointed General Secretary, on the basis of conditions set up for similar positions within ETUC. This package contains a monthly salary, a social security package, allowances for living in Brussels and a number of free tickets for flying back to the home country.

Compared to the administrative management in the beginning, ETUCE has today developed into a highly effective organisation in which 10 staff members, with excellent expertise and qualifications do their daily work. The specialised tasks of the staff demand a high level of management and organisational competences.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THIS CHAPTER

Finances play a crucial role in the development and functioning of an organisation like ETUCE. Inevitably, the decisions on the growth of the financial means have led to some of the most difficult and animated debates in the decision-making bodies of ETUCE. However, it must be underlined that in these discussions the will to strengthen the functioning and the political power of ETUCE has always prevailed in the end.

Member organisations are often critical when the fees are discussed. This attitude is of course influenced by the shortage of money and budget constraints in the national organisations. On the other hand, there is a growing appreciation about the work and political influence of ETUCE, and therefore almost every time budget proposals received a positive vote in the General Assembly.

The good image, the quality of the work, the expertise of the staff and the General Secretary created goodwill among the different organisations because they realise the added value for themselves and their members.

In addition, the globalisation and internationalisation of education, training and research have encouraged and convinced the member organisations of the need to have a powerful and permanent European body, supported by the necessary finances….

Let this be also the picture for the future…..

Chapter 11

TEACHERS' WORKING CONDITIONS IN A MORE UNIFYING EUROPE

Cees van Overbeek

An important activity for ETUCE as for any trade union, is to defend or/and improve the working conditions. In this specific chapter attention will be given to some key-aspects of working conditions, such as salaries, pensions, mobility. This chapter is written in such a way that it also clarifies the policy development and decision making within ETUCE.

ETUCE activities in this field prove to be partly a reaction on developments at the EU/EFTA level and on the national level of member states; at the same time they are in a high degree pro-active to those developments.

INTRODUCTION

Working conditions are, at least in the minds of members of trade unions, the core business of these organisations. The initiatives, actions and results of trade unions in this field determine in a high degree their social position and, for individuals, the attractiveness to subscribe, to remain or to end the membership.

It is common knowledge that EU and EFTA as such do not have direct authority in the field of working conditions at the national level of the member states. Nevertheless it is recognized that education and social policy on the European level has an impact on working conditions in for instance the education sector in all member states.

The statutes of ETUCE state, therefore, as a mission, among other points, firstly, that ETUCE stands for promoting/improving the interests of its member organisations, of the teachers, of the educational personnel and of education in the heart of the European Union (EU) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) by way of consultation with all the institutions of the EU and EFTA and by way of other actions and trade union means, and secondly to promote/improve the social dimension of EU and EFTA in association with ETUC (see chapter 6).

For ETUCE the framework of her activities stems from the inter-relationship between the quality of education as a whole, the social status of the teaching profession in society, the attractiveness of the teacher's profession - the working environment in education, and the working conditions in education.

From the statement in the ETUCE Statutes at least two very important policy lines can be deduced: firstly that ETUCE had to be recognized as a representative body and had to built up stable, structural and permanent relations with for instance the EU, EFTA, and ETUC (see chapters 6 & 8), and secondly that ETUCE had to concentrate and focus herself on the field of working conditions, broadly interpreted, that is to say: working conditions and working environment. This second policy line (working conditions and working environment) needs some explanation.

As said before the notion of "working conditions" should be read as 'working conditions' and 'working environment'. This means that all elements which contribute to improving the quality of education should be implied.

Such as: teacher education and professional development; equal opportunities; violence in schools; health and safety in schools; social dialogue; work load; pensions and salaries; mobility. Many of these elements deserve extra attention and are therefore described in other chapters or, less profoundly, in boxes. This is to make clear that they have been thoroughly discussed and decided on within ETUCE and with external gremia bodies.

This means that in this chapter attention will be given only to specific aspects of the concept of working conditions such as remuneration, workload, work time, salaries and pensions, mobility.

A FULL SPEED START

In the Treaty of Rome (March 1957) no reference was made to education, only vocational education was mentioned because of the direct economic importance. It was only in 1971 that the first meeting of the European Community ministers of education took place; since then education became very quickly, more and more important on the ECom-agenda.

On 16 June 1975 ETUCE was founded with IFFTU- and WCT-member organisations in nine countries (see chapter 2). In the meetings of the Executive Board in preparing the foundation of ETUCE and, after that, on September 6th 1975 priority was given to the creation of three working groups: one on salaries and social security, the second one on unemployment and the third one on trade union rights. These working groups had to prepare discussions on those themes in the General Assembly in July 1976.

In May 1976 contacts with DGV opened the possibility to prepare a comparative study on Working Conditions and Collective Agreements. To achieve this, a working group was created to prepare such a comparative study, to be discussed in a technical conference in January 1977 in Bonn. Later that year, after a colloquium, the Executive Board discussed the preparation of a technical conference on trade union rights. All these initiatives resulted in a plenary discussion during the 4th General Assembly in January 1978 in which resolutions on salaries and unemployment were adopted.

An ETUCE-European Conference was organised in May 1979 in Bad Godesberg. The central theme there was "Working Conditions of Teachers in Europe" to be discussed further on during the General Assembly of October. This General Assembly stressed the importance of building up intensified contacts with the European Commission (EC), the European Parliament (EP), the Council of Europe and ETUC. During the General Assembly in Dublin in October 1980 a report was presented on the European Conference of June 1980 in Brussels concerning the administrative status and the trade union rights. This General Assembly also decided to start a more elaborated study on salaries in education.

In 1982 contacts with external bodies became more common and new activities, actions and initiatives on working conditions were

born in the heart of ETUCE from 1983 on. They implied among others participation in the ETUC working group on unemployment in education and the organisation of a regional seminar on this subject in May 1983; the preparation of documents on subjects like unemployment, working time; participation in the ETUC colloquium "Education, Training and Unemployment" in May 1984; initiating an enquiry on teachers employment and budgetary cuts (June 1984).

1985-1990: ETUCE BECOMING A REPRESENTATIVE BODY

From 1985/1986 on it was clear that the European dimension of education became gradually a key-item on the European Community agenda. Automatically this was also the case for the item of working conditions for people in the teaching profession.

So in 1986 an ETUCE working group was created on Working Conditions and an enquiry on this subject was worked out , a working session was organised in Brussels (15 June 1986) and in September of that year an ETUCE- report on Mobility of Teachers was discussed with representatives of the EP. A special ETUCE working group was studying the subject of Mobility till December 1987, to prepare a discussion in the General Assembly.

On 7 April 1987 ETUCE took a clear political step by sending a letter to Commissioner Marin concerning the problem on salaries, working conditions and trade union rights in Great Britain because of the anti-trade union policy of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Each of these actions became more important since the presentation of the MediumTerm Action Program (Minister Deetman, 16 May 1986), and because of the process of the completion of the Internal Market (The Single Act, 1987).

In 1987 a study on "The Conditions on Service of Teachers in the European Community" *(Stichting Research voor Beleid, Leiden/Luxemburg)* was published. In this study many elements of working conditions of teachers in about ten countries/regions of the ECom were compared. The study gives a clear picture of for instance salaries in primary and secondary education, the purchasing power of salaries, pension rights, the number of classes each week, the number of pupils in a classroom, the number of

holidays in a school year. Big differences on each element became apparent.

In the ETUCE Colloquium in Offenburg (May 1988) discussions took place on three subjects related to this study: on Mobility; on Working Conditions, and on Salaries and Stability. The General Assembly of November 1988 accepted the proposals of the Offenberg colloquium concerning this EC report on those three subjects.

Within the framework of the realisation of the Single Act, the Social Dimension became more and more important, which implied elements as freedom of mobility and free access to jobs to be assured on the basis of equal treatment for all workers, the mutual recognition of qualifications, etc.

In this perspective it was of the highest importance that in 1989 ETUCE was formally recognised as a representative body by ETUC (see chapter 6).

FROM 1990 ON: A STRUCTURAL HANDLING OF THE ETUCE-AGENDA

The experience in functioning of ETUCE so far, made it possible to develop and formulate internal rules, firstly to ensure a close and direct involvement of the member organisations in the process of policy development and decision-making, secondly to ensure the possibility of anticipating, closely monitoring and directly commenting policy developments within the EC/EU/EFTA structures, thirdly to build up internal know-how, experience and specialists by creating permanent/long lasting working groups on subjects, fourthly to organise colloquia, seminars, technical conferences, etc., fifthly to strengthen the relations with external gremia. This way of working was very clearly also visible within the field of working conditions.

In relation to the Medium Term Education Program 1989-1992 of the EEC, the General Assembly of November/December 1989 specified the subjects to be dealt with by ETUCE. In the field of Working Conditions were a.o. mentioned elements as working conditions as such, remuneration and bargaining conditions for teachers, mobility of teachers. In 1990 many of these points got

the attention of the Executive Board, of working groups within ETUCE, during seminars organised by ETUCE, during the October-colloquium on the European Dimension of Education and the Teacher, and, of course of the General Assembly in December 1990.

ETUCE organised a colloquium on "*The Situation of Teachers in Our Societies"* in September 1991. The results were presented to the General Assembly in December 1991 in Luxemburg.

Many elements of working conditions which have been previously mentioned, were discussed and resolutions adopted. They cover, in brief:

a. *the free circulation of teachers* must guarantee that pension rights and unemployment-payments be assured; that the number of years abroad must be counted in the same way in the growth of salary as years in service in the country of origin, that the same formula counts for other possible advantages, directly linked to seniority as is normally agreed on in the country of origin. The assurances for sickness, accidents and invalidity must exist in all the countries of EC and EFTA and the coverage must be adequate.

b. remuneration: because salary is an essential aspect for the attractiveness of a profession, for entering of leaving it, the purchasing power of salaries of teachers must at least be kept in parity with that of people working in other professions but with a comparable level of training; the salaries in education must be based on objective professional and transparent criteria; it is by way of collective negotiations/bargaining with trade unions that salaries and working conditions must be decided on, and in cases/situations that the government is not the employer, her intervention or interference is not acceptable; female teachers must be guaranteed conditions for equality as far as career and professional opportunities are concerned (see chapter 12).

c. *working conditions and career*: an important effort must be made to invest in the improvement of working conditions and action must be taken on each and all element(s) on which they depend, such as: reducing the number of working hours on a

weekly basis; reducing the number of classes on a weekly basis; create possibilities for working in small groups; etc.

The European Summit Meeting in Maastricht (December 9th and 10th 1991) led to a long list of texts with annexes and protocols which had to be ratified by the member states. Because of the principle of economic and social cohesion one of the goals each member state had to work on was to improve the working conditions in general. To realize this, each member state was obliged to propose measures which take into account the specific national procedures, and, next to that, the European Commission (EC) has to sustain and to complete these initiatives (see boxes 11, 12 & 13).

The Executive Board of ETUCE discussed in November 1993 the possibility to advance the project of a survey on remunerations and working conditions, based on data and on the most recent ideas. In March 1994 a seminar was planned on this theme, firstly limited to the academic personnel.

Therefore an inquiry was developed to get the necessary information about :

1. the remunerations and scales of salary; the volume of work;
2. working conditions;
3. agreements about procedures for collective bargaining;
4. objectives and strategies.

The goal of the seminar was to get information about and to look for *best practices* in order to draw attention for the goals of collective bargaining and to reinforce the determination of the members of trade unions to resist the erosion of their rights. This was even more important because the process of economic and social cohesion created the Recommendation R (85) 21 by the Committee of Ministers regarding the promotion of mobility and which might invite the governments to align with remunerations and working conditions on a very unfavourable level.

In May 1994 the General Assembly in Luxemburg approved the important *"Report on the Training of Teachers in Europe"* (see chapters 14 and 15). This report was a result of 18 months of research by a working group and it states that the formation of teachers is a main problem for all teachers to which many other

problems are directly linked, such as the level of remuneration and the working conditions. The report underlines at the same time the importance of mobility of teachers and stresses therefore the necessity of the extension of the range of earlier programs of the EC in this field. An action-program was adopted by the General Assembly. In the ETUC meeting in May 1995 the item of relying on the European social model was discussed (see chapter 8).

Because of many new developments such as privatisations and the reduction of the role of the state and public powers, a clear reduction in salaries and a weakening of the social protection are manifest. The consequences of the elaboration of elements of the Maastricht-Treaty (1991) call for a harmonisation of the social rights and the defense by the European Union (EU) of solidarity-systems, the guaranty of allowances and of a minimum income for all the citizens and the right on a pension which is directly related to the evolution of the costs of living.

During 1995 and 1996 ETUCE invested heavily in research through working groups concerning a large range of items, also related to working conditions. In the General Assembly of June 1996 the item of recognition of qualifications for academic and professional purposes was discussed. ETUCE considers this recognition as a significant dimension of the European citizenship. ETUCE observes that many obstacles still hinder the free mobility also in the field of education. The apparent reasons are on the one hand the lack of information about the opportunities which already exist and the lack of clarity concerning the identity of the different types of academic training and professional qualifications, and on the other hand the lack of clarity about social protection, career prospects, grants, social security, pension rights, etc.

Within the EU the Veil Group (1997) reported that "the reality and enormity of the problem of recognition of qualifications were under-estimated". During the General Assembly of June 1997 in Luxemburg the issues of mobility and the recognition of diplomas and qualifications were discussed and propositions were formulated and accepted. ETUCE stated that a European system of recognition can only be effective if it is compatible with other national systems, which entails that it takes account of their features and procedures; it should also bring new rights and guarantees connected to transnational mobility and urge governments to remove obstacles in their own systems. This

requires, according to ETUCE, a set of simple rules readable by all the individuals concerned, but on the other hand flexible enough and not over regulated. On a more general level, there need to be rights of teachers across Europe, on the basis of an agreement that teachers shall have the status of any second country which they are working in while they are there, but should also be able to return to their home country and retain their status there on their return. And of course, the EU should usefully clarify the status of different levels of qualifications of teachers by creating a table comparing and recognising equivalent ratings.

At the end of May 1998, the Education Ministers of four countries (Germany, Italy, France and the United Kingdom) agreed on a joint declaration to "encourage all means of validating acquired knowledge and ensuring better recognition of diplomas". In the General Assembly of May 1999 an action programme was approved, stressing *inter alia* that a European space for qualifications must be created.

In March 1997 ETUCE published the "Proclamation of European Teachers", stressing the position of education in the new challenges with which Europe is confronted such as citizens without education or with education at a low level which lead to a high level of unemployment in many countries, the lack of equal opportunities, the growing threat of racism and xenophobia, new technologies. Each and all of these changes make(s) investments in education necessary, respecting the national traditions and the cultural heritage of each country. But all this means, as the Proclamation states, that teachers at least also need to have a competitive salary. It is necessary at the same time to reverse the process of damaging the status of the teachers. Teachers need the full support of the governments of the EU-member states in sustaining the teachers' demands concerning respect and fair salary, to justify the role they play in the development of Europe. This means also that the EU must insist on the amelioration of the working conditions of teachers by starting aid-programs in which the needs of teachers in relation to the changes mentioned in the Proclamation are analysed.

As was said before, acting to improve the living and working conditions of teaching and non-teaching educational staff is one of the ETUCE's priorities. Time and time again ETUCE has denounced deregulation, the tendency to create precarious jobs and use of

aleatory contracts and ETUCE has worked within ETUC on issues such as parental leave (1995) and part-time work (1997). During some time discussions were going on about fixed term contracts with the European employers (UNICE and CEEP). ETUC participated in these talks but created a negotiating group in which the European Federations and the ETUCE were able to make their points of view heard. ETUC states that the strong growth of this type of contract between 1993 and 1996 justifies that these contracts must be readjusted and controlled. Research by ETUC made clear that contract with a fixed duration does not create employment. ETUC strongly opposes structural change whereby existing jobs will transformed into unstable jobs. The negotiations with the UNICE-/employers representatives ended in November in a deadlock.

On 23 March 1998, ETUC reactivated the discussions between the social partners on contracts with a fixed duration. This reactivation process proved to be successful. The discussions lasted 10 months and were very difficult, but at the end a framework agreement was concluded and signed on 18 March 1999.

To get a clearer picture of the situation in the field of education the Executive Board of ETUCE sent out a questionnaire in September 1998 and created a working group to prepare a detailed study on developments in France, Great Britain, Finland, Portugal and Norway. This study was to give a clear picture at all levels of education and a provisional report was to be presented to the General Assembly in May 1999. This was done in three interim reports. Pending the implementation at national level of the European Agreement and Directive on this issue, the follow up of the project has been put on hold.

In February 2000 a request was send out by the Secretary General of ETUCE to get a reaction of the member organisations on a proposition from the EC concerning a "Recommendation on the Mobility in the Community of Students, Educational Personnel, Young Volunteers, Teachers and Trainers". The European Commission proposition invited Member States to take concrete measures to abolish the obstacles for transnational mobility.

The ETUCE General Assembly of 2000 accepted the working group document on the mutual recognition of qualifications and diplomas as a reaction on the working document of the EC, entitled:

"Synergy between academic knowledge and professional knowledge: results of a debate" and on the then recently published Green Book of the EC entitled: "Education - Training - Research: the obstacles for the transnational mobility".

The ETUCE position in general made clear that the recognition of qualifications and diplomas is a crucial element in the promotion of mobility in Europe. Besides this, ETUCE stated that many propositions to support the growth of mobility of teachers needed attention such as the necessity of a clear agreement on the right of teachers of social protection, also implying the transferability of pension rights and, of course, clarity about job-structures in other countries. In general, it was urged that a system of rights of teachers must be created in Europe in which the principle is accepted according to which the teachers dispose of the statute of the country in which they are, but at the same time having the possibility of returning to the country of origin and find there again their statute.

In the European Commission staff working paper, entitled: *"Progress towards the common objectives in education and training. Indicators and benchmarks", [Brussels 21.10.2004, SEC(2004) 73]* it was stated that "the free circulation of people is still lagging behind the free circulation of goods, capital and services". Notwithstanding the fact that the Single European Act set a precise deadline for the completion of the internal market: 31 December 1992 [art. 18 (8)].The argument is, that cultural barriers, different languages and labour markets make it more difficult for people to move freely within the EU. The internationalisation of the education system plays a major role for realising that part of a truly internal market.

The year 1999 witnessed a big evolution in the political, economic and social environment of Europe: the "launching" of the euro (in January), starting the implementation of the Treaty of Amsterdam (in May) and the enlargement of the EU with Central and Eastern European countries. At the same time in many member states the discussion started on the pension systems in general and on those of teachers and educational personnel specifically.

In March 2000, a report on "Social Protection in Europe" was adopted, presenting an analysis of the main demographic, economic and social developments influencing the social protection

systems throughout the EU, given all the above mentioned evolutions. ETUCE, closely cooperating with ETUC, considered the demographic development and the engagement of the EU, the issues of public, supplementary and occupational pension schemes, etc. Although salaries and working conditions are mainly covered by legislation and collective agreement within each country, to a certain extent they are effected by EU decision making and, with the introduction of the Euro the pressure for coordination is growing. On all these issues ETUCE is represented in the ETUC Collective Bargaining Committee.

So again the problems of working conditions and social protection were very much apparent on the ETUCE-agenda. The General Assembly of May 1999 and 2001 discussed these themes also because in July 1999 the EC adopted the Communication "Concerted Strategy for Modernising Social Protection" in which an agenda for a collective reflexion on four key objectives was formulated of which two are directly related to working conditions. Firstly, to make work pay and provide secure income; secondly to make pensions safe and pension systems sustainable.

In March 2000 a report on social protection was adopted in which an analysis of all kinds of developments was laid down which influenced the systems of social protection not only in the whole EU, but also in the countries of central and eastern Europe, which, at the time, were candidate members of the EU.

On these and the other subjects ETUCE worked closely together with ETUC in following and participating in the consultations with different actors. The General Assembly of May 2001 accepted an action programme concerning these themes, but also implying the preparation of an ETUCE point of view on the EU propositions on legal changes on EU-level and their possible impact on the pensions on national level, on taxes and other suggestions that might influence mobility. The action programme also implied the preparation of propositions for the discussions in the member organisations on the future systems for he negotiations concerning the working conditions and salaries.

In October 2002 an ETUCE- "Statement on The Future of Teacher Education in Europe" was published (see chapters 14 & 15) noting that in many countries in Europe a lack of teaching personnel is growing. The reasons for this crisis vary in detail from country to

country, but all too often, the crisis arises because of the combination of a low status and pay compared to other professional careers, and because of the continuing increases in the volume and complexity of demands, placed on teachers. The principles, formulated already in 1994 in the ETUCE-report "Teacher Education in Europe" prove to be still valid. At the same time, so the report stated, key trends and developments can be seen since 1994 in this field which clarify that the shortage of teachers highlights the relative decline in the attractiveness of teaching as a career , and that this needs to be addressed a.o. by enhancing the status, the pay and working conditions of all teachers. Better salaries, improved working conditions and a better teacher education could help to convince young people to choose teaching as a career.

If qualified teachers can not be found, there is always an obvious risk that many governments will start to recruit into teaching large numbers of staff who do not have an adequate education. This trend could already be observed in some countries. On the other hand, if vacancies are not filled, the workload will increase heavily for those teachers now working in education.

A joint conference was held by CEEP, CEMR and ETUCE to study and deepen the understanding of the problems and to shape and develop effective strategies. Two EURYDICE-reports were at hand: "Overview and Contextual Analysis" and "Conditions of Service of Teachers in General Lower Secondary Education". The second report reveals shortages in many countries in the EU; only six smaller countries report a surplus. The main reason for the existence of the shortages is "competitive job market" or better salaries in the private sector.

The reasons for the surplus are also significant: high unemployment elsewhere/high status of the teaching profession/favourable conditions in education. The three participating organisations in the conference formulated some recommendations to discuss with EURYDICE.

On 10 & 11 March 2003 a seminar was organised by ETUCE for the legal experts of teachers' organisations. A number of experts was invited to address participants on issues related to the impact and influence of European Union law. The seminar was organised in a close cooperation with ETUC's Trade Union Legal Experts Network

(Trade Union Legal Experts Network - NETLEX) which provides a forum for information-sharing and advice to European trade union affiliates. The goal of the seminar was to create a starting point for a similar network within the education sector.

In September 2003 the Executive Board approved the establishment of an ETUCE Legal Expert Network on an electronic basis similar to the three already existing ETUCE networks.

Two of the now four existing ETUCE networks are of great importance in the framework of this chapter: the Working Conditions Network and the Legal Experts Network. Each of them meeting annually, the networks are open to one representative per union per network. The idea behind the networks is manifold: to ensure effective mutual Exchange of information; facilitate consultation of member organisations in the ongoing work of the secretariat; contribute to developing ETUCE policy statements and ideas and request for support letters, as well as to be a collegial forum for debates of issues of common interest among teacher unionists throughout Europe, but also growing to become more and more an integrated part of the daily work of the secretariat.

On 22-24 October 2005 the Working Conditions Network had a seminar in Sesimbra (Portugal) followed by a seminar on 24-25 April 2006 in Barcelona (Spain). During both meetings two important issues were on the agenda: firstly the Trace Survey on the impact of private sector working methods in education, and secondly, the ETUCE/EI survey on teachers' pay and working conditions.

The TRACE project is funded by the EC and is part of the EC's effort to support social partners in improving their capacity to respond to economic and industrial changes. The project implies a survey to obtain information on trends in teachers' pay systems, notably on he extend to which measures such as performance-related pay and performance management is being introduced in the education sector in EU/EFTA and EU candidate countries. In Sesimbra the survey questionnaire on Teacher's Pay and Working Conditions was prepared and sent out in early 2006 to the member organisations in the EU/EFTA and EU candidate countries. The following-up seminar in Barcelona on "Reconstruction :Trends in Teachers' Pay" gathered members of the ETUCE Working Conditions Network.

All these activities were the basis for the ETUCE research proposal on a Comparative Study on Teachers' Pay in Europe, which, when adopted, will be performed by a Research Institute and the final report is to be published at the end of October 2006. The aim of the study is to evaluate the trends in the improvement /deterioration of teachers' pay and pay related issues from the perspective of teachers' trade union organisations, including the following priority issues:

1. the basic salary and the way it increases (including salary adjustments);
2. employment status, and
3. benefits.

