



EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE

Info 17

**The trade union movement
in Spain**

The European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) is the research, information/documentation and educational instrument of the European trade union movement.

It was established in 1978 on the initiative of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) to deal with European aspects of economic, social and political developments with particular importance for the workers and their trade unions.

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THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
IN SPAIN

EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE
BRUSSELS 1986

The European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) is a non-profit organization
dedicated to the study and promotion of workers' interests in Europe.
It was established in 1950 and is based in Brussels, Belgium.
The Institute's main objective is to improve the living and working
conditions of workers in Europe by promoting social dialogue and
cooperation between workers and employers.
The Institute also provides training and information services for
workers and employers in Europe.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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F O R E W O R D

"INFO" is a series of reports published by the European Trade Union Institute since October 1982.

Each number in this series consists of a short report covering subjects of topical relevance and information value.

The "INFO" series thus represents an additional means of information provided by the ETUI and at the same time serves as a support for educational work.

This report gives a concise description of the trade union movement in Spain. It is the seventh report to cover a national trade union movement in this way and was prepared by the UGT in Spain with the cooperation of the ELA/STV of the Basque Country, under the direction and responsibility of the ETUI.

In the coming months, further publications in this series will set out similar descriptions of trade union movements from other countries which are affiliated to the European Trade Union Confederation. The reports will all be structured along the same lines so that valid comparisons can be made of the situations in the different countries.

We hope that the "INFO" series will contribute towards a better understanding of the trade union positions in Western Europe.

Brussels, June 1986

Günter Köpke
Director of the ETUI

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Director of the ETUI
Günter Böke
Brussels, June 1958

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1. CONFEDERATIONS

UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES (UGT)
(General Workers' Union)

San Bernardo, 20
28015 MADRID
Tel.: 252 71 00 and 252 72 00
General Secretary : Nicolas Redondo

COMISIONES OBRERAS (CC.OO.)

Fernandez de la Hoz, 12
28010 MADRID
Tel.: 419 17 50
General Secretary : Marcelino Camacho

EUZKO LANGILLEEN ALKARTASUNA /
SOLIDARIDAD DE TRABAJADORES VASCOS (ELA-STV)
(Solidarity of Basque Workers)

Euskalduna, 11
BILBAO
Tel.: 444 25 54
General Secretary : Alfonso Etxebarria
Presidente : José Miguel Leunda

UNION SINDICAL OBRERA (USO)
(Union of Labour)

Principe de Vergara, 13
28001 MADRID
Tel.: 262 41 00
General Secretary : Manuel Zaguirre

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO (CNT)
(National Confederation of Labour)

Magdalena, 6
MADRID
Tel.: 227 96 08
General Secretary : Juan Gomez Casas

2. BRIEF HISTORY

The Spanish trade union movement can be divided into three distinct periods, linked to the political development of the country :

a) Origins : from 1869 to 1939

The first workers' associations were formed during the first half of the 19th century, around the emerging centres of industrialisation : textiles in Catalonia, iron and steel in the Basque Country and mining in Asturias. In 1869 the doctrines of Bakunin were introduced in Spain and two years later Karl Marx was to send Paul Lafargue to that country. From that time the Spanish labour movement became polarised into two well-defined tendencies: anarchist and socialist, giving rise to the two major trade union organisations which dominated the labour scene of this period:- the General Workers' Union (UGT), closely linked to the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party (PSOE), formed in August 1888, and the National Confederation of Labour (CNT), of anarchist ideology, which held its first congress in September 1911. During that same year, on 23 July, the statutes of the organisation Solidarity of Basque Workers were adopted. The organisation was subsequently to change its initials to those used today, ELA/STV.

The early years of the 20th century were marked by considerable social unrest. On the one hand there were the ultra-conservative governments founded on a despotic form of capitalism which were incapable of setting an

industrial revolution in train. And on the other hand there was the disastrous economic situation and considerable dependence on foreign markets. During the years following World War I the possibility of a merger was discussed within the UGT and CNT. No agreement was ever reached, however, because of the deep-rooted differences in political outlook and trade union strategy. The triumph of the Bolshevik revolution and, above all, the Third International, divided the labour organisations. Whereas the UGT opted to remain in the Second International, the CNT initially gave its support to the Third International but subsequently withdrew it. However, this did not prevent the two organisations from carrying out many joint actions in connection with large-scale disputes.

1923 saw the coup d'etat of General Primo de Rivera and the establishment of a dictatorship which was to last for seven years. Faced with this new situation the two trade unions responded in different ways. During this time the CNT, which in 1919 had a membership of over 500,000, was confronted with the combined action of the State and the employers, as well as a wave of terrorist assassinations in Catalonia. Disorganised and weakened by the repression, the CNT failed to act effectively against the dictatorship and went underground. There then followed a clear politisation of the Confederation, whose most radical wing was under the control of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), a political organisation which was involved in several conspiracies against the dictatorship. For its part, the UGT condemned the coup d'état of 1923 but, fearing that the union would be disbanded, adopted a

stance of passive submission to the dictatorship. It was the only trade union which maintained a legal status.

In April 1931 the Second Republic was proclaimed following the victory in the municipal elections of the bourgeois Republican Party, and King Alfonso XIII went into exile. At that time the UGT was the most influential union with a membership of one million, while the CNT experienced a spectacular growth to 500,000 active members. The change in regime aroused great expectations of social improvements, further heightened by the participation of the socialists in the first Republican Government. However, the scope for action of the socialist ministers was enormously restricted by the predominance of the bourgeois republican party, and inevitably discontent among the workers grew when the reforms called for did not materialise. Against this background the socialists withdrew from the Government. In 1934 the situation had become particularly serious, with a right-wing Government curbing all the social initiatives taken by the previous cabinet, shelving the agrarian reforms and using force against strikers and demonstrators. A general strike was declared, and it was observed throughout almost all the country, particularly in Asturias. The resulting revolutionary situation, during which the UGT and CNT formed a united front, was savagely put down by the Republican Government by sending in Legion troops, causing great loss of life.

In the Basque Country the ELA/STV participated actively in the social struggles throughout the republican period and

consolidated to form a major trade union force.

After the military uprising led by General Franco in July 1936, the UGT and CNT reinforced their unity of action. They participated actively in defending the main towns against fascism during the civil war and upheld State intervention in industrial and agricultural production. At that time their combined membership stood at two and a half million. In view of the seriousness of the situation the CNT set aside its ideological principles of rejecting the State. It provided four ministers in the Government in an attempt to save the Republic in the face of advances by fascist troops, while at the same time promoting an immediate social revolution by organising major collectivisation schemes in Aragon and Catalonia.

b) The Franco Dictatorship : 1939 to 1975

In 1937 General Franco declared all democratic labour unions to be illegal and confiscated their assets. A year later the Spanish Trade Union Organisation (Organizacion Sindical Espanola - OSE) was set up. The OSE, headed by the Minister for Trade Union Activities, was a vertical organisation which included representatives of workers employers and Government. The workers were thus made subject to the political authority and membership of the organisation was made compulsory. The law laid down that the OSE was subordinated to the single party of the Government (Falange Espanola Tradicionalista and Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista - FET/JONS) with principles based on hierarchy, authority, unity and verticality.

