



A NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT

CONGRESS STATEMENT



ITUC CSI IGB

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CONGRESS STATEMENT

1. The inequalities and injustices that are at the heart of the failed economic system with huge deficits in corporate and financial regulation have been brutally exposed and massively deepened by the COVID-19 pandemic. A New Social Contract is more urgent than ever before, to put the economy in the service of humankind and save people and the planet from the threat of destruction. It is through the power of organised labour that the New Social Contract can be achieved. It provides the foundations for democracy, equality, shared prosperity and the resilience required to overcome the challenges facing people everywhere.
2. For over 150 years, workers have organised themselves into democratic trade unions, creating a powerful and independent force for democracy and rights. Unions have driven social and economic progress through decades of collective action, ensuring a countervailing force against exploitation, greed and discrimination. The enduring values of our movement enshrined in the ITUC's founding **Declaration of Principles** are the foundations for a world where peace, democracy, sustainable development and equality for all are paramount. A world where workers' rights are respected, living standards are decent and no-one is left behind.

3. That vision cannot be realised through the prevailing neoliberal, corporate dominated global economy. A fundamental transformation is required, and Congress commits the ITUC to fighting to achieve that transformation. Tackling inequities, exploitation and discrimination at the margins will not suffice. Change must be all-embracing and to the benefit of all the world's people. This Statement sets out what must be done to achieve that transformation and install a new model.

4. Congress reaffirms the Statement adopted by the 4th ITUC World Congress in Copenhagen in 2018, which details the fault-lines in the world economy and in which we committed to pursue the realisation of a New Social Contract as the way forward. Building workers' power - freedom of association, collective bargaining and social dialogue must be at the heart of this.

5. The imperative of the New Social Contract has become yet more urgent with the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, the latest of the intersecting crises facing the world.

- i.** Millions have died in the pandemic, hundreds of millions of jobs have been lost and billions of people in developing countries remain excluded from decent jobs, vaccination and medical care. The responses of most governments, and of the international financial and trade institutions, have been manifestly inadequate in all these areas.
- ii.** Climate change is accelerating, destroying lives and livelihoods, generating extreme weather events, annihilating habitats and creating additional risks to health.

- iii. Poverty and economic inequality continue to grow, the promise of sustainable and inclusive development for poorer countries is still unmet - 2 billion people are trapped in the desperation of the informal economy and most of the world's people lack social protection.
- iv. Wages for many workers are too low, the labour share of GDP continues to fall and hundreds of millions of people are unable to meet their basic needs.
- v. Changes in work patterns and the abusive use of temporary and short-term contracts have resulted in massive job insecurity and undermined freedom of association, collective bargaining and access to labour protection.
- vi. Women face discrimination everywhere, they are severely under-represented in decision-making bodies, the global gender pay gap is still above 20% and the gender gap in labour force participation sits at 27%. Data on women's employment is scarce or absent in many countries, they are in the majority in the informal economy and much work done by women is undervalued or not paid at all.
- vii. Young people face social and economic exclusion in every part of the world.
- viii. At least 2.8 million lives are lost each year to occupational disease and accidents and millions more live with injuries and illnesses caused by their work.
- ix. A large proportion of women experience, or have experienced, gender-based violence and harassment, including at work.
- x. Much of the world's population is denied the benefits of technology, a few corporate predators have captured colossal wealth through their control of data, and the real risks to jobs and rights from rapid technological change remain unaddressed.

- xi.** The failure to deliver for people means that democracy is under threat, people increasingly feel disenfranchised, trust in governments continues to fall and multilateralism and international solidarity are in retreat.
- xii.** The threat of nuclear war remains real, as does the menace of armed conflict within and between nations.
- xiii.** A **decades-long trend** in erosion of workers' rights is driving poverty, exclusion, insecurity and mistrust, with employers denying their obligations to their workers, including in supply chains.
- xiv.** Racism, xenophobia and discrimination remain a blight on the world and migrant workers and indigenous people face exploitation across every region. Racism is a major cause of inequality and costs lives.
- xv.** Millions of people are trapped in forced labour, modern slavery or human trafficking, and tens of millions of children are at work instead of school.

6. Democracy is under attack worldwide, from the murderous repression in Myanmar and Iran, to the imposition of authoritarian regimes in Hong Kong and Belarus, through to the destabilisation of political processes in established democracies as corporations wield increasing power and extremists use traditional media and the internet to spread far-right political narratives, disinformation and destabilisation. Nationalism, populism, xenophobia, antisemitism and islamophobia are on the rise including new forms of fascism. The very international institutions and processes which can and must lay the foundations for inclusiveness, shared prosperity and a sustainable future have been severely weakened. Many of them are not fit for the current age and require fundamental reform to make them fulfil the role which they should play in implementing the new social contract by supporting and implementing the demands of working people set out in this statement. The ITUC is committed to multilateralism and welcomes the work of those international institutions which are already supporting the elements of the new social contract.

- 7.** The ITUC supports the United Nations as the peak multilateral body and its role including working for peace, and recognises that UN reform must increase accountability and effectiveness, recognising the responsibilities of member states to support the UN Charter and its work.
- 8.** We further support the United Nations' work in three particular areas of focus for the coming years as key elements in reform of the global economy and in realising the Sustainable Development Goals:
 - i.** The Global Accelerator for Jobs and Social Protection;
 - ii.** The Global Alliance for Care;
 - iii.** Ensuring that the social contract is a centrepiece of "Our Common Agenda" towards a new World Summit for Social Development in 2025.
- 9.** Since the last ITUC World Congress, millions of people have died as a result of wars, including hundreds of thousands of lives lost in the conflicts in Yemen and Tigray. With Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine, there have been conflicts in every region of the world in recent years, causing millions of people to become refugees outside their home country and tens of millions more displaced internally – the vast majority in less wealthy countries.
- 10.** Peace is at the heart of the ITUC's values, and the absolute rejection of war and its attendant atrocities must drive the achievement of a framework for common security, cemented on the principles of the United Nations, that addresses the ideological, social and economic causes of conflicts and holds to account those who are responsible for initiating and sustaining wars and for committing war crimes as well as terrorist attacks.
- 11.** As the largest organised democratic force among nations, the world's trade union movement is indispensable in overcoming the challenges and in the quest for peace. Strengthening solidarity in times of crisis is essential for creating a more fair and humane world.

12. We reassert our commitment to organise to build workers' power, to tackle these and other crises facing the world. We take pride in the countless achievements of trade union solidarity, which have delivered so much to so many, and pledge to fight for all people to reap the benefits of union action and assume the power that comes with being in the union.

- i.** Unions in every region are playing a vital role in responses to the Covid-19 pandemic and in building the resilience needed.
- ii.** Working people continue to show their determination to organise even where rights are denied, where repression is rampant and where dictators rule. Every day, workers are winning organising campaigns and securing collective agreements.
- iii.** Contributing to securing a better world for workers and their families, we are at the forefront of campaigning for the UN Sustainable Development Goals including Goal 8 on Decent Work to be met and have had important successes at the ILO with the Convention Against Violence and Harassment at Work and the ILO Centenary Declaration in 2019 as well as the 2021 ILO Global Call to Action around the pandemic.
- iv.** We have succeeded in putting the demand for a global social protection fund on the international agenda.
- v.** Just Transition has been established as central to the fight against climate change and unions in every region are engaged in Just Transition to achieve a zero-carbon zero-poverty future.
- vi.** The United Nations has endorsed the need for a New Social Contract.
- vii.** The quest for due diligence in supply chains is gaining strong momentum.

- viii. International trade union solidarity is as strong as at any time in history.

