

# Draft Congress Action Programme 2023-2027 Together for a Fair Deal for Workers

**Template document for AMENDMENTS by Affiliates** 

- ➤ Priority on state of play to be developed closer to Congress
- **0.** Introduction: Why we need a Fair Deal for Workers? to be developed following the discussion on the Chapters

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Amendmer	nts from:
Contact person in reference Mobile:	the name of the organisation(s)] ce to amendments

Priority on state of play
(to be developed closer to Congress)

**0. Introduction : Why we need a Fair Deal for Workers?** (to be developed following the discussion on the Chapters)

	1. Together for Trade Union Renewal				
Prop	osed text	Amendments			
1.1.	Building our Mobilisation Capacity				
State	of Play and Challenges				
	It's time to assert a European trade union agenda separate from the EU institutional agenda. This should be an agenda for trade union renewal and for European trade unionism to strengthen workers' rights and improve working and living conditions.				
1.1.2.	An ambitious ETUC agenda for trade union renewal is long overdue. Without a strong agenda for trade union renewal the ETUC will not be able to deliver on its priorities. Collective bargaining and collective action rely on strong, active unions, that unify and amplify the voice of workers.				
1.1.3.	Work for trade union renewal is already underway at European and national level, and the ETUC will focus its efforts on supporting the ongoing work of affiliates, both national members and European Trade Union Federations, to develop and deliver their renewal strategies.				
1.1.4.	It is also of paramount importance to create a platform to support and facilitate coordination of national/sectoral renewal strategies including identification of emerging/evolving sectors with potential for trade union growth and engaging with workers on platforms, self-employed workers, young workers, workers in precarious jobs				
Action	ns				
1.1.5.	The ETUC will develop and implement an agenda for trade union renewal and for European trade unionism. This requires the following actions:				
1.1.6.	- The ETUC will organise and coordinate trade union mobilisation and initiatives. This will be a key action for the organisation, and will be reflected in the internal organisation of resources, including media and communications:				
1.1.7.	- The ETUC will organise coordinated demonstrations and initiatives in different countries. Joint demonstrations (Euro-demonstrations) will also be organised, including in the run-up to and following the European elections;				
1.1.8.	- The ETUC affiliates commit to support this mobilisation, also with organisational and financial contribution to specific initiatives, on the basis of a calendar of initiatives defined by the Executive Committee;				
	- The ETUC will ensure exchange of information between affiliates on initiatives and mobilisation at national level. The ETUC will ensure its presence in joint affiliates' demonstrations at national level and – wherever useful – support visibility of such initiatives;				
	When ETUC-wide initiatives are not possible or when such initiatives are better pursued at regional level, the ETUC will support joint regional trade union initiatives by affiliates;				
1.1.11	The ETUC will also explore and organise coordinated and joint collective actions. A specific working group will be created to examine legal and organisational aspects and conditions in the different				

- countries and to make proposals to the Executive Committee for a procedure for joint and coordinated collective actions, including the possibility of coordinated and joint strikes;
- 1.1.12. The ETUC will develop a Solidarity Network for trade union action with the aim of facilitating a rapid response to support trade unions under attack. This Network will also develop joint campaigns for trade union rights. This network will provide a flexible and dynamic means for trade unions to seek and provide support to each other and would feed into the work of the Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee;
- 1.1.13. The ETUC will develop a cross-border exchange program for trade union officials to provide opportunities for a deeper understanding of practices and strategies of trade unions in different countries, and to strengthen European trade union solidarity;
- 1.1.14. The ETUC will develop a coordinated agenda for collective bargaining. This includes adopting strategies for building trade union power and collective bargaining and developing tools to support negotiators, including effective sharing of collective agreements and clauses that have been negotiated, as well as developing model agreements and model clauses;
- 1.1.15. The ETUC will support and facilitate coordination of national/sectoral renewal strategies including identification of emerging/evolving sectors with potential for trade union growth and engaging with workers on platforms, self-employed, young workers, workers in precarious jobs. The ETUC will create enabling framework to support the development of joined up renewal strategies at all levels (activating unions, union reps and workers);
- 1.1.16. A ETUC Trade Union Renewal Centre will be set up to coordinate the ETUC strategy on trade union renewal, ensuring a mainstreamed approach throughout the ETUC Committees and providing a clear link between European, national and sectoral activities. Co-ordination will be undertaken with the relevant ETUC committees (e.g. Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee, Youth Committee, Press, Communication and Campaigns Committee);
- 1.1.17. At its Congress and Mid-Term Conference, the ETUC will organise an award to ensure special recognition for outstanding trade union actions (e.g. in building European trade unionism, demonstrating cross-border solidarity, developing trade union mobilisation in adverse conditions, fighting against the far-right...).

## 1.2. Digital Trade Unionism

- 1.2.1. An ambitious ETUC agenda for trade union renewal should include initiatives to develop digital trade unionism. As digitalisation continues to transform the world of work, trade unions are developing their digital power to support workers through digital means.
- 1.2.2. The ETUC is committed to delivering a critical foundation for European digital trade unionism. It aims to build the necessary digital infrastructure to provide fit for purpose digital tools to support our affiliates (and their affiliates) to become digital unions, to organise their meetings, recruit, retain and engage members, to mobilise a wider group to influence public opinion, to secure and improve laws and to bring employers to the table.

1.2.3. There is no one size fits all solution, ETUC affiliates will need to determine their own strategies and actions based on their operating environment. The ETUC Action-Europe platform aims to further reinforce the idea of European trade unionism by establishing a trade union Europe wide petitions platform that explains who trade unions are and why we are running the petitions. The platform supports our affiliates and their affiliates by providing a GDPR compliant platform for their efforts to organise online. The platform creates a living database of supporters who are willing to take action in support of trade union demands. The platform is one of the key elements in the overall ETUC strategy to support Europe wide cooperation on a number of high impact actions to go bigger and bolder and winning for workers.

#### **Actions**

- 1.2.4. In order to develop and reinforce digital trade unionism, the following actions will be undertaken:
- 1.2.5. The ETUC will expand the Action-Europe platform to strengthen campaigns and grow a database for union, worker and public engagement, including through the use of targeted surveys to engage with workers and interested actors at all levels;
- 1.2.6. The ETUC will establish a network to support the development of petition, campaigning and member engagement platforms at national level, building upon the experiences of unions across Europe;
- 1.2.7. The ETUC will support members through dedicated training and workshops to share and develop their approaches to using digital means to strengthen unions;
- 1.2.8. The ETUC will develop a platform for negotiators allowing the sharing of collective agreement, clauses and trade union priorities for collective bargaining rounds. Checklists and model agreements will be developed to provide negotiators at all levels with access to the collective strength of unions across Europe;
- 1.2.9. At its Congress and Mid-Term Conference, the ETUC will organise an award to ensure special recognition for outstanding trade union actions in the field of digital trade unionism (e.g. the use of digital tools to strengthen union action, apps reaching out to non-standard workers, online hubs of information, member engagement platforms...)

## 1.3. Social Dialogue

- 1.3.1 Strengthening the European Social Dialogue goes hand in hand with the strengthening of national social dialogue.
- 1.3.2 In their response to the COVID-19 crisis, social partners have demonstrated the role Social Dialogue can play, and continues to play, at all levels, protecting workers, their health and safety, jobs and livelihoods. As well as measures for those who have lost their jobs at workplace, sector, national and EU level.
- 1.3.3 Respect of Social Dialogue and Trade Union prerogatives. The role of trade unions as the social partner representing the voice of workers needs to be respected in its entirety. At European level, this means prioritising and respecting the process of social partner consultations as well as recognising the role of the ETUC as the representative for cross-industry dialogue, along with the European Trade Union

Federations at sector level. Recently, a number of legislative initiatives have been proposed, which water down recognition that trade unions bargain for pay, and instead are proposing to include other actors, undermining the prerogatives of trade unions. The role of NGOs should not be confused with that of the social partners.

- 1.3.4 Regrettably, the decision of the CJEU in the EPSU cases provided, the widest possible discretion, for the Commission to determine whether it puts forwardThe main practical consequence of the ruling that Social Partners do not know what rules now apply if they jointly request the Commission to put forward their Agreements to the Council for adoption in the form of a Directive. The imbalance created by these rulings needs to be resolved.
- 1.3.5 Implementation of outcomes and capacity building. Capacity building has been key for the ETUC for almost 20 years, and it remains a priority looking to the future. In the current 2022-2024 Work Programme, the European Social Partners commit themselves to evaluating and improving the implementation of the outcomes of the EU social dialogue.
- 1.3.6 Strengthening the link between European cross-industry and sectoral social dialogues. Social dialogue at cross-industry and sectoral levels should be mutually reinforcing so that European social dialogue can deliver to the best of its ability. Joint efforts will continue to identify common issues and strategies whereby cross-industry and sectoral social dialogue activities can support each other in an efficient and fruitful manner.
- 1.3.7 The Multiannual Work Programme of the European Social Partners. The European social partners will continue to work together to implement their bipartite work programme 2022-2024. This work programme is a concise set of 6 activities and tools whereby European social partners envisage a strong added value from autonomously addressing issues at European level, notably the review and update of the 2002 autonomous agreement on telework, to be put forward for adoption in the form of a legally binding agreement to be implemented via a Directive. Agreeing to negotiate an EU Directive on Telework and the Right to Disconnect is a strong and historic commitment of EU Social Partners to deliver in the context of Social Dialogue. It shows their will to resolve, even the most difficult issues, by constructive negotiations. They will also negotiate a framework of actions on green transition to ensure that a just transition, with appropriate public funding and investments, creates quality jobs and supports enterprises and workers adapting to change. Social partners will also work together on youth employment, work related privacy and surveillance and improving skills matching in Europe.

#### **Actions**

1.3.8 Establishment of an alert mechanism. In order to fully deliver on the promise of the Quadripartite Statement and its full implementation, including on the role of social partners in the semester process, trade unions need an alert system or complaint mechanism to report when they are side-lined at national and European level policy-making. The Commission and the relevant Member State should be required to address any complaints made. The ETUC demands the introduction of an alert mechanism both for cross-industry and sectoral social dialogue to guarantee the respect of social dialogue and the role of social partners in line with the Quadripartite Statement.

- 1.3.9 A requirement for a Social Dialogue impact assessment. EU policy and law makers should be required to state how Social Dialogue has been promoted by their proposals- regardless of the field (similar to the rule that applies for SMEs). An ex-post evaluation of existing Regulations and Directives should be undertaken to identify and remedy any restrictions or practices that undermine the effective practice of social dialogue at all levels. An annual report of the various social dialogue impact assessments should be provided to the Social Dialogue Committee. The ETUC demands that the European Commission establishes a social dialogue impact assessment toolbox.
- 1.3.10 A legislative program delivered through social dialogue. The ETUC will identify issues to include in legislative program in view of negotiating Directives with the employers through European Social Dialogue.
- 1.3.11 Respect of trade unions' prerogatives. The mainstreaming of social dialogue requires, in the first instance, respect for the role of social partners. The quality of involvement and consultation of the social partners in general, and of trade unions in particular, varies greatly within the Commission. The ETUC demands that the European Commission appoints a social dialogue representative in each DG (Directorate General). These representatives should ensure the respect of social dialogue and the specific role of social partners. They should be a bridge between the Commission and the social partners and facilitate discussions and meetings.
- 1.3.12 Reform of the Social Dialogue structures. The ETUC will evaluate how to improve the functioning of the Social Dialogue Committee and of the Tripartite Social Summit. The ETUC recommends the establishment of a working group to include the social partners to review the format, and calls for a joint review of the formats of the SDC and the TSS, recognising the key role of these play in ensuring exchanges between social partners and the EU institutions.
- 1.3.13 Implementation of bipartite work-programmes. The ETUC will continue to develop and operate joint bipartite work programmes and integrated projects drawn up autonomously by the European social partners.
- 1.3.14 Capacity building initiatives and funding. The implementation of social dialogue outcomes must be improved. In addition to the work on capacity building, the option to examine a clause in the instruments stating 'that in the event of no or insufficient follow-up, the European social partners would request the Commission to transpose the agreement through a directive' is still valid. In the framework of the Covid Fund, cascading grant agreements have been signed with 29 national confederations who are starting their national capacity building work plans. The ETUC COVID Fund helpdesk will continue to support the implementation of activities with the beneficiaries. The ETUC calls for the creation of a dedicated budget line to back Social Partner Agreements (promoting implementation and supporting autonomy and access to capacity building, expertise and training). The work of the SDC sub-group will continue on the basis of a new mandate and will include dedicated work on the implementation of the active ageing autonomous agreement as well as actions linked to capacity building.
- 1.3.15 Implementing the outcomes of Social Dialogue. The ETUC will continue to oppose Commission attempts to circumvent TFEU Article 155 and its obligation to present agreements reached by EU interprofessional and sectoral social partners to the Council. This includes any attempt to set up further barriers for the adoption of social partner agreements. In that regard, the ETUC will continue to engage

- in a process with the Commission and/or the other European social partners to review and clarify the EU social dialogue rules and procedures and to remedy all problems created by the CJEU judgements.
- 1.3.16 Innovative online training tools. The ETUC, in partnership with ETUI, will develop new innovative online tools and training on social dialogue for national trade unions in Europe.
- 1.3.17 Investing in the future: young leaders program. The Commission will launch a visiting programme for young future leaders from social partner organisations. The ETUC will work with the Commission to ensure the implementation of the young social dialogue training initiative (the visiting programme) works effectively.
- 1.3.18 An Ambassador for Social Dialogue. The ETUC will seek the appointment of a special representative mandated by, and reporting to, the Social Dialogue Committee. This position should support a cohesive political link between social partners and institutional actors.
- 1.3.19 Creation of a permanent Social Dialogue secretariat. The creation of a permanent European secretariat for social dialogue, managed by the European social partners with its own budget and staff, should remain a priority action. Especially after the experience of COVID. This secretariat would be a perfect tool to strengthen the implementation and monitoring of the texts adopted in the framework of European social dialogue and to coordinate the daily joint actions linked to various projects and meetings.

## 1.4. Reinforcing Collective Bargaining

#### State of Play and Challenges

- 1.4.1. Collective bargaining coverage in the EU currently stands at approximately 65%. The Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU, set a target of 80% collective bargaining coverage, as demanded by the Trade Union movement. Trade unions need to mobilise to use this opportunity to ensure that more and more workers throughout Europe are covered by collective agreements.
- 1.4.2. The Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU also establishes in EU law the obligation to respect the right to collective bargaining, to provide protection for workers who wish to collectively bargain and to prevent union busting practices. Safeguards for well-functioning collective bargaining systems were included in the Directive.
- 1.4.3. In parallel to the agenda for trade union renewal and for European trade unionism, the ETUC should continue to be active towards the European institutions. The ETUC must avoid at all costs a return to austerity policies. Institutions must support trade unions and collective bargaining.