The year 2005 witnessed also the presentation of and discussion on the ETUCE draft report "Strengthening European Social Dialogue in the Education Sector". The information was based on questionnaire responses of 47 unions, covering a large range of countries. The whole case of Social Dialogue is of the utmost importance, surely also in the field of working conditions in education (see chapter 8).

An "Action Plan on Social Dialogue in Education" has been developed by ETUCE and presented to be adopted at the Executive Board meeting on 6-7 December 2005 in Luxemburg. Implying many interesting points, for the sake of this chapter it should at least be mentioned that on the national level steps should be taken to deepen and widen the scope of the traditional dialogue, meaning salaries and working conditions; that the dialogue on education reform should imply developing Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications and an European Qualifications Framework in relation to mobility; to develop an ETUCE "Road Map" with best practices; to use the ETUCE Networks.

ETUCE GOING STRONG TO THE FUTURE

In the introduction was mentioned that "Europe" has an impact on the field of working conditions at the national level of the member states. This chapter on some aspects of the concept of working conditions makes clear that ETUCE gained authority in this field in the eyes of external bodies. ETUCE justifies its position as a real representative body of millions of people, working in education.

ETUCE proved to be able to handle, in a highly responsible way, a large range of aspects of working conditions in education, and doing so in a structural and democratic way. The agenda of the General Assembly of December 2006 makes undoubtedly clear that ETUCE developed an internal structure of evolving, maturing, researching, discussing and deciding on items, which guarantees a direct feeling with the people working in the schools. In this way a strong basis for adequate and successful functioning of ETUCE in the future is formed.

Box 11

Stress and teachers

At the end 1998, the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work organised a conference on The Changing World of Work, in an attempt to highlight the impact of the developing social and economic environment on health and safety. The conclusions of the conference stressed the many new challenges which Europe would have to face up to in order to improve health and safety in the workplace. Following the conference, the agency published a brochure setting out ten essential priorities for future research. Psychological and social issues, ergonomics and chemical hazards emerged as fundamental priorities throughout Europe. In the first area, particular attention was devoted to stress in the workplace.

This, then, was a challenge which had to be met. Since knowledge and perception of the causes and effects of work-related stress were becoming increasingly clear, the need to prevent it and make use of new management and assessment methods was becoming increasingly obvious. In line with an EU framework directive, employers have the "duty to guarantee the health and safety of workers in all aspects related to their work". Moreover, the directive makes clear that employers are responsible for developing a "coherent, overall risk prevention policy".

ETUCE activity on stress in the teaching sector

The ETUCE was already well aware that attention also needed to

be drawn to health problems in the teaching sector. From April 1998 an advisory group on Health was set up to address the issue. After four preparatory meetings an EI-ETUCE training seminar was organised in conjunction with the WHO (World Health Organisation) in October 1999 on health and health education.

A particularly important message which emerged was that the teaching profession is by no means free of occupational hazards and illnesses. Indeed, it was noted that the increase in teachers' workloads, a trend which can be observed in several European countries, leads to a number of health conditions, especially those linked to stress. Stress plays a significant role both upstream and downstream of these conditions. In certain cases, it is the cause of them and in others the effect. For example, factors which can play a role in the health disorders experienced by teaching staff include nervous exhaustion, disappointment and frustration, certain socio-economic aspects, the lack of stability and job security, the school environment, the lack of recognition in society and organisational features of school administration. Moreover, the effect of these conditions on workers in the education sector can lead to dogmatic and authoritarian attitudes which convert teaching into a routine activity, discourage teachers from taking initiatives, push them into absenteeism, depression and stress, lead them to ask for transfers and, finally, to leave the profession.

On the basis of these conclusions, the ETUCE and EI launched a survey on teachers' experiences of stress. 25 member organisations from 16 countries answered the survey, including 5 from Central and Eastern Europe. They all recognised that this was an extremely important issue for teachers. A fairly broad consensus emerged about the sources of stress which affect teachers. However, the situation varies from country to country in terms of research undertaken and measures adopted and different responses referred to relevant national studies and reports. Members' reactions and a study of the documentation mentioned in the survey led to a brochure, which was published in 2001.

The report concluded that direct action was not necessarily essential, but only if stress could be reduced at source. The focus for efforts should be on increasing staff members' abilities and on

career development for all teachers throughout the whole of the education system. Monitoring provides a method which allows reflection to take place and provides the teacher with an opportunity to take stock of progress made, and therefore to constantly learn and develop professionally.

Continuous legislative efforts need to be made and cooperation agreements need to be concluded in order to generate suitable recommendations. Where the cause and effects of work-related stress in teachers have been identified, the next step is to take action and implement these recommendations.

Stress management and evaluation are now the essential areas which research should focus on, rather than on further study of the fundamental nature of stress. Attention should be given to initiatives on stress management techniques within the organisation itself, and more suitable systematic assessment of action needs to be carried out. The focus should also be on making practical use of information available today and on a practical, measurable form to be used during inspections and assessments of action taken.

The issue of teachers' health and safety should be taken seriously by employers. All of the parties concerned (governments, agencies responsible for implementing measures adopted, employers and trade unions) should cooperate at all levels to reduce work-related stress effectively. The data presented in the report clearly demonstrated that all the questions outlined above, which must be seen as associated with work-related stress, require a collective approach and a joint effort to prevent, monitor, manage and reduce stress.

In 2003 a social partners seminar on stress highlighted the need for concerted action in which all the social partners assume their fair share of responsibility. One outcome of the subsequent talks was an autonomous framework agreement on work-related stress signed by the ETUC, UNICE / UEAPME and the CEEP, which should be implemented by all the member organisations of the signatories by 8 October 2006. In connection with the agreement, the ETUCE has drawn up a draft proposal for launching a long-term process to

address the problem of stress at work. It will start by increasing the knowledge of teachers' unions of the causes of stress suffered by teachers, its effects and approaches intended to reduce its occurrence.

Louis Van Beneden

Box 12

Health and safety in schools

The teaching profession has become more complex, both in terms of the new requirements made of teachers as a result of technical, technological and cultural developments, and because of the worsening social environment. These factors have had a negative effect on education quality and teachers' working conditions.

There are therefore good reasons for the ETUCE and EI to work for a healthy, safe school environment for both workers in the education sector and students. This is all the more true because at both national and international level political leaders realise this fact and are implementing programmes and initiatives to improve the situation. The EU has also taken some steps in this area.

Health and safety in schools covers a number of issues which are often related, depending on the working situation. This question has a number of different facets including exhaustion amongst teachers and violence in schools, both of which require specific consideration from teaching unions. Why is this? Because it is just as fundamental to protect teachers' individual and professional rights as it is to protect children's right to learn, and if we want to provide quality education for all we need healthy teachers willing to do their job in the right conditions.

In April 1998 the ETUCE set up a working group on health education initially to prepare an initiative, and then to carry it out. The decision on the activity was taken by the Executive Board in December. The working group met four times in 1999 in order to

prepare a seminar that year, in addition to other activities.

So, on 28 and 29 October the Seminar on Training for Health and Health Education, the result of close cooperation between the ETUCE, EI and the WHO, provided an opportunity for a limited number of participants from Western and Eastern Europe to work together with experts for the mutual benefit of all concerned.

The objectives were as follows:

- to increase member organisation activities on this issue ;
- to increase the number of organisations drawing up HIV policies;
- to implement their skills, resources and own experiences to assess and strengthen school and training programmes on HIV issues, intended for teachers and others involved in education;
- to provide essential, precise information on health issues and to promote good health, particularly given the cultural implications.

above all, to provide the ETUCE with a body of demands on two issues:

- Health and safety of teachers and staff
- Health education for young people of all ages

The conclusions contain recommendations for member organisations of both the ETUCE and the ETUC and encourage them to carry out training and information initiatives to improve educational practices and legislation, raise awareness in the education sector, promote research and more specifically to launch a project on stress among teachers. This led the ETUCE to publish a booklet on this topic in 2001 (see box 11).

In preparing this publication and other follow-up steps from the

seminar, the working group continued to meet in the following years. Amongst other initiatives, it also prepared ETUCE participation in a European seminar for social partners on stress at work in 1993, which was attended by a delegation from the committee.

There was another reason why the ETUCE continued work on factors contributing to greater stress amongst teachers and affecting their health and working conditions (see box 13).

The documents on the round table's discussions were subsequently published in a booklet.

Since then, in discussions on quality, working conditions, the Lisbon objectives, etc. the ETUCE has continued to address this issue.

Louis Van Beneden

Box 13

Violence in schools

One of the factors which makes teachers' work more stressful and affects their health and working conditions is the problem of violence in schools. This is a phenomenon which is currently an issue for many European countries and therefore motivated the ETUCE to continue its work on this important theme, which is a

source of individual and collective tension, disruption to school life, confrontation and concerns from both a pedagogical and professional point of view.

The issue of increasing violence in our societies also affects schools. Although this is a long-standing problem, it has become more complex and serious in recent years. Politicians have quite rightly made attempts to address the issue because it highlights the general trend towards greater violence in modern society.

Since the problem does not stop at the border of one country, it became essential to have not just a national level focus but a supranational European approach, too. The school provides the environment where our personality and citizenship are developed. It is not just that violence is increasing at all levels, in education we are not referring to a general societal problem but something affecting real people – teachers themselves – and which leads to fear and demotivation. Violence presents risks to the institution itself since it affects the quality of its operations.

For some years the EU education ministers had therefore attached a high priority to establishing different measures to combat violence in schools. Important steps were prepared at the *"Safe(r) Schools"* conference, which took place in Utrecht in 1997 and was attended by representatives from both governments and from organisations of teachers parents and students. In June 1997, the Council of Ministers acknowledged that safety in schools was an indispensable condition for high quality education. It adopted conclusions on schools and decided to create an experts' group. The ETUCE was a member of this group and developed its own policy on violence in parallel and in conjunction with member organisations.

An ETUCE policy guideline document was prepared by the advisory group set up by the Executive Board. The project was discussed at an ETUCE round table meeting in February 1999, then adopted by the General Assembly in May of the same year. Those present at the round table made significant contributions to the debate and took part in particularly interesting exchanges amongst the participants from organisations from different European countries. The goal was clear: to formulate recommendations and proposals based on experiences and not on slogans.

In his introduction, the Commission representative stressed that there was a general questioning of social institutions such as the family, work, etc. with issues such as unemployment, against a backdrop of profound change throughout the world at all levels. Differences are becoming more and more significant, even if Europe has always been multicultural. However, many approaches still tend to be traditional, whilst the developments pose new

problems. It is a difficult task to manage these differences because education systems are not in a position to do it, he pointed out. However, there is no single response or solution. What is required is a holistic approach which takes all the relevant factors into account. "The school is not alone".

The documents on the 1999 round table's discussions were subsequently published in a booklet, which was sent to all the member organisations in spring 2000, after it had been presented to the Executive Board. Its recommendations are intended to provide a basis for demands allowing pressure to be applied. The document has become the common basis for actions to combat violence by supporting member organisations, through focussing on the impact of basic and lifelong training for teachers and those working in the education system. The ETUCE also realised that combating violence means struggling for quality and striving to combat all forms of exclusion. The importance of continuity in education was highlighted, which entails organising the educational chain from pre-school age right through to university with all the partners. This was the substance of the message. In this context, the joint declaration with the EPA (European Parents' Association) was recalled. It had been broadly disseminated and stated the need to maintain sustained contact between parents, teachers, and school staff at all levels in education – in the school itself, but also locally and nationally. The message should be clear, though: schools are not just extensions of people's houses or homes, nor are they the educational continuation of family action, whether present or not.

Since then, in discussions on quality, working conditions, staff training, the Lisbon objectives, etc. the ETUCE has continued to address this issue and to defend the points of view supported by all its member organisations.

Louis Van Beneden

Chapter 12

EQUALITY IN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY




Elena Jenaro *Mie Osmundsen* *M.-Liisa Rintanen* *Seija Tiisalaa*

In short

In the policies of the EEC, later the EU, the issue of equal opportunities (EO) was always prominently on ETUCE's agenda, in its structures, action programmes, statements and representations. Equal opportunities was always one of ETUCE's priorities, more particularly in relation to the gender disparities in the educational sector, in which the majority of teachers are women. During the nineties, ETUCE's work on Equal opportunities was broadened from gender equality to equal treatment on grounds of age and racial or ethnic origin. In this chapter it is described when, how and in which context ETUCE was acting to achieve its objectives. The text illustrates at the same time how the work was organised for ETUCE to come to its positions and conclusions, and what was the role of the working groups, standing committees and projects in which ETUCE took part in this respect.

CONTEXT: EU POLICY ON GENDER EQUALITY AND RELEVANCE OF TRADE UNION WORK IN THIS MATTER

At EU level, the principle of gender equality was already enshrined by article 119 in the Treaty of Rome (1957). Although restricted to the principle of equal pay between men and women (equal pay for

equal work), this legal basis allowed the European Commission and the European Court of Justice to play a more active role in developing gender equality in the fields of employment and other matters related to the labour market, especially during the 1970s. Since 1975, a series of Directives were adopted in order to clarify and develop this principle.

The first legislative measure was the Equal Pay Directive[8], which developed and complemented article 119 TEC. In short after, the Equal Treatment Directive[9] broadened the principle of equal pay to equal treatment between women and men as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion and working conditions. Its implementation started very slowly due to many obstacles both at national and European leves.

The gender equality principle remained thus largely confined to employment-related sex discrimination for many years. It was not until the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) that a more determined institutional commitment towards 'mainstreaming' gender equality across EU policies took place. Since then, article 3.2 TEC calls for the integration of a gender perspective in all policy areas, at every level.

As regards the development of a systematic Community policy on gender equality, it started to be shaped in the early 80's, with the adoption of the first Equal Opportunities Action Programme for the years 1982-1985. The mainstreaming strategy started to be used by the EU in the Third (1991-1995) and the Fourth (1996-2000) Equal Opportunities Action Programmes. In June 2000 the Commission adopted the first Framework Strategy on Gender Equality, covering the following fields: equality in economic, social and civil life, equality in decision-making and gender roles and stereotypes. This Stategy was accompanied by a Programme (2001-2005) with a provision of 50 million for the promotion of gender equality.

[8] Council Directive 75/11/EEC of 10 February 1975 on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women.
[9] Council Directive 76/207/EEC of 9 February 1976 on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions.

The EU gender equality policy is at present based in articles 2 and 3 of the EC Treaty (gender mainstreaming), as well as articles 137 and 141 (equality between men and women in employment and occupation) and article 13 (sex discrimination within and outside the workplace). EU legislation currently covers 14 directives in the area of employment, social security and goods and services.

On the trade union side ETUC has organised the follow up of EU policies on gender equality since 1975, mainly through the ETUC Women's Committee. The situation in the seventies was such that several trade unions in Europe began discussions and raised awareness on issues concerning equal opportunities for men and women in society.

ETUCE was represented in the EC colloquium "Equal opportunities for boys and girls at school - women in education" (17-18 November 1984) by the Norwegian Executive Board (EB) member Mie Osmundsen. In the recommendation adopted at the end of this conference, the European Commission appealed to member countries to:

- make surveys of women teachers careers;
- encourage women teachers to take subjects others that those "traditionally" chosen by women in their initial and in-service training;
- ensure that absence from teaching caused by pregnancy and children should not be counted when seniority is required for promotion.

Mie Osmundsen reported from the event to the ETUC Education Committee and to the next ETUCE Executive Board (EB) meeting on 17 January 1985. The ETUCE then gave the mandate to Mie Osmundsen to prepare a policy paper on the issue. This policy paper was to be based on the results of a questionnaire previously sent by ETUCE to its member organisations. From this moment on, ETUCE initiated a specific action programme in relation to equal opportunities.

1985: STARTING POINT FOR ETUCE's ACTIONS ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IN EUROPE

In the same way that the EC initiatives and policies influenced to a great extent the actions of ETUCE and ETUC as regards equal opportunities, ETUCE actions and policy documents were influencing the relevant documents in this matter at EU level.

The results from the ETUCE survey in 1985 showed that in most countries women teachers were in majority in the teaching profession. In spite of this, women had an overall low representation on executive boards and senior positions in teacher unions. Very few women worked as headmasters or held other administrative posts. In schools, girls chose subjects "traditionally" chosen by women such as languages, art and domestic science. These subjects were also often taught by women. The findings showed that there were few countries which had formally established equal opportunities for women and men either by legislation or by agreements with unions.

The draft policy document based on the results of this survey made it possible for ETUCE Executive Board to issue a number of governing ideas which were submitted to the Ministers of Education of the EEC countries before their meeting in June 1985.

The Council Resolution of the Council of Ministers for Education of 3 June 1985, containing an action programme on equal opportunities for girls and boys in education, explicitly mentioned the commitment of teachers and their organisations to the achievement of this goal. In addition, the issues dealt with in the ETUCE policy paper were reflected in this resolution.

The ETUC Congress, 13–17 May 1985 in Milan, encouraged ETUCE to appoint a representative to ETUC's Women's Committee. The WCT and IFFTU proposed Mrs. Osmundsen to be appointed. The Women's Committee of ETUC worked on issues such as women representation in trade unions, equal participation of women in the labour market, including equal pay, job quality and working conditions, etc.

In November 1985 the ETUCE General Assembly adopted the draft resolution on "Equality in Education and in Society". It was decided to establish an ETUCE working group to guide the teacher unions

in their future work on these matters, analyse the situation and propose further initiatives. Equality was seen as an issue concerning women only, which was understandable at that moment, due to the fact that it was considered as the result of the strong impact the feminist movement had made in the sixties and seventies.
From this moment on the issue of equal opportunities remained on the agenda of the meetings of the ETUCE Executive Bureau and the General Assembly.

ETUCE INITIATIVES: LATE 80's and 90's

To mainstream the equality issues within trade unions as well as in a broader context did not always go smoothly. On one hand, these issues were seen as a sideline of the hard core union work, which was mostly done at the highest levels by men. On the other hand, there was a firm belief that the basic equality problems were being solved in the European countries, and that the teaching profession was the best testimony of this fact. A closer study proved that this was not the case. As previously explained, ETUCE showed its commitment to equality issues with the establishment of an ETUCE Equal opportunities working group in its resolution approved by the General Assembly in 1985.

The ETUCE Equal opportunities working group met twice a year, normally in Brussels -sometimes in other countries too, when member organisations invited the ETUCE-. The majority of the work was undertaken at the group meetings, whose agenda and working papers were sent to the members in advance in the hope that the group members would discuss the questions in their respective unions. This working group was given increasing resources and its work entailed taking the results of the work done further in form of publications and contacts with the Community.

Great emphasis was put on disseminating information about the equal opportunities work within the member unions and obtaining reactions to important open questions; not the easiest task in times when rather few women (or persons interested in the equal opportunities questions) were occupying leading positions in their trade unions.

The ETUCE Equal opportunities working group became the ETUCE Equal Opportunities Standing Committee in 1993. The committee was open for both women and men, even though voices were still raised to preserve a more feminist angle and the participation of women only.

The work of the Standing Committee was administrated in close co-operation with the ETUCE Executive Board and the Secretariat, especially the General Secretary. The chair persons were members of the Executive Board (after Mie Osmundsen, Marja-Liisa Rintanen was chairing from 1988-1993 and Seiija Tiisala from 1993-1997), and the work was supervised by the Steering Committee, consisting of the chair of the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee, the ETUCE General Secretary, an ETUCE vice-president and the secretary of the group. Reports from the meetings were presented at the Executive Board meetings. The secretariat gave all the technical help needed. In 1994 the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee had two secretaries: one a native French speaker (Hélène Tabaud) and the other English (Adrienne Aziz). Their input was of vital importance, and their work load was considerable, especially in preparing the documents to be discussed at Equal Opportunities meetings, General Assembly and colloquiums, as well as drafting the reports and minutes.

The Standing Committee met for the first time in Paris in October 1994 and defined its working programme for 1994 in the following way:
- study of all questions arising on equal opportunities;
- the integration of handicapped people at school and in society;
- preparation of a specific seminar on feminisation in education.

One important part of the work was to discuss, asess and comment on green and white papers from the Commission from a gender perspective.

The main ETUCE initiatives during this period were the following:

- First colloquium on "Equal opportunities for female teachers", held on 25-27 May 1987 in Brussels. The result of this colloquium was a resolution proposing recommendations to be followed by teachers' unions as regards the schools (tackling stereotypes, promoting co-education, etc.), the union

(establishing women's committees, promoting gender mainstraming in the collective agreements and union programmes, etc.) and at ETUCE level (promoting the work of women within its structures and monitoring gender mainstreaming in the EU policies through the work carried out in the Equal Opportunities working group). Later that year the ETUCE General Assembly adopted a recommendation on equal opportunities at their meeting in Luxembourg. This text was slightly amended by the ETUCE General Assembly in November 1988.

- Follow-up on the implementation of the recommendations. A questionnaire was sent to the unions in February 1990. The answers and additional information obtained from the unions concerning their Equal Opportunities policies were analysed, and the results were presented to the General Assembly in 1990.

- Colloquium "Opening Doors". The results from the inquiry were used in planning the ETUCE colloquium "Opening Doors" in 1992 in Brussels and a leaflet "Steps towards Equality in Education", written by Shirley Darlington, was published in nine languages in 1992, with financial support from the European Commission (DG V, Employment, Industrial relations and Social Dialogue). The Colloquium defined in its concluding statement seven 'key areas for action': stereotyping and role models, participation of women in Education Unions, career prospects in education, value of teachers' work and rewards, development in Community law, and teacher training and equal opportunities.

- Colloquium on "Feminisation in Education" (prepared during the first meeting of the ETUCE Standing Committee on Equal Opportunities and held in Strasbourg in April 1995, with financial support from the Commission). Its objectives included to analyse both the pedagogical and social consequences of feminisation of the teaching profession and the way in which feminisation influences teachers' salaries and working conditions (part-time jobs, short-term jobs, flexible working hours) or laws concerning education. This colloquim followed up on the activities undertaken in this field and especially on the 'Opening Doors' event, which made it possible to further

develop teacher unions' views on living and working conditions, women involvement in trade unions, etc.

More than 80 union delegates from all over Europe participated in this colloquium**.** The European Parliament was in session at the same time, and the aim was to meet MEPs who were interested in Equal Opportunities issues.

The 27 conclusions and proposals made by the three working groups were adopted by the Colloquium. The lively discussions were summarised in a conference report, in which the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee suggested that the follow-up of the colloquium should be three-fold:

- local seminars discussing the questions raised at the colloquium should be organised;
- active contacts should be taken with relevant instances and persons within the Community;
- relevant information (publications and statistics) should be collected for use in further discussions.

The Commission representative, Mrs Henningsen, was satisfied with the results of the colloquium and expressed the Commission's will to continue supporting ETUCE's work and his hope that concrete results in form of an action programme would emerge from the colloquium.

- Follow-up on the conclusions of the colloquium on "Feminisation in Education" by an ad hoc group. The conclusions and proposals adopted by the Colloquium were presented and discussed at the following General Assembly in May 1995. It was decided that a small ad hoc working group should be established to further discuss the results. This ad hoc working group, chaired by the chair of the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee at that moment, Seija Tiisala, defined its goals and working methods and decided to focus on the following issues:

  - to review the existing research in the field and to consider what practical conclusions could be drawn on the basis of the research;
  - to avoid the conclusion that the negative approach to feminisation in itself should be avoided even if

better gender balance is the goal and the respect of equal and good working conditions for mean and women in the teaching profession;
- to use the results from two earlier colloquiums ("Opening Doors" and "Teacher Education");
- to propose new issues for research if needed.

The ad hoc group met seven times and heard reports from experts (from France, The Netherlands and The United Kingdom) who were invited to inform the group about existing research. The results from the discussions were presented to the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee, and the summary of the group's work was later published in the form of a booklet at the end of 1996.

In the late nineties the ETUCE Equal Opportinities Standing Committee broadened the themes of discussion from gender discrimination to other issues and discrimination grounds. There were guidelines about age discrimination (ageism), about equality laws and directives in Europe, and about sexual harassment and equal opportunities in employment. Some guidelines were easier to accept than others; the text to be used in job advertisements by those who wanted to be defined as Equal Opportunities employers caused much discussion, as it was difficult to define the groups not to be discriminated against unequivocally. A brochure containing relevant EU laws and suggestions for negotiation tactics was also compiled. Adrienne Aziz wrote the guideline text.