13. At crucial times in human history, the social contract has laid the foundations for social and economic justice, with:

- i. The creation of the ILO in 1919 following the devastation of the First World War: “Universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice”
- ii. The adoption of the Declaration of Philadelphia by the ILO in 1944 in the midst of the destruction of the Second World War, with its commitment to “Full employment and the raising of standards of living” and its assertions that “labour is not a commodity, freedom of expression and of association are essential for sustained progress, and poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere”.
- iii. These set the path for shared prosperity in much of the world, however today the social contract is broken. The immensity and complexity of the intersecting challenges facing the world require vision and determination equal to that of the visionaries who created the first and second iterations of the social contract. And this time, the social contract must not be limited to those countries which are already wealthy. It must be for all and it must be resilient against future shocks and powerful interests which oppose social and economic justice. A strong and effective ILO, driving the multilateral agenda, is central to this. While important elements of the post-World War II social contract remain in place in many countries, due to the vigilance and organisation of trade unions, these are under continuous threat in the absence of a new social contract for the world.

14. Despite efforts by employers to undermine the ILO and in particular its core labour standards, and with many governments neither respecting

their ILO obligations nor standing up for it against employer attacks, the ILO has delivered for working people, and Congress is determined that the union movement will defend and support the ILO with its normative mandate and tripartite structure.

15. The major fault-lines in the global economy and in societies have been embedded for years, even decades, as described in the ITUC Copenhagen Congress Statement. Since Copenhagen, the world has experienced three accelerating and converging global trends on which trade union action, at all levels, is critically important:

- i. Climate Change
- ii. The Pandemic and Global Health
- iii. Technological Change

CLIMATE

16. Global warming is costing lives and livelihoods, and without far-reaching and ambitious action, threatens to render the planet uninhabitable to human beings. It is destroying jobs and threatens to destroy a great many more. Extreme weather events are now common occurrences, irreversible melting of ice-masses and tundra is underway, and biodiversity is declining dramatically. Tens of millions of climate refugees are displaced each year and the number continues to increase. The costs of inaction, in human and economic terms, vastly outweigh the investment which is needed now to rebalance the earth's atmosphere.

- 17.** On current trends the world will struggle to keep the global temperature increase under 1.5°C, with devastating effects. Despite their pledges under the Paris Agreement, and yet more evidence of the impacts of global warming, many countries are failing to meet their obligations under Nationally Determined Contributions which meet the twin objectives of emissions reductions and climate adaptation. The least wealthy countries, home to many of the people most vulnerable to climate change, are deprived of the resources and the international solidarity needed to make and fulfil adequate commitments. While many investors and businesses are now publicly committing to net-zero emissions, others, including in carbon-intensive sectors, are stalling progress. Trade unions have moved the agenda with progress on Just Transition, negotiating the decarbonisation of industries and cities while ensuring decent jobs in the transformation.
- 18.** Neoliberal climate and energy policies, which are tied to privatisation and commodification, have failed to halt the rise of greenhouse gas emissions and are contributing to major energy cost increases for consumers and industry. The increasing phenomenon of energy poverty must be tackled through development of renewables capacity and efficient transmission systems which bring energy to all. Governments and public authorities need to ensure that the obligation to eradicate energy poverty and precarity is met. Access to energy must be seen as a human right.
- 19.** In addition, deforestation, biodiversity loss, pollution of waterways and the oceans and other ecological destruction must be prevented, halted and reversed. Scarcity of water is leaving whole populations vulnerable to drought and famine.
- 20. Congress:**
 - i.** reaffirms the urgency of tackling climate change in order to save humanity and the biosphere;

- ii.** declares that failure to act on climate is a betrayal of young people and future generations. Trade unions must support mobilisation and organisation of young people to secure a just and sustainable future;
- iii.** demands that all governments implement transformative policies to reverse the trend of climate change through decarbonisation of all economic activities, including meeting and exceeding internationally agreed commitments and targets;
- iv.** insists that Just Transition with the full involvement of unions, without which climate change cannot be reversed, be central to all efforts to tackle climate change;
- v.** recognises that climate action with Just Transition creates jobs and supports a skilled and educated workforce;
- vi.** commits to work for the retention, reclamation and expansion of public ownership of energy infrastructure and services;
- vii.** calls upon employers to adopt zero-carbon strategies in consultation with trade unions, through collective bargaining and social dialogue;
- viii.** demands that international trade and investment policies, as well as investors including pension funds, support the imperative of a zero-carbon zero-poverty future;
- ix.** insists on the importance of technology transfer, and supportive provisions in loans and grants, to enable all countries to transform their economies and create decent jobs through Just Transition;

- x. reaffirms the importance of global actions and resources for adapting to and mitigating the impacts of climate change and supporting Just Transition in the least wealthy and most vulnerable countries;
- xi. supports compensation for loss and damage due to climate change;
- xii. calls for an end to wasteful government subsidies to fossil fuel companies and action to prevent their profiteering while ensuring protection of households against energy poverty; for public procurement to support climate action; and for investors to make investments conditional on Just Transition away from fossil fuels with employment guarantees;
- xiii. calls for the necessary levels of investment in skills and lifelong learning needed to ensure Just Transition;
- xiv. acknowledges the excellent work being done by unions in every region, often in alliance with others, and also at the workplace level including through joining “Climate- and Employment-Proof Our Workplaces” initiatives.

THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND GLOBAL HEALTH

- 21.** “Public health challenges, including pandemics and epidemics, remain omnipresent threats”. *ITUC 2018 Copenhagen Congress Statement.*

- 22.** The Covid-19 pandemic took hold in a world unprepared and under-resourced. Warnings from scientists over many years were largely ignored by governments which were focused on the short term and were unwilling to reverse decades of attacks on public services, deregulation, underfunding, and privatisation including corporate capture of health and care. The result has been a global catastrophe with millions losing their lives, many more falling ill, and hundreds of millions of jobs destroyed. Whole sectors of the economy have been devastated. The most vulnerable have been hit hardest in all societies, with the economic impacts falling in heavy disproportion on women. Education has been severely disrupted at a time when skills and qualifications are vital to tackling the intersecting crises facing people everywhere. Young people face even greater uncertainty than before, and the heaviest burden of all is being borne yet again by the least-wealthy countries where large numbers of people have been unable to access vaccines, tests and other health essentials.
- 23.** The lack of qualified health and care workers in the least wealthy countries is exacerbated by the “brain drain” of trained workers from these countries migrating to richer countries in search of better economic opportunities.
- 24.** While scientists developed effective vaccines with unprecedented speed, vaccine nationalism, intellectual property provisions, insufficient global production capacity and the virtual absence of vaccine manufacturing in all but a few developing countries deprived people of life-saving protection, dramatically increased inequality and allowed the SARS-CoV-2 virus to mutate into yet more dangerous variants.
- 25.** The lack of testing and diagnostic capacity in many countries also means that the reported global rates of Covid-19 and of deaths attributed to it are vastly underestimated, while the burden on healthcare systems in virtually every country has meant that other medical conditions have gone untreated or been treated with considerable delay, adding to the overall burden of disease and of mortality. In addition, the adverse mental health impacts of the pandemic including from the measures needed to contain outbreaks, will continue to be felt for years to come.