#### **Actions**

1.4.4. The ETUC will fully implement its action plan to support affiliates in the transposition and implementation of the Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU. The ETUC Secretariat will monitor the transposition process and the use of the provisions and opportunities offered by the Directive at national level. The ETUC will coordinate the trade union mobilisation in these areas. The Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee will be kept informed. The online Working Group on the Directive will continue to meet regularly to support affiliates and coordinate actions during the transposition process.

- 1.4.5. To achieve the target of 72,5% of collective bargaining coverage in Europe by 2027, the ETUC and its affiliates commit to the following actions:
  - ETUC national affiliates will set national targets for collective bargaining coverage to be reached by 2027, to contribute towards the joint European-wide target, following discussions and coordination within the Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee and to be presented to the Executive Committee before the end of 2023;
  - The ETUC will ensure support for affiliates in reaching their national targets for collective bargaining coverage.
- 1.4.6. The Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee will provide the forum for discussing the coordinated agenda for collective bargaining and its implementation which will include amongst others the following action areas:
  - a shared bargaining agenda and dedicated support for trade unions to negotiate a 4-day working week and a common day off;
  - a comprehensive and coordinated approach to anticipating and managing change;
  - the right to permanent contracts as well as the right to work full-time. Flexible working arrangements should be voluntary and to the benefit of workers, on the basis of conditions laid down in collective agreements;
  - the establishment of basic negotiation principles to regulate surveillance, data collection, and the use if AI in workplaces.
- 1.4.7. The ETUC will push for a revision of the Directives on public procurement and concessions to make sure that only companies that respect workers and trade union rights, negotiate with trade unions and whose workers (including their subcontractors' workers) are covered by collective agreements, can obtain public contracts.
- 1.4.8. The ETUC will work for a legislative initiative to make sure that multinational companies recognise trade unions and negotiate with them in all countries in order to define a path towards equal pay for work of equal value. The legislative initiative should also ensure transparency with regard to wages paid by multinational companies to their workers, as well as productivity, in the different countries.
- 1.4.9. The ETUC will develop a coordinated approach to ensure trade union rights, collective bargaining, and collective agreements are a reality for all workers. This includes ensuring that EU competition law does not stand in the way of self-employed workers' access to collective bargaining to improve their working conditions.

## 1.5. Organising and Worker Engagement

#### State of Play and Challenges

1.5.1. The cornerstone for a strong trade union movement is an active and growing membership. Trade union membership in Europe currently stands, on average, at 27.5% [a drop from 38.9% in 2000]. Trade unions have a responsibility, at national and European level, to continue to find new ways to build a strong, unified and dynamic trade union movement together.

- 1.5.2. Engaging with members and supporting them to develop tailored strategies will require a coordinated approach. A deepening of our cooperation is required in order to support affiliates to remove barriers to increasing trade union power, and to develop trade union structures to engage with workers in a fast-changing world of work. The ETUC Trade Union Renewal Centre will enable this coordination.
- 1.5.3. Trade Unions play a vital role in the change needed, however there is a low participation rate of young people in the trade union movement. This needs to be addressed in short term to build a movement capable of facing the changes foreseen on the labour market in the future. We must not only increase the number of young people among members, but we have to make them active part of leadership positions, decision-making bodies and collective bargaining on European, national and sectoral levels.

- 1.5.4. The ETUC will map the work being undertaken to identify emerging/evolving sectors and categories of workers with potential for trade union growth with the goal of establishing trade union action centres to support affiliates at regional, national and sectoral level to develop and deliver their organising strategies.
- 1.5.5. To achieve an increased trade union membership base, the ETUC and its affiliates commit to the following actions:
  - ETUC national affiliates will define national targets for trade union density to be reached by 2027, following exchanges in the Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee. Such targets will be presented to the Executive Committee before the end of 2023;
- 1.5.6. The Committee will ensure coordination and sharing of information, strategies and best practices to identify areas for growth. It shall also work towards extending trade union coverage to precarious and non-standard workers, as well as to migrants and other particularly vulnerable groups of workers;
- 1.5.7. The Committee will discuss and identify common areas of action and mobilisation to support affiliates' efforts on member engagement and organising workers;
- 1.5.8. At its Congress and Mid-Term Conference, the ETUC will organise an award to ensure special recognition for outstanding trade union actions in the field of member engagement and organising (e.g. organising campaigns, organising in new sectors, new groups of workers...).
- 1.5.9. The ETUC will also:
  - In cooperation with ETUI, lead the mapping of the trade union membership, particularly when it comes to age-disaggregated data to analyse them and develop strategies to increase unionisation among young workers across sectors and in non-standard forms of work (i.e platform workers);
- 1.5.10. Promote the setting of clear annual quantitative targets for recruiting young members into trade unions;
- 1.5.11. Continue to actively invest in youth and capacity-building programs for young trade unionists (in cooperation with ETUI) to promote and facilitate the implementation of the youth quota;
- 1.5.12. Continue seeking financial resources to empower youth structures in member organizations including through EU funding and cooperation with foundations.

## 1.6. Ensuring Democracy at Work

#### State of Play and Challenges

1.6.1. Democracy is one of the essential fundamental values on which the EU is based. In recent years, the European democratic foundation has been threatened by recurrent and unprecedented crises, but also

- by right-wing populists, who draw their strength from the frustration of many people who feel they no longer have a say in the issues that determine their daily lives. And indeed, in most Member States the effective exercise of democracy unfortunately stops where most citizens spend a considerable amount of their time: at the workplace. In order to strengthen the democratic foundation of the European Union and their Member States, it is key to dare more democracy, to dare more democracy at work!
- 1.6.2. ETUC initiative for 'More Democracy at Work' is the ETUC leitmotif and concrete delivery to strengthen workers' collective rights of information, consultation, participation, and board level representation. The ETUC strategy will remain to anchor Democracy at Work at the top of the EU and national agenda so as to counteract trends by which market-driven integration creates gateways through which companies can circumvent existing national workers' participation rights, weakening workplace democracy and thus democracy in general. In the same vein, the ETUC will further fight for adequate information, consultation and participation rights for trade unions and workers' representatives in every new social and economic policy proposal of the EU Commission. The effective exercise of democratic rights at work is a determinant feature to secure peace and economic and social cohesion in Europe. It is the cradle of trade union and workers solidarity and equality.

Following the ETUC determinate call, the European Parliament is calling for, a new European directive on information, consultation, and participation as well as for a revision of the European Works Council Directive.

- 1.6.3. The ETUC will promote democracy at work as a horizontal demand. Strengthening information, consultation and participation rights of trade unions and workers' representatives in all relevant areas remains a key priority. This includes, for example, the proper involvement of trade unions and workers representatives in non-financial reporting by company, the implementation of digital tools like artificial intelligence applications and algorithmic management systems in the workplace up to their involvement in Human Rights due diligence strategy of a company.
- 1.6.4. Building on the success of the ETUC 'More Democracy at Work' mobilisation actions over the last mandate, the ETUC will further strengthen democracy at work at all political levels with a set of concrete priorities.
- 1.6.5. In the run-up to the 2024 European elections, the ETUC will advocate for the European political parties to include in their election manifestos the ETUC demands for more democracy at work.
- 1.6.6. In the same vein, the ETUC will actively participate to the hearings of the incoming Commission in autumn 2024. The work will address all political levels, in particular the European Commission, the Parliament, and all Member States in the Council. The new Commission must commit itself to more democracy at work and to deliver on:
  - a Directive on information, consultation, and board-level representation;
  - the revision of the EWC Directive;
  - evaluation and revision of the 2019 company law package to ensure EU law does not endanger/diminish national law.

- 1.6.7. Now that the transposition of the company law package into national law has been completed, the ETUC renews its demand to evaluate and revise the package to close the loopholes. In particular, the ETUC will fight to put an end to regime shopping by unscrupulous companies who use artificial arrangements such as letter box companies to minimise or violate their legal obligations towards workers and their representatives.
- 1.6.8. The ETUC will further promote concrete actions for more democracy at work in close cooperation with its affiliates. The ETUC initiative "Democracy at Work goes local" is a promising forum for and with its affiliates to deal with their concrete demands to equip and empower trade unions, workers, and their representatives to effectively exercise their rights of information, consultation, and participation including board level workers' representation.
- 1.6.9. The annual EWC Conference will remain the key event for an in-depth exchange with affiliates and EWC members on current developments with the focus on improving transnational information and consultation rights to anticipate changes, restructuring and secure the effective work of EWCs and meet and influence European policy decision makers.
- 1.6.10. The ETUC will further build on its close cooperation with the ETUI to substantiate and bring strong scientific evidence for the important features for a forceful and empowering democracy at work at national, sectoral, transnational levels to support ETUC political demands.

## 1.7. Protecting and Promoting Trade Union Rights

- 1.7.1. The case law of international and European human rights bodies (UN, ILO and Council of Europe) as well as from the <a href="ITUC 2022 Global Rights Index">ITUC 2022 Global Rights Index</a>, clearly demonstrate that violations of human rights, and in particular of trade union rights (Freedom of association and right to organize, right to collective bargaining and to take collective action), are on the increase, also within Europe. In addition, the number of violations of the victims' right to access to justice and to seek remedy for these violations are on the increase. Furthermore, not only the number of countries, but also the list of (international) companies, violating fundamental human, workers and trade union rights continues to grow.
- 1.7.2. Subsequent crises (economic and financial crisis, C-19 crisis, climate crisis, the invasion of Ukraine by Russia) have been (ab)used by governments and companies, via both law and (anti-union busting) practices, as an alibi to further attack and downgrade the rights of workers and trade unions in an unacceptable way.
- 1.7.3. To better respond to affiliates needs and demands, the ETUC has, since 2019, considerably enhanced its activities and actions, including its support to affiliates to defend and enforce human, labour and trade union rights. This has been done in particular with the creation of the <a href="ETUCLEX">ETUCLEX</a>, the new ETUC human rights, legal and strategic litigation support structure/network.
- 1.7.4. Given the threats and challenges human rights are currently facing in the EU and beyond, the ETUC, as a human rights defender, will not only need to enhance and increase its legal and litigation activities and capacities within ETUCLEX, but also to continue to pressure the EU institutions and intervene where necessary to ensure that pending or future proposals for EU law or policies, as well as their

- implementations instruments/measures, fully recognize and respect human, labour and trade union rights.
- 1.7.5. The EU must also ensure a better enforcement of these rights by providing or establishing the necessary bodies, monitoring procedures and/or tools and make those available or accessible to trade unions and workers.

- 1.7.6. The ETUC will work to enhance and increase its legal and litigation activities and capacities within the ETUCLEX (and which includes the work of the ETUC Fundamental Rights and Litigation Advisory Group and the ETUC trade union legal experts network NETLEX), also in view of to better support the ETUC affiliates in their (litigation) actions to hold governments and companies accountable for violations of human, labour and trade union rights, by:
  - Making strategic use of all existing (quasi or extra-) judicial monitoring and enforcement mechanisms at UN, ILO, Council of Europe and EU level, and where appropriate in consultation/cooperation with the ITUC; and
  - Providing more targeted training and analysis (e.g. in the form of guides, dedicated projects) on both procedural and thematic aspects of human rights, legal and litigation issues.
- 1.7.7. The ETUC will work towards an effective EU law on Corporate Sustainable Due Diligence (CSDD) and following its adoption to monitor and ensure and effective implementation. Similarly, the ETUC will work to ensure effective EU (legislative) initiatives in related areas such as banning forced labour products.
- 1.7.8. The ETUC will monitor and ensure, when adopted, an effective implementation of the Corporate Sustainability Reporting Directive and to continue its work within the EFRAG to ensure that further standard setting on reporting obligations fully take into account the rights and prerogatives of trade union and workers representatives and workers in general.
- 1.7.9. The ETUC will work towards the adoption and ratification of a UN Treaty on Business and Human Rights.
- 1.7.10. The ETUC will intensify actions to press the EU to accede to and ratify the Council of Europe European Convention of Human Rights, the Revised European Social Charter, the 1995 Additional Protocol providing for a system of collective complaints and the (Revised) European Code of Social Security.
- 1.7.11. The ETUC will lobby both the EU and Member States to ratify and implement relevant UN and ILO instruments (in particular Convention N° 81 on Labour Inspection).
- 1.7.12. The ETUC will continue to call on the EU institutions, to ensure that in the design, interpretation and implementation of EU legislation and policy, in particular when launched under the EPSR and European Semester, all relevant UN, ILO and Council of Europe human rights instruments are duly taken into account to avoid that EU (case) law and policies contradict, restrict or adversely affect human, labour and trade union rights, as recognised in those instruments to which the EU and/or MS have signed up to.
- 1.7.13. The ETUC will monitor and ensure an effective implementation and enforcement of the rights and prerogatives of trade union and workers' representatives as they are currently enshrined in the Directive on adequate minimum wages and in the proposal for a Directive on gender pay transparency.

- 1.7.14. The ETUC will work towards ensuring that the EU provides and/or improves the necessary bodies, procedures and tools accessible for workers and trade unions to enforce their rights inter alia by:
- 1.7.15. Pressing for a horizontal EU legally binding instrument on the effective enforcement of workers' and trade union rights, including the right to representation and protection from victimisation, and the need for MS to put in place appropriate remedies, including collective complaints, and dissuasive sanctions;
- 1.7.16. Pushing for an EU binding instrument setting out minimum standards for labour and social law inspection services in line with the ILO Convention n° 81;
- 1.7.17. Continuing to call for the establishment of a chamber for labour and social law in the European Court of Justice, for which European trade union (con)federations should be able to send representatives as lay judges;
- 1.7.18. Monitoring the effective enforcement of the Whistleblower Directive (in compliance with the right of reporting persons to be represented by a trade union representative through the whole procedure), with a view to assess the need for a broadened scope;
- 1.7.19. Pushing for the adoption of an EU Directive protecting human rights defenders from strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs) including also workers and trade unions, when exercising their freedom of expression or assembly.