After winning the civil war in 1939 the Franco dictatorship set about systematically decimating the trade unions and democratic parties by expelling or imprisoning their active members, who were driven into exile. Those activists who remained in the country were forced to work in secrecy, and time and again their attempts at reorganisation were to fail.

Despite this situation and the total ban on the right to strike, during the 50's and 60's the protest movements and industrial disputes continued to gather strength. In broad sectors of the church a more progressive change took place and in 1960 the Union of Labour (USO), with strong Christian leanings, was created, an organisation which subsequently developed into a trade union based on the principles of socialism and workers' self-management.

During the late 1950's the Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.) started to emerge in the industrial and mining regions of northern Spain. They arose out of a spontaneous movement to elect representatives at work centres to carry out a specific action, after which they would disband. The CC.OO. embraced all democratic trade unionist and ideological leanings. They proved to be effective in getting results and spread to other regions outside the vertical trade union framework, continuing to be non-permanent in character. In 1964 the first of the permanent Comisiones Obreras came into being when the CC.OO. of the Provincial Metalworkers was set up in Madrid. During this time the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) used the CC.OO. as a platform for its trade union activities, laying down the

foundations for the future organisation and controlling the coordination bodies of the socio-political movement. From 1966 the CC.OO. decided to infiltrate the machinery of the official trade union to pursue a democratic trade union policy from within. With this object in view their candidates began to mark up successes in the elections for worker representatives at plant-level. The UGT and ELA, which together with the CNT had subscribed to the Trade Union Alliance, adopted the opposite approach, preferring to refuse to participate in the fascist trade unions. It was not until 1976 that the Comisiones Obreras organised as a trade union. This was viewed with some apprehension by the union's activists in the light of the PCE's growing influence within the organisation.

c) Parliamentary Democracy : from 1976 onwards

After the death of General Franco in November 1975 the democratisation of the Spanish political system began as a process to which the Spanish trade unions actively contributed. They faced a two-fold challenge: on the one hand, the need to rapidly build up and strengthen a highly precarious organisational structure, which had originally been created to meet very different exigencies, conditioned by the clandestinity of the Franco era. And all of this had to be achieved within a virtually non-existent framework of industrial relations. Indeed, it was only in 1977 that the first legislation was adopted governing the right to strike, industrial disputes, collective agreements and dismissal, as well as the abolition of the old vertical unions. In April of the same year the

Registry of Trade Union Organisations was set up, freedom of organisation recognised and trade unions made legal. In 1979 the Parliament approved the Workers' Statute which regulates trade union activities in the plant, and then in 1985 the Constitutional Law on Trade Union Freedom which regulates trade union activities and rights. The trade unions further set themselves the objective of contributing to the democratic consolidation of the new State. To this end the Spanish trade unions have taken the lead in a far-reaching process of social dialogue, not only in terms of a trade union response to the economic crisis but above all as an element of rationality and stability during the difficult political transition from dictatorship to democracy.

From 1979 successive Governments were faced with the unavoidable need to renew the obsolescent production infrastructure of Spain. The industrial conversion measures which they introduced as a consequence primarily affected the metalworking sector. Once again the trade unions found themselves obliged to strike a difficult balance between their opposition to mass redundancies resulting from the industrial conversion process, and their recognition that this process is vital to the survival of industry.

Meanwhile, on the trade union front, this period witnessed the virtual disappearance of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT), which split into two when faced with the choice of either taking part in the trade union elections or pursuing its old policy of no participation in the

political system. The Union of Labour (USO), for its part, experienced a decline after most of the union's leaders and a considerable proportion of the membership were absorbed into the UGT in December 1977. A more clear-cut picture of the trade union situation was also to emerge after the two trade union elections when a whole host of smaller trade unions were swept away. These developments led to a polarisation of the trade union movement around the two main labour organisations: the UGT and CC.OO. In the Basque Country a third major organisation also existed: the ELA/STV.

3. TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVITY

In Spain there are no very reliable data concerning union density but there is no doubt that when the unions were made legal in 1977 membership grew on an enormous scale and then went down, with the exception of some regions such as the Basque Country and Asturias where union density is more stable. In 1980 it was estimated that 27% of the labour force belonged to a union, a level which has also fallen in the meantime. Among the various factors contributing to this absence of active participation is that there is no democratic trade union tradition due to the forty years of dictatorship, reflected in the lack of experience of trade union organisation and freedom.

Furthermore, the traditional basis of trade union recruitment has radically changed. The main impact of the industrial crisis has been on the large enterprises which have constituted the stronghold of the Spanish unions. In

the small and medium-sized enterprises, meanwhile, the trade union presence has always been weak and dispersed. Furthermore, trade union activities have always focused almost entirely on collective bargaining and disputes while neglecting to pursue policies on health, social protection, education, the fight against inequality, etc. In short, they have failed to provide some of the services which form the necessary basis for attracting a larger membership, strengthening the trade unions, and for which finance and institutional support - in such short supply until now - are needed.

Another problem is that of trade union representativity. The end of the dictatorship was followed by a flood of applications by trade unions for legal recognition: from 1977 to 1984, 1321 national labour organisations were legally recognised, 79% of them between 1977 and 1980. This state of affairs led to confusion when the time came to appoint bona fide union representatives to participate in collective bargaining and represent trade unions on official bodies. In order to clarify the trade union situation, worker participation in the representative bodies at plant-level (comités de empresa - works councils) is regulated by law through the election of worker representatives. Three country-wide elections for worker representatives have taken place (in 1978, 1980 and 1982) from which it could be ascertained that there were two main trade unions at national level (the CC.OO and UGT) as well as two others at regional level (ELA/STV in the Basque Country and the Galician Inter-Trade Union in Galicia - INTG).

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS OF WORKER REPRESENTATIVES

	<u>U.G.T.</u>	<u>CC.OO.</u>	<u>U.S.O.</u>	<u>I.N.T.G.</u>	<u>ELA/STV</u>
1978					
Representatives	41,897	66,540	7,474	-	1,931
Percentage	21.69%	34.45%	3.87%	-	0.99% (1)
1980					
Representatives	48,194	50,817	14,296	1,672	4,024
Percentage	29.27%	33.86%	8.68%	1.01% (1)	2.44% (1)
1982					
Representatives	51,672	47,016	6,527	1,651	4,642
Percentage	36.71%	33.40%	4.64%	1.17% (1)	3.30% (1)
	<u>NON</u>		<u>OTHER</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>AFFIL.</u>				
1978					
Representatives	35,000		40,270		193,112
Percentage	18.12%		20.85%		100%
1980					
Representatives	25,960		19,654		164,617
Percentage	15.77%		11.94%		100%
1982					
Representatives	17,024		12,238		140,770
Percentage	12.09%		8.69%		100%

Sources: Ministry of Labour. I.M.A.C. did not officially announce the results after the 1978 elections.

(1) Percentage in Galicia and the Basque Country respectively:

	<u>1978</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1982</u>
INTG	-	17.52%	18.94%
ELA/STV	11.85%	25.65%	30.24%

Several conclusions can be drawn from these figures :

- There has been a considerable fall in the number of non-affiliated representatives, an indication of the growing unionisation of the representative bodies.
- There has been a large drop in the total number of delegates elected (except in the Basque Country where the fall was scarcely perceptible) and there were also very few delegates in relation to the possible total, an indication of the unions' inability to get their message across in all areas. In 1978 elections took place in 60,017 work centres out of a total of 187,314 (32%); in 1980 elections were held in 62,585 work centres out of 169,048 (37%); and in 1982 they were held at 53,601 centres.
- The balance of power between the two main unions has changed significantly: the CC.OO. was clearly predominant in 1978 but was relegated to second place in the 1982 elections when defeated by the UGT. In the Basque Country, meanwhile, the ELA further lengthened its lead over the UGT and CC.OO.
- The non-corporatist unions (sindicatos de clase) enjoy broad support which far outweighs the size of their membership.