The themes discussed represented thus a variation: the aging of the European population, lifelong learning (how to guarantee the possibility to participate in lifelong learning to different groups), part time jobs in schools and at universities (in certain countries women tend to more often have part time jobs than men), the integration of the handicapped in schools and in society, and the information society and teachers. Many of these questions are of topical interest even today.

At this period, the following events took place:

- Preparation of the Peking Conference in 1995. The Equal Opportunities Standing Committee gave the mandate of preparing this International Conference to Monique

Fouilhoux, the EI Coordinator on Higher Education and Reseach, who took up some of the main issues to be discussed at the conference, among which violence in school and sexual harassment.

- In 1995, the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee wrote a communiquée to celebrate International Woman's Day on 8th of March.

- In October 1996 the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee met in Stockholm, where the draft proposals on its role within the future ETUCE/EI/WCT structures were discussed. A report on the Feminisation Group was available at the end of 1996.

- In February 1997 notes on equal pay and disability, and how to conduct a workplace disability audit were on the agenda.

- In 1998 the focus was on:

  - the ageing of the teacher population
  - the atypical contract: part-time work or fixed-term contracts
  - parental leave
  - access to continuing education for women
  - the introduction of new technologies

ETUCE as a trade union/Industry Federation of Education within ETUC had close contacts with the confederation. One example of these contacts was that the chair of the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee was automatically member of ETUC Women's Committee and participated also in conferences concerning the discussed issues, organised by ETUC. The ETUC Women's Committee was for women only, but the issues taken up in the committee concerned mostly problems in the whole society men and women alike. Job flexibility, distance work, job sharing, the time schedule demanded by society and the individuals' needs, indirect discrimination and the women's position and status within the union's administration, were some of the main themes discussed. The close contacts ETUC had with the EU Commission could be seen in the meeting agendas, which included

presentations of topical issues by Commission representatives, often giving important information about matters that were relevant for the trade union work. The members of the group represented a great variety of professions and trades, thus making it possible to place the problems concerning ETUCE members in a wider context.

The new situation with growing unemployment in Europe, especially among women stressed the importance of reorganisation and redefinition of 'work' and working time. Society's needs for 'atypical work' and night work and the difficulties in accommodating these needs to the needs of child care e.g. were discussed at great length. Part time work is an issue that concerns especially women, as the increase in part time work among women diminishes their possibilities for career advancement. On the other hand, the positive sides of freely chosen part time work are considerable.

Other important items which needed a trade union follow up were EU's third programme on Equal opportunities for men and women 'NOW' in 1991 for 4 years: reduction of female employment and improvement of the situation of those who already started to adapt to changing environments in order to reconcile work and family life. NOW was integrated in 1995 in the EU programme "WORK" and in 2000 in EQUAL. When the EU started the IRIS network in 1998 ETUC and ETUCE had to be alert and present in the debates.

In the education sector the SOCRATES and LEONARDO DA VINCI programmes continued the mainstreaming strategy from the 90's. In SOCRATES especially the equity between men and women, the challenges related to handicapped children, racism and xenophobia and socio-economic disadvantages were taken into account.

ETUCE WORK ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES 2000-2005

In the Amsterdam Treaty, Article 13 gives the European Union the competence to legislate and act against all forms of discrimination based on "sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation". Two directives and an action programme against discrimination (Community Action Programme to combat discrimination 2000-2006) were adopted in record time by the Council after consultation with the European Parliament.

One directive establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation (Council Directive 2000/78/EC, in short, the ”Employment Framework Directive”) and takes into account all discriminatory grounds referred to in Article 13 except gender. The other concerns the implementation of the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin (Council Directive 2000/43/EC, in short, ”Racial Equality Directive”). ETUCE took an active part in the preparation of the two Directives on discrimination through the work of the ETUC working group "Migrants and ethnic minorities". Discrimination based on gender was not included in these directives, as it was already covered by separate legislation.

In June 2002, the Council adopted a new Directive amending the Equal treatment Directive from 1976 on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion and working conditions. The new directive includes, as the two other mentioned above, a definition of the term “harassment”, which is of fundamental importance.

In 2000, the European Commission proposed a Community Framework Strategy on gender equality for the years 2001-2005, covering all aspects of the question: equality in economic, social, and civil life, equality in decision-making, gender roles and stereotypes.

The EU initiatives to increase childcare facilities in the European Union are based on the wish to increase the participation of women in the workforce and contribute to the reduction of the gender gap.

In 2000, the ETUC launched an Equal Pay campaign, which continued throughout 2001 and 2002. It issued recommendations on equal opportunities issues in collective bargaining.

ETUCE also continued to be represented in the ETUC Women’s Committee during this period. From 2000 to 2002, Maryvonne Cattin represented ETUCE in this committee. In 2002 Maryvonne resigned from the ETUCE Executive Board and she was replaced in the ETUC Women’s Committee by Marisol Pardo. In 2003, with the establishment of the new EI/ETUCE Pan-European Structure, the Equal Opportunities Standing Committee became the EIE Equal

Opportunities Committee. After December 2003, the ETUCE secretariat followed the work in ETUC Women's Committee until 2007, when Kounka Damianova was appointed as the ETUCE representative in this committee.

In May 2003 ETUCE in cooperation with EI introduced an amended text to the ETUC preparatory Congress work concerning non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.

In the period 2004-2006 ETUCE was involved in several activities in the field of equal opportunities, in relation to both gender equality and non-discrimination of ethnic minorities.

In the field of gender policy ETUCE has been represented and participated actively in the ETUC's Women's Committee meetings. The main discussions in the committee meetings have revolved around priorities related to strengthening the gender dimension of the Lisbon Strategy, which underlines that the integration of women in the workforce is an important goal and which also highlights the involvement of the social partners in eliminating the gender gap in the labour market. In addition, the committee has dealt with gender mainstreaming, the need for a better balance between work and family life as well as the need for better childcare possibilities.

There is a tendency at EU level to include gender equality in a broader non-discrimination framework, namely "equal opportunities for all". Several factors indicate that the political climate for gender equality within EU institutions is relatively weak and the European Parliament's Women's Rights Committee stands weaker than in the past.

However, several European Commission papers, directives and communications on the subject of equal opportunities were produced in the 2004-2006 period. In April 2004 the 'Proposal for a Directive on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation' was first presented. After a two-year legislative procedure, the amended Directive was adopted and signed by the European Parliament and by the Council on 5 July 2006. ETUCE participated in discussions regarding the Directive in the ETUC's Women's Committee in September 2005 and April 2006.

In 2004 the European Commission presented its first annual 'Report on equality between men and women', focusing on the progress made in mainstreaming the gender dimension. The report was posted on the ETUCE Development in Education Network, and the two subsequent reports from 2005 and 2006 were monitored by the ETUCE Secretariat.

The latest activity undertaken by ETUCE in the field of gender equality has been the submission of a project proposal to the European Commission on 'Gender Stereotypes in the teaching profession' in April 2006. The main aim of the project was to improve and exchange information on how teacher unions are promoting initiatives on tackling the gender stereotypes in the teaching profession. The project proposal was rejected by the European Commission in September 2006 and ETUCE Secretariat continues seeking for financial support to be able to implement it.

In May 2004 the Green Paper on 'Equality and non-discrimination in an enlarged European Union' was presented by the European Commission. The Green Paper analyses the progress made by the European Union in tackling discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, age, disability and sexual orientation. ETUCE dealt with the subject by launching a consultation of member organisation on the Green Paper in June 2004, and informed members in a Newsletter article in October 2004.

In March 2005, the European Social Partners adopted a Framework for Actions for gender equality. The identified four priority actions: to address gender roles, to promote women in decision-making, to support work-life balance and to tackle the gender pay gap.

The education of Roma children

In 2004 the European Commission approved an ETUCE project entitled "Developing non-discriminatory quality education for Roma children". The aim of the project was to respond to the need to provide Roma children in Central and South Eastern Europe with equal access to quality education. A high percentage of children with Roma background are not enrolled in schools at all. Roma children are very often assigned to so-called "special schools" and receive an education designed for children with mental handicaps.

In addition, a large majority of Roma children drop out of school before completing primary education.

The ETUCE project consisted of two different phases: a six-month preparatory phase and a two-year implementation phase. The aim of the preparatory phase was to analyse the situation of Roma children, primarily in Bulgaria, and to share these findings with Slovakian and Hungarian colleagues in order to identify common problems. The project's implementation phase thus targeted Bulgaria, Slovakia and Hungary. It began in January 2005 and ran to December 2006, having the following overall objectives:

- To raise awareness and build capacities among trade unions, authorities, parents and teachers with a view to enhancing the quality of education for Roma children
- To contribute to changing policies and legislation in accordance with the EU Anti-discrimination Framework.

In addition to ETUCE Secretariat, six member organisations took part in the project: AOb (the Netherlands) – which alerted ETUCE to the situation of Roma children in Europe by submitting a resolution to the ETUCE Executive Board in September 2003 – holding the political coordination of the project, SEB and Podkrepa (Bulgaria), PDSZ and SEH (Hungary) and OZPSaV (Slovakia) coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the activities in their respective countries.

In order to achieve the project objectives, several activities were carried out:

- *Launching the project*: A launch conference aimed at attracting commitment and support from relevant national and international authorities and other stakeholders working in the field of the education of Roma children.

- *Legal phase*: One legal seminar per country, aimed at raising awareness of the EU Anti-discrimination framework and comparing it to the national legal systems.

- *Training of Trainers (ToT) phase*: Three ToT seminars, one per country, for the purpose of training 25 teachers and educators working in the field. A total of 75 teachers and educators (25 per country) became trainers.

- *Training sessions* aimed at giving the trained trainers the opportunity to develop their skills by organising training sessions in their working environment. Each trained trainer organised a training session with 10 persons on average. As a result, a total of 750 persons (250 per country) were trained by the 75 project trainers.

- *Three policy workshops* aimed at putting the issue of quality education for Roma children on the social dialogue agenda in the teacher unions of the three participating countries. In order to do this, each country drafted a National Action Plan, which was intended as a concrete tool for developing strategies to improve quality education for Roma children at national level.

- *Final conference*: Following the national policy workshops, the three National Action Plans were presented in a final conference. A conference statement was adopted encouraging member organisations from countries with a need for integrating the Roma minority into society to increase their efforts towards equal education for Roma children. This statement formed the basis for drafting an ETUCE policy paper on anti-discrimination, which will be submitted to the ETUCE General Assembly in December 2006.

As regards overall policy development, ETUCE intends to encourage member organisation to set up guidelines for what could be a teacher trade union policy on non-discriminatory quality education for Roma children in Europe. The project partners in the three above-mentioned countries have created trade union Working Groups (WGs) within their structures. These WGs will be in charge of guiding the future steps to be taken to promote anti-discrimination in their national education systems, with special focus on Roma children. In the cases of Hungary and Bulgaria, Joint Working Groups have been established for SEH and PDSZ, and SEB and Podkrepa, respectively.

The Training of Trainers (ToT) seminars and training sessions were particularly important for the project. These activities were aimed at changing teachers' and educators' attitudes towards Roma children in schools. In order to undertake the ToT seminars and

training sessions, the three training experts of the project developed a manual to be used as a tool for training.

Currently, the manual is available to many teachers and educators in the participating countries. It is hoped that the development and implementation of further activities based on the manual will contribute to improving, in a consistent and systematic way, teachers' qualifications and, in the long term, the quality of their teaching, in order to provide access to quality education and high academic achievement for Roma students.

ETUCE believes that it is of crucial importance for teachers to be well prepared in the fight against discrimination with a view to achieving social justice in the European Union as a whole. The outcomes and achievements of this project might be useful for other countries in the region. The integration of the Roma minority in the European societies is crucial for the socio-economic and democratic development of Europe as a whole. All teachers in Southern and Eastern Europe have a key role to play in this matter.

Box 14

Intercultural education

It very quickly emerged within the ETUCE and its member organisations that one of Europe's strengths was its social, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity and that it was necessary to defend this diversity, or multiculturalism, and prevent clashes and conflicts which might occur as a result of ignorance, misunderstanding and rejection of others. This was all the more necessary since the wars which had bloodied Europe's soil for centuries, in addition to the political approach of the different blocs and isolation, had further heightened these risks for the future.

Moreover, trade union campaigning for universal rights and the need to respect them entails making every effort across the board to achieve suitable levels of social and cultural cohesion. The resurgence of extremist ideas rooted in xenophobia and

anti-Semitism has led the ETUCE to relaunch and strengthen its positions and carry out analysis, work and activities on multicultural education to address sectarian approaches so that all Europeans can live together, whatever their origin, culture or religion.

It is true that in recent years there has been a resurgence of behaviour and occurrences which were thought to belong to a different time, for example, neo-nazi youths, sometimes still in the education system, marching through the streets of major European capitals overtly proclaiming their racist slogans. In many European Union countries extreme right wing parties, which are openly racist and xenophobic, express their ideas, indulge in demagogy, convince the public and sometimes even get into power.

In addition, discrimination against young people because of their ethnic origin triggers reactions from teaching trade unions which campaign for equal rights and success in training and qualifications. Thus the ETUCE has frequently taken a stand to support its trade union members at national and European level in order to speak out against national or local political tendencies and behaviour which undermine human dignity.

For example, the extraordinary General Assembly in June 1993 made multicultural education one of its priorities in its 1993/94 action programme by deciding to strengthen work already undertaken. An initial seminar was held in Antwerp on this topic in 1993. The General Assembly action programme from 1994 points out that "diversity is a source of wealth for societies that all people working in educational establishments should take into account. Intercultural education is not a new teaching method, but an attitude which should feature at all level of the education system from pre-primary through to higher education. It requires a certain number of specific requirements, such as the right of all children to be educated in their mother tongue and in a second language." Since this General Assembly the ETUCE has had guidelines providing a basis for its future activity in this area.

In October 1994 a European seminar to combat discrimination was organised by the ETUCE in Strasbourg. In 1995 the Executive

Board decided to boost its commitment to intercultural education and included it as part of its struggle against racism and xenophobia. Several euro-regional conferences were subsequently organised in 1995 and 1996 in Malmö, Barcelona, Berlin and Dublin on legislation and different programmes, basic and continuous teacher training, and didactic and pedagogical material. Several specialised working group meetings were held regularly throughout this period to deepen our analysis and contribute to ETUCE theories.

In Strasbourg on 29 and 30 September 1997 we organised a conference on "Intercultural education against racism and xenophobia" the conclusions of which were added to the action programme set out by the Luxembourg General Assembly in June 1997. All of this was subsequently included in an ETUCE publication in May 1998 in several languages which included a joint declaration adopted by the ETUCE and the OBESSU (European Bureau of pupils associations: "intercultural education is a school strategy aimed at fighting racism and xenophobia. Intercultural education offers to all individuals the right to learn, understand, speak, read and write the most commonly used language within the community. Any individual must also have the right to keep his/her own cultural identity and learn his/her mother tongue". Indeed, it rapidly turned out to be essential to create synergies amongst the different partners and especially to work with young people. This kind of cooperation between the OBESSU and the ETUCE is an excellent example of the joint action necessary on such an issue which should involve teachers, pupils and students.

Other major initiatives should be highlighted over this period, such as the support of our British colleagues when they campaigned in the European Parliament to put an end to racism in football. 1997 was defined by the European Union as the "European Year against Racism" and the ETUCE participated actively in many events organised at European level and in member states and increased the number of declarations and positions adopted. This was the case, for example, in November in Lisbon at a conference organised by the European Commission to demonstrate that "progress against racist behaviour is possible in businesses, including schools, which are also another kind of workplace."

We particularly stated during this period that "we should also be particularly careful about the development of sects, the increase of fundamentalism and irrational attitudes in our societies, even the emergence of false or neo-pseudo sciences and philosophies based on intuition and mysticism. Respect for other people and the culture of the other in our societies are the foundations of human rights, democracy and social and cultural life."

At the same time, the ETUCE strengthened its cooperation with the ETUC, which had itself decided to develop actions against racism and xenophobia. In Florence, at the Social Dialogue Summit in 1995 the social partners (ETUCE, UNICE and CEEP) held a conference on combating racism and adopted a "joint declaration on the prevention of racial discrimination and xenophobia and promoting equal treatment in the workplace."

With the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty, the ETUCE contributed in 1999 to the organisation of a seminar as part of social dialogue to study the consequences of implementing article 13, a new anti-discrimination clause which was to provide a basis for future trade union positions. Article 13 granted the European Union new powers to allow it to legislate against "discrimination based on sex, race, ethnic origin, religion or creed, disability, age or sexual orientation." The European Commission also drew up a community action programme to combat discrimination for the 2000/2006 period.

In 1998 the heads of state and government of the Council of Europe launched a reflection and action programme on the subject of education and citizenship. The ETUCE was contacted and has since contributed to designing and creating pedagogical tools in this area, which obviously also includes intercultural education.

Alain Mouchoux

Box 15

Education for the disabled

About 17% of the European Union's population, several million Europeans, including children and students, are affected by a physical, mental or other form of disability.

Unemployment among the disabled tends to be higher than among other groups, and they face greater potential difficulties in terms of education, access to training, recruitment, vocational training and life in general.

In Europe, there are three main ways of organising education for children with special educational needs which range from separate education to integration depending on the country in question.

The member trade unions of the ETUCE have always campaigned in favour of equal education for all and tried to promote the trend towards the highest degree of integration possible for children in ordinary or special classes.

However, there is still an important point of concern: how can steps be taken to put an end to all forms of discrimination, including against those with disabilities? There is no shortage of reference points, from the UN to the ILO at the Jomtien conference in 1990 on Education For All, the Salamanca declaration, the Council of Education Ministers resolution on "integration of children and young people with disabilities into ordinary education systems".

The ETUCE's activities have obviously been highly integrated into those of the ETUC since the social partners have always wanted to address this issue in all its aspects by tackling education, vocational training and quality of life together from the outset.

In this way the ETUCE has contributed to the analysis required for access for children with "*special educational needs*" to an ordinary or specialised school environment, for training for specialised

teachers or for greater awareness throughout the education sector.

So it was that in 1995, the ETUCE put forward its positions: "The ETUCE is in favour of integrating the disabled into the normal school environment. This should not take place to the detriment of the disabled or to that of other pupils and requires additional targeted resources and a fair distribution of staff resources.

It also pointed out that: "our societies still discriminate and legislation still needs to be improved and respected, including, for example, the integration of disabled teachers […]. A great deal of effort needs to be made by the trade unions to raise awareness and promote training about this issue among their members and the general public."

Action programmes were also set out for the EU, the ministers involved and the social partners. In April 1998 in Rome, for the conference organised by the ETUC on "equal rights to training, employment and dignity for workers" the ETUCE relaunched the debate on vocational training and education by highlighting the fact that every effort should be made to integrate the disabled provided that accompanying measure were adopted on the following points:

- teacher training and preparation
- the presence of educational, medical, paramedical and psychological support staff
- special pedagogical support
- close consultation with parents and associations

"The schools should provide opportunities for all pupils, including the disabled, to develop their individual abilities to achieve dignity and equal opportunities without distinction".

The ETUCE's many contributions were integrated and put to good use, for example, in the resolution adopted by the ETUC executive committee in November 2002, then again in Thessalonica in March 2003 through the joint declaration with the European forum for the disabled with which sustained relations were developed.

In 1999 the ETUCE also took part in work sessions organised on article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty which sets out the need to "tackle all forms of discrimination based on sex, race, ethnic origin, religion, creed and disability".

In Lisbon in March 2000, at the ETUC Conference "The employment of the disabled : the role of education and training", ETUCE presents its analysis and proposals which will be included in the conclusions.

At the same time, the Executive Board of the 1991, then the General Assembly adopted a guideline document including all the analysis, proposals and claims put forward by our committee, which stated among other things : "the educational and social chain which provides assistance to the disabled person and accompanies this person all along his/her life, from early childhood to his/her integration in the employment market and social life must be coordinated and be able to cover all his/her needs.

In the European Commission's communication "Towards a barrier-free Europe for people with disabilities" initiatives were developed for promoting mobility for all in Europe, including students, teachers and other people with a disability.

The final assessment of the SOCRATES II programme (1995-99) included a study on special needs in education. The ETUCE called on the European Commission to encourage greater competition between member states and to present a compilation of good practices.

The various ETUCE contributions were integrated in the resolution adopted by the ETUC Executive Committee in November 2002 and then in March 2003 in Thessalonica in the joint declaration with the European forum of disabled persons with which regular relationships have been developed.

Lastly, the ETUCE welcomed the Commission initiative which made 2003 the European Year of People with Disabilities, got involved in the different events organised by the EU and, at the same time, played a major role in adopting a declaration by Council of Europe

NGOs on the topic.

Alain Mouchoux

Chapter 13

HIGHER EDUCATION: REPRESENTING THE MOST 'INTERNATIONAL' SECTOR

Paul Bennett

In short

The ETUCE has worked hard both to represent higher education and research as the most international of the education sectors and to ensure that it is firmly linked to the other sectors. A number of organisational approaches were adopted to meet the sector's needs and to give a voice to the unions within higher education and research. A successful balance has been achieved between the needs of the sector at the European, national and global levels, in partnership with Education International, and making effective use of electronic networking. Some issues – academic freedom and the fight for democratic governance, access and mobility have remained the same across the years. However, the challenges the sector has faced have become steadily more daunting, including being in the forefront of the threat from global commodification, and facing increased integration as a result of the Bologna Process. The long years of the unions in the sector working together in a collective way are proving invaluable in enabling the sector to meet these huge new challenges.

BEGINNINGS

Higher education has historically been the most international and also the most 'European' of educational sectors, with a real sense of a Europe-wide community of scholars with a continuous existence stretching back into medieval Europe. This continued in the post-war period, but the institutions of the European Community and then of the European Union, with their initial strict

limitation on the role of the European institutions in respect of education issues, took some time before they began to reflect this reality. When the European institutions did begin to take an interest, the driver was social and economic cohesion rather than academic collegiality. Significantly, the beginning of the interest coincided with the first moves from 'elite' to 'mass' models of higher education. Also, the relatively limited size of the original Community compared to the historical concept of Europe, threatened a twin track approach, although this danger has now receded to some extent with the steady expansion of the European Union.

Quite soon after the creation of the ETUCE, there was a tentative recognition within the new body of the distinctive characteristics of the higher education sector, with its key role in the sustenance and transmission of culture and in social cohesion; its European and global perspectives; its pivotal economic and social role as a provider of skilled labour – not least for the teaching profession itself; and the sector's close relationship with research, in an era where research and development increasingly permeated every aspect of modern life.

From the mid 1970's to mid 1980's, small ad hoc groups were called together in ETUCE to deal with emerging European Community initiatives on, for example, student and staff mobility and recognition of professional qualifications. These initiatives and the ETUCE's efforts to get to grips with them, were tentative in character. The ETUCE's extremely limited resources and the low level of knowledge, interest or expertise about European developments on the part of the majority of member unions at that time, limited the work that could be done, and the early statements of the ETUCE on higher education matters were often sketchy or declamatory in tone.

By the mid 1980's, a convergence of increased formal powers for the European institutions following Maastricht, and a wider recognition in the unions of the need for an effective and concerted response, demanded new ways of working from ETUCE, and one of the areas clearly requiring a stronger response, was higher education. Despite the ETUCE's continuing meagre resources, it recognised the need for more sustained work on key areas, and the need to involve expertise from outside the Board. In March 1986, following discussion in the General Assembly in 1985, the

Executive Board set up a working party on higher education (it was soon recognised that it would need to cover research as well). The other working party set up at the same time was responsible for equal opportunities.

A SPECIALIST VOICE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The new working party first met in London in June 1986. Initially there were only five members of the higher education working party, from three countries (the United Kingdom, France and Germany). They started work by offering trenchant advice to the Executive Board on the ERASMUS and COMETT programmes, and the need for improved consultation by the European institutions, as well as commenting on Commission proposals for the recognition of diplomas. During the following year, the working group prepared a broad policy statement on higher education which helped to underpin the ETUCE's regular contacts with European bodies on issues relating to the sector.