	2. Together to Change the Future of Work for Good				
Proposed text		Amendments			
2.1.	Improving Working Conditions, Quality Jobs and Combating Precariousness				
State	of Play and Challenges				
	Whereas the economic activity shrank significantly in 2020 due to the social impact of the Covid-19 health and economic crisis, employment in the euro area fell only slightly due to the role played by job retention schemes, such as short-time work schemes, with the support of the European program SURE.				
2.1.2.	The Covid-19 pandemic has contributed to labour market tightness, by which the demand for labour is at least as strong as supply. Labour shortages have been recorded in some sectors, particularly those involving intensive social contact, due to safety considerations, former employees have either been hesitating to return to fill in vacancies (especially for low wages and precarious working conditions) or				
2.1.3.	have moved on to other safer sectors, putting upwards pressures on nominal wages. Specific groups such as migrant workers and young people have nevertheless been more affected, and the developments of the cost-of-living crisis may only exacerbate this tendence. They do not enjoy an effective coverage by social protection systems and are overrepresented in sectors and industries characterised by many part-time jobs, seasonal precarious contracts, and undeclared work, which were particularly hit hard during the pandemic.				
2.1.4.	Workers need a pay rise in order to afford the most basic standard of living. Protecting purchasing power in the current cost of living crisis is crucial. Wage increases have, for too long, lagged behind productivity. Strengthening collective bargaining and the mobilisation of the trade union movement is of paramount importance to achieve adequate wages, emergency support for struggling families, a cap on prices, fair taxation and redistribution of excess profits.				
2.1.5.	In recent years, the EU has adopted and/or launched some important legislative initiatives in the area of labour law and related fields, such as occupational health and safety as well as gender equality. Examples include the Transparent and Predictable Working Conditions Directive, the Work-Life Balance Directive, the Directive on adequate minimum wages in the EU and the forthcoming Directives on gender pay transparency and on platform workers.				
2.1.6.	Worker and trade unions' rights are key to guarantee social and economic cohesion, social progress and well being of the workers and their family. They secure a fairer repartition of wealth in society in providing social justice. Nevertheless, a general trend in the EU and at Member States level is to perceive worker and trade unions' rights as ancillary, burdensome, costly, as reflected in the reluctance or delay to timely and meaningfully transpose EU labour social legislation or to engage in and support new social policy initiatives.				
2.1.7.	The ETUC will strengthen its call for, and work towards, new and improved rights and conditions for workers using all tools available: EU law, European social dialogue; and/or a more effective implementation and application of the EU legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights and the				

Declaration of the European Pillar of Social Rights. The ETUC acknowledges that while legislation is key for some national trade unions, other labour market models rely heavily on social dialogue and collective bargaining for regulating workers' rights and their labour market. Hence, the ETUC will continue to work to ensure that the EU labour legislation fully respects different labour market models and traditions.

- 2.1.8. In the light of a changing world of work, where workers are still facing too much uncertainty about their working time with severe consequences for the physical and mental health and safety and their ability to reconcile their working life with family and private life, a primary focus for the ETUC will be to ensure a comprehensive EU framework in the area of working time by setting new standards as well as ensuring a better application and enforcement of existing EU standards
- 2.1.9. The COVID-19 pandemic and cost-of-living crisis evidence the dire situation of workers in non-standard forms of employment. Their daily efforts for a decent income were often aggravated by their lack of access to short-time work schemes and the absence of social protection. There is a disproportionate amount of young people, women and migrant workers in precarious jobs. The situation is even more difficult for undocumented third country nationals.
- 2.1.10. The increased use of bogus self-employment by employers beyond digital labour platforms, as an attempt to circumvent rules and responsibilities, worsens the situation for workers. Besides the need to protect workers' rights, regulation such as the one on digital labour platforms are crucial for the sustainability of the social security systems and to guarantee a fair competition with other companies.
- 2.1.11. The ETUC has been able to showcase the severity of the problem in the digital labour platforms and has achieved a draft Directive including the policy options of its mandate: the presumption of employment relationship and the reversal of burden of proof. Further work is, however, needed to improve this first proposal to become a game changer for workers through digital labour platforms and the world of labour as a whole. This is all the more needed since digital labour platforms are steadily extending to so-called "traditional sectors". One important shortcoming of this proposal of legislation is that its scope is limited to workers through digital labour platforms and not to all non-standard workers, while being online or offline makes no change to the phenomenon of bogus self-employment.
- 2.1.12. The Declaration of the European Year of Youth (2022) was a testament to the fact that young Europeans are one of the most affected groups by the pandemic, with research showing that jobs and employment are their biggest societal concern, followed closely by poverty and inequality. Their precarious position in the labour markets forced young people into unemployment, often without any safety net, as their previous (often multiannual) working life was composed of short-term and non-standard contracts and employers were not obliged to pay a social security contribution.
- 2.1.13. The skyrocketing youth unemployment, reaching up to 36% in Greece (May 2022), must be addressed by far-reaching and structural changes in the labour market. This needs to take into account the green and the digital transition as well as the principle of lifelong learning and fair mobility.
- 2.1.14. We must step up our fight for European measures to guarantee quality jobs for young people corresponding to their level of qualification, interest, and place of choice, and finally to guarantee universal access to the social protection systems adapted to all types of work. All young people must have access to unemployment benefits, a decent income and financial emergency measures.

- 2.1.15. The ETUC will pursue the following key actions in the areas of Employment and Labour Market:
- 2.1.16. a trade union agenda for full employment in the EU putting full employment and quality jobs for all back in the European agenda;
- 2.1.17. contribute to the integration of the most vulnerable groups of society in the labour market;
- 2.1.18. public employment services and active labour market policies;
- 2.1.19. political follow-up of employment indicators;
- 2.1.20. a position on the use of EU funds for the creation of employment (including the possibility of a European Job Guarantee);
- 2.1.21. a stance on quality standards for unemployment benefits;
- 2.1.22. participation in the European network of Public Employment Services to strengthen partnerships with social partners;
- 2.1.23. implementation of the employment package of workers with disabilities.
- 2.1.24. The ETUC will mobilise to ensure a proper transposition of the Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages with regard to promotion of collective bargaining and the adequacy of statutory minimum wages. The Directive establishes the principle of "a decent standard of living" and recognises the ETUC threshold of decency as a guiding principle for assessing their adequacy. Also, further efforts will also be needed to ensure increases in statutory minimum wages, where they exist. Statutory minimum wages should never fall below the threshold of decency of 60% of the national median wage and 50% of the national average wage, and should in any case ensure at least a decent standard of living. The ETUC will also continue to lobby for upwards wage convergence in the EU and to increase workers' purchasing power. The ETUC will continue to take action to achieve these objectives also in the framework of the European Semester.

#### 2.1.25. The ETUC will:

- Monitor the implementation and ensure an effective application of the rights enshrined in recently adopted and/or forthcoming directives in the field of employment rights/labour law will be a key priority in the future work of the ETUC;
- 2.1.26. Work towards complementing, and ensuring, a better application and enforcement of the existing rights and obligations set out in the Working Time Directive, as opposed to a revision;
- 2.1.27. Negotiate within the European social dialogue a framework agreement to be incorporated into a Directive that will revise and update the 2002 Telework Agreement and ensure the right to disconnect; if successful the ETUC will develop a concrete action plan for and together with its affiliates to ensure an effective and full implementation of that agreement/Directive; if not successful, or in case of remaining loopholes, the ETUC will call on the Commission to come forward with an own legislative proposal;
- 2.1.28. Work further on an agenda for coordinated bargaining for a reduction of the weekly working time without a loss of pay and arrangements for workers' control over working time, quality of work life, and for income security (including during illness);
- 2.1.29. Work on a legislative initiative on an EU job guarantee;

- 2.1.30. Strengthen (non) legal initiatives to prevent precariousness at work.
- 2.1.31. The ETUC will advocate for a specific EU social Directive on Algorithmic Systems in the Workplace with the aim to ensure a worker protection approach of how these systems are deployed at work and in particular to strengthen their rights, such as consultation and participation, questions related to new and existing occupational health and safety issues as well as the protection of their data.
- 2.1.32. The ETUC will further mobilise to transform its demand for a right to disconnect into an EU Directive.
- 2.1.33. The ETUC will continue to advocate for better working conditions in the platform economy. The directive on platform work is a good first step but more must be done to ensure the protection of platform workers. ETUC will ensure that the provisions of the directive can be truly used and applied for effective worker protection.
- 2.1.34. In the run-up to the 2024 European elections, the ETUC will advocate for the European democratic political parties to include the ETUC demands for a just digital transformation in their election manifestos, in particular the demand for the Directive on Algorithmic Systems in the Workplace and the Directive on the Right to Disconnect. In the same vein, the ETUC will actively influence the hearings of the incoming Commission in autumn 2024 to commit to delivering on its promise for a human centric digitalisation.
- 2.1.35. The ETUC will work to:
  - ensure that the negotiation and implementation of the Platform Work Directive brings the employee status to all workers working with platforms acting as employers while protecting genuine self-employed from subordination from digital labour platforms;
- 2.1.36. Enhance the capacity of trade unions to put to collective bargaining the use of algorithm management at company level, which should be made in coordination with the ETUC work in managing the use of Al technologies at the workplace;
- 2.1.37. Obtain a ban of on-demand and zero-hours type contracts, and other arrangements and forms of precarious work;
- 2.1.38. Set up a European trade union action plan to fight against precarious forms of employment, which should include the establishment of a European trade union action day to convey the concrete trade union demands towards European and national governing bodies at this regard;
- 2.1.39. Have a legislative initiative that provides for the presumption of an employment relationship to all workers in non-standard forms of employment;
- 2.1.40. Empower trade unions to better organise and protect workers in non-standard forms of employment;
- 2.1.41. Improve the social rights of genuine self-employed workers.
- 2.1.42. The ETUC will:
  - Advocate for a legislative initiative to ban on unpaid internships and other precarious contracts that put young workers in unpaid or underpaid jobs;
- 2.1.43. Promote binding quality standards for jobs and particularly those created with EU or national funds. The EU cannot fund precarity and young people cannot be used as cheap labour in the name of upskilling;

- 2.1.44. Promote better involvement of social partners in the design, implementation, and monitoring (particularly through the European Semester) of youth-specific programs, such as Reinforced Youth Guarantee;
- 2.1.45. Strengthen alliances with youth organisations and national youth councils to promote democracy at work and in society;
- 2.1.46. Stand up for the right to adequate, decent and affordable housing which is a necessary condition for autonomy of young people.

## 2.2. Safeguarding Occupational Health and Safety

#### State of Play and Challenges

- 2.2.1. In the EU there are 12 fatal work-related accidents per day in the EU, despite some improvement in the total number of occupational diseases, accidents and casualties. Work-related cancer due to exposure to hazardous substances is responsible for 53% of all work-related deaths, amounting to 100.000 workers passing away per year.
- 2.2.2. The challenges at the workplace are increasing, the past two years have shown how a virus such as Covid-19 is easily contracted at work. In this regard, the ETUC welcomed the agreement reached by the ACSH to recognise COVID-19 as an occupational disease, this is going to provide better protection for workers in the context of the current pandemic and the increased preparedness for potential future pandemics.
- 2.2.3. Climate change with extreme temperatures and weather events is also increasing risks for working people.
- 2.2.4. Work-related stress had already become an epidemic, before the lockdowns (implemented to reduce the spread of Covid-19). It accounts for more than half of all working days lost in the EU.
- 2.2.5. Thanks to trade union efforts, and willingness from the co-legislator, in the two last terms of the European Commission, 27 carcinogens now have exposure limits under EU law. ETUC also welcomes the proposal to review the Asbestos at Work Directive, yet the Commission's proposal should be improved. However, there are at least 23 dangerous carcinogens that workers are exposed to that still need to be addressed as a priority.

- 2.2.6. Continue working to achieve Zero Deaths by 2030, by brining to the forefront the realities of work-related deaths. It seeks to persuade stakeholders across Europe to commit to Zero Deaths at the workplace, just as much as the trade union movement is committed to it.
- 2.2.7. In close coordination with its affiliated organisations, through the ETUC Standing Committee on Occupational Safety and Health and the ETUC Executive Committee, ETUC will lead the political debate on issues appertaining to this dossier. It will also tap into the scientific support of the ETUI when needed.
- 2.2.8. Continue the advocacy work to guarantee that occupational binding exposure limits are enacted to cover all 50 priority carcinogens that workers are widely exposed in Europe.

- 2.2.9. Develop a European trade union agenda to adapt to the challenges in occupational safety and health brought about by climate change.
- 2.2.10. Achieve significant improvements by the European Commission and Member States to step up enforcement. The ETUC believes that unless enforcement is set as a priority, it will not be possible to achieve the pursued vision of zero work-related accidents and diseases.
- 2.2.11. The revision of EU legislation on OSH to better protect workers against new and long-standing risks (like inter alia Directive 2009/104/EC use of work equipment and Directive 89/654/EEC workplace requirements).
- 2.2.12. Addressing psychosocial risks through legislative action that creates the conditions for trade union action against these risks.
- 2.2.13. Consolidate the International Workers' Memorial Day to channel demands across the EU to achieve zero death at work.

## 2.3. A Right to Training and Reinforcing Life-long Learning

#### State of Play and Challenges

- 2.3.1. There are new challenges ahead for European workers in the changing jobs market: energy transition, digitalisation and technological progress, as well as the need for a transition to a sustainable economy and green technologies in order to tackle climate change. These changes impact workers of all skill levels and require effective support for them to improve their skills, their qualifications and consequently wage levels, working conditions and career and transition prospects.
- 2.3.2. The Action Plan of the EPSR targets a 60% yearly adult participation rate in learning. According to the latest Cedefop report<sup>[1]</sup>, 46.1% of the adult population, approximately 128 million adults in the EU-27 Member States, the UK, Iceland and Norway, need upskilling and reskilling. In the imminent future we will be facing skill mismatches and an increase in labour reallocation. The workers and the unemployed urgently need support, not only in accessing quality and inclusive training for upskilling and reskilling, but also in validating their skills and competences and in accessing quality guidance and counselling. ETUC will further advocate the job-to-job transition within the same company or sector.
- 2.3.3. Therefore, it is essential to continue pushing for effective implementation of the first principle of the European Pillar of Social Rights at European and national levels within the green and digital transition. This is important in order to ensure the right and access to education and training for all by guaranteeing high-quality and inclusive employee training and paid educational leave for all workers; and right to access to full qualifications, validation of non-formal and informal learning and work experience, and free and quality career guidance and counselling.

#### **Actions**

[1] CEDEFOP: Empowering adults through upskilling and reskilling pathways. Volume 1: adult population with potential for upskilling and reskilling, 02/2020

- 2.3.4. Contribute to meet the 60% yearly participation rate of adults in adult learning within social dialogue on reducing skills shortages and skill mismatches and by defining quality indicators of measuring and achieving this target.
- 2.3.5. Advocate guaranteeing the right and access to high quality and fully inclusive employee training for all workers, in a broader term than an individual training account, with a possible development of principles for a quality framework on employee training.
- 2.3.6. Ensure, through the European Semester process and the use of the RRF, that quality apprenticeship provision, adult participation in lifelong learning and employee training are a priority.
- 2.3.7. Ensure the use of EU funds allocated to companies upon meeting social dimension targets include: existing provision of the right of employee training; guaranteed inclusive access to training; provision of fair paid educational leave; access to validation of skills and competences and to skills and career guidance application; and respect of the European Framework of Quality and Effective Apprenticeship.