Finally, it should be added that both union participation in public administration bodies and the distribution of union assets confiscated during the Franco years, are determined on the basis of representativity, as attested by the election results: the national unions must have a minimum of 10% of the delegates elected at national level and the regional unions at least 15% of those elected in the Autonomous Communities.

4. UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES - UGT (GENERAL WORKERS' UNION)

The UGT is an autonomous workers' organisation which is independent of political parties, the State and employers' associations. It operates solely in accordance with the wishes of its members, as expressed within a framework of total internal democracy. In its Declaration of Principles the union lays down its revolutionary policy of class struggle and its objective of creating the conditions for the complete emancipation of the working class so that one day it can assume control of the means of production, distribution and exchange of social wealth.

A. Composition and Structure

a) Industry Structure. The basic unit is the Union Branch at plant-level, comprising all the workers at a single plant who are members of the UGT. The branches are grouped together in the District or Local Union (Sindicato Comarcal or Local). These cover all workers in the same

industry who belong to the various plant-level union branches within the corresponding area or district. The next level is the Provincial Industry Federation which is formed out of the District Unions in a particular industry within each province. As a consequence of the recent organisation of the Spanish State into Autonomous Communities (Comunidades Autonomas), the UGT has also organised Regional Industry Federations which are district-based. The highest level of the structure organised on industry lines is the National Industry Federation, composed of the unions of a particular industry within the different areas. These Federations have a large degree of autonomy in adapting their organisation to meet their particular union objectives. Among the Federation's functions are the formulation of policy on union activities in its sector, nation-wide collective bargaining, and representing the sector nationally, as well as internationally through the International Trade Secretariats. There are currently fifteen National Industry Federations :

Transport Federation

Chemical and Energy Industries' Federation

Agricultural Workers' Federation

Wood, Building and Allied Industries' Federation

Teachers' Federation

Public Services' Federation

Food Industry Federation

Federation of Communications, Entertainment and

Various Professions

Federation of Commerce

Metalworking Federation

Banking, Insurance and Office Workers' Federation
Pensioners' Federation
Mining Federation
Hotel Industry Federation
Textile Federation

b) Area Structure. The main difference from the structure organised on industry lines is that its principal aim is to achieve a cohesive organisation and coordinate activities affecting all unions, to study and propose solutions to common questions (unemployment, health, etc.) as well as to provide joint services (cooperatives, social tourism, etc.). At the basic level there is the District or Local Union (Union Comarcal or Local), which comprises all the unions in one district or area. Next there is the Provincial Union, made up of all the District Unions and the Provincial Industry Federations. Lastly, there is the Regional Union or "Union de Nacionalidad" (1), which in turn groups together the Provincial Unions and Industry Federations within its area.

c) Overseas Unions. From the 1950's Spanish emigration to Europe reached extremely high levels as the rapidly expanding economies of the countries of Europe increased their demand for labour. In 1963 UGT activists in exile started to organise Overseas Unions (Uniones del Exterior) which are now established in France, Germany, the

(1) In Spain the term "Nacionalidad" refers for historic reasons to the three autonomous provinces:- the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia.

Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium - Luxemburg, Mexico, England, Algeria and Denmark. These unions comprise all the Branches and/or Industry Federations in a particular territorial area and are represented at the Confederal Congress and on the Confederal Committee. The Council of Overseas Unions (Consejo de la Emigracion) is a body responsible for grouping together and coordinating the Overseas Unions.

d) The Confederation. In accordance with its statutes this body represents all the National Industry Federations and Area Unions. It is controlled by a number of permanent and independent bodies which are described below.

B. Decision-Making Bodies

a) Confederal Congress. This is the supreme body of the UGT which has control over the operation of the other bodies, elects their members and defines the principles and trade union policy which the UGT will pursue during the next term. The Congress is convened every three years and the 34th Congress was held in Madrid in April 1986. Extraordinary Congresses may also be convened to consider special subjects. The number of delegates is in proportion to the average paid-up membership of the industry and area structure. The Confederal Executive Committee, the Disputes Committee, the Auditors' Committee and three delegates from the Confederal Committee participate in the debates in a consultative capacity.

b) Confederal Committee : This is the highest decision-making body between Congresses. Its functions and attributions are similar to those of the Congress:- to discuss and take decisions on the general policy of the UGT, within the scope of Congress resolutions, to supervise the work of the Executive Committee, to dismiss from his post any member of the latter Committee, to fill any vacancies arising in the other bodies, and to convene extraordinary congresses. It meets every six months in ordinary session. The Committee is composed of the Confederal Executive Committee, the General Secretary and three other representatives of each National Industry Federation, the General Secretary of the Regional Unions and of each Provincial Union, as well as the General Secretary of each Overseas Union with more than 100 members.

c) Confederal Executive Committee. This is a permanent decision-making body which has the task of pursuing the policies adopted by the Congress and the Confederal Committee as well as deciding on the measures required for their implementation. The Committee operates on the basis of collective responsibility, while each member is free to carry out his specific functions. It is made up of eight confederal secretaries (who are responsible for organisation, administration, trade union activities, institutional action, international relations, public relations, education and emigration), two assistant secretaries and the General Secretary of the Confederation.

d) Auditors' Committee. This body has five members who must have belonged to the UGT for at least two years. The Committee must ensure the smooth operation of the organisation's administration and all financial activities. It is independent and, in order to effectively carry out its supervisory function, it regularly audits the accounts and submits its reports to the Confederal Committee and to the Congress.

e) Confederal Disputes Committee. This body has the function of conciliation and arbitration between the affiliated members and the internal bodies and, if required, imposes disciplinary sanctions which range from a warning to permanent expulsion. It has its own statutes which regulate in minute detail the disciplinary means and procedures.

C. Financing

The main source of income of the UGT is the subscriptions of its members. The 34th Congress set the subscription level at 0.8% of the minimum wage (which is about 40,000 Pesetas). This percentage is to rise progressively to reach 1% by the time of the next Congress, planned to take place in 1990. The Industry Federations are entitled to raise or lower this amount if considered necessary. The subscriptions are distributed in the following manner: 10% goes to the Confederal Executive Committee, 40% to the Area Unions and 50% to the National Industry Federations.

The UGT's total budget for 1984 amounted to 2,400 million Pesetas, of which 947,604,000 Pesetas went to the Confederal Executive Committee. This budget included the regular payment of 800,000 monthly subscriptions averaging 300 Pesetas each, plus a grant of 475 million Pesetas paid by the State. This grant represents the distribution of trade union assets confiscated by the fascist unions during the 40 years of Franco's dictatorship. The Government distributed the grants only from 1982 to 1984 among the most representative unions in the country, as an advance on these assets, which the government is bound to pay back to the democratic labour organisations.

