

EUROPEAN STUDIES

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A Study Guide to British Books on the Common Market

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On 1 January, 1973, the United Kingdom became a member of the European Communities. On 5 June, 1975, the British people voted to remain a member in the country's first nationwide referendum. Overall the short and longer term implications of membership are still obscure after some ten years of negotiations and two years of actual membership. We have seen widely differing forecasts from the committed pro and anti membership groupings, and also opposing ones within these two broad categories. Although much of the prolific literature is highly specialist and technical, these differences are reflected in many British writings on the European Communities and Britain's relations with them.

To assist readers to make their own assessments, this article considers some of the British books on Western European cooperation and the European Idea, Britain and the Common Market in general, and more particular aspects of EEC membership. Throughout, preference has been given to books published during the last five years.

Western Europe Cooperation and the European idea

Two excellent general accounts of Western European cooperation are *European Unity: A Survey of European Organisations* (Allen & Unwin for Political and Economic Planning, £2.10 paperback, 1968) by Michael Palmer, John Lambert and others, and *European Institutions: Cooperation, Integration, Unification* (Stevens for the Institute of World Affairs, £6.00, 1966; £3.75 paperback, 3rd edition 1972) by A. H. Robertson, Roger Broad and R. J. Jarrett have compiled a very readable guide to the Common Market, *Community Europe Today* (Oswald Wolff, £1.55 paperback, 1972). An authoritative account of European integration from the 'inside' is Walter Hallstein's *Europe in the Making* (Allen & Unwin, £5.50, 1973). Useful general guides to the EEC for the layman are *Towards One Europe* by Stuart de la Mahotière (Penguin, £0.40, 1970), the *Daily Telegraph Guide to the Common Market* edited by Walter Farr (Collins, £0.50, 1972), *Creating the European Community* by R. C. Mowat (Blandford Press, £2.10, 1973) and *European Community: Vision and Reality* edited by James Barber and Bruce Reed (Croom Helm in association with the Open University, £4.25, 1973). The international significance of the United Nations and the EEC is discussed in *The New International Actors: The UN and the EEC* by Carol Ann Cosgrove and Kenneth J. Twitchett (Macmillan, £2.50; £1.00 paperback, 1970). Useful selections of documents and writings on European integration are contained in *Action Committee for the United States of Europe: Statements and Declarations, 1955-1967* (Chatham House-P.E.P. European Series No. 9, £0.90, 1969), and *European Integration* edited by Michael Hodges (Penguin Education, £1.25 paperback, 1972).

A lively introduction to the European scene is Anthony Sampson's *The New Europeans* (Hodder & Stoughton, £2.50, 1968; revised edition, Panther, paperback, 1971 o.p.), while Richard Mayne's *The Recovery of Europe* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £3.25, 1970) examines Europe's remarkable social and economic recovery since the devastation of World War II. Another good survey of the major trends in post-war Europe and their global background is *Western Europe Since 1945* by Derek W. Urwin (Longman, 1969; £1.50 paperback, 2nd edition 1972).

The European Idea has received a considerable amount of attention from British publishers. *The European Idea* by Lord Gladwyn (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966) traces the efforts to unite Europe from Charlemagne to Charles de Gaulle. Another good account of the movement for European unity is *The Unity of Europe: An Historical Survey* by R. Albrecht-Carrié (Secker & Warburg, 1966). The various meanings attached to the terms 'Europe' and 'European' are well covered in *Europe and the Europeans* by Max Beloff (Chatto & Windus, 1957) and *The Meaning of Europe* by Denis de Rougemont (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1965). Some of the theoretical aspects of European integration and unity are considered in *Between Sovereignty and Integration* edited by Ghita Ionescu (Croom Helm, £5.00, 1974). A good light-hearted investigation of the European character is *The Europeans: Who Are We?* by Richard Mayne (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £2.00, 1972).