## 2.4. Fair Labour Mobility

- 2.4.1. Labour mobility that is free, fair and chosen freely is a prerequisite for a European integration free from unfair competition and social dumping. Playing workers off against each other creates a race to the bottom in terms of working and living conditions, which undermines social progress and trust in the European project and its social market economy.
- 2.4.2. Frontier, seasonal and posted workers are often the most vulnerable and the least protected, as evidenced by the COVID-19 crisis. Gaps in the EU legal framework on labour mobility and its enforcement further contributes to their precarious situation and allows for the emergence of fraudulent business models based on flexibilisation, short-termism, and abuse of workers' rights. Likewise, the impact of digitalisation on labour mobility creates new challenges and opportunities.
- 2.4.3. The Interregional Trade Union Councils (IRTUCs) have been developing social, economic and territorial cohesion in Europe for more than four decades. The goal of the IRTUCs is to ensure decent working and living conditions as well as fair mobility of all categories of cross-border workers, a high level of social security and correct incomes taxation in all European border regions. We have to ensure that IRTUCs are successful in meeting the challenges workers are experiencing at interregional level, promoting solidarity between trade unionists and making IRTUCs the central actors of social, economic and territorial cohesion in Europe.
- 2.4.4. In the EU, 1.4 million frontier workers make an important contribution to the economy of a number of Member States, but they experience particular problems in exercising their right to free movement across borders. To assist frontier workers, the IRTUCs operate in many cross-border regions and bring together the regional organisations of national confederations.
- 2.4.5. The COVID pandemic demonstrated the lack of European coordination, and has confronted workers, in particular in the border regions, with some existential problems in both their professional and private life.

- The IRTUCs play a key role in providing support and advice about the rights of cross-border and frontier workers.
- 2.4.6. IRTUCs make an important contribution to improving the quality of cross-border mobility, identifying existing obstacles and guaranteeing that workers' rights and in particular the right to equal treatment are respected. They act as important trade union actors in regional labour markets and foster them as such in the framework of EURES Cross-Border Partnerships.
- 2.4.7. A dedicated and compulsory budget within the ESF+ has to be earmarked for existing and future EURES cross-border partnerships.
- 2.4.8. Training, communication and financing of IRTUCs have to be strengthened and improved.

- 2.4.9. The ETUC will:
  - Improve the enforcement of labour mobility rules, by pushing the European Labour Authority to increase cross-border inspections and social partner involvement at all levels. ETUC will assess the performance of the Authority and the need to include further EU directives of relevance to labour mobility within its remit;
- 2.4.10. Defend the principle of equal treatment and its effective control as part of a fair conclusion of the revision of the EU Regulations on Social Security Coordination and the assessment of the Posting Directives and their implementation. Digital tools such as a European Social Security Pass must improve the cross-border enforcement of these rules;
- 2.4.11. Tackle the fraudulent use of labour market intermediaries and abuse of workers' rights in supply chains, by calling for an EU general legal framework on subcontracting and working together with ELA to develop sectoral approaches to risk assessments and inspections;
- 2.4.12. Empower mobile and migrant workers by advocating for rights-based approaches and reporting mechanisms within ELA and the Platform tackling Undeclared Work. ETUC will call for dedicated permanent EU funding for trade union support and counselling helping workers exercise and claim their rights under EU mobility rules.
- 2.4.13. Also, the ETUC will work to:
  - Strengthen the political role on legal framework obstacles and barriers, e.g. influence the ongoing revision of Regulation 883/2004 on the coordination of social security systems to improve the rights of frontier workers;
- 2.4.14. Support the creation of a specific system of rules, preferably at EU level, in order to overcome all double taxation problems that too often affect highly mobile workers;
- 2.4.15. Monitor and foster mutual membership recognition agreements for cross-border workers and frontier workers;
- 2.4.16. Improve the functioning and visibility of existing IRTUCs and promote the setting up of new ones wherever it is useful and/or necessary.

## 2.5. Guaranteeing Equality and Combating Discrimination

- 2.5.1. The situation of women at work and in society is far from being equal. The COVID crisis, the cost-of-living crisis, the war in Ukraine and the rise of the far-right contribute affect women in particular and significantly threaten past achievement and present struggles.
- 2.5.2. Economic independence and economic well-being of women has been heavily affected by the COVID crisis. The weakening of women's economic well-being is likely to continue and even to escalate with view of the cost-of-living crisis. Single mothers, migrant women, low-skilled women or older women will be most impacted.
- 2.5.3. Violence against women, in the world of work and beyond, is far from being eradicating. Sexual harassment in the world of work is a persisting phenomenon. The internet and digital tools have facilitated new ways of online violence and harassment. Violence against women, online or offline, causes economic harm and significantly reduces prospects of economic well-being.
- 2.5.4. Unpaid work is still disproportionately provided by women. Often, this goes to the detriment of women's advancement in their career, as well as their mental health. Care work and incorrectly branded "low-skilled" jobs, heavily feminized, need to be urgently re-evaluated to combat low pay, staff shortages and poor working conditions.
- 2.5.5. The backlash against women's rights, fueled and funded by far-right parties and political forces, such as their bodily autonomy and sexual and reproductive health and rights has further progressed. Hate-speech and hate-crimes, facilitated via social media and the internet, are a phenomenon on the rise. The digital sphere, including ICT professions, are still dominated by men. This impacts the make-up and gendered bias in digital tools and digital infrastructure, such as Artificial Intelligence.
- 2.5.6. Europe is a continent of diversity and the EU policies over the past couple of years are trying to respond to the situation and fight against a different form of discrimination, many of its forms still being unspoken, and not recognised by the law such as social origin, education, and wealth.
- 2.5.7. However, the coronavirus has highlighted the discrimination suffered by different communities and revealed that the soft policy approach, often overlooking the role of social partners, is not a sufficient tool to make all European citizens feel safe and allow them to be and love whoever they want.
- 2.5.8. Moreover, not all Trade Unions are equipped to deal with issues faced by workers that now more than ever come in the form of multiple or intersectional discrimination. We must continue using our strongest tool, a collective bargaining and collective agreements, to actively foster diversity, tolerance and inclusion at all levels and opposing all possible grounds of discrimination and violence at the workplace and in society.
- 2.5.9. ETUC will increase its work with national trade unions to support LGBTIQ equality at work and in the labour market and to lobby with MEPs and Ministers to get an effective LGBTIQ equality strategy adopted in the EU.
- 2.5.10. Eliminating racism at work must be a priority horizontally embedded in all trade union activities. ETUC will promote the meaningful role of the Trade Unions in the implementation of the EU anti-racism Action Plan.
- 2.5.11. Finally, the systems deployed to make our lives better must be accountable to make our lives better and that should be the case regardless of how much money we have, compliance with gender norms,

where we come from or the colour of our skin. The trade union movement must preserve its strong role and capacity to defend worker's interests in the new environments governed by new technologies such as AI

- 2.5.12. Main ETUC actions in the area of Gender Equality:
  - Deliver concrete tools to end the undervaluation of work predominantly done by women through collective bargaining, social dialogue and legislation;
- 2.5.13. Continue lobbying actions for an ambitious Pay Transparency Directive. Support affiliates towards an ambitious transposition of the Pay Transparency Directive, leading to a re-evaluation of work predominantly done by women;
- 2.5.14. Provide practical tools to address violence and harassment, online and offline, via workplace policies and collective bargaining. Raise awareness on solutions to support victims and survivors of domestic violence. Reach a common understanding of the various forms of cyber-violence and economic violence. Lobby for a strong Directive combatting violence against women and domestic violence that foresees a strong role for trade union;
- 2.5.15. Provide training and improve knowledge on equality bargaining. Work towards solutions in collective bargaining and social dialogue that allow for gender-responsive workplaces, addressing sexual and reproductive health and rights of women (incl. menstruation, abortion and menopause) and support for victims and survivors of all forms of violence against women;
- 2.5.16. Push for investment in care, to create a high-class public infrastructure of care services that are available and accessible for all and provide high quality jobs for women and men;
- 2.5.17. Monitor the effects of the Work Life Balance Directive. Ensure that equal distribution of unpaid care work, for children or (chosen) family members. Rights to working time reduction should be explored and introduced in a gender-responsive manner;
- 2.5.18. Monitor and influence the evolution of Artificial Intelligence and its use in the world of work. Push towards gender-responsive regulation of the use of Artificial Intelligence that excludes the possibility of intrusive tracking or emotional management tools in person-to-person occupations, that are heavily feminized.
- 2.5.19. Main ETUC actions in the area of non-discrimination:
  - The increase in online meetings during the pandemic allowed for the establishment of an online working group that twice per year discussed different aspects of discrimination. However, that format is not ideal for such a large, diverse and sensitive topic. ETUC will continue to look for ways to bring members' representatives (often shop stewards and workers' reps) together for meaningful exchange and mutual learning on concrete topics and policy issues preventing discrimination at the workplace;
- 2.5.20. The ETUC will continue strengthening cooperation with NGOs and Civil Society as well as Equality Bodies, while strongly insisting on differences between those and highlighting the added value, and representativeness that social partners are bringing to the discussion and policymaking;

- 2.5.21. In the framework of the action plan for the implementation of the European Pillar of Social Rights, the ETUC demands a rights-based approach applying to all social and labour market policies;
- 2.5.22. The ETUC will guide and encourage its affiliates to use the European funding to develop campaigns, strategies, and training activities to alleviate inequalities, helping to create a workplace of open values and diversity by including specific provisions in collective agreements;
- 2.5.23. ETUC will advocate for EU funding to strengthen the capacity building of trade unions to fully understand and detect discrimination via Al-based systems and establish a platform for experience sharing and reporting channels for affected workers and job seekers.

## 2.6. Anticipation of Change and Ensuring Just Transitions

- 2.6.1. The latest IPCC report on climate change mitigation is clear: urgent and drastic action is needed if we are to limit global warming to 1.5°C. The last decade has been the warmest in the modern record. This increase in temperature is accompanied by extreme weather events such as floods, droughts, heatwaves and wildfires, which are becoming more intense and more frequent over time. These consequences are particularly affecting the most vulnerable people of our society and they put at risk the lives of millions of European workers.
- 2.6.2. ETUC supports the objective of reaching climate neutrality by 2050 and the interim target of -55% GHG emissions by 2030. However, the underlying changes that will need to happen will severely impact workers in many sectors and regions and risk increasing inequalities. This, therefore, requires an ambitious just transition agenda. ETUC priority is to make the concept of just transition tangible and to translate it into concrete legislation as part of the European Green Deal agenda.
- 2.6.3. When it comes to new jobs created as a result of the green transition, ETUC wants to ensure that those new jobs are quality jobs. The promotion of unionisation, social dialogue and collective bargaining in new green sectors remains of key importance, together with the development of just transition plans.
- 2.6.4. Besides mitigation policies, the shift to a circular economy is also particularly important. This shift will for sure impact the world of work, as skills needs will dramatically change while new jobs will be created and others will disappear. Ensuring that the social and labour consequences of that shift to a circular economy are addressed will be a priority for ETUC during the next mandate.
- 2.6.5. While mitigation measures remain the top priority to avoid the unmanageable, it is now clear that our societies will need to manage the consequences of climate change that are unavoidable. Raising awareness and developing adaptation measures to protect vulnerable workers from the negative consequences of climate change will be a top priority for ETUC in the coming years.
- 2.6.6. Ensuring solidarity at a global level and coordinating the fight against climate change with countries around the globe is also a priority for the trade union movement. ETUC will continue to promote the concept of just transition as defined by the ILO guidelines adopted in 2015 at international level and in UNFCCC negotiations.
- 2.6.7. Digital transformation has already deeply impacted the way we work. Constant accessibility via smartphone, regular teleworking, digital work platforms, algorithmic management, networked factories, increased automation, are already commonplace. However, the digital transformation will more

- profoundly reshape the world of work in the coming years, in particular through the use of data and data driven technologies in particular artificial intelligence, to an even greater extent than today.
- 2.6.8. The ETUC actively mobilises to ensure that digital innovation delivers for workers. Increasingly, collective agreements at national and sectoral levels guarantee workers' protection and involvement for a fair digital transformation. If well designed and deployed, digitalisation can not only help to reduce strenuous work, but should lead to more self-determination and autonomy, better working conditions, health and safety, better prospects, increased workers' participation, higher quality qualifications and improve time and place sovereignty. However, unregulated and poorly designed workplace digitalisation leads to self-exploitation, staff reductions, unpaid overtime, poor working conditions, health and safety, extensive surveillance and loss of autonomy.
- 2.6.9. The European Digital Decade sets the goal of fully digitising Europe by 2030. Despite the fact that digital technologies should also be designed to protect people's rights, support and ensure democracy, no concrete measure has been provided so far for the necessary protection for workers. Moreover, the European Digital Decade does not include the involvement of trade unions. The digital factory is not in line with EU social values and principle, let alone with workers' rights.

- 2.6.10. ETUC will continue its work to operationalize the concept of just transition in European climate and energy legislations. ETUC will also advocate for a better integration of the social and labour dimension in NECPs and support its affiliates in the development of their Just Transition Territorial Plans.
- 2.6.11. The ETUC will advocate for a European Directive to ensure trade union involvement and collective bargaining to anticipate and manage change and a right to a just transition.
- 2.6.12. To promote the role of social dialogue and collective bargaining in managing the green transition and to encourage actions at shop-floor level, ETUC will build on its previous project 'Greening the workplaces' by looking for more recent data and case studies. ETUC will also develop tools and a campaign to support trade union delegates to play a more active role in the development of just transition agreements at company level.
- 2.6.13. Building on its project 'adaptation to climate change and the world of work', ETUC will continue to raise awareness around the risks caused by climate change consequences for workers and will advocate for new adaptation measures to protect workers from health and safety risks as well as negative effects on employment.
- 2.6.14. In close cooperation with ITUC, ETUC will participate to COPs and UNFCCC negotiations to promote the concept of Just Transition and to integrate aspects relative to the world of work and solidarity in international climate agreements.
- 2.6.15. The ETUC will enhance its actions to ensure that the quality of jobs is an essential requirement of the digital transformation at work. This includes on the one hand the full respect of workers' rights, in particular concerning working time and occupational health and safety, but also training and workers' data protection.

- 2.6.16. On the other hand, trade unions should be better equipped to shape fair and sustainable digital innovation at work: workers' and trade union information, consultation and participation rights should be strengthened, and unions should get digital access to workplaces; digital skills needs should be anticipated, and adequate paid training provided.
- 2.6.17. The ETUC will ensure that unions have a say in shaping digital transformation for workers at work.
- 2.6.18. The ETUC will further build on and continue its close cooperation with the ETUI to substantiate and bring strong scientific evidence for the important features for a just digital and sustainable transition.