- 26.** Many governments responded rapidly to the impacts on jobs and incomes, with trillions of dollars spent on mostly temporary measures to mitigate the worst economic effects. Unions in many countries were able to shape the funding packages through social dialogue and public pressure. Nevertheless, many countries have had their economies undermined and lack fiscal space, making it harder to support workers and their families. Overall there is little sign yet that sufficient political will exists to make social protection universal and to invest in jobs for the medium to long term. This must change, in order to build the resilience to avoid catastrophic impacts from future shocks.
- 27.** In a number of countries, government responses have been inadequate, deepening and prolonging the crisis and denying many people access to government financial support while tailoring support to the interests of businesses. In some cases, such as Brazil, the national authorities' absolute failure of central government, coupled with manipulation of the pandemic for political reasons, could be considered as crimes against humanity. Conversely, workers, communities and economies have fared better where social dialogue has worked and where unions have been able to negotiate at national, sectoral and enterprise level to secure safer working conditions and compensation for lost income.
- 28.** Much transmission of the virus occurs in workplaces – in health and care facilities, logistics, agriculture, education, transport and many other sectors. Success in managing this and future pandemics depends heavily on ensuring healthy and safe workplaces, with all workers having the right to appropriate sick pay and the right to refuse unsafe work, thus helping to prevent transmission. That is why our demand that occupational health and safety be recognised as a fundamental right, not only in law but in practice in every workplace, will not only save lives at work, but will make a vital contribution to public health today and into the future.
- 29.** Important lessons must be learned from the Covid-19 pandemic, including on surveillance of potential and emerging threats and international reporting and information sharing on these, on the need for investment in care and in public health capacity and strategies, on support for

research and development of pharmaceutical interventions, and on the value of non-pharmaceutical interventions and the economic and social framework for sustaining them.

30. Congress:

- i.** demands that all people have access to free, quality public healthcare, including effective and up-to-date vaccines, treatments and tests, including rapid antigen tests, for Covid-19 and other pandemic and endemic diseases;
- ii.** demands that all intellectual property barriers, including at the WTO, to development of and affordable access to vaccines, tests and treatments in particular for developing countries, be removed;
- iii.** calls for a global effort to build production capacity for vaccines, tests and treatments in developing countries;
- iv.** insists on the promotion of public investment policies in research and on accountability of pharmaceutical companies concerning public funds;
- v.** welcomes the 2021 ILO global call to action for a human-centred recovery from the COVID-19 crisis that is inclusive, sustainable and resilient;
- vi.** insists that evidence-based regulatory approval for vaccines and other medical products be done in a timely manner and not on the basis of pure national, or private, interest;
- vii.** recognises that full employment and a labour protection floor with fundamental rights, living wages and control over working hours are fundamental to public health, recovery and resilience;

- viii. commits to continue the fight for every workplace to be healthy and safe and for every worker to have the right to refuse unsafe work;
- ix. recalls the importance of achieving the UN SDGs including on water, sanitation and habitat as crucial to ensuring public health;
- x. calls for major investments in public health and care which are fundamental to preparedness, resilience and response as well as to intergenerational solidarity;
- xi. demands that all countries and employers provide paid sick leave, including paid sick leave to be vaccinated, tested or to isolate for Covid-19;
- xii. recalls the importance of social security, with social protection for all;
- xiii. insists that all countries should recognise Covid-19 as an occupational disease.

TECHNOLOGY

- 31. From their earliest beginnings, trade unions have negotiated, bargained and delivered collective agreements around the introduction of new technology, maximising benefits for workers, minimising negative impacts and ensuring that the economic gains from technology are shared. This crucial role of unions has been steadily undermined, with freedom of association and collective bargaining under attack and employers using

technological applications to avoid the employment relationship and even to put workers under the authority of algorithms and subject them to intrusive surveillance. Rapid advances in technical knowledge and innovation are taking place in virtually every industry and indeed every sphere of human activity, however the economic gains are not being shared equitably. Nowhere is this more evident than in the technology sector itself, where a small number of oligarchs have extracted colossal fortunes – much of it untaxed. At the same time, nearly half of the world’s population does not have access to quality and affordable internet.

32. The impacts of technological advancement are unequal, depending on the position countries have in global supply chains, with insufficient technology transfer leaving many countries behind, thus entrenching poverty. Unions in many countries, in particular lower and middle income countries also lack the possibilities and the resources to negotiate effectively around the introduction of new technology.

33. The generation of data is central to technological advancement in the internet age, especially with the acceleration of machine learning or “artificial intelligence”. The volume of data being created and processed is increasing exponentially, and it is the ownership and control of that data that determines social and economic outcomes. Historically, technical advance has been a net creator of employment and of huge benefit to humanity – ensuring that this remains the case into the future depends on the rules governing control of data, the right to privacy, organising and collective bargaining rights and life-long learning.

34. Where the introduction of technology is negotiated with unions, not only are the interests of workers protected – more efficient and effective deployment of the technology is also achieved. For technological change to serve the common good, governments must design and implement regulatory frameworks that ensure access to technology for all and reinforce fundamental ILO standards and other internationally recognised human rights in a rapidly changing world. People must have the right to own and control data about themselves just as they must have the right to control over their own bodies. Central to this is the distinction between

people's private data, official data such as that legitimately required for government records, and data which people choose to share with others.

- 35.** Technology has also facilitated remote- and home-based working, with positive and negative impacts for working people. Many more workers now work from home since the pandemic emerged, and for some, home-based working is likely to be permanent. In many cases, permanent remote work is imposed by employers without negotiation or even consultation. More and more workers are subjected to highly intrusive and pervasive employer surveillance in the home working environment and maintaining a decent work/life balance is difficult or even impossible for many. Digital technology is also being deployed to increase outsourcing and subcontracting, to the detriment of rights, job security, and wages.
- 36.** Just Transition and digital rights for workers in managing the disruption of technological change are important today and will only increase in importance. Digital rights, founded on the ILO's fundamental standards and supported by the implementation of those standards, are vital for supporting employment, overcoming gender disparities in access to and use of technology, ensuring workers' health and safety, and guaranteeing a decent work/life balance.
- 37.** With increasing provision of government services by digital means, lack of access to digital technology deprives many, in particular in the informal economy, of access to vital government services and support.
- 38.** Research, education, and research-driven innovation are prerequisites to developing and maintaining sustainable societies. Research, academic freedom and trust in knowledge are foundations of democracy.
- 39. Congress:**
 - i.** demands that governments implement policies and regulations governing technology, data and deployment of algorithms that are employment- and worker-friendly and ensure privacy and people's control over and ownership of their own data;

- ii.** calls on governments and international institutions to bridge the global digital divide, to bring internet connectivity to all the world's people as a human right and to ensure access to technology for all;
- iii.** calls on governments and international institutions to put in place proactive digitalisation policies and strategies including for improving access to public services;
- iv.** declares that governments must not ratify trade agreements with provisions that limit the ability of governments to regulate the digital economy;
- v.** demands that large tech monopolies be broken up to ensure fair competition and an end to monopoly power;
- vi.** calls for tax reform to ensure tech companies pay their fair share of tax in the country where profits are generated;
- vii.** calls for national and international frameworks that require prior negotiations with unions concerning the introduction of new technologies in enterprises;
- viii.** insists that governments regulate the labour market to end the false classification of workers as independent contractors, and ensure that workers in platform and other digitally-mediated and technology-related businesses have full organising and collective bargaining rights;
- ix.** further insists that governments withdraw competition rules that stop freelance workers from collectively establishing and bargaining for fair rates for their work;
- x.** demands that regulatory frameworks ensure decent working conditions for remote workers, including through promotion of collective bargaining, and prohibit intrusive surveillance of workers wherever they work;

- xi.** calls for strong and urgent action to stop and bring to account companies which profit from the dissemination of lies, hate-speech and disinformation;
- xii.** exhorts governments and business to maximise, in every country, the potential of new technology to create decent, sustainable jobs that contribute to a zero-carbon zero-poverty world;
- xiii.** calls for implementation of the right to quality publicly funded education for all as a basis for all roles that contribute to a well-functioning society, and for free lifelong learning systems to be put in place to develop knowledge, capabilities and technical skills while preparing for and seeking work, as well as while in work;
- xiv.** recognises that lifelong learning requires investment in education at all levels, with decent work and proper facilities for teachers and trainers, along with academic freedom;
- xv.** opposes any liberalisation of international digital trade that could prevent States from regulating the social and fiscal practices of digital operators;
- xvi.** insists that governments address the impacts of digitally-mediated business on informality, including in global supply chains.