This work attracted interest from other member unions in the sector and the Executive Board slowly accepted the logic of greater representation on the group, and allowed it to expand and assume a degree of continuity, thus enabling it to better reflect the views of the sector. However, some Executive Board members were concerned at the perceived danger that it might become an alternative voice in its own right. Conscious of this, the working group carefully adhered to the limits of its role, offering advice and recommendations to the Board. From the outset, the emphasis in the working party was necessarily on the unions involved materially supporting the work, funding their own participation and using their own resources to prepare documents and conduct surveys. Quite quickly it became possible to attract European Commission funding to support the work, including regular opportunities for dialogue between the working group or larger groups of union representatives and members of the Commission staff on emerging developments.

After a brief hiatus, the working group was reconstituted on a more representative basis and by 1990, up to eleven organisations from 7 countries attended the new working party, which decided to broaden and deepen the scope of the previous policy statement.

The deepening commitment on the part of the unions in the sector, the growing professionalism of the ETUCE secretariat - and the move in the early 1990's to an established position for the General Secretary - meant that the voice of ETUCE was articulated more professionally and authoritatively within the European Union structures and in the deliberations of the European Trade Union Confederation. It also made it easier for the ETUCE to bid for funding from the EU for key projects in the sector. However, the working group remained advisory to the main decisionmaking structures. This meant that the officers of ETUCE, drawn mainly from schools unions, found themselves increasingly required to represent a sector of which they had little first hand or up-to –date knowledge. This was an ongoing source of possible tension from time to time, between the 'experts' on the advisory group and the Board, with its responsibility for overall political direction.

Box 16

ERASMUS Programme for higher education

The ERASMUS programme was established in 1987 and has been the higher education action of the SOCRATES programme from 1995 until 2007 where it became part of the new overall framework for the EU educational funding programmes, the Lifelong Learning Programme. Since 1987, the ERASMUS programme has sought to enhance the quality and the European dimension of higher education by promoting transnational cooperation between universities and European mobility of students and teaching staff. Moreover the programme focuses on increasing the transparency and full academic recognition of studies and qualifications throughout the EU.

The ERASMUS programme consists of many different activities such as: student and teacher exchanges, joint development of study programmes (curriculum development), thematic networks between departments and faculties across Europe, language courses and the development of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). The most popular activity within ERASMUS is generally though to be the student mobility; around 1.5 million students have benefited from ERASMUS grants during the past 20

years.

In recent years, in parallel with the promotion of cross-border mobility, the ERASMUS programme has sought to integrate such mobility into a wider framework of cooperation activities which aim at developing a "European Dimension" within the entire range of a university's academic courses. While student mobility has retained a central position in the programme, it now also offers stronger incentives to encourage universities to add a European perspective to their courses.

Annemarie Falktoft

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

During the 1990's the emerging policy trends continued and the debate around them deepened. Key policy areas including mobility, quality and research now attracted European Commission project funding on a more regular basis. The ETUCE's strong authoritative voice, drawing on its higher education and research advisory structure on these themes, rebutted fears that the volume of funding received from the Commission might lead the ETUCE to tailor its projects – or their conclusions – to please the Commission. Two major colloquiums, 'Higher Education, Bridges to the Future' and 'Higher Education, Trade Union response' were held in Brussels in April 1991 and September 1992, and the circulation and promotion of the concluding statement of the latter event, set out a detailed and authoritative alternative agenda, and provided an important benchmark for the ETUCE's representation of the sector at the European level. Building on this work, ETUCE also produced a substantial response to the European Commission Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community during the same period.

From the outset, the key elements of higher education policy have remained the same:

- Higher education as a publicly funded service
- Close links between higher education and research
- Widening access to higher education
- Higher education as a key element in Life Long Learning

- The importance of academic freedom
- Quality assurance in the hands of academic staff themselves

The continued success of the working groups on higher education and research and on equality, and the growing level of representation they achieved, was reflected in the change to the ETUCE statutes at the General Assembly in 1993, to re-constitute them with a new formal status as standing committees. The new Higher Education and Research Standing Committee (HERSC) met for the first time in November.

QUALITY

EU funding enabled the HERSC to prepare the ground with great care for a showcase Colloquium on Quality in Higher Education in Bruges in February 1995. The high quality of the work and the timeliness of the Colloquium, just as the debate on Quality in the sector was taking off, gave ample proof that ETUCE was a strong professional voice for the sector attuned to its concerns, which needed to be listened to. This was also an example of an issue where work started in the higher education sector, but where it quickly became clear that there was a direct relevance to the ongoing work of the ETUCE across other sectors of education. It is notable that the 'Quality' debate became a mainstream issue within ETUCE quickly following the Bruges Colloquium, and the work on quality has been more or less continuous in ETUCE since that date.

RESEARCH

The ETUCE also attracted funds from the Commission to support ongoing work on the EU Research Framework Programmes through the mid-1990's, by the ETUCE and its member unions in higher education and research. This work included a series of Commission-funded seminars, which, along with wider objectives including the consideration of researchers' careers and conditions of service, raised awareness of the Programmes and facilitated a dialogue between research practitioners and EU policymakers. This led to a meeting of ETUCE bureau members and active researchers with members of the Research Committee of the European

Parliament, where it was possible to impress upon the Parliamentarians the effects of grant allocations within the Framework Programmes on researchers' employment and careers – linkages which the Parliamentarians had taken little notice of before.

Following the meeting with the European Parliamentarians in Strasbourg, several member unions took up these issues with MEPs in their own countries. Throughout their history, the higher education and research union structures at European level have emphasised the need to act at the national and where appropriate at the institutional level to complement activity at the European level, and the steady expansion of the number of national unions in the European structures has made this a more realistic prospect.

Other consistent themes have been the need to support research across all disciplines; the need for researchers to be able to build a career in research; and the vital link between higher education teaching and research. The seminar series gave the researchers a stronger idea of how the research policy and funding institutions of the EU work, and led to the preparation of a published ETUCE policy statement on research.

WIDENING ACTIVITIES AND CONTACTS

Throughout the period the higher education body within ETUCE took an active interest in both teacher education (for example, writing a chapter for the 1993 publication 'Teacher Education in Europe') and in continuous professional development for academic staff in higher education, running a programme of seminars on this theme for sub-regional groups during 1997–1998.

The HERSC also surveyed the funding of higher education and pay and conditions of academic staff, in collaboration with the University of Kassel which led to the publication of a significant body of data arising from a 'snapshot' of the sector – but the goal of eventually establishing an ongoing pay and conditions database still has to be realised.

From the outset, but more regularly during the 1990's, the ETUCE made constructive contact with the evolving structures representing the students and also the universities and university

rectors at the EU level, with a strengthening contact at secretariat level. These links were and continue to be, characterised by a capacity to make common cause or to concretely discuss differences of view on an issue by issue basis. However, while there have inevitably been differences of emphasis, the unions and the university employers' and student bodies have been able to offer one another mutual support on a wide range of issues including the public sector ethos of higher education, support for both access and the link between teaching and research, and the defence of academic freedom.

NEW UNION PARTNERSHIPS

The merger of IFFTU and WCOTP to form Education International in 1992 (see chapter 4) had repercussions for the work of higher education unions within ETUCE. Not only was there an increasing number of unions specific to higher education and / or research now operating in Europe, but the seismic shifts following the disintegration of the Soviet bloc were clearing the way for an enlarged concept of Europe. At the national level throughout the continent, there was both a positive upsurge of internationalism and a greater interest in the way in which the European institutions affected daily life. It was increasingly necessary for the ETUCE to have regard to this wider Europe and to the changing perceptions of its population, as well as to the emerging global trends affecting European higher education, particularly by developing its working relationship with Education International's European structures.

In 1997, on the basis of the Action Programmes adopted by the Luxembourg meetings in June, and as part of the general realignment between ETUCE and Education International at the European level described in Chapter 1, the major step was taken to shift overall responsibility for higher education and research policy development from ETUCE to the European structure of EI. ETUCE retained responsibility for representation, negotiation, policy matters and political relations at the European Union and EFTA level.

Given the major importance of the EU and the influence it could exert via its contacts and its resources, this has not been an easy transition and it raised questions of 'who does what', and

occasionally a lack of clarity about responsibility in the eyes of outside bodies looking for an authoritative trade union voice in Europe. The difficulty was exacerbated by the emergence of initiatives which are inter-governmental - notably the Bologna process – rather than EU-led. On the other hand, the wider membership of EI and the links to a global perspective have greatly enriched policymaking in the European region, and also enabled the European higher education and research unions to have a significant role collectively in EI's global debates which has been particularly important as globalisation and GATS assume greater significance and as a wider range of issues – governance, academic freedom, the relationship between the public and private domains - are determined by global debates.

WORKING WITHIN THE NEW STRUCTURES

The first meeting of the new EI Higher Education and Research Standing Committee (HERSC) took place in March 1998 in the International Trade Union House in Brussels. This body has met at least twice a year since then and has received regular reports from the ETUCE secretariat, and given guidance to them and the ETUCE Executive Board and EI Pan-European Committee. The members of the Committee have provided the basis for a highly effective network. Cooperation at office level has divided the day-to-day work according to whether it is an EU or a pan-European responsibility. For a time ETUCE maintained a separate advisory panel which worked in parallel, on those issues which fell within the remit of the EU institutions, like the professional development seminars referred to above, which were supported by EU funds. However, these parallel consultative processes quickly shifted to a more fluid and informal basis, except for the important role the ETUCE General Secretary plays in reporting to and being advised by the HERSC. The ETUCE also made a key contribution through the development of the electronic Network for Higher Education and Research, which is discussed further below.

The evolving general relationship between the work of ETUCE and EI in Europe has been covered in earlier chapters. However, it must be acknowledged that the higher education sector experienced the tensions along the fault-line between the two teacher union structures for Europe in their most acute form, because of the level of activism among higher education unions at

the European level and the demands made by overlapping EU and pan-European inter-ministerial policies and initiatives. While these difficulties have been widely recognised and debated, a workable balance of responsibilities has been worked out.

The impact of globalisation and the commodification of higher education since the mid-1990's has led to the European higher education and research unions' development of their longstanding policy strands to:

- assert the global character of higher education and research but to reject commodification
- defend the public sector ethos of higher education
- protect the quality and access characteristics of higher education
- assert the importance of academic freedom including the right to work and study under appropriate conditions in other countries

These policies developed by EI at the global level, are at European level, primarily the responsibility of the EI Pan-European structures but ETUCE has a significant role in putting them into effect in the EU area and in the EU structures.

BOLOGNA AND LISBON

Since the late 1990's, the Bologna Process, formally launched in June 1999, and which has rapidly spread to include 46 European countries, has developed as a non- EU, inter-ministerial process for the convergence of higher education systems across Europe. There is a tension between the pan-European, inter-governmental character of 'Bologna' and the role and interests of the EU institutions both within the process itself and as actors in their own right within the EU. The rapid success of 'Bologna' in achieving its goals and in establishing a European entity as a player on the world stage, represents a challenge to the European vision and to the teacher unions.

'Bologna' is raising in a sharp form the question of relations between the EU and wider European structures, and the unions' responses to them. The EU institutions and bodies which relate primarily to them like the ETUCE, are still in a process of re-assessing their relationship to this new phenomenon, which itself is

still developing. The union response to the Bologna process has been led by the EI pan-European structure, which is a consultative member of the Bologna Follow-Up Group, which carries the work forward between inter-ministerial conferences; however, EI closely involves the ETUCE as an essential partner in this key area of work. It is clear that the Bologna model will be of growing and evolving significance beyond the first phase which is due for completion by 2010, and the unions' structures must rise to the challenge.

The Lisbon Process, set in train by the European Union in March 2000, aimed to make Europe 'the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion.' It came after 'Bologna', and the process of construction of a European Higher Education Area as an EU initiative, is a further example of the growing depth and complexity of the European dialogue on higher education and research, which resonates in the complex relationship between ETUCE and the pan-European structure. 'Lisbon' and 'Bologna' represent two routes to a similar objective, driven by forces which overlap and which should be complementary, and both have set the year 2010 as a key benchmark for the achievement of their objectives. However, there is a danger that the different routes may obscure the commonality of the ultimate prize, a single European space for higher education and research. The unions working within their dual structures, have a key role in setting the terms under which this space will be developed.

THE ELECTRONIC NETWORK FOR HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

One of the most important initiatives to emerge from the ETUCE's capacity to attract EU funding, has been the higher education electronic network, which was launched as one of several such networks within ETUCE with the support of ETUCO and with EU funding. The higher education and research network is moderated by Education International and is widely recognised as the most (some would say, only) successful network to have been set up by ETUCE – partly because it was a pre-existing natural grouping, and also because a number of those networked had the experience of years of working together and also the benefit of meeting regularly

face-to-face as members of the ETUCE and EI (Europe) HE and research structures.

The network, cooperation at office level and regular attendance by the ETUCE General Secretary at HERSC meetings, have all helped to build strong links between ETUCE and the EI Europe pan-European structure. Experience has enabled the different structures to work together well enough, but the operation of these parallel structures has continued to create confusion about issues of responsibility and jurisdiction, including among member organisations, which still need to be addressed. However, it is clear that there will be a continuing need for a powerful voice for European higher education and research staff, with a capacity to talk authoritatively to the institutions of the European Union.

In recent years, the ETUCE has continued to work within the Pan-European structure of EI to represent the interests of higher education and research staff in the structures of the European Union, for example to develop and promote the EU's proposals for the recruitment and mobility of research personnel, or to protect the sector from the threat of the proposed services directive. It has sought, and is still seeking, to modify the original concept of the European Institute of Technology put forward by the EU, to make it workable in a form acceptable to our unions' members. ETUCE and EI at the European level have developed effective links on such issues with the European Universities Association, and, particularly, with the European representative student organisation, ESIB.

The development of these lively and effective European trade union structures in the sector has also acted as a catalyst for individual unions to forge links for information exchange and mutual support on industrial work, and such links have sometimes been formalised through joint membership agreements. It is to be hoped that the work of ETUCE and Education international in the field of higher education and research will continue to develop and will become more integrated, as the different spheres of activity – the EU, the wider Europe and the global level, as well as the national level – share common features and call for common responses.

This chapter has benefited from comments by Jens Vraa-Jensen (DM), Brian Everett (UCU) and Monique Fouilhoux (EI), in addition to members of the History Working Group

Chapter 14

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING: KEY AREAS OF ETUCE ACTIVITY

Louis Van Beneden

In short

Many ETUCE affiliates represent staff in technical and vocational training and adult education. The ETUCE has sought to transcend the diversity of the national institution-types which cover these types of education. It sees them as a fully-fledged form of education in their own right, which is integrated into the education system and public education. It has fought all types of discrimination and discreditation to which these forms of education can be subjected.

The ETUCE has intervened, on the basis of proposals drawn up with its affiliates at numerous symposiums and seminars, at various European bodies and in conjunction with the ETUC in order to put forward its perception of initial and continued professional training within the tradition of permanent education. For the ETUCE and many other social groups, vocational education and training, along with all forms of education, are key elements in cohesion, social inclusion and promoting citizenship.

The European Union has, for its part, been developing a strategic approach to education and lifelong learning since 1996, encompassing every level and sector of education and training, and focused mainly on economic performance, rather than cultural or social ends. In this chapter we will attempt to illustrate the history of this clash between the different perceptions of professional education.

Although vocational training only had a limited place in the 1957 Treaty of Rome, from the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht onwards it began to enter into the scope of European Union activities, albeit still with significant limits. With the Lisbon strategy and the Copenhagen process it came to be considered, along with the other forms of education, as a major asset in terms of economic growth and progress.

In article 128 of the EC treaty of 1957 special status was given to vocational training, since the treaty made provision for developing a "common policy for vocational training" which was intended to "contribute to the harmonious development of both national and economies and the common market". Actions undertaken during the early years were not really very broad in scope. It was not until the 70s, and especially the end of the 80s, that vocational training as such gained a higher profile within the community, particularly through specific community programmes.

Nevertheless, from the outset the ETUCE showed immediate interest in this issue. As European policy developed the committee not only adapted to developments but even tried to come up with a relevant proactive policy. Its participation in ETUC activities meant that its voice was heard more in contacts with specific European bodies and its involvement became even more necessary as the Community began to implement cross-cutting programmes and initiatives which were not specific to the teaching sector but which nevertheless had a range of knock-on effects for education and training, and therefore for teachers and trainers.

Before giving an overview of the role the ETUCE was able to play and the significance of its initiatives, it is worth recalling what is meant by education and vocational training in the European context.

A SENSE OF DIRECTION IN A COMPLEX SITUATION

Education and vocational training can be defined as different kinds of training and education which provide preparation for a specific

job or related jobs within a particular professional sector. The organisational frameworks for vocational training and education differ greatly from one country to the next. For some countries it is part of post-secondary education while for others it is an aspect of secondary education. Vocational training and education are an integral part of secondary education in some countries and a separate part of the education system in others. In some countries they are based on apprenticeship schemes and in others they are mainly provided by educational establishments. Increasingly, the roots of vocational training and education reach into all education sectors and provide the basis for lifelong learning. In only a few countries do vocational training and education routes give access to higher education.

In the positions it adopted and throughout its activities the ETUCE has always been obliged to take into account this broad diversity. This meant that member organisations had to "convert" the conclusions reached according to their different national situations in order to avoid misunderstandings or mistaken interpretations. In the early years, when the approach to vocational training in EC initiatives put the emphasis on the transition from school to working life and sandwich courses the situation was clear enough. The European Council had placed a high priority on this area in 1974 when it stressed the need to do everything possible to ensure that all young people could receive training and obtain an initial experience of the working world. The ETUCE contributed to carrying out the projects which were launched, for example, through cooperation with the IFAPLAN bureau which supported the European Commission in implementing a series of activities (Transition programmes). The first action programme for education, adopted by the Council in February 1976, made the issue one of its priorities and after the adoption of this first action programme it went on to pass a resolution in December 1976 on the measures to be taken to improve the preparation provided to young people for their professional and working lives. Given the increasing importance of the issue, the ETUCE monitored developments closely and set up a working group which, amongst other activities, prepared the ETUCE's participation in the seminar organised by the ETUC in March 1983 on "Education, training and employment".

The need to have a position on this issue emerged even more clearly when the committee had to come up with remarks and

comments on the Gaiotti di Biase report in the European Parliament at the end of 1983 and the beginning of 1984. In spite of the internal situation at the time, the committee managed to submit a document which the MEPs found very valuable (see chapter 2).

However, once a broader interpretation was given to article 128 of the Treaty and the definition of vocational training, as a result of the judgements of the European Court of Justice in 1985 (Gravier ruling – February 1985) (see chapter 3 & 7), the situation became more complicated and entailed better targeted actions and positions for specific sectors and approaches. From then on higher education fell under the scope of article 128 on vocational training and allowed the Commission to produce legislative proposals acts which were much broader in scope in this area (see Communautés européennes, (2006), *Histoire de la coopération européenne dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation*, CE, Luxembourg, pp. 101-103). The ETUCE felt a special committee was needed to address the issue of higher education (see chapters 3 and 13).

A STRONG STARTING POINT

This had not prevented the ETUCE from insisting on the need for a suitable policy on vocational training for young people in its action programmes, particularly in 1982 and 1983. The General Assembly in 1982 decided that a workday would be organised on the subject and a questionnaire was sent out to all the member organisations. On the basis of the responses to this survey the discussion led to a report and a series of recommendations which were put to the General Assembly in November 1983.

The conclusions thus adopted shaped ETUCE policy on the issue in its contacts with the ETUC, European community bodies and the European Parliament. Amongst other things, it dealt with the importance of education and training for young people; pointed out the fundamental responsibility of political decision-makers concerning youth unemployment and their incorporation into working life; it stressed the responsibility of trade union organisations; the need to create a "social guarantee" at work in Europe heightened the necessary integration of apprenticeships into education and training; updating programmes, including for example, developments in the world of technology, etc.

On the basis of its positions, the ETUCE took part in preparing an ETUC memorandum which was adopted in 1984 and memorandum served as a guideline in European debates until the end of the year. From this point on, cooperation with the ETUC grew, as did contacts with CEDEFOP. This led to intense cooperation in preparing an ETUC seminar on vocational training in October 1989 and another seminar at the beginning of December at the CEDEFOP headquarters in Berlin, where the role of teachers and trainers was at the top of the agenda (see chapter 1). It goes without saying that the agenda for every General Assembly included information on this issue.

IMPORTANT TURNING POINTS

From taking up his post as head of the European Commission in 1985, Jacques Delors wanted to relaunch the stalled concept of social dialogue. (The Single European Act, signed in February 1986, envisaged that social dialogue would become part of the social provisions contemplated by the treaty). For the ETUCE social progress was an integral part of progress itself – it is one of components of our European societies and therefore entails a complete education and training mechanism providing genuine equal opportunities for our professional and private lives. As a result the committee wished to be more integrated into social dialogue.

At a further relaunching of social dialogue on 12 January 1989, education and training became part of the priorities. The considerations of a working group, which the ETUCE took part in as a member of the ETUC delegation, led to the adoption of a joint opinion on education and training on 26 January 1990. Three other opinions were subsequently adopted on the European area for professional mobility (13 February 1990), the transition of young people from school to adult and working life (6 November 1990), and the best options for the broadest possible effective access to training (21 September 1991) (see CE, (2006), o.c., p. 106).

In 1989, when the European Commission's mandate under Jacques Delors was renewed a specific service, the "Human resources, education, training and youth" task force, was set up. This decision created a more favourable context for community involvement in

these fields, through recognition of their role in contributing to the development of economic and social cohesion, and through a significant increase in activities related to programme development. These changes entailed new challenges for the ETUCE and new possibilities for activities and work and then there were the consequences of the implosion of the totalitarian system in Eastern Europe. Organisations working in the European context, such as the ETUCE and the ETUC had to take this into account.

It was therefore not surprising that on July 9 and 10 the ETUCE and the ETUC organised a seminar in Brussels to update the 1984 memorandum on "The current problem of teaching and vocational training in Western Europe" by introducing new points of view, based on the new situation. The development of the labour market, economic recovery and the changes in Central Europe made it necessary to review and update previously established action programmes. For the ETUCE and the ETUC there was an additional reason. The European Community and the different European institutions also had to review their policies and visions and incorporate new aspects. In order to have an impact on these developments at European level, the trade unions felt under the obligation to take the initiative.

A resolution, which came out of the seminar, was subsequently submitted for approval to the ETUCE General Assembly in 1990. It listed a series of important points:

- equal opportunities for women but also for the disabled, ethnic minorities and groups from disadvantaged regions;
- continued training as one of the most significant ways of developing not just vocational qualifications, but also general social and cultural values by taking into account the range of education systems and differing cultural environments;
- vocational training which should be an integral part of the education system, along with general training;
- adult education which should be accessible to all, free and should include a paid educational break of a minimum of 90 hours;

- planning and development of training activities and courses should be carried out jointly by employers and workers;

- worker mobility in the European Community should be accompanied by social legislation recognising the fundamental rights of workers;

- introduction of new technologies offering possibilities for all provided that the trade unions themselves participate actively in meetings on the employment process or on the consequences for jobs;

- more resources and greater dissemination of information should increase access to European programmes like FORCE and PETRA, the resolution concluded.

During this seminar, the ETUC set the foundation for its contribution to the social dialogue in course.

Since the ETUCE had comments to make on the conclusions of the seminar, it had proposed amendments which were discussed with ETUC leaders. The ETUC executive had expressed its concerns about the content of the revised memorandum, in particular the resolution which was annexed to it. During the final drafting process, the ETUCE's ideas and proposals were taken into account, demonstrating that the ETUCE really was at the forefront of European trade union affairs and that its role was recognised and appreciated. It is worth pointing out that the final resolution from this conference easily fitted into the lifelong learning approach.

At the seminar on "The European dimension of education and teachers", which took place on 29, 30 and 31 October 1990 in Brussels, a fair number of the resolution's aspects on vocational training and education were discussed and placed within a more general context.

However, as pointed out earlier, particularly from 1990 onwards, European Union institutions began to show a special interest in vocational training. They took a certain number of important initiatives: the "Memorandum on vocational training in the European Community for the 1990"s (December 1991); the "Commission's guidelines for community action in the area of education and training" (May 1993); Jacques Delors' "White Paper

on growth, competitiveness and employment" in 1993 and the LEONARDO DA VINCI programme implemented from 1995 on. The ETUCE followed the activities related to this new programme very closely – such as PETRA (Initial Training), FORCE (Continuous training), COMETT (Cooperation between universities and businesses) EUROTECHNET (Technological Innovation) and LINGUA (Modern Languages). As a full member of the ETUC delegation, the committee attended the meetings of the joint committee, which had been set up to this end.