	3. Together for an Economy for the People		
Proposed text		Amendments	
3.1.	A New Economic and Social Model		
State	of play and Challenges		
	On the aftermath of the financial crisis and rapidly growing climate crisis, the EU started rethinking its development model. The Green Deal and the European Pillar of Social Rights were the first steps towards a sustainability era in the EU. However, the risks to be stuck in neoliberal and austerity-based rules are still high. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian war in Ukraine the EU is going through unpredictable and unprecedented times. Focusing on resilience and open strategic autonomy, the EU doubled its resources by putting in place the NGEU and the SURE instruments that were supported by governments and citizens alike. While the EU is showing a new capacity to promptly react to sudden shocks with greater solidarity there is a need for a new economic and social model that must have sustainability at its core. The UN2030 Agenda represents the most advanced policy framework that leads the world toward a sustainable future, in the interest of current and future generations. This		
	model should be built on the pivotal role of SDG 8 and scaled up to make the EU the most sustainable		
240	well-being economy and society in the world.		
3.1.2.	Decent work and sustainable growth must be the pillars of a new economic and social model. The sustainability model envisioned by the ETUC has full employment and quality jobs at its core, should		
	allow fair income and wealth distribution, promote quality jobs and remove workers' vulnerabilities, with		
	collective bargaining (at sectoral and national levels) and social dialogue at its core.		
3.1.3.			
3.1.4.	An economy that works for people should work for the planet as well. A new economic and social model		
3.1.5.	implies that all private and public actors contribute to change and engage with just transition.  Part of the new economic and social model is to develop a credible and effective sustainable finance framework to unlock and activate private investments that are better aligned to and complement public		
316	investments for a sustainable recovery for open strategic autonomy and for the Green Deal objectives, while promoting fairer transitions and social progress. The EU taxonomy was a positive step in this direction. However, finance lobbies have undermined the process and are hindering the European Commission's work. The freezing of the social taxonomy will harm the EU workers and those businesses and economic activities that wish to have social objectives.  The economic and social model requires a new financial market framework that rewards capital that is		
J. 1.U.	patient, non-speculative and oriented to investments in real economy, creating new quality jobs. An ambitious social taxonomy, that promotes and binds the financial market players to social objectives,		

- has to be finalised. Trade unions should protect autonomy of collective bargaining and employee involvement prerogatives when threatened by sustainable finance unregulated practices.
- 3.1.7. As the EU has the ambition to become a rule setter at the global level, it has to cultivate the ambition to be advanced in regulating the sustainable finance market, especially imposing the respect for human rights globally, with special attention to labour-related infringements.
- 3.1.8. The EU has faced unprecedent challenges in the post-pandemic, and has proved capable of reacting promptly and efficiently to gather resources for recover and resilience, innovation and transitions. However, sustainability and progress towards upward convergence in a cohesive manner require a comprehensive and coordinated approach to all EU funds and programmes, both in terms of needbased amount of resources allocated, and in terms of coherency between financial procedures and social policy goals.
- 3.1.9. The proposals for the Multiannual Financial Framework 2021-2027 to face current and new economic, territorial and social challenges was unfit to the challenges. The reiterated attempts to reduce cohesion policy funds further show an anachronistic approach to the social needs to face the due to the transitions ongoing at global level. If the "MFF package" in 2020 eventually ensured overall more resources, the need remain for the EU to make a deep reflection and a comprehensive revision on the governance of the EU funds. All EU funds must be used coherently with EU social policy priorities, and the EU legislation governing the financial procedures must enhance the compliance of the use of the funds with social and sustainability objectives. Proposals of new sources of financing on the basis of own resources, which should become the primary revenue, should reinforce the EU budget. Off-budget resources should be covered by the scrutiny of the European Parliament.
- 3.1.10. In this respect, mainstreamed EU principles and values should be coherently embedded in all EU fiscal policy and financial rules. Financial principles and application rules must comply with the priorities set out in the European Pillar of Social Rights, the SDGs, the fundamental rights of workers, as well as with those principles that are already embedded in the EU acquis: respect of the rule of law, protection against conflict of interest, social clause in all circumstances EU funds are in use such as public procurement and concessions; transparency and accountability; democratic decision-making in all procedures involving EU funds. Streamlining such values in the rules pertaining to the use of EU funds means to enhance them and make them more effective.
- 3.1.11. Cohesion policy remains a crucial, modern and high potential tool for enhancing shared opportunities and prosperity. It must continue providing GDP growth and support to public investments; playing the role of automatic stabilizer; keeping jobs, companies and employment alive; and supporting average EU income toward upward converging. Its overall fundamental role remains valid and needed. Tracks and traps in infrastructures, development and innovation; stagnation in middle income regions persist; simplification and user-friendly policies haven't been fully developed yet. New governance rules, improved funds management and greater participation of social partners in the use of cohesion funds are key to solve persistent critical issues. Formally, the EPSR is embedded at the core of the Funds for Cohesion Policy 2020-2027, with the EU Semester as the major tool to monitor the use of funds; however, the applicative frameworks, the monitoring schemes, and the assessment grids must be made coherent and fully homogenous.

- 3.1.12. Cohesion funds, however, are not equipped to compensate the imbalances caused by other policies. Major coordination developments are necessary among EU policy and use of the funds. Clear and consistent methodologies must be developed to allow the efficient complementarity among policies and funds. Cross-cutting assessment must focus on the coherency of achievements among financial programmes.
- 3.1.13. The RRF and the consequent nRRp are supposed to complement the cohesion policy, representing an important source for social value, economic development, and job creation. However, in the nRRp in many cases there is no clear coordination on how to devote the funds to the different planned interventions, and how to assess the objectives of the resources available. Moreover, social partners are scantly involved in the definition of the nRRp, in spite of the important role they are supposed to play to enhance industrial transition, new forms of work, skill needs, and work organisation.
- 3.1.14. The role of social partners in the use of the EU funds must be enhanced, and social dialogue must permeate all financial procedures pertaining to social and economic development funds. This is valid not only for cohesion funds, but also for all those resources, such as those of the RRF, where solid democratic processes are crucial for meeting objectives of sustainable development at national and local level. The EU policy priorities, in fact, do need social partners for developing ownership, appropriateness, accountability and enforcement of decisions around the transitions at stake.
- 3.1.15. The Code of Conduct on Partnership, applicable to all funds covered by the Common Provision Regulation, contains a principle which deserves to be made horizontal and applied to all EU funds and programmes. However, it must also be revised to avoid that the "Structured Dialogue" is only an "informing" body or an ineffective forum where social partners have a diluted voice in the arena of stakeholders. Social Dialogue must remain active and substantial.
- 3.1.16. Funds for capacity building must be better planned and coordinated at EU level to align the preparedness of SP to the common challenges, while tailoring the needs to the local level. Their allocation must be conditioned to more clear assessments of their "appropriateness". The access and the use of such funds must be made easier.

- 3.1.17. The ETUC will:
  - Put forward proposals that rethink the EU institutional framework, terminating the Fiscal Compact, and reforming the Stability and Growth Pact to align it to the ecological and social objectives indicated in the EU Treaty and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU;
- 3.1.18. Work to make social dialogue and collective bargaining an engine of the new economic and social model and adapted to a new cross-border dimension of development;
- 3.1.19. Advocate for a minimum level of public investment in national budgets and for a framework that better aligns private investment to common EU objectives, within a sustainable finance framework;
- 3.1.20. Advocate for a monetary policy that aims at full employment and the stability of the Euro Area, in the overall interest of all Europeans. Providing room for autonomous sectoral and national collective bargaining systems and positive wage trends;

- 3.1.21. Support the European integration process by reinforcing the democratic development of the EU institutions; also reinforcing the involvement of social partners in the economic governance of the EU at national and sector levels;
- 3.1.22. Work to reduce inequalities in the internal market with the EPSR at its core. This will include a social protection system that safeguards people in old age, and protects people of all ages from any adverse events of life. The Employment guidelines should become the implementing tool of the EPSR;
- 3.1.23. Continue to develop its Index of sustainable growth and decent work and work with the EU institutions and employers, to build sound metrics that could complement GDP as a measure of success and reliability of national economies and of the EU as a whole;
- 3.1.24. Advocate for a full-fledged social taxonomy that will complete the EU taxonomy framework, linking it to the respect of fundamental labour rights and the implementation of the EPSR;
- 3.1.25. Promote cooperation with stakeholder coalitions to enable a greater influence of workers on future regulation and practices of sustainable finance in Europe and the EU;
- 3.1.26. Cooperate with the ITUC, in view of the international dimension of the issue, and engage with investors and business and other economic relevant conglomerates that commit to sustainable finance, in particular demanding a mandated disclosure of social risks (as well as environmental risks):
- 3.1.27. Advocate for the setting up of a system of public authorities that supervise the lawful and smooth functioning of the sustainable finance market.
- 3.1.28. With regard to cohesion policy and funds, the ETUC will:
  - pursue a substantial involvement of the social partners at all levels and in all actions aimed at making the most efficient use of the EU funds; have systematic TU inputs in multi-governance;
- 3.1.29. demand enhanced resources and actions in support of capacity building, both at national and EU level; advocate for a tripartite body for ESIFs where Social Partners' voice has due relevance in identifying challenges and formulating recommendations;
- 3.1.30. develop a series of tools to monitor that EU funds are used coherently with the prescriptions of the EPSR and the goals of the action plan. Additional tools, developed with affiliates, will assess that programmes, and national and local initiatives, actually contribute to the goals of increasing economic, social and regional cohesion in a measurable way;
- 3.1.31. work to strengthen the link between the coherent use of funds and the EU Semester, aligning the performance and instrumental indicators and fostering trade union surveillance on progress in a just and fair transition, in line with the ETUC engagements undertaken in Porto;
- 3.1.32. strengthen TUs' role in setting priorities, contributing to management and monitoring the use of the funds via the ETUC Semester Toolkit;
- 3.1.33. organise a series of actions aimed at assessing and providing answers to the needs of trade unions at national and local level to realise upward convergence.

## 3.2. A Reform for Fairer Economic Governance, Financing and Taxation

#### State of play and Challenges

3.2.1. The crises the European Union has been experiencing in the last two to three years are showing the deficiencies and lack of resilience of the economic governance structure of the Union and of its Member

States. However, while the COVID-19 crisis proved the lack of investment and spending in the health sector, and more globally, in the public sector, the economic policies delivered to respond to the pandemic crisis (including EU Debt) proved to be particularly effective in stabilising the economy and mitigate the social impact of economic shocks. It reflects the correctness and desirability of long-time demands from the ETUC, such as the implementation of two European fiscal capacities (NGEU and SURE) enabling to raise common debt at the European level for coping with the crisis from an economic and social perspective.

- 3.2.2. Moreover, the COVID-19 crisis also highlighted that our economic governance rules need to be reformed, to allow the huge investment and social needs to cope with the digital and ecological transitions as sustainable growth strategy that create quality jobs and more solidaristic and effective welfare systems. In addition, while the current state of play should be conducive to better coordination between monetary policy and fiscal policies, we are noticing some discrepancies between the two which are detrimental for enabling the needed socio-ecological transformation of our economies.
- 3.2.3. The recent Russian invasion of Ukraine exacerbates the instability of the geopolitical and economic global landscape which is now pushing the EU into an unexperienced high inflation which requires the EU to reinforce its strategic autonomy and resilience in both economic and social dimensions. It emphasises our calls for better income and wealth distribution as well as for more progressive taxation schemes (together with the fight against tax avoidance and tax evasion), as the right tools to fight inequality, and the maintenance and development of strong and efficient universal public services for strengthening social justice. The new economic governance should aim for full employment, pursue upward convergence of living and working conditions of Europeans, remove inequalities and eradicate poverty, in an ecologically friendly way.
- 3.2.4. Important element for the stability of the EU economy is the role played by the European Central Bank. The EU Treaties oblige the ECB to support the broader economic policies in the EU. However, the ECB has not been taking this part of its mandate into account when making interest rate decisions. In the recently concluded monetary policy strategy review the secondary mandate gets mentioned only briefly. Even more importantly, the ECB must enlarge its mandate to include full employment social well-being in its secondary mandate. Such secondary mandate will be pivotal in allowing the ECB to play its role in guaranteeing strong and socially just monetary policy of the EU.

- 3.2.5. Make EU stabilisers for investments (such as the RRF) and for employment (such as the SURE) permanent instruments in the EU policy toolbox.
- 3.2.6. Raise new European own resources in accordance with the Interinstitutional Agreement.
- 3.2.7. Call for a new fiscal framework which should support Members States having their fiscal targets country-specific, with different adjustment paths, integrating, with minimum thresholds, a golden rule for public investment, whereby new public investment would be debt-financed and anchored to the European integration agenda for ecological transition; an expenditure rule for current budgets, while allowing urgent spending for public sectors' needs; and the end of asymmetries in tackling macroeconomic imbalances.

- 3.2.8. Coordinate European and national policies pursuing resilience and strategic autonomy to adapt and preserve high social standards and fight poverty, with a strong involvement of social partners at European and national level.
- 3.2.9. Align the timelines of the fiscal, macroeconomic, and social cycles by correlating the social, fiscal and macroeconomic objectives with environmental targets.
- 3.2.10. Link indicators of the social scoreboard to ambitious targets of upward convergence of working and living conditions in Europe and to a Social Imbalance Procedure.
- 3.2.11. Fight for enlarging the ECB mandate to include full employment, in addition to its price stability one. Its secondary mandate for economic development and ecological transition should also be more prominent.
- 3.2.12. Stop the fall in collective bargaining coverage by re-introducing sectoral and national collective bargaining structures.
- 3.2.13. Reinforce a benchmarking system that promotes an upward convergence of wags, consistent with the "inflation + productivity" rule, having respect of national laws and practices of collective bargaining.
- 3.2.14. The ETUC will work for progressivity in taxation of income and fairness in setting tax reliefs.
- 3.2.15. The ETUC will advocate a framework that better targets wealth accumulation and speculative capitals in order to increase fairness of the entire taxation system.
- 3.2.16. Establish progressive social contributions systems, while fully respecting national competences in this domain.
- 3.2.17. Implement the Commission's BEFIT plan for corporate taxation, which should include a minimum effective corporate tax rate of 25%, and the possibility to tax companies in the country where they are running their activities according to their sales, assets, and employment.
- 3.2.18. Demand mandatory and systematic, public country-by-country reporting by all multinational companies, in each country where they operate.
- 3.2.19. Demand public registries of beneficial owners of companies, trusts and similar legal structures.

## 3.3. Reforming the Semester to Boost Public Investment, Job Creation and Crises-management

- 3.3.1. The European Semester, the coordination of economic and social policy of the EU, has recently undergone repeated changes in the way it operates (i.e. the activation of the general escape clause and of the adoption of the Recovery and Resilience Facility). The Semester is now mainly focused on the monitoring of the implementation of the National Recovery and Resilience plans. The predictability and transparency of the process was weakened, making the trade union involvement less effective.
- 3.3.2. This most recent evolutions follows a process on which the social dimension was reinforced and led to some improvements such as a more granular social analyses, in which the Social scoreboard and the Employment guidelines support the implementation of the European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR). Still, the social dimension of the EU Semester relies on article 148 TFEU, which remains a weak counterbalance of the Treaty rules on fiscal and macroeconomic coordination.