Alan Watson's *Europe at Risk* (Harrap, £2.50, 1972) places the enlargement of the European Communities within the broad perspective of post-war European history. The lines along which the European Communities might evolve are discussed in *The European Community - A Superpower in the Making* by Johan Galtung (Allen & Unwin, £1.85, 1973) and *Europe: Journey to an Unknown Destination* by Andrew Shonfield (Penguin, £0.30, 1973). The broad possible future of the whole European political, economic and social fabric during the next twenty years or so has been looked at in *Europe Tomorrow* edited by Richard Mayne (Fontana for the R.I.I.A. and P.E.P., £0.60 paperback, 1972), and *The European Community in the 1970s*, edited by Steven Joshua Warneche (Pall Mall, £6.25, 1972).

Britain and the Common Market

Essential reading for all those interested in Britain's relations with the EEC is Carol Ann Cosgrove's *A Reader's Guide to Britain and the European Communities* (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 14, £1.00, 1970). Two good surveys of British attitudes to European integration since 1945 are Elisabeth Barker's *Britain in a Divided Europe, 1945-70* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £3.50, 1971) and Ian Davidson's *Britain and the Making of Europe* (Macdonald, £1.95, 1971). The authoritative account of what went wrong during Britain's first negotiations for EEC membership is given in *Britain and the European Community, 1955-1963* by Miriam Camps (Oxford University Press,

* A revised and up-dated version of an article which first appeared in *British Book News*, January 1973, and was later reproduced in the Open University's source book for its post-experience course on the European Communities. Prices were correct at the time the list was prepared.

£3-15, 1964), while her *European Unification in the Sixties: From the Veto to the Crisis* (Oxford University Press for the R.I.I.A., £2-10, 1967), carries the story forward until the eve of the second, abortive Labour Government negotiations under Harold Wilson. An account of those negotiations is provided by *The Second Try* edited by Uwe Kitzinger (Pergamon, £2-25; £1-75 paperback, 1969). Uwe Kitzinger's *Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined the Common Market* (Thames & Hudson, £2-75, 1973) is an excellent account of how Britain eventually negotiated accession to the European Community. Other useful sources are David Spanier's *Europe, Our Europe* (Secker & Warburg, £1-95, 1972) and Simon Young's *Terms of Entry* (Heinemann, £3-00, £1-75 paperback, 1973). The renegotiation terms obtained by Mr Wilson are set out in two white papers published by HMSO in March 1975 – *Membership of the European Community* (Cmnd. 5999, 14p) and *Membership of the European Community: Report on the Renegotiations* (Cmnd. 6003, 38p).

Treaties and Documents

HMSO has published several other white papers on the European Communities and British membership. Among the most important are *Treaty Establishing the European Coal and Steel Community* – ECSC Treaty, signed 18 April, 1951 (Cmnd. 4863, £1-00, January 1972); *Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community* – EEC Treaty, signed 25 March 1957 (Cmnd. 4864, £1-00, January 1972); *Treaty Establishing the European Atomic Energy Community* – Euratom Treaty, signed 25 March, 1957 (Cmnd. 4865, £0-57, January 1972); *Treaty Establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities* – Institutional Merger Treaty, signed 8 April, 1965 (Cmnd. 4866, £0-21, January 1972); *Treaty Amending European Communities Budgetary Provisions* – signed 22 April, 1970 (Cmnd. 4867, £0-21, January 1972); *Britain and the European Communities: An Economic Assessment* (Cmnd. 4289, £0-25, 1970); *The United Kingdom and the European Communities* (Cmnd. 4715, £0-25, 1971); and *Treaty Concerning the Accession of the United Kingdom and the Other Candidate Countries to the European Communities* (Cmnd. 4862, Part I, £0-90; Part II, £1-00, January 1972).

Another important official document is Commission of the European Communities, *The Enlarged Community: Outcome of the Negotiations with the Applicant States* (January 1972), available free from the Information Service of the European Communities, 20 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8. *European Community Treaties* (Sweet & Maxwell, £4-00 hardback, £2-85 paperback, 1972) contains the texts of the Treaties establishing the three European Communities, the Merger and Budgetary Treaties, the Treaty of Accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark and the European Communities Act.

The Referendum

Essential reading for all those interested in the British referendum on EEC membership is *Referendum on United Kingdom Membership of the European Community* (HMSO, Cmnd. 5925, £0-20, February 1975). This Government White Paper is usefully supplemented by *The Referendum Reconsidered* by Colin Braham and Jim Burton (Fabian Tract No. 434, £0-40, March 1975). For details of the referendum draft order, see *Referendum Order 1975* (HMSO Cmnd. 6004, £0-34, April 1975).