40. These three converging global trends are potent threats to humanity today and the global trade union movement's response to them is critically important. While the call for a New Social Contract is gaining momentum, it can only be of lasting impact if it can stand the test of time and if it is resilient in the face of inevitable opposition from regressive political forces and from corporate power. It must be built on new ways to measure social and economic progress and to hold governments to account. Most importantly, it can only be legitimate if it is based on the demands of working people.

NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT

41. Congress calls for the New Social Contract to be founded on six workers' demands:

- i. Jobs
- ii. Rights
- iii. Wages
- iv. Social Protection
- v. Equality
- vi. Inclusion

JOBS

42. The effects of the Covid-19 pandemic have destroyed more than 250 million jobs worldwide and worsened the extent of underemployment in many countries. Even before the pandemic, governments were showing little commitment to full employment as a central policy objective. In order to reach full employment, 575 million new jobs need to be created. Most of these jobs will need to be filled by women to overcome the gender jobs gap. Increasingly, existing jobs are becoming more precarious and are failing to deliver decent living standards. Many do not even meet the often-insufficient official minimum wage levels where they exist. Young people in particular have been heavily impacted, with high levels of youth unemployment, the prevalence of precarious employment arrangements and even the absence of any employment contract at all.

- 43.** In addition, some 2 billion workers are trapped in informal employment. Formalising these jobs must be a key objective of governments, with the support of international institutions, in particular the ILO. Reform of the international financial institutions, in order to create the conditions for both job creation and formalisation, is crucial. So too are the creation of a worker-friendly trade system and the design and delivery of industrial policy including international support for domestic industrial policy initiatives. To deliver on these targets, governments must engage with unions through social dialogue to develop national jobs plans for climate-friendly jobs with Just Transition, and to monitor and ensure their implementation. There must be a particular focus on public sector-led investment in health and care and on infrastructure that contributes both to net-zero carbon and to climate resilience.
- 44.** Globally, employment losses for women stand at 5%, versus 3.9% for men. 90% of women who lost their jobs in the first 18 months of the pandemic exited the labour force, meaning potentially extended exclusion of women from employment. Jobs plans must redress this gender imbalance by focusing especially on job creation for women as well as for young people.
- 45.** The pandemic has also brutally exposed the consequences of under-investment in health and care, with care facilities unable to provide adequate care for the vulnerable, and hospitals and public health systems lacking the capacity to manage the deluge of cases. It has also revealed the impact of privatisation of these vital services, with private providers extracting profit at the expense of universal coverage and often of quality care. In addition, the pressure on health facilities and mobile care systems, already weakened by privatisation and lack of sufficient funding, has caused a huge deficit in treatment of other serious health conditions, with severe consequences for those who have been unable to obtain health care.
- 46.** Public investment in employment creation and creation of decent and secure jobs in both the public and private sectors in turn generates

further economic growth and more jobs. A combination of regulatory and fiscal measures, investment in education and training and active labour market policies are all essential components in a coherent and effective jobs plan. In addition, efforts to retain jobs with social protection through social dialogue led by trade unions have contributed to mitigating the negative effects of the crisis. Along with this, industry policy is returning to centre-stage in public debates and must provide a foundation for national jobs plans and development.

- 47.** Achieving full employment requires fiscal space for governments, with support and incentives from the international financial institutions for macro-economic policies that generate jobs taking advantage of the newest technology.
- 48.** The contribution of the social and solidarity economy, through cooperatives and other mutual undertakings, to creating and sustaining employment must also be fostered through policies and programmes that support their development.
- 49.** Some governments have performed well in retaining and generating decent jobs, and the lessons from these experiences need to be analysed and applied elsewhere.
- 50. Congress:**
 - i.** declares that creation of decent and secure jobs is essential to recovery from the initial impacts of the pandemic and from other global crises, and to the resilience and sustainability needed for the future;
 - ii.** calls for full employment to be a core policy objective for all governments, and for international financial and other institutions such as the WTO to give priority support to job creation, in particular for women and young people;

- iii. sets a target of 575 million jobs to be created in order to reach full employment along with the formalisation of at least half of all informal jobs by 2030, recognising the importance of ILO Recommendation 204;
- iv. calls for all governments to establish and implement, in consultation with unions, national jobs plans as part of recovery plans that ensure the creation of climate-friendly employment with Just Transition, giving priority to public sector-led investment in health, care and climate-friendly infrastructure and including job retention measures with appropriate social protection;
- v. calls for governments, with the support of the international institutions, to maximise the deployment of new technology for employment-intensive climate action, including through removing barriers to and providing incentives for technology transfer;
- vi. emphasises the need for concerted action to support the formalisation of informal work into decent jobs as part of job-creation strategies;
- vii. insists on the need for adequate investment in education and training in order to realise SDG4 for inclusive, equitable and quality education for all and to promote lifelong learning possibilities for all;
- viii. calls on governments to recognise and enhance collective bargaining as a fundamental right and as an effective tool for shared responsibility and prosperity, transitions and trust;
- ix. calls for multilateral cooperation with debt relief, and where relevant debt elimination, investment and cooperation on taxation to enable countries to invest in job creation.

RIGHTS

51. Attacks on basic rights around the world are eroding democracy and accountability, stoking division and populism and weakening the very foundations of societies. Dictators are able to act with impunity while autocratic tendencies pose a constant threat even in democracies. Measures akin to some of those used in dictatorships are being used in democratic countries, as governments seek to suppress public dissent over economic, social and environmental issues. The collective power of union organising and solidarity are the most potent counterforce against these trends, especially where governments fail to meet their primary obligation to protect all human rights and ensure they are respected.
52. That is why the central priority for the ITUC is the defence and promotion of workers' rights, as fundamental human rights.
53. The **ITUC Global Rights Index** has tracked a decade-long erosion of workers' organising and collective bargaining rights, which is associated also with growing restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly. Where fundamental international labour standards are under attack, living standards and working conditions suffer. Where people are prevented from organising to shift the balance of power in the workplace, other rights including freedom of expression and freedom of assembly are made much more vulnerable. ITUC mobilisation of international trade union action in support of workers in countries with autocratic and totalitarian regimes, such as Belarus, Eswatini, Hong Kong, Iran and Myanmar, and others where rights violations are severe, such as Bangladesh, India, Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Palestine, the Philippines, Western Sahara, Turkey, Zimbabwe and many other places in the world has been a vital source of solidarity for workers there.
54. Rapid international response to violations has provided vital solidarity, and comprehensive action including campaigning and advocacy has supported workers in countries where there is wholesale suppression of rights, political repression and exposure of workers to conflict and violence. The Global Rights Index fulfils a crucial role in providing the basis for targeted action, in particular on countries at risk.