- 3.3.3. The outputs, mainly country specific recommendations, better orient national policies toward the achievement of social objectives. However, such progress remains largely insufficient because fiscal and macroeconomic criteria/conditionalities remain dominant and prevail over the social ones. Moreover, the Semester cannot count on stabilisers of investment and employment that are necessary to set a balance between monetary, economic and social objectives pursued in the EU Semester. In this regard, the SURE proved to be effective and sets an experience to learn from.
- 3.3.4. As for the Trade Union Involvement in the Semester process, we can factually say it has slightly improved at national level over the past years. While some form of involvement was experienced in almost all countries, the effectiveness of such involvement depends on the good will of governments and very rarely reaches satisfactory outcome. The involvement needs to be more structured and responding to minimum quality criteria: it should be timely, meaningful, directed to decision-makers, and with adequate resources. Such criteria should include a safeguard clause for the autonomy of social partners and social dialogue at national level.
- 3.3.5. The TUSLO network proved to be an effective way to give voice to the TU movement in the EU Semester. However, not all trade union organisations have the same capacity and motivation to participate.

- 3.3.6. The ETUC will:
  - Continue to coordinate the TUSLO activities and will elaborate plans with its affiliates to offer the same opportunities to all members. All ETUC members will engage in the EU Semester according to their needs and traditions, and in a spirit of solidarity with all European workers. Resources may be mobilised for that purpose;
- 3.3.7. Engage with the European Commission, to elaborate minimum criteria for TU involvement in the EU Semester;
- 3.3.8. Work to improve the functioning of the EU Semester by introducing social conditionalities: full employment and quality of work should be the overarching objectives of the Semester, including a financial mechanism, such as a SURE 2.0, that helps stabilise social expenditure of member states;
- 3.3.9. Elaborate a strategy that will build on the current one which includes a people's recovery, the SDG8-centred approach to development, the implementation tools of the EPSR and the Rethinking the economic and social model action adapted to the evolving socio-economic conditions;
- 3.3.10. Continue monitoring the social dimension of the RRF and the impact of national plans for social progress and social convergence, by creating conditions for the achievement of the Porto's Headline targets;
- 3.3.11. Reinforce its internal coordination to better cover the economic, social and environmental issues dealt within the EU Semester

# 3.4 Reinforcing Social Protection

### State of play and challenges

- 3.4.1 A solidarity-based approach to welfare for all is necessary, with work as the core guarantee for adequate social security and social protection. Member states are struggling effectively tackle the increasing rates and new forms of poverty, the emerging severe deprivation and social exclusion, the deeper inequalities and the unmet basic needs such as health and care. Regional, rural and group divide across European societies deepen and worsen. The current EU economic governance and national fiscal rules hinder effective reforms and schemes on adequate minimum social standards and concrete protection to all workers and self-employed. Progress in the headline targets of the Action Plan of the Pillar concerning poverty and social inclusion, entailing both policy and financial coordination, is slow and requires to be tackled systematically. Whereas intermediate targets might be useful, policies and reforms are not regularly assessed against their progress in coverage, adequacy and effectiveness.
- 3.4.2 Public authorities must deliver public and social services in line with the EPSR and ensure that the resources of NGEU and the nRRp result in more efficient, quality and universal public services. The marketisation of public services must be constrained, social clauses must be streamlined in public procurement; companies must be favoured that prioritise high quality of services and social wellbeing over redistribution of profits by mission when serving the communities. A synergy between social and solidarity economy and trade unions could enhance a more social economic model starting with public service provision.

- 3.4.3 The ETUC will:
  - Formulate policy demands based on the annual reviews of the "Status of implementation of the EPSR", entailing the monitoring of the progress in each Principle of Chapter III. This exercise will entail a specific focus on poverty, its complexity, reasons and causes, its diversified forms and its impact on different groups and regions;
- 3.4.4 Set up an interactive trade union monitoring system of the implementation of the Council Recommendation on access to Social Protection for workers and the self-employed and including national feedbacks on any reform and development. The findings will be used to feed the institutional debate as well as the benchmarking of national practices in the view of redesigning social protection systems in all EU countries;
- 3.4.5 Reinforce the narrative of Dignity of Ageing based on a comprehensive approach to welfare rights across all ages, by further developing the link between equal opportunities, quality jobs and social protection; advocate for dignifying safety-nets for all to be established in all member states; produce evidence in support of the need and the potential of embedding the right to long-term care among social security systems across the EU;

- 3.4.6 Demand social needs to be satisfied by adequate economic and financial framework of rules both at EU and at national levels, inter alia via enhancing the relevance of quality jobs for all for sustainability of adequate social protection; investigating the potential of the implementation of the nRRp and the use of cohesion funds to enhance women participation into the labour market; focusing on policies allowing to reduce the gender pension gap; developing evidence on the fiscal potential of the fight to undeclared work in all sectors and especially the care one;
- 3.4.7 Make the ETUC SociAll a Trade Union platform to design an EU social protection model that is a leader in welfare economy, based on modernised trade union demands for rights and upward convergence.

## 3.5 A Social and Sustainable Internal Market

## State of Play and Challenges

- 3.5.1 The internal market is not an end in itself, but should serve the wellbeing of people through the constant improvement of their living and working conditions. Labour is not a commodity and cannot be subject to the same market dynamics as other factors of production, which can be negotiated for the highest profit or the lowest price.
- 3.5.2 To contribute to fundamental EU values and objectives such as social progress and sustainable development, market freedoms cannot be relied upon in a way that undermines social, workers' and trade union rights. EU legislation must not be driven by cost and burden reduction for business or used as a means to put pressure on national regulatory frameworks, public services and decent work.

- 3.5.3 The ETUC will:
  - Defend fundamental social, workers' and trade union rights by calling for a Social Progress Protocol to be added to the Treaties and a 'Monti clause' to be included in all relevant new internal market legislative initiatives. These fundamental rights, including the right to collective bargaining and action, must be safeguarded and given precedence in cases of conflicts with economic freedoms;
- 3.5.4 Call for a social progress test as part of the Commission's impact assessments, to ensure all new EU legislation is socially responsible and just. The Commission's 'one in, one out' calculator should be replaced by a more sustainable and long-term approach to quality law-making whereby economic, social and environmental aspects are considered with the same level of detail;
- 3.5.5 Advocate tools for workers to better hold business accountable and claim their rights, including through the introduction of a general EU legal framework to tackle artificial arrangements, increase transparency and improve access to remedies for workers in subcontracting chains;
- 3.5.6 Push for more socially responsible competition policies and public procurement, with social conditionalities and public interest tests to deliver not only for business and consumers, but also for workers. Collective bargaining, trade union involvement and workers' rights must be given greater

attention in competition enforcement to tackle adverse impacts on the labour market as well as exclusionary and exploitative business behaviours.

# 3.6 Industrial Policy for More and Better Jobs

### State of Play and Challenges

- 3.6.1 European industrial policy is one of the major leverages to trigger the necessary socio-ecological transformation of the economy, in a challenging globalisation context. Managing such systemic transitions requires a strong political determination, well-defined and coordinated policies, medium and long-term massive investment to provide the necessary perspective, predictability and buy-in of key actors, in particular of trade unions and workers.
- 3.6.2 The recent unprecedented seismic geopolitical developments have multiplied the pace and extent of this deep transformation. The tectonic changes have further exacerbated disruptions in energy market supply, key raw materials and cloud and edge technology; they have shed light on EU strategic dependencies in many sectors such as manufacturing, defence, health, agri-food sectors and their related (global) supply chains, affecting the availability and affordability of products and services. They jeopardise employment and competitiveness, due to energy price skyrocketing and speculation. They intensify inequalities. They threaten climate and reduction of GHG emissions targets.
- 3.6.3 An EU fit for future European industrial policy should combine key transitions to decarbonisation and circular economy with sustainable digitalisation and automation, in a responsible, just and inclusive manner, that deliver with and for workers and empower them to drive transformation.
- 3.6.4 The ETUC, in close cooperation with its ETUFs and its affiliates, will strengthen the role of the trade union movement and its priorities in the EU industrial policy to reinforce cohesion, solidarity and upward convergence between European regions and countries, while building resilience, in addressing the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, while mobilising fair and safe employment, fair competition and rules-based trade policies.
- 3.6.5 The European trade union movement with the financial support of the European Union and EFTA, contributes to the elaboration of selected European (CEN) and international (ISO) standards that address working conditions and other workers' related issues.
- 3.6.6 Standardisation has progressively extended its reach beyond product safety and interoperability to address a wide range of issues. Standards are today increasingly used to underpin legislation and policy goals especially in the framework of the European industrial strategy, and in particular in the European strategy on standardisation. However, standardisation remains a private and industry led activity, where trade unions have limited representation.
- 3.6.7 The European strategy on standardisation has developed however a political ambition to push for an inclusive and multi-stakeholder approach to standardisation. On this basis, the ETUC, mandated by its affiliates, has invested in this avenue to build capacity, and increase trade unions representation and action in standardisation at European and national level. The conditions governing the international

standardisation organisations, mainly ISO and IEC, do not however foresee such an inclusiveness. It is therefore key for the ETUC to call for a revision of the primacy of international standards in the EU, so that the EU strictly monitors international standards compliance with the EU principles, values and rights, when applied in the EU.

- 3.6.8 An ambitious and sustainable EU open strategic autonomy policy is the way forward: the ETUC will mobilise to translate its demands into concrete deliverables for workers with a strong focus on more democracy at work and a key role for trade unions in decision making bodies and governance structures to secure that industrial innovation and transformation translate into quality jobs and responsible supply chains.
- 3.6.9 No Green Deal without a Social Deal: the ETUC will translate social progress as the guiding compass for a European industry strategy in line with the European Green Deal, the Digital Compass 2030 and European Pillar of Social Rights, to deliver for workers.
- 3.6.10 Early involvement in the creation, design, implementation and monitoring of structural (crisis targeted) solutions such the single market emergency instrument.
- 3.6.11 ETUC will strengthen its advocacy work and trade union role to enhance Industry 4.0 with human centred digital innovation and transformation in a fair and responsible way, the focus being on workers' protection, employability, and well-being.
- 3.6.12 The ETUC will further advocate for quality jobs as a top priority for policy makers when designing and implementing industrial policies via the Industrial Forum, industrial alliances, transition pathways, important projects of common European interest (IPCEI).
- 3.6.13 ETUC will promote a stronger role for innovative public services relying on quality public infrastructures, and intensifying efforts to support industrial regions in need (less developed regions or regions damaged by economic desertification). This will require a mobilisation of a range of European public funds.
- 3.6.14 With regard to standardisation, the ETUC will:
  - Build standardisation capacity by providing support, training, awareness raising activities and material, facilitating networking of trade union experts, to ETUC affiliates in order to increase the trade unions representation and participation in standardisation systems at national, European and international levels:
- 3.6.15 Contribute to the decision-making process of the standardisation bodies where the ETUC and its affiliates can exert influence;
- 3.6.16 Monitor and, where appropriate, to contribute to the drafting of European (and international) standards where trade union can improve the text to ensure standards guarantee the highest quality working conditions in full respect of EU law, in particular of labour law, and of trade union prerogatives. For sector-specific standards, the ETUC will actively collaborate with the respective ETUFs in the first instance, and national affiliates;

- 3.6.17 Oppose standards that risk encroaching upon national labour laws, collective agreements and collective bargaining, and prevent any attempt to use standards for a parallel recodification or circumvention of labour laws and collective agreements;
- 3.6.18 Conclude a new 2025-2028 Framework Partnership Agreement (FPA) with EC/EFTA to maintain an in-house ETUC competence on standardisation, to build and coordinate trade union input and expertise.

# 3.7 Trade Policy for Workers' Rights and a Level-playing Field

### State of play and Challenges

- 3.7.1 The ETUC has actively engaged with European institutions and developed a general policy on EU trade and investment. The ETUC has advocated for a progressive EU trade agenda and workers' centred trade policy that protects and promotes internationally recognised social and environmental standards and guarantees the precautionary principle.
- 3.7.2 The challenges to the international trade system posed by the Covid 19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine has shown that a deep reform to the EU trade policy is more important than ever. European trade unions are in favour of an alternative trading system that is fair and just, providing equal rights and benefits for workers and all citizens.
- 3.7.3 The European Commission has adopted a new policy that will incorporate sanctions in upcoming bilateral trade deals on labour and environmental standards. This is a welcomed change of direction, but a key priority of the ETUC will be to ensure the newly adopted enforceable labour clauses in EU FTAs will be implemented and that violations of labour rights in trade partner countries effectively investigated and eventually sanctioned.
- 3.7.4 The ETUC will continue its fight to protect international labour standards as set by the ILO and ensure trade deals require the ratification of ILO conventions, in particular freedom of association, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike, before these deals are agreed. This is necessary to prevent a regulatory 'race to the bottom'.
- 3.7.5 The ETUC has been working with trade unions from third countries with which the EU is negotiating trade agreements, issuing joint positions to communicate common trade union messages. The ETUC has been cooperating closely with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO) on the EU-US Trade and Technology Council (TTC) a forum between the European Commission and the US Administration aimed at deepening transatlantic trade and economic relations and to coordinate approaches to global trade, economic, and technology issues.

#### **Actions**

3.7.6 The ETUC will continue to engage with all institutional actors, both at the EU and national level, with the support of affiliates, to further reform EU trade policy to benefit workers and to raise labour standards globally.

3.7.7	The ETUC will further engage with trade unions in partner countries to monitor trade negotiations and	Ī
	advocate for the revision of existing trade deals that do not include enforceable labour clauses.	

3.7.8	The ETUC will advocate for the ratification by EU member states and by trade partners of ILO
	Occupational Safety and Health Convention (No.155) and the Promotional Framework for Occupational
	Safety and Health Convention (No. 187) as part of the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work
	(principle of a safe and healthy working environment).