Generally speaking, the Maastricht Treaty (February 1992) covered education for the first time and separated it (under article 126) from vocational training (under article 127) and the new provisions for legislative procedures changed the legal basis for work in this field. The new programme, endorsed under article 127 (vocational training) of the Maastricht Treaty, posed some serious questions about the scope of vocational training and its relations with the rest of the education system (covered by article 126 of the Treaty).The time had come for the ETUCE to review its political stances in the area of vocational training. This issue was once again at the forefront of the action programme for the coming years.

In a booklet published in October 1995, titled "Vocational Training in the European Union" the ETUCE took stock of its activities and principles. It set out that the role of the trade union movement in general and the teaching unions in particular was to work as social partners to improve vocational training in Europe, in order to extend the possibilities and quality on offer to all of Europe's citizens. A key aspect was the promotion of the European dimension, particularly for mobility, mutual recognition and language qualifications. The vocational training system had to promote programmes geared towards meeting future employment needs rather than reproducing education structures and standard, historical work patterns. This was to involve a shift away from short-term demand-based programmes towards a planned approach which is geared towards supply and the ETUCE hoped that the LEONARDO and SOCRATES programmes would adopt this approach.

The booklet pointed out that in November 1994 the ETUCE had published an important report on training teachers in Europe, which stated the need for vocational training teachers to have the

same status as teachers from other sectors, and an equivalent form of professional training. It also contained a proposal for an institute or training network of European teachers to support and strengthen the role and status of teachers. Such a body would be of particular value for vocational training teachers, given the diverse vocational training systems in Europe and the way that teachers in this field were treated in certain countries. The publication concluded with a few recommendations recalling the demands, challenges and aspirations of the sector.

ALWAYS TO THE FORE

Vocational training was one of the priorities of ETUCE action in 1996-97, not just because of its importance for successful school performance and social integration, employment and lifelong education, in line with the EU policy guideline since 1996, but also because in many countries it was going through changes, being called into question and there were even attempts to downplay its importance. An action programme was implemented through 4 regional seminars. The first took place in Vienna (Baden) in March 1996, the second in Birmingham in September for the British Isles and the Netherlands, the third in Helsinki in October 1996 for the Scandinavian countries, and the last in Athens in November 1996 for Southern Europe.

The following topics were on the agenda:

- globalisation
- the links between vocational training and teaching before and after being employed
- participation and access
- social partners

In April 1997, EI and the WCT organised a seminar for the CEEC followed by a meeting organised by the ETUCE on Vocational Training in Veldhoven in the Netherlands on the 28th and 29th of the same month, which took stock of the actions undertaken and defined guidelines and demands for subsequent implementation. In the overall summary report the rapporteur pointed out that with its positions the ETUCE was going on the offensive in order to get across its analysis and the demands of teachers in Europe. The ETUCE had ensured that the discussions on the White Paper

"Teaching and Learning – Towards the Learning Society" (1995) were not brought to a premature end and, with the conclusions in hand, it would continue to assume its responsibilities in future debates. The need for close cooperation within the ETUC and dialogue with UNICE and other experts was highlighted. However, the most important issue was the confirmation of the fundamental principles of the ETUCE in the area of vocational training.

Essentially this meant the following:

- basic training for young people is an integral part of the education process;
- the authorities and public services have a fundamental responsibility to guarantee the effective right of all to high quality vocational training;
- teachers, employers and employees for a range of sectors should take on specific responsibilities;
- basic training, like basic education as a whole, is part of the lifelong learning process;
- basic vocational training, adult education, accreditation of professional achievements gained while working should provide an access route to recognised diplomas and qualifications;
- they should be part of a continuous effort to update, anticipate and create;
- the positions put forward by the ETUCE on training, status, payment of vocational training teachers, their basic training and their continuous training should allow their professional experiences to be included and their qualifications to be updated.

These principles have since shown themselves to be extremely relevant to discussions at both European and national level.

The report justifiably concluded that the trade union strategies and proposals in each country should take into account the different situations, training courses and systems, current trends and commitments made by the authorities and businesses. In any case, the colleagues from Central and Eastern Europe had already alerted the ETUCE to the deeply worrying situation in their countries, situations which required emergency measures. This situation was to shape the initiatives taken by the ETUCE and the internationals in this part of Europe.

The ETUCE thus adopted concepts and demands which could be used by everyone. It also developed its ideas for the ETUC in the *Tripartite ETUC-UNICE-CEEP "education and training group"* for *Social Dialogue* and its sub-groups, and through participation in different meetings such as the ETUC conference in November 1997 on *"Lifelong education"* and further developed its concepts at the round table meeting *"Bridging the gap between vocational training and the business sector"* by showing:

- the importance of basic education and vocational training in the lifelong learning process;
- the necessary place of vocational training in public services.

The ETUCE was also a full member of the ETUC delegation in the *Leonardo Committee* and, as such, took advantage of the opportunity to set up a working project on school and business sector relations.

Combating social exclusion was always at the heart of ETUCE concerns. Its most significant root cause is unemployment, which particularly affects young people. Advocating a progressive employment policy, the ETUCE Executive Board invited all of its member organisations to participate in large numbers in the *forum and demonstration* organised by the ETUC, which took place on 20 November 1997 in Luxemburg for the *Summit on Employment on 20 and 21 November.* With good reason! In October 1997 the ETUC executive committee had welcomed the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty (2 October 1997), whilst nonetheless lamenting the lack of extensive institutional reforms, particularly for social rights. The subsequent European Councils adopted declarations which forcefully stated that combating unemployment was to be a priority, but the truth was a different matter … The committee pointed out that:

> "education and training activities should be substantially increased at all levels" and "a European guarantee for young people should be established giving all young people finishing their studies the right to employment, learning, vocational or university training leading to qualifications recognised throughout Europe".

The ETUCE really came into its own in Luxemburg.

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR ACTIVITIES

When the changes to the statues were adopted in June 1997, the responsibilities of the two internationals, EI and the WCT, were clarified. This also had repercussions for vocational training since it now fell to the ETUCE to assume responsibility for representation, activities, development of additional policies, information and studies for EU and EFTA countries. In October 1998 an advisory group holding regular meetings was set up. This group took the conclusions of the Veldhoven seminar and the activities carried out by the two internationals into account and noted that the 1997-99 action programme had been implemented. It was also very enthusiastic about relaunching activities in close cooperation with the ETUC.

As a result the group provided a useful contribution to reflection on the LEONARDO programmes, in addition to assessment and proposals as part of phase 2 discussions, and also put forward suggestions for work on the relationship between employment and vocational training, lifelong training, quality, fixed term contracts and demands to be made at the time of the European elections.

The project *"Real and viable alternance for the individual learner"* submitted as part of the LEONARDO programme by the ETUCE was accepted and funded by the European Commission and carried out in cooperation with the ETUC, the UGT and Kubix. The ETUCE participated in steering committee projects and joint workshops, provided a link to the ETUC and particularly contributed to collecting and disseminating information. This programme was carried out from 1998 to 2000. The final report, which was widely distributed, included recommendations on ways to improve links between school and the workplace.

THE LISBON STRATEGY AMBITIONS

The European Council in Lisbon in March 2000 set a new objective for the EU for the coming decade:

> "to become the most competitive and most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustained economic growth, accompanied by more and better jobs and greater social cohesion".

In its conclusions, the Presidency set out a number of recommendations about the way to achieve this strategic goal, and made specific reference to the internal market and the implementation of a mix of traditional macro-economic policy in addition to the need to invest in people. This idea was developed under the title "Education and training to live and work in the learning society". This chapter covers a range of measures about education and training systems in Europe. For the first time in the history of EU summits, education and training were described as instruments of primary importance for achieving a strategic objective.

After the Lisbon summit, the EU took several major initiatives for vocational training and education:

- *The Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* (November 2000), which provided the basis for consultation on the European plan. The member states, the EEA countries and the candidate countries have all carried out their own consultations involving competent national bodies At European level, the Commission consulted the social partners, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions, and also organised consultation with European civil society.

- On the basis of the results of these consultations, the Commission adopted a communication titled *"Making a European area of lifelong learning a reality"*, (November 2001).

- The proposal for a directive *on Recognition of Vocational Qualifications* (March 2002).

- *The Council Resolution on Lifelong Learning* (June 2002).

- The introduction of what was termed the "*Bruges Process*", the aim of which was to increase European cooperation on vocational teaching and training (June 2002).

- The adoption of the *Copenhagen Declaration* by the ministers of education of 31 European countries and the European Commission (November 2002) on the basis of the "Bruges Process", which then became known as the "Bruges-Copenhagen process".

On the basis of these initiatives, the European Commission began projects highlighting a certain number of practical points:

- a single framework for transparency in skills and qualifications;
- a system of course credit unit transfers valid for both vocational training and teaching;
- common criteria and principles for quality in education and vocational training;
- joint principles for validating non-formal and informal learning;
- Lifelong career guidance.

Another major development was linked to the GATS (General Agreement on Trade and Services) since education was one of the areas included in the GATS. In trade, the EU has a considerable range of competences to negotiate in the name of the member states, whilst its competences in education are far more limited. After some rather pointed comments from certain member states the European commissioner for trade decided that there was no question of pursuing market liberalisation of education in the GATS negotiations.

In its dialogue with the European Commission, contacts and meetings with the ETUC, the Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions and other bodies the ETUCE never missed an opportunity to defend the positions of its bodies. The 2003 General Assembly took stock of these comments and pointed out the positions and suggestions made by the ETUCE throughout the development of the issue.

A NEW STAGE

Since 1995, more than a million European Union nationals have benefited from the SOCRATES, LEONARDO DA VINCI and YOUTH programmes. In Central and Eastern Europe, and in the ex-Soviet Union, more than 1500 universities and other higher education establishments had been involved through the TEMPUS programme. (see CE, *o.c.,*pp. 125-127).

At the Lisbon conference in March 2000, a second generation of these programmes for January 2000 to December 2006 were launched, including LEONARDO DA VINCI II. This was one of the main EC instruments to encourage European skills in education and training. Mobility and pilot projects continued to be the two main budget items. The ETUCE was still represented on the Leonardo committee, where it worked on close cooperation with the ETUC and followed the developments of the programme at first hand. As the EC continued to draw up guidelines for employment regularly to encourage the member states to benchmark their employment development policy at European level, the social partners were consulted as part of the process. The ETUCE, which was represented in different delegations of the ETUC working in this area, took its responsibilities very seriously because it is quite clear that the ways that employment policy develop often show a direct link to vocational training and education.

In terms of the first generation programmes, the number of objectives was considerably reduced, the structure was simplified and management was decentralised. The use of ICTs, lifelong learning, improved access for the disadvantaged and greater teacher participation were all highlighted as important issues with a clear link to teaching and vocational training. The fact that member states and their national agencies were also supposed to start negotiations with social partners only served to increase the importance of the positions adopted by the ETUCE and the ETUC and, by extension, by member organisations in activities at European level.

A new document on EUROPASS training, intended to validate training periods spent abroad, was made available to all the countries of the EU, and subsequently to EFTA and candidate countries. After Lisbon, education and training issues rose to the top of the EU agenda. Lifelong learning and new basic skills are of particular relevance to vocational training and education. Developing quality in education also concerns vocational training and education directly. The introduction of information and communication technologies in society and in the workplace represents another challenge. The e-Learning initiative includes education and vocational training. CEDEFOP continued to contribute to EC efforts for further development by carrying out analysis and drawing up reports. It was quite natural for the ETUCE to have contacts with

CEDEFOP representatives in order to set up a more regular consultation mechanism.

Of course, vocational training is also of interest to the social partners – UNICE, the CEEP and the ETUC. As part of the preparation for the Stockholm summit, at an ad hoc meeting of the social partners an interim report was adopted enabling more responsible joint action to be taken on vocational training and workplaces. The ETUCE was represented in the ETUC delegation which attended this group meeting and followed the developments with particular interest. In the booklet *"Vocational training in the European Union"*, which was published in 1995, the ETUCE clearly set out its policy in this area. Since lifelong learning has to be seen as a whole which covers all the stages of life and all aspects related to learning, the ETUCE has, since then focused its actions and positions concerning vocational training and education on the idea that learning lasts for a lifetime, which also reflects the EU approach.

Technical and vocational training obviously go beyond training young people for employment, as the ETUCE pointed out several times, but, as with other types of education, it also has to prepare them for life, as citizens with their political, cultural and private lives. In the same way, it must also be remembered that vocational training and education must help young people to develop their skills and abilities to learn throughout their lives. To this end, programmes promoting the development of democratic values, environmental awareness, multiculturalism and greater learning skills in young people are required. The concept of quality is increasingly important, as is the impact of new technologies, pedagogical innovation, support and career guidance, comparability and transparency in qualifications and diplomas, investments and validation of learning and experience. These were the priorities being advocated by the ETUCE in its positions and representations, though it did not neglect its main task of defending the professional interests of staff working in education and training. Successive general assemblies were briefed on this approach, as is clearly shown by the General Assembly reports for 2001, 2003, and 2005.

WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD IN STORE?

In its draft joint interim report on implementing the detailed work programme on monitoring the objectives for education and training systems in Europe: "Education and training 2010 - The urgent need for reforms in order to achieve the Lisbon strategy", the Commission presented its first review in 2003. In its 2005 report it once again stressed the urgent need for reforms but highlighted above all the need to promote reforms contributing to the development of systems which are both effective and fair. This implied that the actions put forward were not being carried out quickly enough and that the member states should make greater effort to achieve the agenda which had been taken on together.

The ETUCE continued to be the voice of teachers and trainers in the discussions leading to the new integrated programme for 2007-2013. The lifelong training approach continues to be the guideline for this programme. Would a new constitution change the community approach? This is most unlikely. Will the procedures implemented for education and training stay the same or will the social partners gain more of a say than before? Let's hope so. What will the open method of coordination be used for? The attitude of national governments will be decisive! Time will tell. One thing is certain, though. The ETUCE, like EI, will continue to make sure that the voice of teachers and trainers is heard in the coming years.

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Chapter 15

TEACHER EDUCATION: BEDROCK OF EUROPEAN EDUCATION

Paul Bennett

In short

Throughout its history, the ETUCE has sought to promote the twin goals of the enhancement and protection of the quality and status of the teaching force and assurance of an adequate supply of teachers in the European Union. These two goals have been pursued by the trade union objectives of the enhancement of teachers' salary and conditions, and of career prospects. The latter objectives include attention to the opportunities for mobility and for continuous professional development which ETUCE has argued should be available to all teachers. ETUCE's work has grown in step with the involvement of the European Union in education and its recognition of the central importance of teacher education in underpinning the other sectors of education. The ETUCE has been in the forefront of the struggle to respond both to growing social and curricular demands on teachers and to demographic trends which call for positive actions at the European and national levels in order to ensure an adequate teacher supply.

FINDING A VOICE FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Teacher education is the bedrock of the education system. In spite of this, it has taken some time for the importance of teacher education to be properly recognised in the European Union, and for it to be included to a limited extent within its competences. Also, whereas from the inception of ETUCE, higher education was more or less a permanent item on the ETUCE's own agendas, teacher education was dealt with largely as an issue included within the scope of higher education, or in other more general texts on the teaching profession. As ETUCE developed its policies, it became clear that there were few

aspects of either education policy or of professional issues relating to teachers, which did not need to include a teacher education dimension.

Teacher education was dealt with in the Memorandum on Higher Education published by the European Commission in 1991, and the ETUCE included reference to these issues in its responses to the Memorandum. The ETUCE response asserted the importance of an adequate and sustained teacher supply and a high quality, high status teaching force with access to continuous professional development and career opportunities. It argued that these are essential both in their own right and if wider educational goals are to be achieved. But the ETUCE's member organisations increasingly expressed a wish to go deeper into the specific issues related to teacher education, and at the General Assembly 1991 in Luxembourg it was decided that the ETUCE should initiate more specific work on teacher education. In the following year, the General Assembly approved a statement on teacher education in the context of the Memorandum; the statement called for greater mobility for teachers, and also put forward the concept of a European Institute for teacher education, to enhance the status of teachers across Europe (a concept which in the event evolved into that of networking, which has partly been achieved through the networks which have grown up in the sector).

THE TEACHER EDUCATION WORKING GROUP

The 1992 General Assembly also agreed to an Executive Board proposal that a Working Group on Teacher Education should be set up, and this was done in early 1993, under the Presidency of Kristian Pedersen (then Vice President, subsequently Treasurer of ETUCE). Paul Bennett, who became a member of the Executive Board at the General Assembly 1993, served as Secretary. Thirty four representatives were nominated by thirty organisations from twelve countries to serve on the Working Group, as well as observers from the newly formed Education International and from the European Commission, who provided financial support for the project.

The Working Group worked intensively: it held three meetings during 1993, organised a colloquium of experts from ETUCE member organisations to consider its preliminary findings in February 2004, finalised its Report and Action Programme in March and presented them to the Executive Board in April. The Report and Action

Programme were debated and agreed by the General Assembly in December 1994, and it was officially published in English, French and Spanish in May 1995. In the following months, several national unions translated it into further languages for their own use. 'Teacher Education in Europe' was immediately recognised as an important benchmark for the ETUCE, both in terms of a new depth of engagement of member unions in working on a policy issue, and for the quality of the outcome.

It was made clear in the setting up of the Working Group that its remit should cover the teacher education and professional development needs of all teachers, from pre-primary and primary to higher education, and the Working Group sought in principle to achieve this breadth of view, although inevitably the main focus of the Report was on teacher education for primary and secondary school teachers.

The Working Group's activity took place in the context of important developments in the European Communities, which fundamentally changed their character. These include the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, with the transition to the European Union, a re-affirmation of subsidiarity, and most significant, the approval of Articles 126 and 127, putting education on a firmer footing within the European Union. Also, a range of important documents, including the Green Paper on Social Policy, all came out during 1993. The Group tried to take account of these developments during their deliberations. The Group were particularly conscious of the division of responsibilities between the European Union and the Member States, arising from Maastricht.

The European Union's new role in the sphere of education was limited to that of a catalyst and a disseminator of good practice, giving incentives for example in respect of the European Dimension, but the European Union now had direct responsibility for mobility of teachers and students. It was to be found that a generous interpretation could be put on the concept of mobility and the issues relating to it, opening up a means to exert influence on a wide range of educational and professional issues. Educational content and structures remained the responsibility of the Member States. Therefore, the Working Group was mindful that it would need to address issues requiring action both at the level of the European Union and the national states, and it was important for the ETUCE's affiliated organisations to be encouraged to use the Group's

proposals as the basis for action, including discussions with their national governments.

The European Commission took a close interest in this work, and provided crucial financial support. The ETUCE emphasised the value it placed on the good relations it had built up with the institutions of the European Union. The ETUCE at that time was the Social Partner representing 2.8 million teachers in more than 60 organisations in the European Union and the former EFTA countries. Due to the high level of direct representation of teachers on the Working Group, and the thorough consultation process it set up, the Group could report with authority on the teachers' perspective on teacher education in Europe. The call for the recommendations to be taken up at EU and national level was put into effect by a number of organisations nationally, and meetings took place with ministers and senior civil servants responsible for teacher education, as well as meetings between the ETUCE and the European Commission, European education ministers and the Parliament, and other European level policymakers.

The publication of the report was timely in that there was a need for a clear and strongly expressed set of principles for the teacher unions to use as teacher education entered a period of serious pressure for change, including in some countries pressures to undermine the high quality teacher education which the unions now regarded as the bedrock of a quality education system. Following the publication of the report and its widespread use at European and national level as a document for discussion within national unions and as a basis for dialogue with decision makers, teacher education remained a more central issue for the ETUCE. Building on the report, further work was done through the 1990's on a number of aspects including teacher supply, mobility, and continuous professional development.

Box 17

Summary Chapter from the 1994 report 'Teacher education in Europe'

Note: This chapter summarises the main themes of the Report, and the notes after each paragraph indicate the chapters in which these themes are discussed.

2.1 Teacher education must promote the personal and professional development of teachers throughout their careers. The professional role demands that teachers must be reflective and adopt a self-analytic approach to their working lives. The central purpose of teacher education is to develop in teachers qualities, knowledge and skills to meet the needs of pupils/students, and through this also to meet wider social and economic needs.

2.2 These values must be promoted through the content and methodology of education. Teacher education must promote key values in the teacher and in the educational system - respect for other human beings, and their relationship to society and the environment; democracy; equal opportunities and a transcultural approach, which promotes respect for a diversity of cultures, and effectively combats racism and xenophobia.

2.3 To achieve these purposes, teacher education must play its central part in the development of a high status teaching profession, protecting the autonomy of the teachers' professional work. The teaching profession is a unified profession with some key common characteristics for all teachers, from pre-primary to higher education. All teachers should have high qualifications and in acknowledgement of this and of their important role in society, enjoy high status. With these characteristics should go substantial professional autonomy for the individual teacher, and participation on a representative basis in educational decision-making affecting teachers, within the structures of the public service. The EU, ILO and OECD recognition of the role and status of teachers is to be welcomed. Teacher education, like the education system itself,

must achieve a balance in its staff to reflect society as a whole, taking into account gender, disability and sexual orientation.

2.4 Teacher education must be recognised as a part of higher education, with recognised equivalences with other higher education disciplines and qualifications, and with the capacity to engage in educational research and draw on research findings. In order to cover the breadth of subject study, education science, methodology and pracitce, initial teacher education courses must not be reduced from their present lengths. .

2.5 Teacher education must promote the application of educational research in teaching, as part of a continuous process of interaction with schools and school teaching: there must be an inter-change between teachers in schools, teacher educators and researchers.

2.6 Teacher education is a career-long process: each phase must take account of the other and there are expectations on teachers, their employers and the public authorities to facilitate life-long learning and the professional development of teachers. In return, there is an expectation that teachers will engage in professional renewal and updating. This has financial implications which the public authorities must take into account.

2.7 Teacher education comprises four elements to be undertaken in an inter-related way -subject study, educational science including pedagogy, teaching methodology/didactics and practice. An appropriate balance of all these elements must be achieved and they should inter-act with one another in a dynamic way, at each stage of a teachers' professional development.

2.8 The European Dimension is important to teacher education, and must involve recognition of Europe as a whole, balanced with respect for national and regional diversity, shared knowledge and experience and mobility of teacher education students and teachers. The European/national dynamic must be given reality through the effective use of the subsidiarity principle. The European Dimension must be realised particularly through the promotion of mobility of teachers in all phases of education,

teacher education students and educational researchers; the development of language skills. Also, the European Dimension must embrace European national and regional perspectives, the cultures of the ethnic minority communities and a broad international perspective. It must not lead to a "Fortress Europe" mentality.

2.9 Education is an investment in the value of the individual and the realisation of their full potential, and also in the social, economic and cultural life of individual countries and of Europe. Teacher education is the most fundamental aspect of this investment, in view of its capacity to shape the rest of the education system. This is a crucial factor to be taken into account in European Union programmes, since money spent on teacher education has a powerful multiplier effect as teachers and teacher educators communicate with their own pupils and students.

2.10 European teacher education should be supported more fully by the institutions of the European Union, particularly through its programmes (particularly the new SOCRATES programme). SOCRATES must learn the lessons of its predecessors, particularly ERASMUS and LINGUA, which are widely regarded as excessively bureaucratic, and in which too little has been done to involve teacher education and teachers in the school. Also, SOCRATES requires an advisory committee with a significant representation from ETUCE as the key Social Partner in this field.

2.11 The ETUCE proposes the establishment of new bodies for teacher education in Europe, a network and a teacher education institute, in both of which the ETUCE itself would expect to play a major part. The network and institute would support one another and conduct research, disseminate research findings and information about teacher education, promote the European Dimension; disseminate best practice, for example in respect of the role of the teacher or intercultural education, and provide the crucial teacher union perspective which is inadequately representated or totally missing from most of the existing structures of this kind.