- 55.** While workers have held out against employer attempts at the ILO to challenge the right to strike, this most basic of rights is nevertheless being eroded in many countries. Without the right to strike, working people are deprived of the possibility to protect themselves and their colleagues from exploitation, to advance their living standards and improve their working conditions and indeed to stand up to tyranny and oppression. This is increasingly accompanied by attacks on workers' rights to freedom of speech and assembly.
- 56.** Employer attempts to weaken ILO standard-setting and the supervisory system have not been limited to the right to strike. Their opposition to including occupational health and safety as a fundamental workers' right and their efforts to block ILO engagement on supply chains and due diligence are but two examples together with their resistance to setting new ILO standards. A strong and authoritative ILO, ensuring that international labour standards are ratified and respected, is central to the realisation of workers' rights and thus the New Social Contract.
- 57.** ILO standards are fundamental to constructive relations between employers and, through their unions, workers. Where employers are committed to genuine social dialogue, collective bargaining and the right to organise, unions will negotiate and bargain with them. Where employers violate these rights, unions will oppose them and the ITUC will deliver international solidarity and leverage in their defence. In addition, effective monitoring and enforcement of ILO standards must be a priority at the national and international levels.
- 58.** Major deficits persist in respect for the other fundamental labour standards as well. There are at least 26 million people working in situations of forced labour, even though the ILO Forced Labour Protocol is now in force and more than 50 countries have ratified it. And progress on child labour has stalled in recent years, with some 160 million children still working, despite universal ratification of Convention 182 and near-universal ratification of 138. And people across the world continue to

experience discrimination on the basis of their gender, race or ethnicity and other grounds. In most countries, equal pay for women is decades away on the current trajectory. The situation on all of these fronts has worsened during the pandemic.

- 59.** While the primary responsibility for workers' and other human rights rests with government, significant progress has been made in ensuring supply chain due diligence within multinational companies, with a number of countries adopting legislation in response to demands by trade unions and their allies. Much more needs to be done. Corporations must be held responsible for their entire supply chains and held to account when they or their suppliers or other business partners are involved in business activities that violate rights. While the negotiations towards a UN Treaty on Human Rights and Business continue, it is necessary to use all available and effective national and international mechanisms to ensure corporate accountability. And the ILO must adopt a new Convention to address standards and governance gaps in global supply chains.
- 60.** The current business model must be replaced by constructive industrial relations systems in compliance with ILO Conventions 87 and 98, decent work, social protection, and a stable political climate free of fear of reprisal. Social dialogue and collective agreements provide an unrivalled method for promoting social justice and achieving inclusive social and economic progress. High trade union and collective bargaining density and sound social dialogue are a source of economic strength and also have the capacity to provide buffers in times of economic uncertainty.
- 61.** At the national level, labour inspection must be properly resourced and systems for enforcement of labour law, including ILO standards, through courts or tribunals must have the mandates and resources to provide effective protection.
- 62.** The ever-increasing power of corporations and their dominance over governments is at the root of denial of workers' rights. They have ensured

that tax systems work to their advantage and against the interests of people. More than US\$ 500 billion in corporate tax revenue is lost to tax havens each year, along with a further US\$ 200 billion in revenue from wealthy individuals. In too many places, corporations still enjoy impunity for rights violations and environmental destruction including carbon emissions. Consolidation of corporate power, through mergers and buyouts, the elimination of competition, suppression of decent wages and working conditions and the capture of technology have enabled a few individuals to wield untrammelled power, creating monopolies which must be either broken up or brought under democratic ownership and control. The world's ten largest corporations declared combined profits of some US\$ 360 billion in 2021. The breakup of tech monopolies must enable developing and emerging countries to take their place in technology and the industries that rely on it.

- 63.** The use of “platform business” models to deny employment status is increasing. It increases informality and threatens workers’ rights not only in well-known personal transport companies but also in many other sectors, including in supply chains.
- 64.** Corporations have written the rules of the global economy. It’s time that governments in dialogue with unions re-write the rules in the interests of people, and to save the planet from environmental destruction.
- 65. Congress:**
 - i.** pledges unwavering support for democracy and self-determination, and to mobilise internationally to support workers and their unions in the fight against dictatorship and autocracy;
 - ii.** demands that governments ensure respect for international labour standards by fulfilling their ILO obligations, and end the race to the bottom on workers’ rights;
 - iii.** pledges to support unions in their efforts to make full use of ILO standards and the ILO supervisory system;

- iv.** reaffirms the central importance of freedom of association and collective bargaining, and pledges to campaign for the effective recognition of these enabling rights, and an end to unacceptable restrictions on them, everywhere;
- v.** determines to continue to defend the right to strike for all workers;
- vi.** acknowledges the vital role of the International Labour Organisation, its unique tripartite governance and its setting and supervision of standards, and its leadership on economic, employment and social issues within the international system;
- vii.** recognises that the human rights of freedom of speech and assembly and the right to protest are of central importance to trade unions and their capacity to support and defend workers' rights and interests;
- viii.** pledges to work for every workplace to be safe and healthy and for safety committees involving management and unions to be established everywhere;
- ix.** calls for universal application of the Labour Protection Floor contained in the ILO Centenary Declaration;
- x.** calls on all governments to mandate due diligence in supply chains globally in line with the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights as a minimum, and for regional and international bodies to support this, along with the OECD Guidelines for multinational enterprises;
- xi.** commits the ITUC to work with the ILO to promote the concept of constructive industrial relations with other international organisations, and to work with the GUFs to advance due diligence and seek binding regulation to ensure that companies respect human and labour rights and respond appropriately to violations;

- xii.** calls on the ITUC to encourage national organisations to engage actively in dialogue with employers and their organisations, and to support such efforts;
- xiii.** commits to pursuing the finalisation of a strong UN Treaty on Business and Human Rights, and to achieving its universal ratification and implementation, as well as an ILO Convention on supply chains;
- xiv.** calls for all international trade agreements to include enforceable mechanisms for the protection of labour standards and human rights, and protections for the rights of states to pass legislation in the public interest, and scrap investor-state dispute settlement procedures to protect public services, workers' rights and sovereignty;
- xv.** demands urgent and comprehensive action to ensure a minimum corporate tax rate internationally; to end tax avoidance including through preventing access to public tendering and withdrawing subsidies for companies evading taxes; as well as to repatriate funds held in tax havens to enable investment and job creation;
- xvi.** condemns those companies profiteering from conflict and shortages of food, fuel and other essentials, and demands that windfall taxes be imposed on them;
- xvii.** reaffirms the ITUC's commitment to balanced and equitable international trade agreements which support productive investments and job creation;
- xviii.** insists that governments close regulatory loopholes, including in relation to platform businesses, that deny the employment relationship;

- xix.** reaffirms the rights of migrant workers, the importance of safe, orderly and regular migration and the application of international labour and other human rights standards in bilateral and multilateral agreements;
- xx.** calls for competition and antitrust laws that prevent the accumulation of monopoly power by private companies such as Amazon, and for existing monopolies to be broken up or brought into public ownership;
- xxi.** demands action to stop social media and similar platforms being used to undermine democracy and to proliferate hate-speech and disinformation;
- xxii.** pledges support for affiliates' engagement in political debates and in elections;
- xxiii.** deplores the continuing occupation of Palestine by Israel, and re-affirms the policy adopted at the 4th ITUC World Congress in Copenhagen in favour of a two-state solution in line with the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions;
- xxiv.** condemns the seizures of power and wholesale repression of rights in Afghanistan, Belarus, Eswatini, Hong Kong, Myanmar and wherever power is seized or retained through force and misuse of the rule of law;
- xxv.** reaffirms the position of the 4th ITUC World Congress denouncing the suffering of the Saharawi people in Western Sahara, and urges all parties involved to search for a just and lasting solution under the auspices of the UN, and pledges unwaivering support for the right to self-determination for all people.