	4. Together for Our European Future			
Proposed text		Amendments		
4.1.	Building a Fairer Future of Europe			
4.1.1.	Developments and events in recent years, such as Brexit, the rule of law in some EU member states, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine, have put the European project and democracy in Europe at risk. The EU is at a crossroad and must rise to the challenges that it is facing. European institutions must focus on delivering a more social future for Europe, based on a fairer, more inclusive and sustainable European economy and society, on the improvement of working and living conditions, and on a Renewed Social Contract for Europe.  The European institutions developed a comprehensive response to the Covid-19 crisis, including new instruments to support economic growth and social protection, in particular NextGenerationEU and SURE. However, these mechanisms are still not permanent features of the EU architecture and could still remain only temporary instruments. The EU institutions have failed until now to take the necessary measures to deal with the social and economic crisis following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, including the cost of living crisis [to be updated if needed depending on developments].			
Action				
4.1.3.	It is necessary to ensure changes to EU policies, budget and work programme, including new legislative and non-legislative initiatives. The key focus must be to guarantee a more social future of Europe, to ensure improved working and living conditions, as well as upward convergence – in the framework of a renewed social contract for Europe.			
4.1.4.	The ETUC will increase its mobilisation towards the European institutions to make sure there is a reinforced focus on delivering better working and living conditions, on promoting upward social convergence and on taking the necessary actions against the cost-of-living crisis in Europe. Further mobilisation by the European trade union movement in this direction will be put forward, in the last part of the current parliamentary term, in view of the European elections and the definition of the priorities of the next European Commission.			
4.2.	Reform of the EU Treaties to Anchor Social Progress			
4.2.1.	of play and Challenges In the past years the European institutions have been struggling in progress in areas of policy that require unanimity in the Council. Also, the Commission has failed to follow-up to the European Parliament demands in key areas. These developments have once more confirmed the need to reform the European institutions and decision-making processes.  It is necessary to ensure a reform of the European institutions to guarantee a more effective, social and progressive institutional framework for the European Union.			

4.2.3. Trade unions actively participated in the Conference on the Future of Europe. The conclusions of the Conference on the Future of Europe set an ambitious and important roadmap to build a fairer and more social future for Europe. A Convention should be held to open the discussions on the necessary Treaty changes for a more effective, social and progressive institutional framework for the European Union. The Convention must have a strong focus on the necessary advances on social issues.

#### **Actions**

- 4.2.4. The ETUC will mobilise and push for the necessary reforms to achieve better functioning European institutions and decision-making processes. This includes amongst others enhancing transparency in decision-making processes, overcoming unanimity requirements in the Council, reinforcing the communitarian approach and strengthening the powers of the European Parliament and the European political dimension. In this framework, the conclusions of the Conference on the Future of Europe constitute an ambitious and important roadmap. It is key that the European institutions take the necessary steps to guarantee that the COFOE conclusions become reality.
- 4.2.5. A Convention to modify the Treaties with a strong social focus should be convened. Focus of the ETUC will be amongst others on:
- 4.2.6. the inclusion of a Social Progress Protocol in the Treaties to guarantee that workers' rights, trade union rights and social rights take precedence over economic freedoms in the event of a conflict;
- 4.2.7. qualified majority voting for social issues, while fully safeguarding the role of social partners and ensuring a non-regression clause, as well as for other key issues, in particular taxation, own resources and the Multiannual Financial Framework;
- 4.2.8. a stronger role and reinforced powers for the European Parliament, including the right of initiative and more transparency in decision-making processes, in particular within the Council;
- 4.2.9. guaranteeing a stronger role for the European Pillar of Social Rights;
- 4.2.10. a revision of the Economic governance to ensure that social justice, social progress and people's well-being are considered key objectives of economic policies;
- 4.2.11. a stronger role for social partners in decision-making process.
- 4.2.12. The ETUC will continue its cooperation with political parties, civil society organisations and movements to deliver on the proposals of the Conference on the Future of Europe.

# 4.3. Engagement towards European Institutions

## State of play and Challenges

4.3.1. Since the last Congress, the ETUC has increased its mobilisation to advocate for trade union priorities vis a vis the European institutions. With regard to the European Parliament, the activities and support of the Trade Union Intergroup has continued to play a key role. The next European Parliament elections will take place in 2023. The campaign for the 2023 elections and the definition of the new college of European Commissioners, as well as its priorities, will be key for delivering the trade union priorities in the next years.

- 4.3.2. The ETUC will mobilise, together with its affiliates, to ensure that trade union priorities are included in the proposals of the European political parties in view of the next European elections.
- 4.3.3. The ETUC will mobilise towards the future European Commission to make sure social issues are amongst the key priorities of action for the European institutions in the next Parliamentary term.
- 4.3.4. The ETUC, in cooperation with its affiliates, will continue and reinforce its advocacy activities towards the European Parliament, including through the re-establishment of the Trade Union Intergroup, and towards the European Council and the Council of the European Union, in order to achieve the necessary advances for trade unions and working people across Europe.
- 4.3.5. In view of the elections and in line with its policy and action plan, the ETUC will outline the negative actions by far-right MEPs, parties and governments with regard to dossiers of high-importance for workers and trade unions in Europe.

# 4.4. A Fair Enlargement Process

## State of play and Challenges

- 4.4.1. Throughout its history the European Union has seen numerous enlargements and continues to expand, despite the UK decision to leave the EU. The Enlargement Process is part of the broader European Neighbourhood policy and currently there are nine candidate countries at various stages of the accession process.
- 4.4.2. The European Neighbourhood Policy should help foster stability, security and prosperity in neighbouring countries in the east and south, on the basis of good governance, democracy, rule of law and human rights. The ETUC contributes to this process by cooperating directly with candidate countries, supporting their trade unions' capacity building and arguing for social dialogue to be embedded.
- 4.4.3. The perspective of EU membership for the Western Balkans has helped these countries achieve overall political and economic reforms with improved democratic processes. Now it is necessary to intensify the process at political level. The ETUC has already established a network in the region to work with the member organisations. However, there is a clear need to concentrate on the concrete issues relating to the accession process for candidate countries.
- 4.4.4. Turkey gained candidate country status in 1999 and has been working towards accession ever since. However, political instability and direction in the country as well as reluctance from some EU members, have put this process on hold and it has been difficult to advance. Despite the difficulties, the ETUC must continue working with Turkish unions to hold the European course.
- 4.4.5. Ukraine and Moldova are the most recent countries that were granted the candidate status. Their unions have successfully applied to become full members of the ETUC.

- 4.4.6. The ETUC will:
  - participate actively in the implementation of European Neighbourhood Policy, to ensure an effective equal partnership that meets the needs and aspirations of workers, including the recognition of social partners in neighbourhood countries and the establishment of genuine social dialogue;
- 4.4.7. continue to assist trade unions in candidate countries, to successfully influence the accession process;

Set up a specific dedicated group to work with all the candidate countries for a systematic and coherent trade union approach to accession.
A stronger role of Europe in the World, Based on our Social Model
of play and Challenges
The EU's international role is fundamentally changing as a consequence of wars and armed conflicts, and violations of freedoms and human rights globally. In particular, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which has had a devastating humanitarian and economic impact on the Ukrainian people, is affecting the livelihood of European workers in terms of increased energy prices and inflation. Trade unions reject war to resolve international disputes.
The ETUC is developing its international activities within the context of an ever changing international role for the EU, its external action and the policies that are impacted by external factors, such as migration, energy supply and climate change. In its international activities, the ETUC cooperates with the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) to complement and strengthen trade union influence at global level.
The EU remains one of the biggest players in development cooperation. In 2021 the European Commission adopted the Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument (NDICI), enlarging the EU's capacity to support third countries – in particular in the Western Balkans and Sub-Saharan Africa. The NDICI-Global Europe became the main instrument for EU development cooperation with partner countries, and the EU's main financing tool for poverty eradication and promotion of sustainable development, prosperity, peace and stability. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), decent work, the ILO standards and due diligence are present among EU priorities.

- Goals (SDGs), decent work, the ILO standards and due diligence are present among EU priorities.

  4.5.4 The EU also launched the flagship initiative "Global Gateway", a plan for major investments in infrastructure development around the world. It is necessary to develop further the ETUC's international activities in support of more progressive EU action that promotes workers' and human rights, peace, democracy, fair and sustainable growth and a cohesive social model internationally.
- 4.5.5 The adoption and implementation of ILO standards and the four Decent Work Agenda strategic objectives shall continue to be a priority for the ETUC. Particular attention will be devoted to the UN, OECD, the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, including European institutions such as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe (CoE).
- 4.5.6 Today's multiple crises have led to increased job losses, violations of labour rights, and higher levels of poverty and inequalities worldwide. The EU development cooperation should provide solid responses to these challenges. The ETUC and the Trade Union Development Cooperation Network (TUDCN) of the ITUC will work towards a just development model based on a New Social Contract, including universal social protection and a Global Social Protection Fund.

4.5.7 The ETUC will:



- 4.5.8 support and cooperate with trade unions throughout the European continent through the Pan-European Regional Council (PERC) to promote the European social model;
- 4.5.9 continue to call on governments to partake in an international peace conference for the resolution of conflict in Ukraine, the application of international law and the recognition of free and democratic trade unions as a cornerstone of any reconstruction phase;
- 4.5.10 call on the EU to step up and play a more prominent role in peace building as part of the European External Relations Services' mission:
- 4.5.11 promote peaceful conflict resolution in Palestine, Syria, Western Sahara and elsewhere, demand the respect of international law and the right of all peoples to self-determination, in accordance with UN resolutions:
- 4.5.12 maintain and develop relations with trade union organisations in the Euromed region, Africa, the Americas and Asia, in cooperation with the ITUC.
- 4.5.13 further develop the work of the Asia-Europe Labour Forum (AELF) in order to promote social justice and development;
- 4.5.14 contribute to develop a more social G7 and G20 agenda through strong cooperation with TUAC and the L7 and L20:
- 4.5.15 in cooperation with its affiliated organisations, scrutinise Member States' financial aid in development cooperation reporting to ensure the commitments towards social dialogue and capacity building for trade unions are complied with:
- 4.5.16 keep using its role as a European social partner and maintain a strong engagement with the ITUC/TUDCN in order to voice Global South trade unions' priorities in EU development policy, ensuring a rights based approach, fostering policy coherence and monitor the implementation of the SDGs:
- 4.5.17 promote social dialogue and social partners' role in the NDICI and other financing programmes. Trade unions should be considered strategic partners, to be involved at every stage of policy-making including programming, implementation and monitoring;
- 4.5.18 demand the accountability and transparency of European institutions, ensuring that the increasing share of public funding is contributing to the achievement of the SDGs; continue to demand more policy coherence at the international level;
- 4.5.19 support the Workers' Group in the ILO Governing Body and ACTRAV against attacks aimed at weakening ILO supervisory bodies' role in general and the right to strike in particular.

# 4.6. Reinforcing Democracy and the Fight against far-right

State of play and Challenges

- 4.6.1. It is necessary to defend and to strengthen democracy in Europe. Democratic institutions and decision-making processes should be defended and improved. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen democracy in the economy and society.
- 4.6.2. The EU institutions have taken some steps to tackle breaches of the Rule of Law. However, the consideration of the Rule of Law by the European Commission still fails to effectively include social rights. The respect for the role of trade unions and civil society organisations and for social rights, including trade union and workers' rights, constitutes a key part of Rule of Law.
- 4.6.3. Trade unions and the far-right are opposites. This not only because of the trade unions' history and proud tradition of countering the far-right in the past, but because of what trade unions stand for today. Trade unions, above all else, believe in solidarity, trade unions seek better lives, social justice and opportunity, for all working people. They stand for unity over division.
- 4.6.4. The ETUC needs to build a strong response to counter the far-right strategy and narrative and to develop coherent trade union actions to defend and strengthen democracy:
  - Fighting for democracy, solidarity and workers' power;
  - Promoting the positive trade union message of improving the lives of all working people in work and in life:
  - Raising awareness about the far-right strategies.

- 4.6.5. The ETUC will mobilise to address the crisis of democracy in Europe, by promoting initiatives and campaigns to stress the need for reinforcing democracy, also in the economy and society, including the recognition of the role and support for the social partners and for social dialogue.
- 4.6.6. The ETUC will promote a broader definition and assessment of the respect of the Rule of Law by the European institutions in all Rule of Law mechanisms. Respect for the Rule of Law should include a strong focus on the respect for social rights, in particular workers' and trade union rights.
- 4.6.7. A European day for democracy. The ETUC will work on the proposal of a European public holiday day for democracy. This day would be an opportunity to recall our trade union values of solidarity, social justice, equality and the fight for democracy. This would also be the demonstration of the importance of the European dimension to counter the Eurosceptic messages of the far-right.
- 4.6.8. Mapping the influence of the Far-Right at the workplace. In the continuity of regional and national projects, the ETUC will submit a new project focused on mapping the influence of the far-right in the workplace. Collecting real examples of anti-union statements by far-right along with a mapping their effort to organise workers, will provide the information needed to advance the Trade Union strategy in coming years. The ETUC will also continue its work to identify collective agreements and clauses negotiated by trade unions to combat the far-right at the level of the workplace.
- 4.6.9. Coordination of a training offensive for European workers. In partnership with the ETUI, the ETUC will develop the training strategy to focus on 3 key elements (1) Continuing the networking and exchange of training practices with the development of the online repository of trade union materials and the coordination meetings with the trade union; (2) Specific communications trainings to building confidence in the trade union and democracy to deliver for working people; and (3) Political education through

- workshops that articulate the ETUC vision to counter the far-right by providing a real alternative to tackle inequalities.
- 4.6.10. Development of communication tools to counter the narrative of the Far-Right. The ETUC will actively use and promote the petitions platform action-Europe, enabling affiliates (and affiliates' members) to post petitions and use the data from their petitions to organise and mobilise workers and supporters. It also provides for a database that will allow Trade Unions to communicate directly with members and supporters, equipping them with counter arguments to the far-right that they can share. The European Trade Union Cyber Network (ETUCyberNet) will be reinforced giving the opportunity for affiliates to invite their own member communicators and social media activists to join a dedicated digital space.
- 4.6.11. Implementing the ETUC Policy on countering the far-right in the European Parliament and the related action plan. The ETUC will continue with its action of boycotting far-right MEPs, parties and movements. At the start of the next Parliamentary term, the ETUC will assess the need to adapt the specific terms of its approach to the political groups in the EP. In accordance with the action plan 2022-2024, the ETUC will disclose the votes of far-right MEPs and Groups, which go against workers' and trade unions' interests, in key dossiers. Consequently it will prepare a comprehensive dossier for affiliates in view of the next European elections. In view of the European elections, the ETUC will mobilise to outline the detrimental actions of far-right MEPs, parties and governments with regard to dossiers of high-importance for workers and trade unions in Europe. The ETUC will be engaging in the discussions in the European Parliament on the fight against the far-right, including regarding relevant legislative and non-legislative initiatives. If a Convention to change the Treaties is opened, the ETUC will engage to include in the Treaties a specific reference to resistance to fascism and nazism as a fundamental value of the EU.
- 4.6.12. Building more alliances. The ETUC will actively promote alliances against far-right and the promotion of democracy, with political parties, employers and civil society. The implementation of these priorities and actions will be followed by the Working Group of the dedicated contact persons against the far-right.