D. Services

In addition to technical advisory services to its affiliates (lawyers, economists, technical experts on health and safety, documentation, etc.), the UGT also has independent organisations to cater for other needs of workers. The Foundation for the Development of Cooperative Enterprise and the Social Economy (FUNDESCOOP) offers courses and technical services relating to cooperative enterprise and management. The Foundation for Leisure Time provides cultural services and social tourism as well as a travel agency. The Francisco Largo Caballero Foundation is an institution mainly concerned with educational activities, but also carries out research in the fields of social science and economics.

E. International Affiliation

In 1949 the UGT was instrumental in founding the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and in 1973 the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). The UGT is represented on the Executive Board and Executive Committee, respectively, of these two organisations. All the National Industry Federations are affiliated to their respective International Trade Secretariats (ITS's), in most cases having been among their founding members. The UGT is also affiliated to the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD.

F. Relationship with Political Parties and Other Unions

Since its creation the UGT has maintained close links with the PSOE (Spanish Workers' Socialist Party) but always on a basis of independence. When that party came to power in October 1982 the UGT openly supported its government programme, bringing not only its activist strength to bear but also providing a large number of senior trade union personnel to participate in the work of the Government. However, the union was well aware of the risk it was running by supporting the Government party at a time of serious economic crisis, when the policies adopted were likely to be restrictive and unpopular with the labour force. The UGT's support did furthermore lead to confrontation with the PSOE. Faced with this dilemma the union decided to support those government measures which were in the interest of workers while voicing its disagreement with those it considered to be detrimental. This

difficult situation at times gave rise to great tension between the PSOE and UGT, culminating in vigorous union opposition to the Government's pension reform bill.

In its relations with the other main union, the CC.OO., the UGT has always shown itself ready to carry out joint actions in causes of common interest. However, relations have been strained due to the links between both unions and political parties of differing ideology and political strategy (socialist and communist), in a context of trade union plurality. Indeed, after the PSOE's election victory in 1982 the CC.OO. adopted a stance of almost total opposition to the socialist government and, as a consequence, to the UGT, which seriously undermined their relationship.

G. Programme and Policies

Over the last three years the Government's economic policy has focused on reducing inflation, coupled with drastic measures to improve the situation of industry and the financial sector. One of the negative consequences of this policy has been the steep fall in employment and weak domestic consumption. The UGT takes the view that the Government cannot continue along this road and that short-term job creation constitutes a priority objective. To this end the UGT is calling for an economic policy based on the following:

- higher economic growth in tandem with a consumer policy.
- the combination of supply and demand policies to improve or at least safeguard purchasing power of workers, while

- still maintaining social benefits.
- more public and private investment with a policy of dialogue allowing corporate profits to be channelled into employment-generating investment and an efficient public enterprise as a motor for innovation and development in the strategic sectors of the future.
 - an undertaking to combat inflation on the basis of a policy of social dialogue to sustain demand and prevent the growth of industrial disputes. To achieve this objective the UGT proposes that pay rises continue to be negotiated on the basis of forecast inflation, with annual review clauses, and that the unequal distribution of income and wealth be eliminated, in order to maintain the overall purchasing power of workers.
 - an undertaking to tackle the problem of the black economy by developing improved unemployment protection and various social assistance measures.
 - an extension of the Solidarity Funds with trade union participation and control in order to encourage specific economic activities and develop activities in disadvantaged areas.
 - a far-reaching reform of vocational training under the supervision of the social institutions as a means of combating unemployment, particularly the high level of youth unemployment.
 - a generalised and flexible reduction in the working day and working time to counter the negative impact of new technologies on employment.
 - a reorganisation of the system of taxation to reduce the burden on wages, while at the same time combating fraud.

- the formulation of plans to reindustrialise the production infrastructure.

With regard to collective bargaining the UGT has laid down its strategy in broad outline as follows :

- a) To extend the scope of bargaining to include workers in public administration, whose working conditions are still governed by Decree Law.

- b) To achieve an improved two-tier bargaining structure: national sectoral agreements which cover the common problems of the corresponding sector in framework agreements, leaving the detailed provisions to be hammered out in bargaining at lower levels; and dynamic plant agreements which do not simply mirror the agreements concluded at higher level and focus on aspects of key importance to workers, such as productivity, working conditions, working hours, industrial democracy, etc.

- c) To enrich the content of bargaining by considering not just pay questions but also such matters as health and working conditions, strengthening union rights, the introduction of new technologies, and productivity - not in terms of output but rather as a variable element in which all aspects of life at the plant have a part. With regard to pay, the UGT proposes a standardised system based on supplements to basic pay, the general application of the annual review clause and an increase in overall pay levels.

Faced with the attacks of conservative elements who are attempting to dismantle the Welfare State, the UGT is calling for an increase in social protection to prevent the most disadvantaged groups in society from having to bear the full brunt of the crisis. On the question of social security the UGT proposes an in-depth reform based on the criteria of solidarity and redistribution: a larger State contribution to its funding, action to combat fraud connected with social insurance contributions, a rise in social expenditure to the proportion of GDP prevailing in the other countries of the EEC, compulsory social security cover for all those groups currently excluded, public health care which is free-of-charge for all citizens and paid for out of the general State budget, a guarantee that private welfare provision will never become a substitute for public social security, and the development of welfare assistance mechanisms to help stamp out poverty. In this context the UGT also proposes that unemployment benefit cover be extended from the current level of 32% to 48% by the end of 1986.

H. Publications

"Union", fortnightly publication distributed free ; this is the main journal of the Confederation.

"Claridad", specialised review, twice-monthly.

"Técnicos y cuadros", monthly publication.

"Informacion Sindical", fortnightly publication.

"Informacion Internacional", published bi-monthly.

5. COMISIONES OBRERAS - CC.OO.

The Comisiones Obreras is a trade union confederation whose objectives are to abolish capitalism and build in its place a society based on socialism. A priority aim is to maintain its character as plural and unitary, democratic and independent, participatory and of the masses, socio-political and internationalist.

A. Composition and Structure

The Provincial or District Union is the basic trade union and organisational unit, which forms the basis for the structure of the National (or sectoral) Federations, and the "Confederaciones de Nacionalidad" (1) and Regional Unions. At sectoral level the Provincial or District Unions come together in the "Federaciones de Nacionalidad" and Regional Federations, which in turn are grouped together within the National Federations. As regards the area unions, the Confederaciones de Nacionalidad and Regional Unions are made up of the Federations and provincial or district unions and the Unions of their respective areas.

(1) See footnote on page 22

There are currently 22 National Federations:

Federation of Various Industries
Food Federation
National Federation of Banking and Savings
National Federation of Rural CC.OO.
National Federation of Commerce
Building Industry Federation
Energy Federation
Teachers' Federation
National Entertainment Federation
Hotel Industry Federation
National Wood and Cork Federation
Seamen's Federation
Metalworking Federation
Mining Trade Union Federation
Paper, Graphic Arts and Social Communication Federation
National Pensioners' Federation
National Federation of the Chemical and Related
Industries
Healthworkers' Federation
National Insurance Federation
Textile and Leather Federation
Trade Union Federation of the Administration
Transport and Communications Federation

All these organisations have their own legal capacity, autonomy to manage their funds and assets within the framework of their sphere of activity, and administrative autonomy, with no other restriction than compliance with the agreements adopted by the competent bodies of the

Confederation. They have the right and the obligation to participate in formulating the trade union policy of the CC.OO. through the national management bodies, as well as to implement these policies in the corresponding sectors or areas. They are also responsible for controlling the trade unions within their respective sector or area.