WAGES

- 66.** The global labour income share has been declining for many years and is falling most for lower-income workers. The global share of income going to capital continues to increase. Meanwhile, income inequality is skyrocketing. Even prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, large numbers of workers were not earning enough to sustain a decent life. The 2020 ITUC Global Poll revealed that for 42% of people, their household income was falling behind the cost of living. While labour productivity has been steadily increasing for decades, wages are falling further behind. The global gender pay gap remains above 20%.
- 67.** The total percentage of the world's workforce covered by collective bargaining agreements has also been falling, and this is a major driver of the reduction of labour income share. The 2021 ITUC Global Rights Index found that collective bargaining rights had been violated in 79% of countries. Labour market "flexibilisation" including the abusive use of temporary or fixed-term contracts has also driven wages down, as well as increasing precarity and undermining workers' rights. These trends disproportionately affect women, with continued and systematic undervaluing of their work a major factor in the gender pay gap.
- 68.** It is no coincidence that countries with the highest average wages and quality of life and the best-performing economies are also those that have the highest collective bargaining density. Recent decades have seen a continuous decline in collective bargaining density around the world, while the wealthy have accumulated even greater wealth, with a small number of people amassing obscene fortunes. Collective bargaining is central to redistributing wealth and, in practice, will always be the most effective means to do so. Ensuring that every worker has the right to join a union and bargain collectively is crucial to rebuilding living standards, all the more so given the catastrophic impacts of the pandemic on living standards, and price increases for food, energy and other commodities due to war, around the world.

69. Countries with higher collective bargaining density also tend to have the highest minimum wages, even where minimum wages are not set through collective bargaining. Across the world as a whole however, minimum wage levels are simply too low for working people to be able to lead a decent life. 76% of people in the 2020 ITUC Global Poll said that the minimum wage in their country was insufficient. According to the ILO, some 327 million workers, or 19% of the world's workforce, depend on the minimum wage. For many of them, the minimum wage is not a living minimum wage. Women are disproportionately affected by inadequate minimum wages, and for many young people, sub-minimum "youth wage rates" are their only means of entering the labour market.

70. A growing problem for many part-time and casual workers paid on an hourly basis is the lack of sufficient working hours available for them to secure a decent income, while those who depend on platform businesses for their income frequently have to work excessive hours to compensate for low rates per task or per hour.

71. Reversing the decline in labour income share and ensuring that all workers are paid decently, and in line with their skills, education and responsibilities, are of fundamental importance to the social contract. Unions around the world are campaigning for wage justice, and international solidarity in support of those struggles is vital.

72. Congress:

- i. recognises the fundamental importance of union organisation, collective bargaining and social dialogue to achieving wage justice including in domestic and global supply chains;
- ii. recalls the fundamental importance of minimum living wages, established through statutory processes or collective bargaining, as set out in the ILO Centenary Declaration and as pledged in the Declaration of Philadelphia;

- iii. demands that governments fulfil their obligation under ILO Convention 98 to promote and enforce the right to collective bargaining;
- iv. commits to fight to close the gender pay gap and end the segmentation of women, migrants, indigenous people and other marginalised groups into low-paid jobs that undervalue their work;
- v. rejects the imposition of exploitative sub-minimum wage rates for younger workers and the illegitimate use of unpaid internships;
- vi. calls on governments to stop the use by employers of disguised employment relationships and the abusive use of precarious employment arrangements to suppress wages and undermine collective bargaining;
- vii. calls for minimum living wages applied to all workers, including informal workers, domestic workers, the self-employed and home-based workers, and reaffirms the importance of Conventions 177 and 189;
- viii. pledges ITUC support for affiliates engaged in campaigns to secure jobs and better wages and assistance to unions to strengthen their negotiating capacity, in close collaboration with the ITUC Regional Organisations and Structures.

SOCIAL PROTECTION

- 73.** 75% of workers around the world have inadequate or no social protection, with devastating consequences for the elderly; for those who fall ill or are disabled; for women in particular shouldering the burden of family responsibilities; and for unemployed, precarious and informal workers. Lack of social protection has meant that millions of workers worldwide have had to work even when at risk of contracting Covid or spreading it to others. Only half the countries of the world introduced temporary social protection measures in response to the pandemic, and many of these were insufficient and too short in duration. Countries with strong social protection have fared better during the pandemic.
- 74.** Where political choices have been taken to fund universal protection, they have provided the foundation for shared wealth. They have also shown that social protection makes a net positive contribution to the economy. The initial and ongoing investment needed is sustainable, and ensures a higher degree of equality, social and economic inclusion and has a major positive impact on public health.
- 75.** Just 0.25% of global GDP would close the social protection gap for the low-income countries, and reform of international taxation, including wealth taxes, capital gains taxes, a minimum corporate tax threshold coupled with a global clampdown of corporate tax avoidance and taxes on financial and currency transactions would provide more than enough resources for the exclusion of three-quarters of the world's population from adequate social protection to be brought to an end. In addition, social protection should receive an adequate share of official development aid, as well as being properly integrated into the programmes of the international financial institutions.
- 76.** Building social protection systems that are universal, adequate and respond to the needs of those with jobs and those without must be an inclusive process, based on social dialogue – to initiate social protection and to ensure it is sustainable and delivers to those in need. This is crucial

in transforming informal into formal employment. The central role of government is particularly important, and the disastrous experiences from the privatisation of state pension and social security schemes, for example in Chile, must not be repeated.

77. In a number of countries, demographic changes with an ageing population and workforce are placing pressure on pension systems, both state-managed and supplementary systems where they exist. At the same time, youth unemployment is a growing problem, even in countries where the population is ageing. Every worker must have the dignity of a decent retirement income, and government employment and other social policies need to ensure that this is the case, including by creating jobs for young entrants to the workforce to support the economic basis of pension systems. Social protection must be addressed with intergenerational solidarity.

78. Congress:

- i.** affirms the ITUC's commitment to ensuring adequate social protection as a right for all, including floors, and calls on governments and the international institutions, under the leadership of the ILO, to bring this about;
- ii.** calls for the establishment of a global social protection fund for the least wealthy countries;
- iii.** calls for increasing the contribution of development aid to social protection to at least 7% of aid funds by 2030, and for progress towards 14% after 2030;
- iv.** insists on the importance of social dialogue in the establishment and implementation of social protection schemes;
- v.** supports fundamental tax reform measures, including a global minimum corporate tax rate, financial transaction taxes, wealth taxes and other measures to

stop speculation and a crackdown on tax havens and tax avoidance by corporations and the wealthy, to help fund social protection, in particular in the least wealthy countries;

- vi. calls for debt relief and action by the international financial institutions to create the fiscal space necessary for less wealthy countries to establish universal social protection systems;
- vii. calls for progressive national tax systems.



EQUALITY

- 79.** Existing inequalities at work and in society and the economy have been severely exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic. Prior to the pandemic, progress on the global gender pay gap was stalled at over 20%, exclusion of women in the labour market was entrenched women were over-represented in precarious, casual and informal work; the overwhelming majority of care work was undertaken by women, often unpaid, due to inadequate investment in the care economy. The pandemic has worsened the situation. It has had a disproportionate effect on women, as health and care systems were overwhelmed placing additional burdens mainly on female household members, jobs – particularly lower paid jobs - where women are over-represented were lost and the incidence of harassment and violence against women increased dramatically in countries around the world. Systematic undervaluing of women’s work remains a problem across the world.