# 4.7. Implementing the European Pillar of Social Rights

## State of play and Challenges

- 4.7.1. The European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR) has proven to be a valuable policy framework in dealing with the urgencies of the pandemic, especially in terms of active support to employment, secure and adaptable working conditions, social dialogue, health and safety at workplace, healthcare and essential services. The Action Plan to implement the EPSR will continue to be a valuable tool to build the social leg of the open strategic autonomy strategy of the EU and counter the consequences of the war and major risks coming from accelerated green and digital transitions. It also proposes three Headline Targets for the EU to be reached by 2030, based on an enhanced Social Scoreboard. The EPSR, with all its implementing tools, should be a more effective compass to evaluate the social quality of NRRPs whose social objectives remain underrepresented. All investments covered by the RRF are not conditional to net quality job creation.
- 4.7.2. Another progressive policy framework to advance the ecological and digital transformations for strategic autonomy and that is closely linked with the EPSR, is the UN2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

An SDG8-centred approach was valuable in designing a policy mix that ensures just transitions to transform the EU's economy into a more resilient, autonomous, advanced and green one. The ETUC developed the "Sustainable Growth & Decent Work Index" (#EU\_SDG8i), a tool to measures the potential for social and economic sustainability of a country, in terms of wellbeing, employment and decent work. Correlations are also investigated between the index and other SDG targets, as well as digitalisation and the Green Deal indicators so to put forward policy decisions that ensures social progress and environmental sustainability.

- 4.7.3. The ETUC needs to adapt its own demands to the speed with which the world is changing, and be able to protect people from social risks while enlarging the package of rights and freedoms of European workers. A regular mapping of social risks will focus our action on most vulnerable groups, in order to trigger un upward spiral of improvement of working conditions in which all workers will be better off. The combination of new legislative measures combined with better defined social objectives in the coordination of national policies offers a direction for the future. The ETUC action will concentrate on ensuring opportunities for all when accessing and participating in the labour market, and ensuring high levels of protection to all workers in their workplace and in their employment relationships (together with a strong social protection system and fighting precarious employment).
- 4.7.4. The advancement of a social dimension requires a more structured participation of social partners in the designing and implementation of policies at EU and national level. We need that social partners contribute to vision that allocates investments in sectors that are strategic for the EU economy, achieves all the SDGs and improves the position of women and youth in the labour market. ETUC will advocate for a framework of minimum rights and upward convergence of working conditions that fits with the current and future social challenges, with the priority to redistribute wealth and defend workers' interests, while pursuing a package of Just Transition measures, necessary to complement the achievement of the EPSR objectives, and designed to attain EU Strategic autonomy and socio-economic resilience.

- 4.7.5. The ETUC, with the TUSLOs (Trade Union Semester Liaison Officers) and members of other Permanent committees, will assess, monitor the implementation of the EPSR Action Plan through an annual review, "Status of the implementation of the EPSR" and update its policy proposals accordingly.
- 4.7.6. The review of the EPSR will evaluate what has been done, what is in the pipeline and what is left to do for different principles of the Pillar. It will elaborate an annual plan for the EPSR implementation that covers all ETUC initiatives to raise minimum standards and activate upward convergence of working conditions.
- 4.7.7. The ETUC will develop a process that tackles social imbalances, with the aim to establish a Social Imbalance Procedure in the European Semester in order to achieve an upward convergence of working conditions. The Semester has to identify social imbalances and remove them, using the EPSR as a compass, and exploiting the updated Social Scoreboard for qualitative/quantitative country-based analysis.
- 4.7.8. Elaborate an ETUC proposal for an EU instrument to help protect people in jobs, facing transitions, at risk of poverty or in poverty.

- 4.7.9. For the sustainability agenda, the ETUC will continue to deliver actions to raise awareness among workers. It will continue updating and using the #EU\_SDG8i to analyse the evolution of sustainability and social progress in the EU, and to steer its policy proposals at EU and national level. This includes a specific action to promote rule of law and legality and fight corruption and exploitation of work.
- 4.7.10. Pursue social progress measuring and monitoring progress under 3 main social areas: economic well-being, quality of employment and removal of workers' vulnerabilities.
- 4.7.11. The ETUC will continue monitoring the progresses toward the achievement of the SDGs through the European Semester and the NRRPs. The support provided under the RRF underpins a significant number of reforms and investments that are expected to help Member States make further progress towards the SDGs.
- 4.7.12. Principle 8 of the EPSR should be the engine of the active participation of social partners in the EU Semester and the implementation of the NRRPs. For this reason, the ETUC will advocate for setting a binding rule for governments to involve national social partners.

# 4.8. Right-Based Approach to Migration and Asylum

## State of play and Challenges

- 4.8.1. The war in Ukraine lead to the activation for the first time of the Temporary Protection Directive which covers and supports millions of Ukraine refugees in Europe to access their basic rights. This was the correct European approach to this emergency, which should have been triggered in other situations (Syria, Afghanistan, etc). The development of the support in the access to employment, education, housing, social protection, social assistance, and healthcare, are necessary conditions for welcoming and integrating refugees.
- 4.8.2. As the issue of this crisis is uncertain and as many other migrants, including asylum-seekers and undocumented migrants are in the same need of assistance, these essential services to refugees should be supported and stabilised in the long-term as an essential component of an open and inclusive European migration and asylum policy. Solutions for undocumented migrant workers and regular channels for labour migration should complement a long-waited rights-based approach of European migration and asylum policies.
- 4.8.3. For this reason, ETUC will prioritize the following four aspects:
  - A comprehensive migration and asylum agenda for Europe that commits all member states; based on solidarity, responsibility, and full respect of human rights, including the revision of the Dublin Regulations and the support to search and rescue at sea.
- 4.8.4. Improve labour migration pathways for migrant workers across sectors and skills levels, and an integration and inclusion policy based on equal treatment of all migrants in the labour market, including through the concrete implementation of the European Partnership for Integration signed by the European Commission and the economic and social partners in 2017 and which was renewed in 2020.
- 4.8.5. Fight against labour exploitation and abuse. All migrant workers including undocumented ones must be able to enforce their labour rights without risking immigration enforcement and deportation. Effective

- complaint mechanisms and firewalls between labour inspectorates and migration authorities must be available for all workers regardless of status.
- 4.8.6. Support and organise migrant workers including those undocumented by trade unions is essential in helping workers claim their rights. Joining a union remains key for the successful inclusion of migrants in communities and societies.

- 4.8.7. The ETUC will lobby to improve the overall migration legislative framework and reinforce the equal treatment and protection of all migrant workers, particularly in the upcoming legislative proposals recast of the Single Permit and the Long-Term Residents Directive.
- 4.8.8. The ETUC will engage in a structured dialogue with the Commission to identify avenues for the improvement of the Employers Sanctions Directive, including providing residence permits for workers reporting exploitation and reinforcing labour inspectorates. The ETUC will lobby for an EU Directive setting minimum standards on labour inspections and complaints mechanisms on the basis of ILO Convention No. 81.
- 4.8.9. The ETUC will continue to coordinate and support the work of the UnionMigrantNet and seek funding opportunities to enhance the network's activities, based on the LABOUR-INT and UMN & Cities Together for Integration practices.
- 4.8.10. The ETUC will support members' activities to organise migrants and refugees and collectively bargain to ensure all workers, no matter their immigration status or nationality, are treated equally and have their rights respected. The ETUC together with the ETUI will continue to develop trainings on migration issues including the exchange of national best practices.

5.	Together:	An	<b>ETUC</b>	Fit	for	<b>Purpose</b>
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(this chapter may or may not constitute part of the ETUC Action Programme)

Amendments

# A stronger ETUC to deliver on our priorities

- 5.1 The European trade union movement constitutes a formidable force for social progress at European level. Over the years, it has delivered important results and real gains for workers and their unions throughout Europe. At the same time, the European trade union movement is facing new and significant challenges. To overcome these challenges, there is the necessity for a strong and united ETUC that can lead change, in solidarity and in an open and transparent manner. We need an ETUC that places the needs and priorities of trade unions and working people at its very core and that can deliver a new momentum for a trade union led vision for Europe.
- 5.2 The capacity of the trade union movement to achieve social progress is closely linked with the capacity to define priority objectives and mobilise and coordinate the whole movement behind them, both to set and implement the autonomous agenda for trade union renewal and for European trade unionism and to influence the European institutions' agenda and decisions.
- 5.3 This requires an ETUC which is fit for purpose. This entails improvements to our working methods and adapting and strengthening the organisation to deliver on the priorities set by the Congress.

#### Secretariat

**Proposed text** 

5.4 It is necessary for the ETUC Secretariat to be able to act in a collegiate manner under the leadership of the General Secretary (GS) to deliver on its tasks and on the Congress priorities. The Secretariat bears collective responsibility for delivering on our strategic priorities and towards the Executive Committee. In this framework, under the leadership of the GS, each member of the Secretariat has clear areas of responsibility. Regular and reliable Secretariat meetings provide for the necessary exchange of information, discussions and collective decision making.

## **Presidency**

5.5 The Presidency should be more strongly involved in the life of the organisation to support the General Secretary and the Secretariat in delivering on the ETUC priorities. Specific tasks should be conferred to the Presidency by the GS or the Executive Committee. The Presidency should be closely involved in the preparation of the ETUC Statutory meetings.

### **Executive Committee**

5.6 The Executive Committee (ExCo) of the ETUC needs to be able to focus on the strategic agenda of the trade union movement, discussing and taking decisions on key choices and developments. Too detail oriented and specific discussions should be avoided as much as possible. Discussions with key political

- leaders will be organised during specific sessions of the Executive Committee. ETUC affiliates should commit to ensure representation at the highest levels in the ExCo meetings to ensure political decision-making.
- 5.7 Documents submitted to the ExCo should be shorter (2 pages supported with Annexes) and better focused. A stronger role for the ETUC Committees should be foreseen in the preparation of the documents, bearing in mind that this is not always possible considering the calendar of the Committee and ExCo meetings and the topics under discussion.
- 5.8 As per ETUC Constitution, there will be 4 meetings of the Executive Committee every year.
- 5.9 Executive Committee meetings will take place in person.

## **Steering Committee**

- 5.10 The tasks of the Steering Committee (SC) should be clarified as making decisions on the use of organisation resources to achieve the priorities set by the Executive Committee. The SC needs to be empowered to take strategic decisions on financial and administrative matters to ensure the financial health of the ETUC, in line with the Constitution, on the basis of timely, accurate and transparent information. In addition, the SC should be able to take decisions on urgent matters to carry out priorities determined by the Congress or the Executive Committee.
- 5.11 As per ETUC Constitution, there will be 8 meetings of the Steering Committee every year.
- 5.12 Steering Committee meetings will take place online (apart when organised immediately before or after the Executive Committee meetings).

### **Summer Schools and Mid-Term Conference**

5.13 The Summer Schools and the Mid-Term Conference must become moments of exchange and of engagement of trade union leaders. They must be organised with sufficient advance and have clear agendas and objectives to allow strategic discussions to take place. This requires the topics for the Summer Schools and the Mid-Term Conference to be agreed by the first Executive Committee of the year.

### **Committees**

- 5.14 The number of the Committees should be reduced and should follow the priorities adopted at the Congress, on the basis of the restructuring outlined in Annex. The Secretariat will submit to the ExCo for adoption updated Rules of Procedure and Terms of Reference for the Committees by the end of 2023.
- 5.15 The lists of the official members of the different Committees, including ETUC Secretariat members and advisors responsible, will be sent annually to the ExCo and to Member Organisations. Where more than one trade union exist in a country, the member of the Committee shall inform the other unions and coordinate their positions with regard to the issues under discussion.
- 5.16 The organisation of Committee meetings will be improved. The meetings shall be convened sufficiently in advance. Documents for the meetings shall be sent to Committee members at least a week in advance

– with exceptions possible in extraordinary circumstances. Committees shall be able to make decisions on the concrete implementation of decisions and priorities defined by the Executive Committee. Specific arrangements for voting in the Committees shall be defined. Minutes of the Committees shall be produced (containing only essential information and decisions taken) and circulated to the Executive Committee for their information as attachment to the GS communications.

### A stronger coordination with the ETUFs

- 5.17 The capacity to develop joint mobilisation and coordinated and effective advocacy with national affiliates and the ETUFs is key to achieve gains for trade unions and working people, including closer coordination in initiatives at national level and at European level.
- 5.18 The ETUC Secretariat will have periodic meetings (at least once a year) with the General Secretaries of the ETUFs. Specific ETUFs could take the leadership for the trade union movement on specific dossiers of high interest / impact for their sectors.<sup>1</sup>

### A stronger coordination with the ETUI

5.19 Reinforced coordination between the ETUI and the ETUC will be guaranteed, to make sure that the institute can continue to provide support in delivering on the priorities set by the trade union movement.<sup>2</sup>

## A stronger coordination with the EESC Workers' Group

5.20 The ETUC will continue and reinforce its cooperation with the Workers' Group in the European Economic and Social Committee, including through periodic exchanges between the Secretariat and the Workers' Group bureau. An annual summit co-organised by the ETUC and the Workers' Group is to take place each year and in advance of the State of the Union address.<sup>3</sup>

## A stronger coordination towards the European institutions

- 5.21 A strong coordination with affiliates in the relationship with the European institutions is necessary. The ETUC will continue to guarantee close coordination with affiliates in the activities and advocacy. Amongst others, specific coordination will be guaranteed with affiliates from Member States whose governments hold the Council Presidency, grouped by trio Presidencies. Key European Council meeting will be prepared in advance to ensure effective and coordinated initiatives and advocacy efforts. The network of National Officers will continue to play an important role in coordinating advocacy actions by affiliates.
- 5.22 The ETUC will organise an annual High-Level Trade Union Conference in the European Parliament.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The ETUFs are preparing a contribution on this point.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The ETUI has been asked to send a contribution on this point.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Workers' Group has been asked to send a contribution on this point.

5.23 The ETUC will continue its activities and engagement in the Council of Europe, and in particular in the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR). The ETUC will intensify its work to support affiliates in their advocacy and work towards EFTA and other European institutions outside the EU.

## Annex I: ETUC Committees – current situation & proposed reorganisation

Situation – August 2022
Collective Bargaining and Wage Coordination Committee
2. Economic and Social Cohesion and Regional Policies Committee
3. Economic Committee
4. Education and Training Committee
5. Employment, Mobility and Labour Market Committee
6. Ad Hoc Committee for External Relations
7. Health and Safety Committee
8. Interregional Trade Union Councils (IRTUC) – statutory committee
Labour and Internal Market Legislation Committee
10. Migration and Inclusion Committee
11. Press, Communication and Campaigns Committee
12. Social Dialogue Committee
13. Social Protection Committee
14. Standardisation Committee
15. Sustainable Development, Energy and Climate Change Committee
16. Trade Committee
17. Women's Committee – statutory committee
18. Workers' Participation and Company Policy Committee
19. Youth Committee – statutory committee

Proposed reorganisation to be defined on the basis of the agreed priorities for the Congress