Trade union tendencies may exist within the Confederation. These tendencies are allowed full public expression during the debate phase and may defend their positions within the Confederation. Such positions may be taken into account by means of express declarations, provided that they have the support of at least 10% of the affiliates from the corresponding sector or area. The existence of a trade union tendency may be approved by a Congress decision, subject to a proposal in favour being supported by a simple majority of the Confederal Council or by 25% of the National Federations or of the "Confederaciones de Nacionalidad" and Regional Unions. These tendencies may not form parallel structures to those of the Confederation, nor be organised as one organisation within another. Neither may they act against the unity, principles, statutes and programme of the Confederation. The CC.OO. has only one tendency, called the Socialist Workers' Self-Management Tendency, arising out of a split within the USO in 1980. Recently a section of this tendency decided to disband because it was encountering difficulties in acting independently.

B. Decision-Making Bodies

a) Confederal Congress. This is the supreme deliberative and decision-making body. It is composed of an equal number of representatives from the National Federations on the one hand, and from the "Confederaciones de Nacionalidad" and Regional Unions on the other, in proportion to their respective membership. The Third Congress, held in Madrid from 21 to 24 June 1984, was attended by 495 delegates from the Federations and another 495 from the "Confederaciones de Nacionalidad" and Unions. The Congress meets in ordinary session every three years, while extraordinary Congresses may be convened if approved by a two-thirds majority of the Confederal Council. Its functions are as follows:- to determine general policy, trade union activities, organisational and financial policy and international policy; - to approve the programme and statutes of the Confederation, as well as the composition of the Confederal Council; - and to elect the General Secretary, the Executive Committee, the Committee of Administrative and Financial Control and the Disputes Committee.

b) Confederal Council. This is the supreme decision-making and representative body between Congresses. It is composed of an equal number of members from the sectoral and the area structure, as well as the General Secretary, members of the Executive Committee, and the General Secretaries of the "Confederaciones de Nacionalidad" and Regional and Provincial Unions. The ordinary Council meetings are convened four times a year.

c) Confederal Executive Committee. This is the management body which implements the decisions and directives adopted by the Congress and Council. It functions on the basis of collective responsibility, holding ordinary meetings once a month as a minimum and comprises of 50 members elected in proportion to the votes on the different lists put forward at the Congress.

d) Confederal Secretariat. This body puts into practice the decisions of the Executive Committee and is accountable to the latter for its administration. The number of members of the Secretariat is determined by the Confederal Executive Committee, which also elects them. At present the Secretariat is comprised of the following departments: organisation, finance and administration, information and publications, education, international relations, coordination of trade union activities, women, emigration, culture, employment, youth, and technical and professional staff. The Secretariat meets once a week. Membership of the Secretariat is incompatible with holding an elected post in local administration, the national or regional Parliaments, directly appointed posts in the State Government or in the Autonomous Communities, and with the post of General Secretary or other function in a political party.

e) Confederal Conference. When it is considered appropriate, and on a proposal by the Executive Committee, the Council may convene confederal conferences to debate and establish the Conference's position on specific or general questions which are of particular interest for trade union

policy. The agreements adopted by the Conference have the character of decisions and may not be inconsistent with the agreements adopted by the Congress.

f) Disputes Committee. This body is composed of five members, who may not occupy decision-making posts in the other Confederation bodies and are elected by the Congress. Their functions are to examine complaints lodged by members or bodies against agreements or actions which are considered to contravene the statutes, as well as to hear any appeals relating to trade union matters. The Committee's resolutions are final.

g) Committee for Administrative and Financial Control.

The Committee is elected by the Congress and has five members, who may not occupy decision-making posts in the other bodies. The Committee's function is to supervise the administrative and financial operation of the different bodies of the Confederation.

C. Financing

The main recognised source of income of the CC.OO. is formed by the subscriptions of its active members. The minimum monthly subscription is equivalent to 1% of the national minimum wage applying during the previous year, i.e. 375 Pesetas at present, with exceptions for pensioners and the unemployed. These subscriptions are distributed on the following basis: 10% to the Confederal Executive Committee, 10% to the National Federations, 40%

to the sectoral organisations and 40% to the area organisations. In June 1984 the total number of subscription-paying members was 756,616.

The 1985 budget of the Confederal Executive Committee included income of about 121.9 million Pesetas and expenditure of 147.2 million, giving a deficit of 25.3 million Pesetas. The total funds received from the State as a part of the confiscated trade union assets amounted to 1.529 million Pesetas between 1984 and 1985. The figure for 1986 is expected to be in the region of 425 million. To this must be added the funds received as a result of the Committees' participation in the different institutional bodies of the Government, amounting to just 70 million Pesetas in 1985.

D. Services

The CC.OO. offers its members tourist services through the Tulsa travel agency. In addition it provides free advice to members on legal and tax matters, health and safety at work, and collective bargaining.

E. International Affiliation

The CC.OO. has no international affiliations.

F. Relationship with Political Parties and other Trade Unions

The Comisiones Obreras came into existence as a spontaneous movement, strongly supported by the Communist Party of Spain (PCE), whose activists gradually moved into positions of power within the union. Other Marxist left-wing tendencies represented in the CC.OO. (such as the Revolutionary Workers' Organisation, the Communist Movement, the Labour Party of Spain and the Revolutionary Communist League) left the union or were expelled around 1976 and have set up other unions, such as the Workers' Unitary Trade Union Confederation and the Unitary Trade Union. At the same time, a growing number of CC.OO. leaders came to be represented on the management bodies of the PCE.

After the elections of 1982 a greater separation between party and union emerged. This was partly due to concern within the CC.OO. that the internal divisions of the Communist Party had been transferred to the union itself.

In relations with the other main trade union, the UGT, the CC.OO. has always shown itself to be in favour of unity between both organisations, although in practice they have often pursued opposing policies.

G. Programme and Policies

The CC.OO.'s National Solidarity Programme to combat unemployment and the economic crisis was originally launched in 1981 with the aim of modifying the balance of

power within society in favour of workers. The primary objective of this programme, which is still in application, is to mobilise the workers in opposing the economic policy of the Socialist Government, taking the view that the Government has aligned itself with the employers and forces of capital who are practising an anti-social and anti-trade union policy. The basic tenets of the Solidarity Programme are as follows: - state intervention in economic planning, with the agreement of workers; - to further develop public enterprise, extending its activities into new areas; - to improve the quality and cover of social insurance benefits and services; - to introduce a progressive taxation system which eases the burden on pay; - to progressively nationalise banking and introduce public control of credit; - comprehensive agrarian reform; - and a reindustrialisation of the system of production with the direct and active participation of the State.