- 80.** Trade union membership and collective bargaining are powerful means to address the gender pay gap and other forms of discrimination against women, including occupational segregation. Removing barriers to women's organising and bargaining rights, along with gender mainstreaming in union policies and activities, must be a priority.
- 81.** ITUC research into the care economy underlines not only the importance of this sector in removing obstacles to women's equal participation - it also produces positive economic returns as well as more jobs for women. Funding of care, and of education, is today insufficient - this has to change in order to meet pressing needs, and to ensure equality.
- 82.** Educational opportunities are limited or non-existent for many girls and women including for higher education, and equal access to quality apprenticeships and other forms of training is lacking, further entrenching discrimination and inequality.
- 83.** The pandemic has also exacerbated existing racism, xenophobia, discrimination based on ethnicity, exploitation of migrant workers and violations of the rights of indigenous peoples. People who identify as LGBTQI have also faced heightened discrimination. Access to information on rights, and to support services is frequently dependent on social status. Denial of the right to work for asylum seekers is a major driver for their exploitation in many countries. Refugees, most of whom are in developing countries, are increasing in number as global warming, conflict and political repression drive more and more people from their homes. Far-right political actors are targeting all these as they seek to foment yet more division.
- 84.** These forms of discrimination are manifested at the national level, but also between countries as the vestiges of colonialism continue to shape the contours of the global economy.
- 85.** People who face discrimination have in most countries had substantially higher rates of death and illness from the Covid-19 pandemic. This not

only exposes the extent and impacts of discrimination – it must also serve as an urgent call for action to root out racism and xenophobia which continue to permeate societies.

86. People with disabilities and those with existing health issues, in many cases as a result of poor occupational health and safety, have also been more vulnerable to the virus as have people from many ethnic minorities. Measures to protect and care for them are all the more crucial during a pandemic, as is the need to eradicate stigma and prejudice based on disability or health status.

87. Populist right-wing political forces, often using social media to spread disinformation and hate-speech, have gained traction in many countries, including by connecting their agenda to deceptive propaganda about the pandemic itself, and the efforts of governments to control its spread. Trade unions must be vigilant in identifying and combatting these forces, in society at large, and also where they seek to infiltrate and disrupt our movement.

88. Trade union solidarity and collective organisation and action are crucial in the fight against discrimination in all its forms. It is no coincidence that when autocrats do take political power, trade unions are often amongst their primary targets. The union movement itself needs to ensure, on a continuous basis, that its own structures and processes are inclusive to all, and that existing deficits including under-representation of women in the leadership of unions, are overcome.

89. Congress:

- i. reaffirms the ITUC's commitment to a world free of discrimination on gender, sexual identity, race, ideology, religion, social status or other grounds;
- ii. reaffirms the commitment of the ITUC Copenhagen Congress to an inclusive and feminist trade union movement, committed to organising all workers

regardless of their employment or legal status, including innovative approaches to organising informal and precarious workers and those in platform businesses as well as unemployed people;

- iii.** welcomes the conclusions adopted by the 4th ITUC World Women's Conference 2022;
- iv.** reiterates the call from the Copenhagen Congress for all affiliates to have a minimum of 40% of leadership positions held by women and supports the objective of 50% by the time of the 6th ITUC World Congress;
- v.** pledges to campaign for gender equality at work and in society, with the removal of barriers to equal participation of women and robust and time-bound measures to close the gender pay gap;
- vi.** commits to supporting the realisation of gender equality at all levels of the union movement, including through supporting women's leadership and organising women into unions;
- vii.** demands that the ILO anti-discrimination Conventions 100 and 111, and the Violence and Harassment Convention 190, be universally ratified and fully respected;
- viii.** calls for investment in the care economy in all countries and proper recognition of the value of care work;
- ix.** denounces discrimination in all its forms, commits to fighting for the rights of migrant workers, indigenous peoples, people who identify as LGBTQI, people living with disability and all those who face racism, prejudice and bigotry, and pledges to support their organisation into unions;

- x.** commits to support affiliates fighting against all forms of fascism, racism and xenophobia including populist right-wing political forces, which seek to entrench and deepen exclusion and undermine the rights of women and others facing discrimination;
- xi.** recalls the decisions of the Copenhagen Congress concerning migrants and refugees, including the need for the adoption of fair labour migration governance frameworks at all levels through social dialogue;
- xii.** commits to campaigning for the ratification and full implementation of ILO Conventions 97 and 143 on migrant workers as well as the UN Convention on the rights of migrant workers and members of their families and to encourage and support efforts to that end by affiliated organisations;
- xiii.** denounces the exploitation of migrant workers by employers to avoid their responsibilities in the labour market;
- xiv.** reasserts the ITUC's unequivocal position that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are welcome, as well as our demand of safe haven, the right to work and equal treatment for them and that no person should be forced to migrate;
- xv.** insists that states accept their responsibility under international law to allow those fleeing persecution and threats to life to claim asylum;
- xvi.** resolves to fight for the rights of indigenous peoples, including in access to decent jobs.

INCLUSION

- 90.** The rules of the global economy are heavily stacked against the poorest countries and provide insufficient policy and fiscal space for inclusive economic and social development in all except the wealthiest countries. The policies of the international financial institutions, and the World Trade Organisation, need fundamental reform to put development and workers' rights at the centre. Development aid flows are insufficient, the rules for tax are designed for the benefit of corporations and the wealthy, state capacity is damaged by economic restructuring imposed by conditional access to capital and wealth is being drained from even the least wealthy countries through debt repayments and the extraction of value by multinational enterprises.
- 91.** The global trading system currently entrenches the interests of multinational corporations and the business interests of wealthier countries, with less wealthy countries often compelled by trade agreements to open their markets to cheap goods from other countries which undermines domestic industries and increases precarious and informal employment.
- 92.** The Covid-19 pandemic brutally exposed a fractured world. Hoarding of vaccines by richer countries, well beyond their needs, intellectual property provisions standing in the way of low and middle-income countries producing vital health goods coupled with the absence of investment and industrial policy and the absence of social protection due to insufficient fiscal space have caused untold deaths and illness as well as destroying the livelihoods of millions. The impacts of global warming are also falling most heavily on less-developed countries, which lack the resources and infrastructure to mitigate the effects and decarbonise their own economies.
- 93.** Decades of privatisation and outsourcing of public services have severely weakened the capacity for governments to ensure inclusive societies and

economies. This trend must be reversed and replaced with investment in quality public services. All workers whether in the private or public sector must have the right to organise and bargain collectively, and deserve to have the benefits of trade union membership.

94. The expansion of financial speculation at the expense of the real economy has generated a global crisis in the economic system, costing millions of jobs. The crisis created by COVID-19 must lead to change of course away from these failed economic policies.

95. The current trajectory of the global economy is destructive and unsustainable. Fundamental reform is required.

96. The path to a new, sustainable global system, based on multilateralism and with the United Nations and its specialised agencies and in particular the ILO at the centre, is clear with the UN Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly Goal 8 on Decent Work without which attainment of the other SDGs will not be possible. For the world of work, the ILO Centenary Declaration provides progressive and achievable pathways to ensuring a future of work with people rather than profit at the centre. The Centenary Declaration provides the basis for the leading role of the ILO in the multilateral system – all ILO member states supported it and that must be translated into global action. The labour protection floor established in the Declaration promises all workers:

- i.** respect for their fundamental rights
- ii.** an adequate minimum wage, statutory or negotiated
- iii.** maximum limits on working time
- iv.** safety and health at work.

97. This floor is a cornerstone for the New Social Contract which is in turn the foundation for a global economy which is inclusive, promotes development and rights and ensure a sustainable future.

- 98.** At the national level, governmental accountability beyond the narrow measure of GDP, along with the provision of quality public education, health and other services, are the basis on which inclusion can be achieved along with the trust required to ensure democracy and to tackle the vulnerability of democratic systems to extremism. This requires government planning, reporting and accountability with measures in the following areas:
- i.** Living standards
 - ii.** Tax, social protection and public services
 - iii.** The environment
 - iv.** Health and education
 - v.** The economy and full employment
 - vi.** Democratic rights and freedoms, with social dialogue and organising and collective bargaining rights
 - vii.** Gender equality, non-discrimination and inclusion
- 99.** Broadening government accountability beyond GDP would also provide important momentum for the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals. The SDGs themselves provide an agreed global framework on which planning, reporting and accountability must be based. Attainment of the SDGs must be accelerated, including through enforcing rights for workers and rules for business and governments, along with consideration of sustainable development beyond 2030.
- 100.** Since the earliest days of trade unionism, unions have fought for democracy and will continue to do so as anti-democratic forces seek to disrupt and destroy democracy including by attacking the union movement itself. The ITUC has a strong and leading global role in the defence of democracy.
- 101.** Peace is essential for inclusive growth and social justice, and they are preconditions for peace. Yet the reality and the threat of conflict, in particular nuclear conflict, remain real. The trade union movement has a

proud history of promoting peace, and of tackling the causes of conflict, including by campaigning for economic security for working people and fighting the right-wing and other extremism that manipulates insecurity to promote an agenda of hatred and exclusion.