2.12 The principles in the Report are relevant to teachers in all

sectors, including post-school education, although it is acknowledged that the actual pattern of initial and in-service education is very different at present for these sectors than for the school and pre-school sectors. It is suggested that for higher education in particular, appropriate opportunities and incentives are created to promote the professional development of teachers in the sector.

2.13 The ETUCE itself and its affiliated organisations need to promote these principles in their relationships with policymaking bodies for teacher education at the European, national and institutional level, and seek to get them adopted. Also, the ETUCE and its affiliates must apply the principles in the development of their own policies, and in the review of their own structures, and to discuss them as appropriate at European, national and local level.

FROM POLICY TO ACTION

Since the publication of 'Teacher Education in Europe', the issues raised in the report have remained as continuing themes for the ETUCE's work and that of the national affiliates, in the context of a gathering pace of change in respect of teacher education across Europe. In a number of countries, the standard of teacher education has come under threat, and ETUCE and its affiliates have had to act to protect existing standards.

There is also a huge challenge to make sure that teachers have up-to-date-knowledge and expertise of new technology and its educational applications, and the means to regularly renew it. A sub-text has been the recognised need to make appropriate use of new technology (involving a considerable new investment) in order to support the teacher and the learning process, but equally to resist the challenges from those who see new technology as a panacea, particularly as a means of replacing 'expensive' face-to-face teaching with a 'cheap' electronic inter-active experience.

In July 1997, the ETUCE surveyed its members on developments in teacher education, and identified continuing trends towards change

in national teacher education systems requiring responses from national affiliates and the ETUCE.

One of the spin-offs from the 1994 report was further work in the higher education sector, leading to a series of sub-regional seminars in the mid 1990's, on professional development in higher education, which raised awareness in participating organisations, of the need for academic staff to access to professional development as well as ongoing study in their academic disciplines.

In May 1999, the General Assembly adopted a significant resolution calling for the qualitative and quantitative improvement of initial and continuous education of teachers and education staff. The ETUCE raised this resolution with the newly elected European Parliament in the course of that year, and there was a real increase in the EU funding of educational activities within its area of competence. The ETUCE welcomed EU measures announced in 2000, for the promotion of mobility of teachers, although throughout the early history of ETUCE, there has been a concern that the level of mobility opportunities - and the take-up of those which exist - has remained too low. The Executive Board set up an advisory panel to monitor developments in the field of teacher education, and make proposals.

TEACHER SUPPLY: THE DEMOGRAPHIC TIMEBOMB

The 2001 General Assembly received a report on teacher shortages in Europe and approved an important new statement entitled 'Teacher Education and Supply in Europe: a time for action!'. This sought to operationalise the themes of the 1994 statement and to address the continuing and increasing problems of supply which were affecting European schools through the 1990's. In particular, the new statement sought to draw the attention of policymakers to the looming demographic crisis as the teachers of the post-war 'baby boom' generation approached retirement. It reiterated the ETUCE's call for greater efforts to make teaching a more attractive profession and for more effective continuous professional development and career progression.

These themes were taken up in an ETUCE Round Table on Teacher Shortage in June 2002, and were raised with European education

ministers and with the European Commission. They were carried forward by the 2004 – 6 action programme, approved at the 2003 General Assembly, with the campaign 'Europe Needs Teachers'. During this period, the ETUCE also worked with the European networks which were helping shape the future of teacher education – participating in the European Network on Teacher education Policies (ENTEP), set up after the Lisbon Summit to promote cooperation among member states on teacher education strategies, and also developing links with the Thematic Network on Teacher Education in Europe (TNTEE) within the SOCRATES Programme.

FACING NEW CHALLENGES

As ETUCE entered the new millennium, it also became clear that teacher education and teacher supply in Europe are not immune to the global market forces already affecting higher education, and therefore the link to Education International's global perspectives and strategies became of growing significance. The Executive Board heard with concern of national systems which were seeking to solve their own teacher supply crises by recruiting trained teachers from outside Europe – often in countries with limited resources who could ill afford to contribute to this 'brain drain' to Europe. Also, with the expansion of the European Union itself, the mobility of teachers within the expanded European area have been subject to new economic and labour market pressures, the full effects of which are still to be determined.

Teacher education and supply is a key determinant of the quality of Europe's education systems, and the quality of life of its future citizens. In the ongoing work of ETUCE on educational and professional themes, including quality, the curriculum, violence in schools or equality issues, it has been found that there is practically no issue which does not have implications for initial teacher education or the continuing development of teachers. The growing complexity of society's demands on the education system and ambitious projects like 'the Europe of Knowledge' continue to make new demands on the profession which must be addressed through a renewal of teacher education in each of its phases.

Box 18

Modern languages

From the 80s, European education policy guidelines began to attach an increasing importance to issues which were to make language learning of particular significance, such as teacher mobility, student exchanges and the European dimension of education and training. In the policy statements adopted by the Executive Board and the General Assembly (1986), the ETUCE had already outlined the conditions required for a policy to develop language learning. The COMETT (1986) and ERASMUS (1987) programmes gave a new, targeted boost to these guidelines. In 1988 the Commission presented the LINGUA project and the Teacher Exchange Scheme to the Council of education ministers. The ETUCE organised a seminar in Brussels on teaching modern languages (18-19 May 1989) which contributed further to developing its proposals and to highlighting the ongoing process of reflection.

In its final statement, having pointed out that any European programme should respect the sovereignty of member states in the area of education whilst promoting exchanges and contacts, the ETUCE laid out its key positions. Education systems should offer all pupils the chance to learn at least two foreign languages. Unlike the Commission's proposal, which focused on the languages of the EU, at the time made up of 12 members, the committee rejected any withdrawal into a "fortress Europe" and extended the notion of choice beyond the official languages of the Union. It similarly rejected the idea of a single language for Europe. It stressed the need to recruit and train teachers qualified not only in languages and communication but also in the culture of the relevant peoples and countries. This training was to include at least a term's study abroad. The statement also underlined the need to improve learning conditions for young people and went on to tackle the issue of pupil and student exchanges, which was a central aspect of the Commission's proposal. In the ETUCE's view, exchanges should be offered to all pupils, with specific support for disadvantaged young people and families, for all teachers

regardless of their level, and for all schools (general, but also technical and vocational).

Their proposal included the primary cycle, for which they advocated the development of an early teaching programme for languages. The committee also proposed that the basic training for language teachers should give them greater knowledge of languages for communication, together with a suitable degree of cultural knowledge, and asserted that they should be given sound, ongoing training including the right to a sabbatical year. These positions turned out to be relevant throughout the 90s.

The Education and Training 2010 programme adopted as a result of the Lisbon strategy made special mention of languages and stressed the need for early learning and adult education programmes as part of lifelong training schemes. As the European Year of Languages approached the ETUCE decided to update its positions. A working group created from the Executive Board (Jean-Marie Maillard, Maryvonne Cattin et Hélène Casimatis) drew up a questionnaire which was sent out to all the member organisations. It was to provide a basis for a document on developments in language teaching in different countries and in trade union demands which was submitted for discussion to the round table meeting organised in Lisbon on 19 and 20 November 2001.

Several communications were presented and discussed during the round table, which brought together forty people representing twenty-six trade unions from fourteen countries. Professor Michel Candelier, from the University of Maine, presented EVLANG, a starter programme for language diversity offering an alternative or complement to the early teaching of a single language. Professor Théo Van Els, from the University of Nimègue, pointed out the difficulties of genuine bilingualism and analysed the conditions for possible multilingual communication in different countries with different needs. Professor Richard T. Easton, from the University of Edinburgh took stock of the new skills expected from language teachers. Ms. McLaughlin, from DG Education and Culture provided information on the range of EU initiatives for the European Year of Languages, and Alain Mouchoux spoke about the Council of

Europe's policy on languages, including the issue of regional and minority languages and those spoken by the children of migrants. The final report by the rapporteur-general, Ulf Fredriksson, did not contain any essential modifications to the positions defined in 1989, but several aspects were further developed. In spite of the increasing interest of the member states in developing language teaching, diversity is not increasing, the use of English is more prevalent and several languages are being marginalised. Indeed, European Union figures call into question the likelihood of achieving the 2010 targets (knowledge of two EU languages besides mother tongue) since only 53% of European citizens say that they have some knowledge of just one European language. The responses from the questionnaire, together with participants' comments, show that teachers are not getting enough support from their governments in terms of working conditions, chances to travel abroad and lifelong training. This is particularly important for experienced primary school teachers, since they have no specific training in this area, unlike new members of staff whose basic training courses increasingly include training for language teaching. Instead, they often have to make do with audio and video cassettes and just a few days preparation. Italy seems to be the only example where the roll-out of early language teaching has been accompanied by a sound, certified, ongoing training programme for primary school teachers. The ETUCE once again stressed the absolute need to develop ongoing certified training programmes in all countries, which include the possibility of spending time abroad. The report also includes an idea put forward by professor Easton to promote the creation of summer universities throughout Europe for language teachers, intended to provide opportunities to share experiences and practices. They would also be places for reflection and analysis geared towards research, as a first stage in setting up a European Training Institute for Language teachers, which was advocated in the report by the ad hoc preparatory group for the round table. This idea, in fact, is only one aspect of a broader project for the European Institute of Teacher Training suggested by the ETUCE in its 1993 report on teacher training in Europe.

After the European Year of Languages and the publication in 2002 of the report on the numerous activities which had taken place as

a result, in Brussels on 10 April 2003 the Commission and DG Education and Culture organised the Consultation Conference on Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity to explore avenues for the future of language policy. In her inaugural address, Viviane Reding tried to reconcile the assertion of linguistic and cultural diversity as a founding value of the EU and the reality shown by all the reports and studies, particularly Eurydice, on the prevalence of English and the marginalisation of other languages. This situation was even involuntarily confirmed by non-native English-speaking guests, who preferred to give their speeches in English, despite the simultaneous interpreting service available for all the official languages of the EU! Ms. Reding expressed her doubts about the possibility of displacing English as a *lingua franca* but she did suggest a sort of re-balancing of development initiatives for all the other languages as second and third languages, especially in terms of their early introduction, since English is a part of young peoples' courses in later years anyway. She paid tribute to teachers, whose work, motivation and enthusiasm are essential in her view for any successful language development policy.

In the workshops and round tables which took place in the course of the day, on behalf of the ETUCE, Jean-Marie Maillard presented analyses and proposals arising from the Lisbon round table, such as the creation of a networked European Institute for Language Teachers, which the ETUCE could play a role in. There was essentially a fleeting reference to this in the final report presented orally by professor Daniel Coste, from the ENS in Lyon. He raised the point about the ways and means of forging links between pedagogical associations of language teachers in different countries in order to give language learning policies a boost.

The idea of working towards setting up this Institute was included in a project submitted by the ETUCE in response to a call for projects from DG Education and Culture in December 2005. The project did not gain funding but is still an option worthy of consideration for a trade union contribution to developing a solid foundation for language learning policies.

Jean-Marie Maillard

Chapter 16

ETUCE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN EDUCATION

Hans Bähr

Ulf Fredriksson

In the last 25 years both society in general and schools in Europe have undergone many changes. One of the most obvious is the use of computers and ICT. 25 years ago few schools had computers and not many teachers were used to work with computers. Hardly any teachers or students would have their own personal computers at home. Today this is totally different. According to statistical information from Eurostat (Eurostat (2005) ES News release 143/2005 10 November 2005), 85 % of all students in Europe used internet at some occasion in 2004. Eurydice reports that about two thirds of all 15-year olds in Europe use computers in schools once or several times during a month and this figure is much higher in some countries (Eurydice (2004) Key Data on Information and Communication Technology in Schools in Europe, Brussels: Eurydice/European Commission).

Recognising this change in society and in schools it is obvious that, during its whole existence, ETUCE has been faced with the challenge of how to relate the growing use of computers and ICT in education. As in all other areas this has confronted ETUCE with two tasks; to respond to proposals and projects presented by the European Commission and other European institutions and to develop its own proposals on how computers and ICT should be used in education.

Already in the 80's a number of initiatives were taken within the European Union in the area of computers and ICT in education. ETUCE was invited to several conferences and had the opportunity to present the opinion of the teachers´ in Europe. In December 1983 a seminar was organised in Marseilles to discuss how the use of computers in school may go beyond being an instrument and a subject and become a cultural factor. In a conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in July 1984 there was a discussion on when different types of computer based activities should be introduced in schools. A seminar in Bologna in May 1985 discussed strategies for how teachers should be introduced to the use of computers in their teaching. Another seminar held in Berlin in November 1985 discussed the implications for vocational schools when the new information technology was introduced. In Enschede in May 1986 the development of software for education was discussed.

At the same time, as representatives from ETUCE attended these conferences, ETUCE also started an internal work to develop of its own policy. On 20 June 1984, a special working group was set up to look at these issues. Based on a resolution drafted by Hans Bähr the group produced a proposal to the ETUCE General Assembly on 12-13 November 1984. The Assembly decided that this important topic had to be further developed.

Some years later, on 16–17 November 1987, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on "New technologies in schools". It was also decided that ETUCE had to give more focus to vocational education and training. A small working group was asked to look at the use of new technologies in vocational education and training. The group held its first meeting on May 18 1988 in Offenburg. A symposium was held in cooperation with CEDEFOP in Berlin on 5 – 6 November 1988 with Jochen Schweitzer as its chair. After discussions the group came up with detailed proposals on how schools and companies would need to be modernised in order to meet new demands. The group also prepared a resolution which was adopted by the ETUCE Assembly on 28 – 29 November 1988. The Assembly asked the group to continue the work. The resolution on vocational education and new technologies was up-dated at the ETUCE General Assembly on 30 November – 1 December 1989 and a seminar was organised in 1990. The resolution from 1989 emphasised that all adolescents should be given basic understanding and a comprehensive knowledge of the chances afforded by and dangers of introducing new technologies.

A new important step in the development of ETUCE's policies was the adoption of the document *"Education and new technology for the 21st century"* at the General Assembly in 1997. The document contained a general discussion on changes in education and the role of new technologies within these changes. It was noted that teachers must lead the development of knowledge and that the use of ICT in education must be more teacher-driven. The document also contained a number of concrete demands based on the need to invest in the development of teachers' ICT knowledge. It was concluded that all teachers need to get training to improve their ICT competence and that teachers' organisations should be able to influence this training. It was also underlined that all schools must have access to ICT.

In 1997 ETUCE became an education partner in the European Schoolnet (EUN) which had been set up to support the professional development of teachers by means of ICT and Internet. Among the long-term objectives of EUN was the setting up of a Virtual Teacher College.

In 1999 ETUCE set up an Advisory Panel on new technologies to follow the development in the area of ICT and education. The panel held its first meeting on 20 January 1999. Among other issues the panel prepared a training seminar on new technologies to be organised in co-operation with ETUC's training institute (AFETT). This seminar took place in Florence on 3 – 9 December 1999. 25 representatives from ETUCE member organisations participated in the seminar. Experts on education and ICT from the universities of Amsterdam and Twente had been invited as speakers, as well as an expert from the European Commission DG Education and Culture. The seminar covered many different aspects of ICT and education. Among the areas covered were the use of ICT in education, the role of teachers and particularly the role of initial teacher education. The seminar provided opportunities to exchange experiences from different countries and teacher organisations and ideas about how to further develop ETUCE's policy. A report with documentation from the seminar was published.

The discussion held at the seminar led to proposals to update the policy document from 1997. In 2000 these updates were discussed and decided by the ETUCE Executive Board and then accepted by the 2001General Assembly.

In May 2000, the European Commission presented the initiative "eLearning – Designing tomorrow's education". This initiative brought together different education components and focused on equipment, training at all levels, services and contents in new context for learning and cooperation and dialogue. The initiative also contained very specific targets such as "all schools should be connected to internet by the end of 2001" and "by the end of 2002 all pupils should have a fast internet connection in the classrooms". A concrete target was also set that, by the end of 2002, a sufficient number of teachers should be trained in the use of internet and multimedia resources

The next important step in the development of ETUCE policies related to ICT and computers was to initiate the ELFE-project in 2004. ELFE stood for *"European eLearning Forum for Education".* This was an ambitious project financed by the European Commission. The project plan contained three aims:

- Analyse and share good experiences and identify good practices in using ICT.
- Study the possibilities of transferring these good practices to other schools and countries.
- Create a debate on how the European policy on eLearning and use of ICT in education should be developed.

The ELFE project was a collaborative project involving both teacher unions and researchers. The project was conducted by a project coordinator (Hans Laugesen from GL, Denmark) and a Steering Committee. Among the activities organised within the project were:

- Visits to selected schools from five countries (Denmark, UK, Germany, Norway and Portugal) which were believed to be innovative. Researchers and teacher organisation representatives carried out study visits to the schools and wrote reports based on the visits.
- Participating schools were given the opportunity to visit each other and report about their visits.
- A webpage with information about the project and possibilities for discussions about ICT and education was set up.
- Two conferences were organised. A Conference launching ELFE was held in Brussels on 22-23 November 2004. Good

experiences were shared and good practices explained. About 120 persons participated, including teachers from the schools involved and representatives from teacher organisations. After the Conference a report about the conference was produced and disseminated. A second conference was held in Copenhagen on 21-22 November 2005 at the end of the project. There were about 120 participants, mainly representatives of ETUCE member organisations. The researchers presented their conclusions and recommendations for the ETUCE members and policy making were discussed. Also from this conference a report was produced.

The whole ELFE project has been documented in an extensive report including both the conclusions from the observations made during the school visits and policy recommendations based on these visits and the conferences organised with the project.

A Policy Paper developed as a result of the ELFE project on ICT in education in EU and Member States focusing in particular on the pedagogical aspects of using ICT in education was prepared to be adopted by the next General Assembly. The document, built on earlier ETUCE policy documents in the field of ICT and education, would present both advantages and risks of the use of ICT in education and point out different steps to be taken in order to take advantage of the opportunities identified.

Before concluding, one more observation may be of interest when ETUCE policy on ICT is discussed. When ETUCE started in 1983 the normal way of communication was to send papers to member organisations and members of the Executive Board through normal mail and sometimes by using fax. Information about ETUCE was available through newsletters that were distributed to the member organisations which they then distributed to interested members. Today most documents are e-mailed and information on ETUCE is available for all interested at the ETUCE webpage.

The last 25 years, the period which have passed since the foundation of ETUCE, have contained many changes in the field of computers and ICT. In many documents these changes were referred to as new technologies. In the more recent documents these changes are obviously not regarded as new technologies and

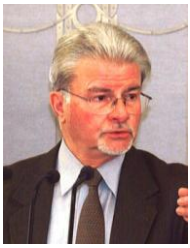
the reference is instead to the use of computers and ICT in education.

ETUCE has been able to follow the development of policies within the European Union and represent the interest of teachers, but ETUCE has not only been reacting on initiatives. An important part of the work has been to develop the ETUCE policy. The reading of ETUCE documents on ICT and computers reveals a tension between two positions. At the same time as there has been a certain hesitation about the use of new technologies there has also been some kind of enthusiasm about the new opportunities provided by these technologies. The scepticism may have been larger in the earlier documents than in the later, but there has always been an element of sound scepticism towards a simplistic approach where the computer is assumed to be the answer to all educational problems. Combined with the scepticism has also been a growing recognition of the new possibilities provided by ICT and computers. Over the years ETUCE has developed a view on the use of computers and ICT in schools that could be described as a balanced approach, both recognising the potential that ICT constitutes in improving learning and teaching in schools and the risks related to an overestimation of what computers can do.

Chapter 17

QUALITY IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Annemarie Falktoft



Alain Mouchoux

Louis Van Beneden

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the issue of quality has occupied an important place in debates on education and training. For ETUCE, it has become one of the key priorities. The years 1995-2000 represent an important period in this context. During this time, the debate within ETUCE on quality in education underwent important developments starting from basic questions about what quality is and how to improve it in general terms and then gradually moving on to more specific discussions on evaluation, indicators and the "new basic skills".[10] From 2000 onwards, the debate on quality in education became at EU level closely connected with the educational strand of the EU's Lisbon Strategy, which defined joint objectives for the quality and equity of the education and training systems in the EU.

WHAT QUALITY IN EDUCATION? THE FIRST YEAR OF DEBATE

ETUCE's work on quality in education started within higher education, with a colloquium on the nature and definition of quality in higher education organised in Bruges in February 1995. While

[10] "Introduction", *Quality in Education: Presentation of ETUCE's work 1995-2001* (2002), p. 9.

the debate on quality in education in the early nineties had been most prominent in higher education, it was recognised by the ETUCE General Assembly in May 1995 that there was a need to take action to promote quality at all levels of education, from early childhood to university. Accordingly, the Executive Board instituted a working group on quality in education and this group worked intensively, preparing round tables, analyses and reports. During its first rounds of debates, the working group came to the conclusion that it was not wise to seek a complete and exact definition of the concept of quality. The task was rather to describe different dimensions of quality, one of which was the question of the general role of education. The role of education was described as preparing children and young persons for the future, giving them the tools to deal with the different tasks that they will need to perform in their lives, both in their private lives as well as in the economic, cultural and political life of societies.[11] Importantly, the working group also highlighted that quality cannot be seen as a static concept. Quality is a *relative* matter –relative to the particular time and place and to particular learners and their circumstances. One important aspect of quality is the relevance of the subjects taught and the objectives of education, and in a changing world this means that what was considered quality education yesterday might not meet the standards of what will be understood as quality tomorrow. The group stressed however that some basic skills such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as certain values such as democracy and human rights, can be regarded as essential parts of all quality education.[12]

The notions of the right of everyone to receive education of a high quality, public responsibility for education, and that quality education has to develop the potential of every member of each new generation, also featured prominently in the working group's first reflections.[13] The group moreover looked systematically at quality at different levels, i.e. in the classroom, in the school, in the national education systems and in Europe. In this context, the group embraced the concept of lifelong learning, emphasising that this concept cannot only mean increased possibilities to learn for

[11] "Quality Education in Europe – background report to the ETUCE Colloquium in Rome, March 1996", p. 24 in: *Quality in Education: Presentation of ETUCE's work 1995-2001* (2002).
[12] Ibid., p. 25.
[13] Ibid, p. 24-25.

adults, but that it puts compulsory education in a new context: "If comprehensive education is supposed to prepare young people for a society where you always have to be ready to learn and relearn, to learn how to learn becomes a central objective in itself", stressed the group. [14] Accordingly, in the group's reflections on the school curriculum the skills 'how to learn', 'to learn to be curious' and 'to wish to learn' were emphasised as important alongside the traditional basic skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic. Critical thinking, the European dimension, and the role of education in strengthening democracy, tolerance and social responsibility in society, were equally highlighted as important to give greater emphasis in the school curricula across Europe.[15]

In debating the role of the teacher – evidently central to the issue of quality education – the ETUCE working group in particular gave prominence to the principle of the professional freedom of the teacher. In being the one who knows the pupils, the teacher is the person best equipped to decide which methods to use in order to create an optimal learning situation.[16] The issue of making teaching an attractive profession was moreover underlined as a fundamental issue, including making teacher education attractive and giving teachers access to continuous professional development. Among the strategies highlighted in this context were to ensure that teachers are well-informed about the latest findings in educational research as well as to find ways for them to influence or be involved in research. Students' learning conditions and teachers' working conditions were also among the aspects which the working group deemed essential to deal with in the context of discussions on the quality of education.[17]

One of the main conclusions after the first year's work, as noted in the ETUCE Colloquium in Rome in March 1996, was that in order to have a serious role in promoting quality in education, national teacher unions must have a predominant influence on initial teacher education, in-service education, curriculum and on the introduction of new teachers into the profession. In parallel, the task for ETUCE was to implement a policy of quality education

[14] Ibid., p. 29.
[15] Ibid., p. 30-31.
[16] Ibid., p. 37.
[17] Ibid. , p. 40-42.

towards the EU. Another conclusion was that the issue of evaluation of quality was one that needed further looking into.