As for social dialogue, the CC.OO. does not reject it out of hand, but maintains an ambivalent stance: on the one hand it is seen as a means of exerting influence on the economic situation and improving the overall situation of the working class, but on the other hand these agreements are criticised for having little influence on Government policy. The CC.OO. considers that collective bargaining is becoming a matter of routine and that many groups of workers are being alienated from the union as a consequence. The strategy of the CC.OO. with regard to those national framework agreements which it considers to be very disadvantageous is to reduce their scope of application during subsequent collective bargaining. What

it proposes is a strategy of diversified and decentralised collective bargaining. As for the content of bargaining, the objectives of the CC.OO. are as follows: job creation and stable employment; a series of measures on the distribution of work, including the reduction of weekly working time to 35 hours, retirement at sixty, the reduction of overtime and a strict ban on multiple jobholding; and full maintenance of workers' purchasing power by means of pay demands incorporating increases which keep pace with average inflation during the term of the agreement. This rate of inflation should be determined on the basis of the previous and forecast consumer price index, with six-monthly review clauses.

H. Publications

"Gaceta Sindical", fortnightly, is the union's journal.

"Técnicos, Profesionales y Cuadros", monthly, is a specialised review.

6. EUZKO LANGILLEEN ALKARTASUNA / SOLIDARIDAD DE TRABAJADORES VASCOS - ELA/STV (SOLIDARITY OF BASQUE WORKERS)

The ELA/STV is a trade union confederation whose activities are confined to the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, Biscay and Navarre. Its activities are focused on pursuing workers' demands and on the fight to obtain a just society. In its Declaration of Principles, the ELA/STV states that it rejects the mechanisms of capitalism and expresses its aim of working towards a

society based on freedom and responsibility, to be achieved through socialism under which the means of production, consumption and culture are in the hands, as well as in the service, of workers.

A. Composition and Structure

The organisation of the ELA/STV is a two-tier structure: based on industry and on geographical area. In the industry or sectoral structure the basic unit is the Union Branch formed by the union members at each plant. Within each industry these Branches come together in the District Industry Federations and, within the area of the four provinces, in the National Industry Federations. The ELA/STV attaches great importance to the Industry Federations in the context of modern trade unionism. Their principal function is to monitor the situation - and in particular collective bargaining and all related matters - in each production sector. Each Federation has a broad degree of independence and groups together all the workers of the corresponding sector or sectors. The Federations have their own statutes and elect their trade union officers. There are nine National Industry Federations in all :

Metalworking Federation

Chemical, Energy and Textile Federation

Building and Wood Federation

Transport Federation

Federation of Employees and Technical Personnel

Public Services Federation

Teachers' Federation

Federation of Information, Paper and Graphic Arts

Food and Hotel Industry Federation

Within the area structure the union members are organised in the District Cross-Sectoral Unions. These are formed by the union members in a specific area, whatever their industry, sector or occupation. There are 19 District Unions and each maintains an office serviced by full-time staff. Each District Union is composed of Local Cross-Sectoral Unions. The District Unions operate independently, deal with general matters within their district and carry out administrative, educational and advisory work.

Although independent, the Federations and Unions must inform the Confederation of any changes to their statutes and regulations, in the composition of their bodies and of the decisions adopted. They must also forward their publications to the Confederation.

B. Decision-Making Bodies

a) Confederal Congress: the plenary assembly composed of the representatives of the Industry Associations affiliated to the Confederation. The affiliates are represented on a basis of parity by the two levels of structure. It thus comprises of 300 delegates representing the industry structure, elected by the National Industry Federations, and 300 delegates representing the area structure, elected by the District Cross-Sectoral

Unions. Members of the outgoing National Committee have the status of delegates with voting rights. The Congress is convened every three years and the last Congress was held in April 1986. Its main functions are to: establish the general policy of the Confederation, determine the bases for the confederal affiliation fees, elect the members of the National Committee, modify the statutes and approve the three-yearly budgets. The National Committee may convene extraordinary Congresses to examine special questions, subject to the prior approval of the National Council.

b) National Council: this body is composed of 40 representatives appointed by the National Industry Federations, another 40 representatives appointed by the District Cross-Sectoral Unions, and the members of the National Committee. The mandate of its members covers the whole period between ordinary Congresses. The National Council must meet at least three times each year and its functions are to:- supervise the activities of the National Committee, lay down and modify the regulations of the Confederation, set the amount of the confederal affiliation fees, allocate the annual budget tranches in accordance with the three-year budget, examine the annual accounts of the Confederal Treasury, appoint an audit committee and, finally, to see that any vacant posts on the National Committee are filled.

c) National Committee: this body is elected by the Congress and comprises of:- 12 members nominated by the National Industry Federations, 12 members nominated by the

District Cross-Sectoral Unions and 12 members nominated by the outgoing National Committee. The National Committee is responsible for the administration and control of the Confederation as well as for the general direction of confederal activities, external representation of the Confederation and the election of the Executive Committee members. The Committee must meet twice each month. It also acts as a mediator and arbitrator between affiliated organisations in demarcation and jurisdictional disputes and examines any irregularities in the functioning of a Federation or Union.

d) Executive Committee: this body is responsible for the day-to-day management and administrative organisation of the Confederation, functioning on the basis of collective responsibility. The Committee has a maximum of twelve members, who include a Chairman, a General Secretary, a treasurer and national secretaries responsible for specific functions assigned to them by the National Committee. The Executive Committee runs the Secretariat and the Confederation departments, reports to the National Committee and meets once a week.

C. Financing

The ELA/STV derives its financial resources almost entirely from its members' subscriptions. In 1986 the subscription amounted to 780 Pesetas per month. To this are added the State subsidies, relating to the confiscated trade union assets, and institutional aid arising from the ELA/STV's participation in various consultative bodies

(National Employment Institute, Social Services Institute, etc.).

D. Services

The union provides its members with a free legal service for consultations and defence in cases before the industrial tribunals. Entitlement to this service is subject to being a paid-up union member for at least six months. The union also has a college for its activists where trade union officers, delegates and full-time staff may follow trade union training courses.

The ELA has a permanent confederal fund at the disposal of its members in the event of strikes or lock-outs. Workers with over six months of continuous membership are entitled to payments from the strike fund. Those workers with between three and six months membership are entitled to 50%, and those with between one and three months to 25%. The amounts received in the event of strike or lock-out range from 5,600 Pesetas during the first week to 7,400 Pesetas per week from the ninth week of the strike.

E. International Affiliation

The ELA/STV has been affiliated to the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) since 1933 and to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) since it was founded in 1949. It is represented on the Executive Committee and Executive Board, respectively, of both these organisations. Since 1974 the Union has also been affiliated

to the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and is represented on this organisation's Executive Committee. The ELA/STV has been a member of the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD since 1978. The Industry Federations within the ELA have been affiliated to the International Trade Secretariats (associated with the ICFTU) since the 1970's.

F. Programme and Policies

In the view of the ELA/STV social progress is the only option if the new industrial revolution is not to form an obstacle to reviving the economy. For this reason employment continues to be its main priority. To achieve the goal of economic recovery the ELA/STV proposes the following economic measures :

- an increase in public and private investment to raise the level of activity and reduce unemployment, as well as to satisfy three different needs: infrastructure works, community equipment in sectors such as education and health and the renewal of obsolete production plant and machinery.
- tax reforms to resolve three fundamental problems of the present system of taxation: low rates of taxation on unearned income, the excessive burden of indirect taxes in relation to direct taxes, and the high degree of tax fraud by non-working groups.