102. While the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is now in force and the Non-Proliferation Treaty is also critically important, significant existing verification arrangements and arms control agreements have expired or have weakened, and the world urgently needs new initiatives to ensure the pathway to a nuclear-weapons free future and the transformation of that industry into production that benefits the world rather than threatening destruction. The ITUC's work with the International Peace Bureau and other civil society allies in this context needs to continue.

103. And the world is awash with small arms and other munitions. The Arms Trade Treaty, now ratified by most UN member states, is aimed at regulating the arms trade and eradicating illicit supply. Yet global expenditure on arms is close to a record US\$ 2 trillion per year and increasing. Peace and the end of conflict within and between countries are integral to the mission and values of the ITUC and will remain so.

104. Congress:

- i.** demands fundamental reform of the global economic system, including the Bretton Woods Institutions to enable development and inclusion for all;
- ii.** reaffirms the ITUC's commitment to the UN Agenda 2030 and the Social Development Goals, in particular Goal 8;
- iii.** regrets the slow progress on implementation of the SDGs and calls for a massively increased effort to attain them;
- iv.** reaffirms the global trade union movement's commitment to multilateralism and the leading role of ILO with its tripartite and normative mandate on social and economic issues;

- v. resolves to defend the tripartite nature of the ILO and its means of action within the UN reform process;
- vi. calls for reform of the international trade system, in particular the World Trade Organisation, with unions consulted on trade negotiations, the inclusion of labour and environmental standards and protection of personal data, with enforceable dispute settlement procedures on these matters;
- vii. demands that the international trade system ensures sustainability and enables inequalities between countries to be overcome;
- viii. calls for low and middle income countries to be provided with preferential trade access, linked to respect for ILO standards, by high income countries without tariff and non-tariff barriers and without being compelled to sign trade agreements;
- ix. insists on the importance of reversing the trend to privatisation and outsourcing and investing in quality public services at the national, subnational and local levels;
- x. calls for strengthened solidarity and increased development aid, reaching at least 0.7% of donors' GNI;
- xi. calls for reducing national military expenditure and its reallocation towards investment in decent, climate-friendly jobs and socially beneficial areas such as education, health and social protection;
- xii. commits the ITUC to maintain and intensify its advocacy at the international financial and economic institutions, to achieve reform of them and their policies;
- xiii. resolves to campaign for the realisation of the ILO Centenary Declaration and the labour protection floor that it promises all workers;

- xiv.** demands an end to the use of intellectual property restrictions where vital public health needs have to be met, along with investment and industrial policy to ensure that low- and middle-income countries can rapidly build capacity to produce vaccines, tests and other vital public health tools;
- xv.** reasserts the importance of the role of government and of quality public services in ensuring inclusion;
- xvi.** calls for GDP+ government accountability frameworks to be expanded to include labour, social and environmental indicators and for mechanisms to be established to ensure accountability;
- xvii.** reiterates its commitment to a world free of nuclear weapons, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the establishment of verification and control systems for as long as nuclear weapons exist;
- xviii.** reaffirms the importance of the United Nations in the prevention and resolution of armed conflicts through international standards as well as diplomatic and political means, and calls for ratification and effective implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty by all countries;
- xix.** commits to providing solidarity to the victims of armed conflicts and promoting common security, in view to prevent and resolve armed conflicts;
- xx.** supports affiliates fighting against violence, hatred and terrorism;
- xxi.** reiterates the determination of the trade union movement to combat right-wing extremism and all other forces that deny rights, mutual respect and inclusion;
- xxii.** commits to defend and promote democracy, personal and collective freedoms and the rule of law.

- 105.** The ITUC is the peak body for the largest, most democratic and representative force in the world – the trade union movement. Our movement must uphold the highest standards of democracy and accountability within its own structures – these are the basis on which solidarity is most effective and workers’ power can be built.
- 106.** The central priority for the ITUC is the defence and promotion of workers’ rights. Wherever workers are under attack, the international trade union movement must be ready to respond rapidly and with collective strength. Mobilising international solidarity requires the most effective communications, strong and ongoing relationships between the ITUC, its Regional Organisations and Structures and its affiliates, and the shared commitment to solidarity which comes with membership of the ITUC.
- 107.** To coordinate and deliver solidarity, to help build workers’ power and to achieve our objective of transforming the global economy, the ITUC must continue to expand its capacity to deliver support to its affiliates and exert global influence, through:
- i.** Supporting trade union organising through the Global Organising Academy, including a particular focus on organising young workers;
 - ii.** Campaign action on specific issues and on countries, institutions and on corporations that stand in the way of social justice and trade union organising and collective bargaining;
 - iii.** Building an inclusive movement at all levels, including organising women and ensuring they are fully represented in leadership;
 - iv.** Ensuring clear strategies for the ILO, including on priorities for standard-setting;

- v.** Providing legal advice and support to affiliates, and deploying legal strategies internationally to change the rules for the benefit of working people;
- vi.** Ensuring that the ITUC is known as the credible primary global advocate for all workers, based on high quality analysis, research, publications and reports, in particular the annual Global Rights Index;
- vii.** Supporting outreach to young workers and their inclusion in the union movement and the labour market at all levels;
- viii.** Making the most effective use of up-to-date communications technology as a foundation for cooperation between unions and to influence public opinion in support of campaigning and advocacy;
- ix.** Supporting trade union action for Just Transition through the continued role of the Just Transition Centre;
- x.** Ensuring effective advocacy on the SDGs and development issues, building on the work of the Trade Union Development Cooperation Network;
- xi.** Delivering tailored training and support to affiliates in support of ITUC policies and objectives;
- xii.** Activities to promote peace, including through advocacy, policy work and exchanges;
- xiii.** Continuing, expanding and refining the use of workers' capital strategies;
- xiv.** Supporting the engagement of affiliates in national political processes, including elections;
- xv.** Providing a platform for exchange of information and good practice.

- 108.** The ITUC's Regional Organisations and Structures have a critical role to play in taking the lead on regional issues and in addressing the regional dimensions of global challenges, as well as coordinating regional activities, supporting affiliates on regional and international priorities and providing organisational liaison to connect international and national union actions across the scope of the constitutional aims of the ITUC and its decisions and programme.
- 109.** Through the Council of Global Unions, and ongoing cooperation with the Global Union Federations and TUAC, the ITUC will continue to support the trade union agenda at the sectoral level including through corporate campaigning, and by influencing the international economic agenda.
- 110.** Many other organisations, including NGOs, student organisations, social and progressive movements, share common values and objectives with the international trade union movement. Cooperation with these organisations has contributed much to advancing our agenda, and this cooperation must continue, recognising the unique and distinct nature of trade unions as membership-based and membership-driven organisations organising workers and negotiating on behalf of them.
- 111.** We commit, in close coordination with the Regional Organisations and Structures, the Council of Global Unions, the Global Union Federations, and TUAC, to organise and fight for the world we want, to transform the global economy by realising the objectives of this statement, based on the enduring values of the ITUC – peace, democracy, rights, equality, development and social and economic justice.