EVALUATION AND QUALITY INDICATORS

During 1997-1999, ETUCE had the opportunity to develop its own work on evaluation in parallel with an important EU pilot project on quality evaluation in school education. ETUCE participated to some extent directly in this project through representation in an advisory group linked to the project. The project involved 101 schools in 18 European countries who each were given considerable freedom to pursue a course of evaluation suited to their own context and stage of development but were asked to share some methods and to evaluate a common core set of issues. The outcome of the project was expected to create a deeper understanding of how self-evaluation can benefit schools and can enhance learning and teaching. In parallel to this project, ETUCE conducted its own questionnaire survey to collect information on the manner in which quality was evaluated within the various education systems in the EU/EFTA. The survey clearly showed that evaluation was on the agenda everywhere, and three main methods could be distinguished: tests, inspections, and school-based evaluations. The survey also concluded that there were several risks related to the recent developments, notably that evaluation would be focused too much on easy measurable school achievements without taking into consideration the complexity of the reality of schools, or that teachers – and parents and students – would be sidestepped in the evaluation process and only made objects of the process. In November 1998, ETUCE invited the key experts involved in the EU project to a Round Table in Luxembourg in order to discuss in-depth the development of the project as well as the results of the ETUCE survey.

The EU pilot project on quality evaluation ended in 1999 with the main conclusion that the project had raised awareness of quality issues in the schools involved and that it had helped to improve the quality of education in the schools. ETUCE found that the project had played an important and positive role in promoting models of school-based quality evaluation. In November 1999, ETUCE held a new Round Table in Luxembourg, which played a significant role in shaping the future direction of ETUCE's policies on quality, evaluation and indicators.

In the late nineties, the idea of developing common EU quality indicators in education was gaining momentum. In 1998, the education ministers of 26 countries had decided to invite the Commission to set up a Working Committee composed of national experts, the aim of which was to identify a small number of quality indicators or benchmarks to help at national level with the evaluation of school system standards. On this basis, the Commission presented in May 2000 a report titled *The European report on quality of education*. Sixteen indicators were proposed covering the following areas:

- attainment (mathematics, reading, science, foreign languages, learning to learn, ICT, and civics);
- success and transition (dropout rates, completion of upper secondary education, participation rates in tertiary education);
- monitoring of school education (parental participation, evaluation and steering of school education);
- resources and structures (educational expenditure per student, education and training of teachers, participation rates in pre-primary education, number of students per computer).

ETUCE had maintained regular contacts with the Commission staff responsible for the work on indicators, and when the *European report on quality of education* was published, ETUCE presented a position paper in response[18]. ETUCE saw it as essential that internal school based evaluation should be a crucial element in any evaluation of quality in education, and noted its disappointment in seeing that the findings of the pilot project on quality evaluation were only to a limited extent reflected in the report on indicators and benchmarks. Hence, ETUCE presented a number of proposals:

- Indicators have to link results and achievements in the education system to the resources available.
- Indicators must be of a type which makes it possible for schools, teachers and other staff themselves to find ways and methods to improve the quality.

[18] "Indicators and Benchmarks on Quality of School Education – ETUCE's reaction to the *European Report on Quality of Education*", June 2000.

- Indicators have to give a "full picture" of quality in education with all its complexity.
- Indicators have to be of a sort which can easily be incorporated in the "normal work" of teachers without increasing the general workload of teachers.
- There is a need to find indicators which promote new methods of evaluation which are internal, formative and qualitative in approach.[19]

ETUCE moreover gave three clear messages for the future work on indicators: 1) Involve the teachers and their organisations; 2) Improve the information on teachers; 3) Provide resources for the development and use of alternative methods of evaluation. In 2000, the discussion within ETUCE on quality in education also benefited from a meeting organised by Education International in London in May 2000 on this issue, during which the key questions regarding the definition of quality was subject to an energetic debate.

QUALITY AND THE LISBON STRATEGY

In March 2000, the European Union, for the first time in its debates, placed education at the centre stage of the EU's economic and social policies, as education was to play a key role in achieving the new strategic objective for the EU for the ten years to come: "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion".

From 2000 onwards, the debate on quality in education thus became a key element of the educational strand of the Lisbon Strategy. In February 2001, the Education Council agreed in this context on three primary educational objectives:

[19] "Indicators and Benchmarks on Quality of School Education. ETUCE's reaction to the *European Report on Quality of Education*, June 2000", in: *Quality in Education: Presentation of ETUCE's work 1995-2001* (2002), p. 108.

- improving the quality and effectiveness of the EU education and training systems;
- ensuring that they are accessible to all;
- opening up education and training to the wider world.

Other initiatives at international level further highlighted the importance of these objectives: the Bologna Declaration and the process which resulted from it for higher education (see chap. 13); OECD initiatives such as the report "*Education Policy Analysis*", the PISA reports, etc, which set out observations and conclusions on the links between resources and quality. There were initiatives, programmes and publications dealing with the problems linked to developments in the teaching profession and also with the need to improve quality.

ETUCE welcomed these developments, which laid down new challenges.

Although the Treaty does not envisage that decisions in this area be taken at supranational level, the increase in the number of EU recommendations on education, which followed on from the launch of the Lisbon Strategy, have an impact on the daily work in educational establishments.

In order to cooperate on achieving the three key objectives, the Commission and the Ministers of Education decided to make use of the Open Method of Coordination, according to which Member States identify joint objectives, carries out exchanges of best practices, and identify indicators and other tools to measure the progress made. Hence, the use of common EU quality indicators was a key element. During 2001 to 2003, the Ministers of Education approved a work programme aiming to implement these objectives and adopted five specific benchmarks to be achieved by 2010. All of the measures in the area of education and training were brought together under the title "Education and Training 2010".

The ETUCE now needed to be in a position to shoulder its responsibility for representing teachers and other education workers in Europe and for effectively influencing the EU decision-making process. Eleven expert groups were established by the

European Commission during this period to support the implementation of the process, as well as a group on indicators and benchmarks, and the ETUCE were represented in four of these groups. In the context of the "Education and Training 2010" process, ETUCE in these years regularly participated in consultations and contacts with the European institutions, and in meetings with education ministers and members of the European Commission. Although ETUCE at first encountered difficulties when it came to being recognised by the Council of Ministers as a representative, competent partner (as described in Chapter 5), the inclusion of Social Partners – including ETUCE – as the only stakeholder group in the "Education and Training 2010 Coordination Group" (ETCG) when it was set up in 2005, effectively confirmed the role of ETUCE as *the* representative voice of teachers in the Education and Training 2010 process. ETUCE had lobbied for several years in favour of the establishment of this kind of coordination group at EU level, which gathers representatives of member states and the European social partners in education in order to monitor the overall developments within the process.

Since 2000, the Education and Training 2010 process has been the subject of several ETUCE round tables and councils, during which the debate on quality in education has continued to evolve:

In 2001 the ETUCE held a very important round table in Berlin: "A challenge for education in the new economy – indicators, new skills and lifelong learning in Europe". Speakers from the European Commission and the OECD's PISA team were invited to the conference, where they introduced some very fruitful discussions on indicators and benchmarks. The conclusions drawn by this round table proved very useful in subsequent ETUCE work on issues linked to quality.

In November 2002, the ETUCE held a successful round table on the future concrete objectives for education and training systems in Europe, which had been laid down in the Education and Training 2010 work programme adopted that year. The conclusions were used as a basis for the ETUCE representatives' work in the Commission expert groups. In November 2002, ETUCE moreover published the brochure "Quality in education. A presentation of the work of the ETUCE 1995-2001", containing a series of texts and

resolutions resulting from the work on quality undertaken during 1995-2001.

In the General Assembly in 2003, a summary paper was presented on Quality in Education with the purpose of updating the discussion on quality and identifying new trends in this area, covering a wide range of the issues related to quality, such as: social inclusion, funding, privatisation, decentralisation, the role of research in policy-making, intercultural education, skills, and teacher training.

In June 2004, the ETUCE Council on "Developing policies on the use of indicators and benchmarks in education", held in Amsterdam, picked up from the previous work by ETUCE on indicators in addressing the 29 EU indicators, which had been put into use to measure progress in the Education and Training 2010 process. The Council resulted in a range of draft recommendations with the aim of supporting ETUCE's efforts to influence the EU debate on this issue.

The subsequent year, in December 2005, the ETUCE Council in Luxembourg took up the theme "Education and Training 2010: competences in the knowledge-based society". This theme covered two aspects closely linked to quality in education, namely the question of what key competences pupils should acquire during compulsory schooling as well as what competences teachers should possess to meet the challenges of teaching in the 21st Century. Both aspects had been central issues in the work of two of the Commission expert groups in which ETUCE were represented. The Council served to shape ETUCE's position on the draft EU recommendation on Key Competences, which had been issued in November 2005 and which were later adopted by the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers in 2006.

Throughout this period the ETUCE moreover produced political statements in response to progress reports concerning both the social, economic and employment aspects of the Lisbon strategy and the Education and Training 2010 work programme. To cite a few examples:

In the spring of 2004, the ETUCE submitted a political statement to the Commission in response to a report by the Employment Taskforce headed by Wim Kok. In March 2004, it also supported

the adoption of the ETUC Executive Committee's resolution "Rebalance the Lisbon strategy by strengthening the social pillar".

In the spring of 2005, the ETUCE presented its position in response to the mid-term review of the Lisbon strategy: "*Working together for growth and jobs – A new start for the Lisbon strategy*". Above all, it warned that this review

> "risks conveying the message that education is merely a tool to enhance the competitiveness of the EU economy". The ETUCE stressed that education "is also an accomplishment serving broader personal and social functions, vital to social cohesion, equality, active citizenship and personal fulfilment, amongst others".

Until 2005, the progress reports on the Education and Training 2010 process had been made on the basis of the indicators used and the work done in the eleven expert groups. As a member of four of these groups, the ETUCE had thus helped to draw up the working group activity reports for the first biennial joint activity report. As from 2005 however, the Ministers of Education had agreed to submit national reports on the progress made in implementing the key objectives of the Education and Training 2010 process, in order to have a more qualitative basis for drawing up the biennial progress reports. As the Commission explicitly recommended Member States to consult social partners at national level on the drafting of the progress reports, ETUCE at the same time intensified its information flow to member organisations with a new ETUCE Circular on Education & Training 2010 in order to support members in their dialogue with national governments on the process.

In December 2005, the ETUCE Executive Board adopted a statement on the Commission and the Council's first draft joint interim report based on the national progress reports. ETUCE welcomed that the emphasis had been placed on two aspects of education in society: the social aspect and the economic aspect. It also noted with satisfaction that improving training for teachers and trainers figured among the key priorities. However, it regretted that only a very small number of national reports explicitly mentioned the challenges and importance of the issue of teachers' status and pay. The statement also regretted that it was only a limited number of Member States that had carried out a

proper consultation of teacher unions prior to submitting the national report.

The ETUCE working group on quality in education, which in 1998 had been turned into an Advisory Panel, continued throughout this period to be the body within ETUCE which dealt intensively with the issue of quality, in preparing the debates in the round tables and councils, and in preparing the draft statements on the developments within the Education and Training 2010 process.

In this context, there is one other ETUCE statement, which deserves a special mentioning. At the end of October 2006 the Executive Board approved a statement responding to a new Commission communication on "Efficiency and equity in European education and training systems". The Communication was an important paper from the Commission, as it aimed to redefine the objectives of the Education and Training 2010 process into the two themes 'efficiency' and 'equity', in arguing that the most equitable education system – in terms of giving the most people the best possible quality education – is also the most efficient education system in economic terms when considering the long-term economic benefits for society of having a well-educated population. The communication gave ETUCE an opportunity to put forward its views on various issues related to quality in education, including evaluation, the importance of pre-school education, the professionalism of teachers, teacher training, financing, etc. On financing, the statement opposed the Commission's view that investment in education should be based on the principle of distributing funding based on the sectors where the economic benefits are highest. In the ETUCE's view, the priority should be to ensure that adequate funding was provided for the whole education sector.

Chapter 18

LIFELONG LEARNING IN THE EU

Annemarie Falktoft

The concept of lifelong learning has steadily emerged over the past three decades and has become one of the key concepts in policy discussions in the context of developing the knowledge-based society.

In an EU context, the debate on lifelong learning took off in 1995 with the Commission's White Paper entitled Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society. At the initiative of Jasques Delors, the Commission had in 1993 issued an important White Paper on "Growth, Competitiveness and Employment", which had pointed to the reinforcement of education and training as one of the key conditions for the development of the labour market in Europe. The White Paper on 'Teaching and Learning' thus followed up on this, and – with the emerging information society and globalisation as the reference points – stressed lifelong development of competences and qualifications as a key issue. The vital role of teachers was underlined, as was the role of social partners, whose role in collective bargaining was emphasised as particularly important.

The ETUCE took part in the debate on lifelong learning from early on. In February 1996, at the start of the European Year of Lifelong Learning, the ETUCE organised a conference in Paris in order to launch a debate on the White Paper and to demonstrate the ETUCE's commitment to lifelong learning. The General Secretary's address to the Conference highlighted in particular the social dimension of promoting continuous training for all and its role in combatting social exclusion.

Since 1997, lifelong learning has at EU level been a horizontal objective of the European employment stratey. In 2000 the Lisbon

European Council moreover confirmed lifelong learning as a basic component of the European Social Model in the context of defining the Lisbon Strategy, aimed to make the EU, by 2010, the most "dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world."

Since the launch of the Lisbon Strategy, lifelong learning has become a guiding principle in the policy cooperation on education and training at EU level, and the ETUCE has been involved in various seminars, discussion sessions and consultations with the European Commission on this issue. In 2001, the ETUCE General Assembly adopted a report on the ETUCE positions on lifelong learning which has served as a basis for ETUCE's contributions to the work on lifelong learning in the European Commission, as well as in the ETUC and in negotiations in the European Social Dialogue.

Following a Europe-wide consultation process during 2001, the Council of Education Ministers adopted in 2002 a resolution on Lifelong Learning in which Member States committed to develop and implement coherent and comprehensive lifelong learning strategies by 2006. This Council Resolution defines lifelong learning in broad terms, in coherence with the OECD terminology, and this comprehensive definition of lifelong learning has guided the EU work on this issue since then. The resolution stresses that:

> "Lifelong learning must cover learning from the pre-school age to that of post-retirement, including the entire spectrum of formal, non-formal and informal learning. Furthermore, lifelong learning must be understood as all learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective. Finally, the principles in this context should be the individual as the subject of learning, highlighting the importance of an authentic equality of opportunities, and quality in learning".

In 2003, lifelong learning was moreover included as one of five EU Benchmarks within education, as the Council of Ministers agreed to set the goal that by 2010, 12,5% of the adult population aged 24-65 years old should be engaged in learning. In 2003, the average was 7,9%.

The political attention to lifelong learning is not only apparent in the resolutions specifically targeting this issue. A large part of the

individual policy initiatives on education that have come out of the European Commission since 2000 are elaborated within the perspective of lifelong learning. These include a Council and Parliament Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (2006) identifying 8 key competences which pupils should acquire during compulsory schooling in order to prepare them for a lifelong engagement in learning. Several instruments have been developed to facilitate the recognition of qualifications and to build bridges between the different levels of the education sector, including the Europass (2004), the European Qualifications Framework (2006), as well as the new European Credit Transfer System within VET (ECVET), currently being developed. In 2004, the Council adopted a set of common principles for promoting the validation of non-formal and informal learning, and both the EQF and the ECVET are also foreseen to have an important role to play in this regard. In responding to the various new initiatives on education from the European Commission since the launch of the Lisbon Strategy, ETUCE has continuously insisted on the importance for the EU to maintain a broad perspective on the role of education in society, such as is recognised in the Council Resolution on lifelong learning from 2002.

However, even though a great deal of attention is given to lifelong learning at EU level, concrete action at national level does not yet follow suit in most countries. The 2006 joint Commission and Council Progress Report on Education & Training 2010 notes progress in Member States in terms of defining lifelong learning strategies, but highlights that effective implementation is still a major challenge.

Importantly, the European Social Partners UNICE/UEAPME, CEEP and the ETUC took up the issue of lifelong learning in 2002 as part of their actions under the European cross-industry social dialogue. ETUCE participated in these negotiations which led to the adoption of the "*Framework of Actions for the Lifelong Development of Competences and Qualifications*". With this voluntary agreement the social partners have sought to make an effective and specific contribution to the realisation of lifelong learning in the EU with a view to promoting employment, social cohesion and competitiveness. The agreement affirms the joint responsibility of social partners at all levels with regard to competence development, sets out priorities for action, and seeks to encourage enterprises as well as employees in each Member State to perceive

the development of competencies and the acquisition of qualifications as a shared interest.

In 2004-2005, ETUCE and the EI Pan-European Structure undertook a joint survey on Lifelong Learning in Europe. The survey sought information on issues such as governments' policies on lifelong learning, teacher unions' policies on lifelong learning, recent developments in legislation and/or national policies on lifelong learning, funding of lifelong learning, and teacher unions' views on how the right to lifelong learning for all can be ensured. The results enabled four main categories of countries to be identified as regards their strategies on lifelong learning: countries with comprehensive lifelong learning policies; countries showing a supportive approach to lifelong learning; countries revealing a significant gap between political rhetoric and concrete measures on lifelong learning; and countries with a clear lack of policies on lifelong learning. The survey also showed that teacher unions' lifelong learning policies target primarily the following issues: promoting a more inclusive society; promoting the recognition of non-formal and informal learning; financing and regulation of lifelong learning; and lifelong learning for teachers.

BETWEEN YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW

Europe is much more than just an economic project. Above all, it is a lesson in freedoms in responsibility, as Jacques Delors put it. Achieving unity in diversity is the ultimate objective and the challenge that we face on a daily basis. With its dozens of languages and rich diversity of cultures, Europe rests on mutual respect and peace between its peoples. Leaving aside our national prejudices, the construction of the European Union can serve to make Europe into a respected, heavyweight actor on the international stage.

That which applies to European construction as such is also true of the ETUCE. The first few chapters of the history recounted in this book are the perfect illustration of this. The authors, the trade union leaders who, over the course of the years, have taken responsibility for the development of the ETUCE, have striven towards achieving a European collaboration capable of taking on the challenges faced. Through their various accounts they have attempted to provide an account of how the ETUCE succeeded in becoming a trade union force with solidarity at European level, in spite of the wide diversity and structural divisions which were characteristic of its beginnings. Based on their own experiences, they recount how the ETUCE became the trade union committee for all education workers in Europe, transcending national borders, ideological trends and political convictions.

From the start the ETUCE brought together organisations from the Member States of the European Community (EC) – subsequently the European Union (EU) – in ever-increasing numbers. Its scope of activities was rapidly opened up to the countries of the EFTA and, following the historic events in Central and Eastern Europe, to organisations from countries in that region too. Nonetheless, the initiatives implemented by the Community have been the predominant influence on the ETUCE's agenda. Bilateral and

multilateral cooperation agreements were concluded between the Community and EFTA countries, as well as with Central and Eastern European countries, presenting the organisations in these countries with challenges to be overcome with the help of their colleagues from Western Europe. Various chapters illustrate this crucial relationship and interaction on the basis of a European agenda of constantly developing content and working methods, in order to make the voice of teachers in Europe heard. We also highlight how the ETUCE has worked expressly for common viewpoints on themes of interest to all the member organisations, even where these were not necessarily part of the European agenda. Defending the interests of the teaching world, as well as participation in the actions of other international actors such as the OECD, the ILO, UNESCO, etc. – often working in conjunction with European bodies (in particular the Council of Europe) – motivated such initiatives. The chapters on salaries and working conditions, equal opportunities, training, etc. amply demonstrate this.

Integration into the ETUC and commitment to its work, as well as the relationships and developments between the education internationals at global level, have also had an impact on the history and evolution of the ETUCE. The successive modifications to the statutes over the years are a clear illustration of this.

Trade union organisations in general, and certainly those in the education and training sector (including the ETUCE) feel that in terms of the concrete points on the agenda, the boundaries are becoming increasingly blurred between agendas at national level and decisions or preparations made at European level. Decision-making in the European context is now very close to the national viewpoints, preferences and interests. As shown in all of these accounts, this is a fact which the ETUCE has had to and will continue to take increased account of in order to continue to be more active and present on behalf of European teachers.

As this book shows, the ETUCE has come a long way in the course of its first 30 years. We can see this in the growing number of its member organisations (in recent years, a result, in particular of the permanent enlargement of the European Union), but also and above all in the examination and diversification of the tasks which it has taken on and the way in which it has integrated them into its actions and initiatives. The European Union exists because of its Member States; it is they who determine what tasks will be completed and the rules of the game (subsidiarity, proportionality). The ETUCE also exists because of its member organisations which, through the ETUCE's actions, have grasped the growing importance of European cooperation and action, and therefore supported them.

There is no longer any doubt that the ETUCE has become a trade union force to be reckoned with in Europe today. It is the undisputed voice of European teachers, while still managing to remain true to the objectives which motivated its "founding fathers" to join forces in a joint European structure. It has developed high-level European expertise in its defence of the interests of both teachers in Europe and education. In European social dialogue, the ETUCE is recognised as a respected, fully-fledged partner. It is unique in its design, and is the only trade union structure of this kind in the world which plays a significant role at the heart of education policy. No other regional or continental trade union organisation has the same opportunities as the ETUCE has achieved to consult with political powers in a supranational context where cooperation on education has continued to develop since the year 2000. In this context, and taking account of the progress made over the last 30 years, it is essential, now more than ever, to continue to strengthen the ETUCE and ensure that its unique nature is respected within Education International; this in no way diminishes its commitments within the Pan-European Structure of EI or in solidarity with colleagues from other continents. On the contrary, it strengthens this solidarity just as it strengthens action within the ETUC, where

it is integrated and respected for what it represents and what it has achieved in unison with other partners.

The ETUCE has always understood and respected the fact that its commitments on behalf of teachers and education must be part of a broader commitment in favour of a more just and fair society. It has never overlooked the developments in our societies or the responsibilities which stem from them for education and teachers.

Towards an effective social dialogue

Since the publication of the European Commission White Paper on governance (2001), the principle of consultation with groups targeted by specific European policies, known as the partnership principle, has been on the table. Whatever political or institutional developments the EU undergoes, the ETUCE believes that grassroots consultation, and the participation of experts and workers in the field, must remain strong courses of action in order to improve the relevance and effectiveness of political decisions. In the area of education, this should mean promoting and implementing a true social dialogue at all levels so that the voice of education workers is truly heard and respected. In the ETUCE's view, social dialogue worthy of the name for all European policies with a direct or indirect connection to education and those involved in it must remain a major objective. This view underlines the ever-growing importance of an organisation such as the ETUCE, which should never be underestimated lest the results of 30 years of work and the position of education workers at European level be weakened. It will be up to trade union leaders to make major adjustments to their actions in order to continue to influence policy while still maintaining solidarity with colleagues from other continents with whom they are brought together within EI. This solidarity also unites them with the ETUC and the ITUC in the fight for the respect of the fundamental rights guaranteed to all under international treaties and conventions.

It was the aim of the authors of this book to make a contribution to this fight for increased solidarity, based on the conviction that we cannot understand the present and wisely prepare the future without being aware of the past. They dedicate this book to all those people who over the last 30 years have been committed to the ETUCE and have helped make it the real force for proposal and action for teachers in Europe and Europe as a whole that it is today. They also dedicate it to the leaders who deal with the issues of today and tomorrow, in the hope that they will have helped shed light on the decisions which they will take for the future.

The working group

Annex 1

THE AUTHORS

Hans BÄHR was President of the VBE Rheinland-Pfalz from 1970 to 1985 and Vice-President of the VBE from 1974 to 1989. At international level he was Vice-President of the WCT from 1979 to 1983 and President from 1983 to 1985. Within the ETUCE he occupied the posts of member of the Executive Board from 1975 to 1989 and Treasurer from 1983 to 1987. He has been involved in raising awareness of, and written various reports on, the issue of new technologies in teaching. He has represented the VBE, the WCT and the ETUCE on several occasions in international contexts.

Paul BENNETT is a senior national official of the University and College Union (formerly NATFHE) in the United Kingdom. He served as an ETUCE Executive Board member from 1993 to 2003, and was elected a Vice President of ETUCE and of the Pan European structure in December 2006. Paul acted as secretary to the ETUCE Teacher Education Working Group which produced the publication of that name in 1994. He was a member of the Higher Education Working Group from 1989 and its Chair from 1993 until 1998 when it was replaced by the Higher Education Standing Committee of Education International (Europe), which he also chaired until he stood down in January 2007. He has also served on a number of ad hoc bodies of ETUCE since the late 1970's.