- a reorganisation of the financial sector, which enjoys excessive privileges, so that it can make real efforts to provide private finance for regenerating industry.
- negotiation of technological change with the unions, starting with the disclosure of detailed information by companies and plants. In this way an action plan can be formulated for creating alternative employment in industry and the services, while at the same time ensuring that the inherent benefits of the new production opportunities meet the criteria for a better distribution of income.
- the pursuit of an active labour market policy to stimulate permanent employment and develop education at all levels and ages, especially continuous education so that workers in active employment can retrain and acquire new qualifications.
- the reduction of working time without loss of pay in order to better distribute available work, creating a positive impact on the economy as a whole by reducing unemployment benefit, increasing demand and tax revenues, and enabling greater utilisation of productive capacity.

In the Basque Country the economic crisis has hit the industrial sector particularly hard in recent years, both in heavy industry (iron and steel and shipbuilding) and light industry (household electrical appliances). The ELA/STV is therefore pressing for an industrial policy

involving both sides of industry, and the unions in particular, with the following general, short-term objectives:

- With a view to the future, the conversion and restructuring of a whole series of enterprises and sectors in decline in order to restore the balance in relative prices and halt or slow the process of de-industrialisation.
- To promote technological progress in order to open the way for the structural change which is necessary for the conversion process, while at the same time contributing to a sustained industrialisation of the economy.
- To create the economic and industrial mechanisms which allow industrialisation to take place and to develop the tertiary sector with a view to both regenerating lost employment and revitalising the economy and industry.

A primary objective of the ELA/STV is to set up and develop a system of independent industrial relations in the Basque Country which is closely associated with the desire for self-government in this Autonomous Community. In order to attain this objective the ELA/STV is seeking the institutionalisation of industrial relations through the Basque Industrial Relations Council and the Basque Economic and Social Committee as well as collective bargaining within the autonomous area. With regard to collective bargaining, the ELA/STV is opposed to framework agreements concluded at national level and to restrictions on pay increases in these same agreements, while at the

same time calling for independent Basque employers' associations. The Confederation's strategy consists of negotiating agreements at lower levels since freedom of bargaining allows the content of demands to be tailored to the situation in particular sectors or plants. Another advantage is that a high degree of worker participation is maintained. In addition this bargaining strategy has led to the development of machinery for the compulsory resolution of industrial disputes within a permanent forum in which unions and management can meet: the Basque Industrial Relations Council.

As regards the content of bargaining, the ELA's basic objectives are as follows:

- the full development of collective bargaining so that all workers are covered by negotiated agreements, as far as possible in the Basque Country;
- the promotion of dialogue and resolution of disputes on a compulsory basis through the Basque Industrial Relations Council;
- the extension of trade union rights and institutionalisation of the union within the plant;
- as a minimum, the maintenance of purchasing power of pay, taking as a reference inflation during the preceding year.

- the reduction of the working day, in accordance with the proposal made by the ETUC for a 35-hour week, and the abolition of non-essential overtime.

The ELA/STV further calls for the defence and improvement of social protection and reaffirms the need for a public system of social security as an expression of solidarity between generations. At the same time the Confederation is pressing for negotiations with the Government with a view to obtaining an overall reform of social security which would put a stop to the recent cut in the level of retirement pensions.

G. Publications

"ELA/Astekaria", weekly, distributed free to members.

"Lantzen", published every four months, distributed free.

"Sindikalgintza", six-monthly, distributed free.

"Kazeta", fortnightly.

7. UNION SINDICAL OBRERA - USO (UNION OF LABOUR)

The USO is an autonomous non-corporatist trade union organisation whose objectives are the emancipation of the working class within a new society based on political and economic democracy, socialism and workers' self-management. The union is pluralist, unitary and internationalist in character, and adheres to the principles of democratic procedure for its internal operation.

A. Composition and Structure

The structure of the USO is based on the following organisations:

- a) the trade union branch at plant level,
- b) the industry federation at local, provincial, regional or national level,
- c) the area unions,
- d) the Confederation, at national level.

The decision-making bodies of the Confederation are as follows:- the Confederal Congress, the Confederal Council, the Confederal Executive Committee, the Confederal Disputes Committee and the Confederal Auditors' Committee.

B. Financing and Membership

The recognised source of income is the members' subscriptions. The level of subscription is 470 Pesetas per month, which is distributed on the following basis: 70 Pesetas to the Confederation and National Federations, 170 Pesetas to the strike fund and the remaining 230 Pesetas to the Provincial and Regional Unions. With regard to the State subsidy, in 1985 this amounted to 51 million Pesetas. The current membership is 56,700.

C. Services

The main services offered by the USO to its members are advice on labour and legal matters. In addition, the Trade Union University organises regular training courses for union officers and leaders. In the case of a strike, lock-out or dismissal the union has a strike fund which guarantees the payment of specific amounts to members.

D. International Affiliation

The USO is affiliated to the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), and maintains good relations with, in particular, the Christian trade union organisations of Europe.

E. Programme and Policies

The USO disagrees with the economic policy pursued by successive Governments since 1977, on the basis that the response to the economic crisis has consisted of giving absolute priority to combating inflation while ignoring the destructive effects on employment. The USO bases its medium and long-term trade union action strategy on the following objectives:- reducing daily working time, safeguarding workers' purchasing power, increasing social insurance benefits, combating the black economy and lowering retirement age.

To achieve these objectives the USO urges that collective bargaining, as the main channel for trade union action, should be restored to its original position prior to the

process of centralisation which it has undergone in recent years, and increase its scope and objectives. Without openly opposing the National Agreement on Employment, the USO considers that it will have a negative impact in the short term which should be mitigated by stepping up and rationalising public investment.

The USO also considers it essential that the trade union movement should formulate a specific strategy for small and medium-sized enterprises in view of the great potential they represent. It also supports the development of employers' associations which express and defend their interests.

F. Publications

"Union Sindical", monthly, distributed free to members.

"USOC", specialised review on specific subjects, irregular publication.

8. CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO - CNT (NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR)

The CNT is a trade union organisation whose objective is to establish libertarian communism, involving the complete collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, services and all community activities. In short, this signifies the overturning of the capitalist system and the bourgeois State in general. For this reason the CNT is opposed to any extension of the State's powers and

authority at economic, political and social level. Consequently, instead of calling for the nationalisation of private sectors, the CNT advocates workers' self-management in these sectors.

By proposing that society be reorganised from the bottom upwards the CNT thus stays outside the struggle for political power and declares its opposition to political parties because, in its view, they reinforce the capitalist system by accepting the politics of the middle classes as well as the parliamentary system. On the other hand, the CNT is in favour of workers' self-management in both the economic and the social field and supports federalism as a means of organising the State.

The CNT has been a member of the International Workers' Association since its foundation in 1922.

The organisational structure of the union accords with its syndicalist philosophy. The basic unit is the Industry Union which groups together the workers of a particular industry and is subdivided into the various sections of this industry. Each section is organised autonomously and is represented by its own committee. The unions at local level come together in the Local Trade Union Federations in urban areas and District Committees in rural areas. The Regional Committees are responsible for organisational coordination in each region.

The highest representative body of the Confederation is the National Committee which is elected by the National

Assembly of Regional Committees or by the Congress of the whole organisation. The Congress is the supreme decision-making body and the agreements adopted by it are applicable to the whole organisation until a new Congress is convened. Provided that there is no infringement of the resolutions of the last Congress, any changes in actions or unforeseen matters are dealt with by the National Assembly of Regional Committees, the body which constitutes the immediate substitute for the Congress.

This union, which has played an important role in the history of the Spanish trade union movement, is today experiencing a decline. The reasons for this are both the fact that it operates outside the mainstream of trade union activities and mechanisms of representation existing in Spain and, on the other hand, its own inability to adapt to the political, economic and social conditions.

Two organisations currently consider themselves to be the successors of the old CNT. The first of these, led by Juan Gomez Casas, bears the initials CNT-AIT and the second, whose General Secretary is José March, simply uses the initials CNT. The latter has its origins in the split that occurred within the anarchist union several years ago at the Congress of Valencia. At this Congress some sectors called for a change in union policy and urged the CNT to adapt to the reality of the trade union situation by supporting participation in union elections and in the bargaining process.

9. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND SOCIAL DIALOGUE

Since 1977 the process of negotiating collective agreements has moved away from a situation of fragmentation, in which few workers were covered by agreements, to one of centralised bargaining based on framework agreements which serve as a reference for the great majority of workers. Some agreements have concerned legislative matters (the ABI which gave rise to the negotiation of the Workers' Statute), some have been between employers and unions only (AMI and renewal agreement, AI), others with government participation (ANE and AES), some with the participation of the CC.OO and some without.

Consensus was the main feature of the first national framework agreement, the "Moncloa Pacts", concluded on 25 October, 1977 between the Government of the Democratic Centre Union and the main parliamentary parties (including the Socialist and Communist Parties). The CC.OO., UGT and USO subsequently subscribed to the agreement. The agreement established a wage rise ceiling of 22% and included an undertaking to introduce a series of economic reforms and job creation measures. For the first time rates of pay were linked to forecast inflation instead of the rate of inflation during the preceding year, as had previously been the common practice.

After the general elections of March 1979, which returned the Democratic Centre Union to power, the main unions underwent a sharp divergence in their strategy on social

dialogue. The UGT accepted the principle of bilateral bargaining with employers while the CC.OO. rejected this because it was not conducted at political level with the Government. In seeking a normalisation of relations between unions and employers the UGT concluded the Basic Interconfederal Agreement with the employers' association, CEOE, in June 1979. This agreement laid down the pattern for collective bargaining and industrial relations in Spain. In reality this agreement was the precursor of the Interconfederal Framework Agreement (AMI), concluded on 5 January 1980 between the CEOE and UGT and to which the USO was subsequently to subscribe. This agreement established wage increase brackets of 13-16% for 1980 and 11-15% for 1981, with six-monthly review clauses. For the first time the agreement was recognised as a collective agreement and provisions were included on productivity, absenteeism, trade union rights, the reduction of working time to 1880 hours per year and the reduction of overtime.

The National Agreement on Employment (ANE) was initialled by the CC.OO. and UGT unions, the employers' association CEOE, and the centrist Government, on 9 June 1981. The significance of this agreement resides in the fact that for the first time a Government had given important undertakings in writing, namely to create 350,000 new jobs, with a commitment to maintain the labour force at the same level at the end of 1982 as at the time of signing. The agreement also introduced bonuses for recruiting additional workers, raised pensions by 9% and recognised the institutional representation of unions. Protection for the unemployed was improved: a special fund of 15,000

million Pesetas was set up as well as a 20,000 million Peseta fund for rural employment, unemployment insurance was introduced for agricultural workers, and medical and pharmaceutical benefits and services extended to all unemployed. The wage increase bracket was set at between 9 and 11%, with a six-monthly review clause, implying that for the first time the unions accepted a reduction in purchasing power since forecast inflation was 12%. Although not all the promises were met, the ANE did nonetheless give the unions powers which exceeded their real strength and which they used to strictly supervise the Government's activities.

The Interconfederal Agreement signed in February 1983 was weaker in content than the ANE. It established a wage increase bracket of 9.5-12.5%, with a review after nine months if the consumer price index moved above 9%, a reduction in annual working time to 1826 hours and the compensation of overtime with time off in lieu. In 1984, for the first time during those years no national framework agreement was concluded. The Government set a wage increase ceiling of 6.5% in the public sector leading to pay adjustments which cut purchasing power by about three percentage points.

At the end of 1984 the Government entered into negotiations on an agreement. Faced with a sharp decline in domestic demand and a steep rise in unemployment, social dialogue had become a political priority and a necessity if confidence and stability were to be restored in the economy. The result of this dialogue was the

Social and Economic Agreement (AES), concluded in October 1985 for a period of two years between the Government, the CEOE and the UGT. This agreement was similar in tenor to the ANE although more ambitious in scope. In order to stimulate job creation a solidarity fund of 62,500 million Pesetas was set up and new measures introduced concerning temporary employment contracts for apprenticeship and training, part-time work and the creation of new businesses. With regard to protection for the unemployed, the Government gave an undertaking to raise the rate of cover of unemployment benefit to 43% in 1985 and 48% in 1986. The wage increase bracket for 1985 was set at 5.5-7.5%, with an annual review clause relating to the 7% forecast inflation.

The content of these national framework agreements over the course of almost a decade and their impact on collective bargaining is outlined below:

- a) Although wages have always been at the centre of bargaining, social dialogue has enriched the content of collective agreements by going far beyond purely financial considerations and incorporating undertakings which would have been much more difficult to obtain under the system of decentralised bargaining (concerning job creation, productivity, health and safety, the reduction of working time, development of trade union rights, etc.). In short, the unions have succeeded in getting across the idea that pay is not simply a matter of what is contained in the pay packet.

- b) The interconfederal agreements have contributed to giving an orderly pattern to collective bargaining which, in all these years, has operated smoothly and been accompanied by a diminished level of conflict. Extending the duration of agreements to two years (except for pay provisions) has also led to greater rationality and to unity of bargaining platforms and strategies at lower levels (plant, regional, sectoral), as reflected in a greater uniformity of the main issues under discussion.
- c) The number of workers covered by collective agreements has considerably increased with the rate of cover rising from 66% in 1979 to 90% in 1984. The advantages of collective bargaining have been extended to groups of workers who, because of their special situation (small and medium-sized firms with a low degree of unionisation) have been deprived of the benefits of bargaining.
- d) All the national framework agreements have regulated pay rises on the basis of the forecast consumer price index, with an incorporated pay review clause (six-monthly and annual). The unions have adopted this procedure as a means of combating inflation. When it is considered that inflation has been cut by more than half in five years and that this has been achieved in tandem with the safeguarding of workers' purchasing power, it can be seen that the unions have made the greatest contribution to adjusting the Spanish economy to the economic crisis. It is clear that by accepting

the inflation forecasts made by Government this implies a degree of support, and in this respect the detractors of social dialogue argue that it represents an indirect means of usurping the autonomy required by employers and workers in order to negotiate on pay.

- e) In some trade union quarters, the fact that the level of conflict has diminished is seen as a mixed blessing. Conflict loses much of its impetus because of the rules of conduct laid down in the framework agreements. According to these commentators, this shortcoming carries with it the risk of weakening workers' demands and their capacity for mobilisation.

N.B. The above evaluation of the effects of national framework agreements on collective bargaining in Spain is not shared by ELA-STV, which advocates a different form of collective bargaining for the Basque Region. Details of its approach are to be found in the chapter of this report devoted to ELA-STV, in the section entitled "Programme and Policies" (p.49 ff.).

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