Annemarie FALKTOFT has a MA degree in Comparative Literature from the University of Copenhagen and a M. Phil. degree in European Literature from the University of Cambridge. Since 2005, she has been working as Policy Coordinator at the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE). She is responsible for the political coordination in the Secretariat relating to EU policies in education, training, and labour market issues.

Ulf FREDRIKSSON worked for the Swedish Teacher Union in different capacities during the years 1983 to 1993. During the period 1991 to 1993 he worked as international secretary of the union. From 1994 to 2003 he worked for Education International in Brussels as education coordinator and research coordinator. His work at Education International also included work for ETUCE. In 2004 he went back to Sweden to work as senior lecturer at Mid-Sweden University. During 2005 to 2007 he has worked at the Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning (CRELL) at the European Commissions Joint Research Centre in Ispra in Italy. In August 2007 he returned again to Sweden to take up his position as senior lecturer in education at Mid-Sweden University.

Elena JENARO TEJADA, ETUCE Project Assistant since September 2003. Responsible for project management in ETUCE. MA degree in Public Law. Master's course European Policies and Institutions.

Jean-Marie MAILLARD, an English teacher and regional secretary for Burgundy, was elected National Secretary of the SNES in 1985, and subsequently Deputy General Secretary with responsibility for teacher recruitment, training and employment in 1993. Monitoring European and international issues was added to these areas of responsibility when he was elected joint General Secretary in 1999. He participated in SNES activities within the ETUCE and the WCOTP and subsequently in EI, following its founding congress in Stockholm in 1992 where he was part of his union's delegation. He was elected Vice-President of the ETUCE in 1999. He left his national and European posts in 2003 to resume his profession of English teacher (which he had never given up entirely) on a part-time basis, and to assist in the international and cooperation work of the SNES. He retired in September 2005.

Alain MOUCHOUX has been General Secretary of the FEN, (National Education Federation, France), President of the European Committee of the IFFTU (an education international), President of the CSFEF (the French-speaking Education and Training Trade Union Committee), President of the ETUCE (1988, 1991-1992), and General Secretary of the ETUCE (1994-2002). Since 2000, he has been the ETUCE representative to the Council of Europe, member of the Bureau and of the Liaison Committee of the INGO Conference as well as President of the Grouping Education and Culture of the INGOs of the Council of Europe.

Else-Marie (Mie) OSMUNDSEN was an active member of the Norsk Laererlag (Norwegian Teachers' Association) since 1959. In the 1970's and 80's she served on its Executive and was elected International Secretary. She was a member of the European Committee of the WCOTP, where she was responsible for the area "New Technology". Mie Osmundsen was elected to the Executive Board of the ETUCE (1984-1986) and among other responsibilities placed in charge of Equality, as the only woman among 20 men. From 1986 she worked in the LO Norway (Trade Union Congress) in the International Department. She was seconded to the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1990 as the Chief Technical Adviser in the Bureau for Workers' Activities for the Environment and Sustainable Development Project until her retirement in 2004. She has continued to work as a consultant for the labour movement and the ILO.

Luce PÉPIN was Coordinator of European issues in WCOTP were she worked from 1984 until 1991 (she was the first ETUCE General Secretary in 1990/91). From 1992 until 2001, she was Director of the European Unit of EURYDICE, the Information Network on Education in Europe. From 2003 until 2006, she was given the task to coordinate the "Education and Training 2010" process at the European Commission. She is the author of the book published in 2006 by the European Commission on the History of European cooperation in the fields of education and training.

David POISSONNEAU has a MA degree from the University of Louvain (economical and social politicy), he worked from 2002 to 2005 for a European interest group. Since September 2006, he has been working as a political assistant in charge of the dossiers related to social dialogue and collective bargaining.

Marja-Liisa RINTANEN was international secretary of OAJ (Fi) from 1987-1992. She served also as secretary of the Nordiska Lärarradet in 1987 and the Nordiska Lärarorganisationers Samrad (NLS) in 1989. She was member of the WCOTP European Committee (1990-1993). In ETUCE she was member of the Executive Board from 1989-1993 and chaired his Equal opportunities working group.

Martin RØMER was president of the Danish Teachers Union (DLF) from 1984-1994. He was EI World Executive Board Member from 1993-1995, Danish Teacher Unions International (DLI)-representative in Brussels from 1995- 2002. In 2002 he was elected ETUCE's General Secretary.

Seija TIISALA is university lecturer (em.) from the University of Helsinki, Department of Nordic Languages and Literature. She chaired of the University Lecturers'Association at Helsinki university, was secretary of the University Lecturers union and member of its Executive Board and of the OAJ senate and different committees within OAJ. She was member of ETUCE Executive board (1993-1997), chaired the ETUCE Equal Opportunities Standing Committee, was a member of ETUC Women's Committee and chaired the ETUCE ad hoc committee 'Feminisation of the Teaching Profession'. She was also member of ETUCE Higher Education Standing Committee.

Louis VAN BENEDEN was Secretary General of the COV (B) from 1976 - 1998 (from 1976 - 1988: COV-FIC). In 1997 he was elected as president of the Vlaamse Onderwijsraad (VLOR), (the Flemish Educational Council), a mandate that ended in September 2004. On international level he was activist in the WCT since 1975, became president of the WCT from 1985 - 2002. He was vice-president of the WCL (World Confederation of Labour) from 1986 - 1993. From 2001 - 2003 he was president of the European network of Education councils (EUNEC). In the ETUCE he was member of the executive bureau from 1981 - 2001, served as his president in 1987 and 1990, as vice-president in the years 1983-1986, 1988-1989 and 1991-2001. He combined this with the function of treasurer from 1995 till 1997.

Isabelle VANDEN BEMDEN has a MA in translation, she was Professional Assistant at the EI Education Department from 1995 to 2003. In 2004 she joined the ETUCE team where she is in charge of the translations, the website and the publications. She coordinated the project on the "History" within the Secretariat**.**

Cees VAN OVERBEEK was President of CNV Trade Union of Education (NL) from 1986-2005; member/treasurer of the World- and Executive Board of WCT from 1986 - 2006; member of the Executive Board of ETUCE from 1986-2000. ETUCE-treasurer from 1991-1994.

George VANSWEEVELT started his union work in 1972 and ended his career in December 2002 as General Secretary of ACOD Onderwijs Belgium. He was since the mid-eighties engaged in the international union work. Occupations in ETUCE: Internal and External Secretary, Vice President and Treasurer. He was also member of the Regional Executive Committee of the Education International Europe and the Pan-European Structure. He ended all his international mandates in December 2006.

Annex 2

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(Names and abbreviations of member organisations of the ETUCE are integrated in the text)

AEDE	*Association européenne des enseignants* – European Association of Teachers
AELE	*Association européenne de libre échange (see : EFTA)*
AFL	American Federation of Labour (USA)
AFT	American Federation of Teachers (USA)
AGCS	*Accord général sur le commerce des services*
CCRE	*Conseil des communes et régions d'Europe (see : CEMR)*
CdR	*Comité des régions* – Committee of the Regions
CECA	*Communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier (see: ECSC)*
CEDEFOP	*Centre européen pour le développement de la formation professionnelle* – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
CEE	*Communauté économique européenne (see :EEC)*
CEEP	*Centre européen des entreprises à participation et des entreprises d'intérêt économique général* - European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation and of Enterprises of General Economic interest
CEMR	Council of European Municipalities and Regions *(see: CCRE)*

CES	*Confédération européenne des syndicats (see : ETUC)*
CESE	*Comité économique et social européen (see : EESC)*
CGT	*Confédération générale du travail* (France)
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations (USA)
CISC	*Confédération internationale des syndicats chrétiens (see: CMT & WCL)*
CISL	*Confédération internationale des syndicats libres (see : ICFTU)*
CMOPE	*Confédération mondiale des organisations de la profession enseignante (see : WCOTP)*
CMT	*Confédération mondiale du travail (see : WCL)*
COMETT	Community Programme in Education and Training for Technologies – *Programme de coopération entre l'université et l'entreprise en matière de formation dans le domaine des technologies*
COREPER	*Comité des représentants permanents* – Committee of Permanents Representatives
CPRE	*Conseil régional paneuropéen de la CSI (see : PERC)*
CRE	*Conférence européenne des recteurs (see : ERC)*
CSC	*Comité syndical de consultation – OCDE (see : TUAC)*
CSI	*Confédération syndicale internationale (see : ITUC)*
CSEE	*Comité syndical européen de l'éducation (see : ETUCE and ETTUC)* Initially*: Comité syndical européen des enseignants*
CSME	*Confédération syndicale mondiale de l'enseignement*

	(see : WCT)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community *(see : CECA)*
ECTS	European Credit Transfer System – *Système de transfert d'unités de cours capitalisables*
EEC	European Economic Community *(see :CEE)*
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee *(see: CESE)*
EEE	*Espace économique européen*
EES	European Economic Space
EI	Education International *(see : IE)*
EFTA	European Free Trade Association *(see: AELE)*
EPA	European Parents Association - *Association européenne des parents d'élèves*
ERASMUS	European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students – *Programme d'action de la Communauté européenne en matière de mobilité des étudiants*
ERC	European Rector's Conference *(see: CRE)*
ESF	European Social Fund *(see: FSE)*
ESIB	The National Unions of Students in Europe
ESU	European Students' Union
ESPRIT	European Strategic Programme for Research and Development in Information Technology – *Programme européen de recherche et de développement dans le domaine des technologies de l'information*
ETTUC	European Teachers Trade Union Committee *(from*

	1979: ETUCE- see CSEE)
ETUC	European Trade Unions Confederation *(see: CES)*
ETUCE	European Trade Union Committee for *Education (see: CSEE et ETTUC)*
EURYDICE	*Réseau d'information sur l'éducation en Europe* – Information Network on Education in Europe
FSE	*Fonds social européen (see : ESF)*
EWI	Educational Workers' International
FO	*Force ouvrière (France)*
FIAI	*Fédération internationale des associations d'instituteurs (see: IFTA)*
FIPES	*Fédération internationale des professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire officiel*
FISE	*Fédération internationale des syndicats d'enseignants (see: WFTTU)*
FSM	*Fédération syndicale mondiale (see: WFTU)*
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services *(see: AGCS)*
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions *(see: CISL)*
IE	*Internationale de l'éducation (see: EI)*
IFFTU	International Federation of Free Teachers Unions *(see: SPIE)*
IFTA	International Federation of Teachers' Associations *(see: FIAI)*
ITST	International Trade Secretariat of Teachers

ITUC	International Trade Union Congress *(see: CSI)*
NEA	National Education Association *(USA)*
NETLEX	Trade Union Legal Experts Network
OBESSU	Organising Bureau of European School Students Unions
OCDE	*Organisation de coopération et de développement économique*
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECE	*Organisation européenne de coopération économique (see: OEEC)*
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Coordination *(see: OECE)*
OMC	*Organisation mondiale du commerce (see: WTO)*
OMS	*Organisation mondiale de la santé (see: WHO)*
PERC	Pan-European Regional Council of the ITUC *(see: CRPE)*
PHARE	*Programme d'aide communautaire aux pays d'Europe centrale et orientale*
PISA	*Programme international pour le suivi des acquis des élèves*
PNUD	*Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement (see: UNDP)*
SPIE	*Secrétariat professionnel international de l'éducation (see: IFFTU)*
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States – *Programme d'assistance technique aux nouveaux états indépendants et à la*

	Mongolie
TEMPUS	Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies – *Programme de mobilité transeuropéenne pour l'enseignement supérieur*
TUAC	Trade Union Advisory Committee – *OECD (see: CSC)*
UEAPME	*Union européenne de l'artisanat et des petites et moyennes entreprises* – European Association of Craft, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
UMEC	*Union Mondiale des Enseignants Catholiques*
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - *Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture*
UNICE	*Union des industries de la Communauté européenne*
WCL	World Confederation of Labour *(see: CMT)*
WCOTP	World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession *(see: CMOPE)*
WCT	World Confederation of Teachers *(see: CSME)*
WFEA	World Federation of Education Associations
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions *(see: FSM)*
WFTTU	World Federation of Teacher Trade Unions *(see: FISE)*
WHO	World Health Organisation *(see: OMS)*
WTO	World Trade Organisation *(see: OMC)*

Annex 3

LIST OF REFERENCE DOCUMENTS

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Report of the 2nd European eLearning Forum for Education (ELFE) Conference: 'ICT in education – new teaching and learning options, new teaching and learning workloads' (2005)

ETUCE Factsheet: Europass (2005)

ETUCE Factsheet on the draft Services Directive - Campaign Material (2005)

Annex 4

ETUCE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS - 1975-2006

The list below includes the names, organisation and function of those who have served within the executive of the ETUCE at any time between 1975 and 2006.

Periods at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, when some organisations temporarily suspended their affiliation, are ignored and assumed as uninterrupted.

AMARAL Rui	(SPZN - Portugal)	1981-1983
ADAM Monique	(SEW-OGBL – Luxembourg)	2001-2006
ADAMS Jacques	(ACOD - Belgium) *President 1984-1985* *Vice-president 1978-1983*	1978-1985
ACRITAS Thomas	(OLME – Greece)	2001-2003
ANDERSEN Stig	(DLF - Denmark)	2004-2006
ARROYO Fernando	(FETE-UGT – Spain)	1994-2001
ASTROM Sonja	(LR - Sweden)	2003-2006
BÄHR Hans	(VBE – Germany) *Treasurer 1983- 1987*	1981-1988
BABRAUSKIENE Tatiana	(LIZDA – Lithuania)	2005-2006
BAUNAY Yves	(SNES – France)	1997-2001
BENCINI John	(MUT – Malta)	2004-2006

BENNETT Paul	(NATFHE – United Kingdom)	1994-2003
BIOT Jean-Louis	(UNSA Ed. – France)	2003-2006
BOBULESCO Razvan	(Alma Mater – Romania)	2001-2006
BORBATH Gabor	(SEH - Hungary)	2001-2003
BORGES Paula	(SPZN - Portugal) *Vice-President 1994-2003*	1994-2003
BOULLIER Jean-Michel	(SGEN/CFDT - France)	1997-2001
BRACONNIER André	(IFFTU) *General Secretary 1975-1977*	1975-1977
BRATIS Dimitris	(DOE - Greece)	2003-2006
BRESSAN Eugenio	(SNES - France)	1988-1992
BRISSET Laurent	(FEN - France)	1997-2001
BRONIARZ Slawomir	(ZNP – Poland)	2003-2006
CAR Anita	(ETUC – Croatia)	2003-2006
CARR John	(INTO – Ireland)	2003-2006
CASADO Jesus	(FE-USO - Spain)	1984-1988
CASEY Terry	(NASUWT – United Kingdom) *Treasurer 1978-1982*	1976-1982
CASPERS Bea	(ABOP - The Netherlands) *Secretary 1987*	(1988-1990

CASSIMATIS Hélène	(SNCS – France)	1997-2003
CATTIN Maryvonne	(SPR – Switzerland)	1994-2003
CHOBATOVA Tamara	(SBTES - Belarus)	2003-2005
CLAESSON Torbjörn	(LRF - Sweden)	1997-2003
CORDELIER Odile	(SNES - France) *Vice-President 2003-2006*	2003-2006
DAMEN Coen	(WCT/CSME) *General Secretary 1975-1978* *Secretary 1984*	1975–1985
DAMIANOVA Kounka	(SEB - Bulgaria)	2001-2006
DE GRUCHY Nigel	(NASUWT – United Kingdom)	1994-2003
DE LA HAYE Gaston	(WCT/CSME)	1996-2003
DAWSON Peter	(NATFHE - RU/EI) *General Secretary 1991-1993*	1984-2003
DE JONG Evert	(PCO/CNVo – The Netherlands)	1991-2006
DENIS Roger	(WCT/CSME) *Secretary 1988-1992*	1986-1996
DIAS DA SILVA Joao	(FNE - Portugal)	2003-2006
DINSER Alaadin	(EGITIM-SEN – Turkey)	2003-2006
DOBRUSHI Xhafer	(FSASH - Albania)	2003-2006
DORNEY James	(TUI - Ireland)	1984-1998
DRESSCHER Walter	(AoB – The Netherlands)	2003-2006

DUMONT André	(ABOP - AoB-The Netherlands)	1991-2003
DUMONT Daniel	(SNI - France) *President 1989* *Vice-President in 1993,1987,1991-1992* *Secretary 1984* *Treasurer 1989*	1983-1992
ECKINGER Ludwig	(VBE - Germany)	1995-2006
EBERT Wilhelm	(VBE - Germany)	1989-1994
EGGEN Gertrud	(NL - Norway)	2001-2004
EVENO Yves	(SNES - France)	1984-1986
FRISTER Erich	(GEW - Germany)	1975-1981
FROSTHOLM Hans Ole	(DLF - Denmark)	2001-2004
GASPERAN Jan	(OZPSaV – Slovaquie)	2003 -2006
GEORGES Guy	(SNI - France) *President 1975-1983*	1975-1983
GIORGETTI Gabriella	(CGIL - Italy)	2003-2006
GOBLE Norman	(WCOTP)	1984-1986
GONTHIER Patrick	(FEN - France)	2001-2004
GUNN Olwyn	(NASUWT – United Kingdom)	2003-2005
HARRIS Bob	(WCOTP/CMOPE)	1988-1992
HEISE Christoph	(GEW- Germany) *Vice-President 2001-2006*	1994-2006

HOLST Haldis	(UEN - Norway)	2003-2006
IMISON Gerald	(ATL - United Kingdom)	2003-2006
JARVIS Fred	(NUT - United Kingdom) *President in 1984 and 1986* *Vice-President in 1983*	1983-1986
KAABER Svanhilder	(KI - Iceland)	1994-2001
KASOULIDES Andreas	(POED)	2005-2006
KIMERGÄRD Preben	DLF	1981-1983
KLASON Lars-Erik	(LF - Sweden)	1981-2003
KOLABASHKIN Nikolaï	(ESEUR - Russia)	2001-2003
KOURATOS Alexandros	(POED - Chypre)	2003-2005
KRAFT Knut	(BLBS - Germany)	2005-2006
LANGER Radovan	(CMOS PS – Rép. tchèque) *Vice-President 2003-2006*	2001-2006
LENNON Charlie	(ASTI - Ireland)	2001-2003
LINDHOLM Jürgen	(LF – Sweden/EI) *General Secretary 2002* *Vice-President 2003-2006*	1994-2006
LOPEZ Fernando	(FETE/UGT - Spain)	2001-2003
LÓPEZ CORTINÃS Carlos	(FETE/UGT – Spain)	2004-2006
LUKYANOVICH Andrei	(SBTES - Belarus)	2005-2006

MACRO	(UIL Scuola - Italy)	1995-2003
MAILLARD Jean-Marie	(SNES - France) *Vice-President 2001-2003*	2001-2003
MANDORLI Giuseppe	(SINASCEL - Italy)	1984-1994
MARTIN James	(EIS - Scotland)	1991-1994
MATILAINEN Riku	(FUURT - Finland)	2003-2006
MELTO Marjatta	(OAJ - Finland) *Vice-President 2003-2006*	1997-2006
MERKOULOVA Galina	(ESEUR - Russia) *Vice President 2003-2006*	2001-2006
McAVOY Doug	(NUT - United Kingdom) President	1991-2006 *1994-2006*
McCARTHY Kevin	(TUI- Ireland) V*ice President 1975-1979*	1975-1979
MJOEN Bjornar	(LF – Sweden)	2001-2003
MOSAKOWSKI Ryszard	(NSZZ - Poland)	2001-2003
MOUCHOUX Alain	(FEN – France) *President in 1988 and in 1991-92* *Vice- President in 1987,1989-1990* *General Secretary 1994-2002*	1981-2004
NAIMOVA Vera	(RC-STES - Tajikistan)	2003-2006
NIELSEN Svend Emil	(DL - Denmark)	1984

NORTHCOTT Darren	(NASUWT – United Kingdom)	2005-2006
OULIAC André	(SNI- France) *President 1975-76*	1975-1976
OSMUNDSEN Else-Maria	(OAJ - Finland)	1984-1986
OSTERENG Berit	(NL - Norway)	1997-2001
OLAFSDOTTIR Gudrun Ebba	(KI - Iceland)	1997-2003
OLIVEIRA NOGUIERA Mario	(FENPROF - Portugal)	1997
O'TOOLE Joe	(INTO - Ireland)	1994-2003
PASQUIER Georges	(SER - Switzerland)	2003-2006
PARDO Marisol	(FE.CC.OO - Spain)	1995-2003
PARKEL Vaike	(EEPU - Estonia)	2004-2006
PAVLOVIC Branislav	(TUS - Serbia)	2003-2006
PEDERSEN Kristian	(DLF - Denmark) *Treasurer 1994-1997*	1984-2001
PÉPIN Luce	(WCOTP/CMOPE) *General Secretary 1991*	1991
POLLOCK John	(EIS - Scotland) *Vice- President 1990*	1981-1990
QUIGLEY Gerry	(INTO - Ireland)	1981-1992
REHULA Thomas	(WCOTP/CMOPE) *Secretary 1987* *Treasurer 1988*	1987-1990
RINTANEN Marja-Liisa	(OAJ - Finland)	1989-1993

RITZENTHALER Claude	(FEN – France)	1994-1997
RØMER Martin	(DLF - Denmark) *General Secretary 2003-2006*	2003-2006
ROSENAU Renate	(BLBS - Germany)	2001-2006
SACHKOV Leonid	(STESU - Ukraine)	2003-2006
SANCHEZ MORENO Leandro	(FESPE - Spain)	1998
SCHMITZ Aloyse	(FGIL - Luxembourg) *General Secretary 1978-1981* *Secretary 1982*	1978-1983
SKALA Helmut	(ÖGB - Austria)	1988-2006
SKJETNE Kjell-Torgeir	(SL - Norway)	1988-1992
SMITH Peter	(ATL - United Kingdom)	1997-2003
SMITH Ronald	(EIS - Scotland)	1995-2006
SMITHIES Fred	(NASUWT - United Kingdom)	1984-1992
SNEL Nico	(KOV - The Netherlands)	1984-1987
SOARES Mario David	(FENPROF – Portugal)	2001-2003
STÖRLUND Vivian	(WCOTP/CMOPE)	1981-1986
STRUKELJ Branimir	(ESWUS - Slovenia)	2001-2006
SUGAMIELE Domenico	(CGIL - Italy)	1997
TER HAAR Leen	(PCO - The Netherlands)	1989-1990
TEXEIRA Manuela	(SPZN - Portugal)	1988-1992

TIISALA Seija	(OAJ - Finland)	1994-2001
TRAPENCIERE Ilze	(LIZDA - Latvia)	2003-2006
TSIKARISHVILI David	(ERTOBA - Georgia)	2004-2006
TURONIS Romas	(LEETU - Lithuania)	2003-2005
UEBERBACH Walter	(GEW - Germany) *Treasurer 1984*	1981-1988
VAJNA Tunde	(SEH - Hungary)	2001-2003
VAN BENEDEN Louis	(COV - Belgium) *President in 1987 and in 1990* *Vice-President in 1983-86, 1988-1989 and 1991-2001* *Treasurer in 1999-2001*	1981-2001
VAN DEN BOSCH Jan	(ABOP - The Netherlands)	1981-1987
VAN DER MEER Ben	(PCO - The Netherlands)	1988
VAN DONGEN Gust	(COC - Belgium)	2001-2006
VAN LEEUWEN Fred	(ABOP - The Netherlands/EI)	1978-2003
VAN OVERBEEK Cees	(KOV - The Netherlands) *Treasurer 1991-92*	1988-2003
VANSWEEVELT George	(ACOD - Belgium) *Secretary in 1987 and in 1989-90* *Vice- President in 1991-92/94 and in 2001-2003* *Treasurer in 1997 and in 2001-2006*	1986-2006

VAN WEGBERG Sef	(KOV - The Netherlands)	1975-1982
VALVEKENS Frans	(COV - Belgium) *Vice- President 1975-1978*	1975-1978
VILLENEUVE Jean-Luc	(SGEN/CFDT – France)	2003-2006
VARA Laszlo	(SEH-PSZ – Hungary)	2003-2006
WASSERMAN Joseph	(ITU – Israel)	2003-2006
WEBER Louis	(SNES - France) Vice-President 1997-2001	1997-2001
WOIEN	(NL - Norway)	1994-1997
WUNDER Dieter	(GEW - Germany)	1988-1992

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