The Case for membership

Some good examples of literature advocating British membership of the European Communities are *From Commonwealth to Common Market* edited by Pierre Uri (Penguin, £0-25, 1968) and *Europe: A Case*

for Going In by C. Mayhew and others (Harrap, £1-25 paperback, 1971). Another good but more partisan book is E. Beddington-Behrens's *Is There Any Choice? Britain Must Join Europe* (Penguin Books, 1966). Notable books advocating British membership of a Federal Europe based on the Common Market are *Britain in a Federal Europe* by John Lambert (Chatto & Windus, £1-50, 1968) and *Europe after de Gaulle* by John Pinder and Roy Pryce (Penguin, 1969). Edward Heath's views on Britain's role in European cooperation are set forth in his *Old World, New Horizons* (Oxford University Press, £0-50 paperback, 1970). Hugh Thomas's *Europe: The Radical Challenge* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £3-50, 1973) is primarily concerned with persuading lukewarm or antagonistic Labour Party sectors that the European Communities deserve their support. Among the books which examine the 'for' and 'against' membership arguments and come down on the side of the former, are Uwe Kitzinger's *The Challenge of the Common Market* (Blackwell, 1951) and Derek Hene's *Decision on Europe: An Explanation of the Common Market* (Jordan & Sons, £2-75, 1970).

The anti Market case

There is also a considerable body of literature which puts the case against membership, as in *Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market* edited by Douglas Evans (Gollancz, £2-50, 1971) and *Common Market or Common Sense?* by Henry Wilson (De Vere Publications, £2-50, 1971). *Britain in the EEC*, also edited by Douglas Evans (Gollancz, £2-80, 1973), is a critical, prescriptive account of the institutions and policies of the European Community and what Britain can do to change them. Some economic arguments against membership may be found in Paul Einzig's *The Case Against Joining the Common Market* (Macmillan, £2-80, 1971). Perhaps the best argument against membership on political grounds is in *Britain and Europe – How Much Has Changed?* by William Pickles (Blackwell, £1-00, 1967). The views of three of the leading politicians opposed to membership are contained in *After the Common Market* by Douglas Jay (Penguin, £0-20, 1968), *The Common Market: The Case Against* by Enoch Powell (Elliot Right Way Books, £0-20, 1972), and *Europe: The Way Back* by Peter Shore (Fabian Tract No. 425, £0-30, 1973).

The Implications of EEC Membership

1. Political

Two good general guides on the political aspects of the EEC and their implications for Britain are Richard Mayne's *The Institutions of the European Community* (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 8, £0-60, 1968) and Roy Pryce's *The Politics of the European Community* (Butterworths, £2-00, 1973). David Coombes is responsible for two able commentaries on the Commission of the European Communities: *Towards a European Civil Service* (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 7, £0-80, 1968) and *Politics and Bureaucracy in the European Community: A Portrait of the Commission of the EEC* (Allen & Unwin, £3-00, 1970). The approaches member governments adopt when pursuing policy goals within the Community framework are analysed in *National Governments and the European Communities* by Helen Wallace (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 21, £1-50, 1973). The roles and functions of the European Parliament and national parliamentary assemblies in Community decision-making are discussed in *The European Parliament* by Sir Barnett Cocks (HMSO, £6-75, 1973), and *The EEC: National Parliaments and Community Decision-Making* by Michael Niblock (Chatham House-P.E.P., Euro-

pean Series No. 17, £1.25, 1971). The emergence of a party system in the European Parliament is investigated by John Fitzmaurice in *The Party Group in the European Parliament* (Saxon House, £6.50, 1975). The part played by political parties in promoting European integration are looked at in *European Political Parties* edited by Stanley Henig and John Pinder (Allen & Unwin, £3.25, 1970). Budgetary procedures in the European Communities are probed in *The Power of the Purse in the European Communities* by David Coombes (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 20, £1.50, 1972).

2. Legal

There have been some outstanding British studies of the legal workings of the European Communities. An exhaustive treatment of the operations of the European Court of Justice during its first ten years is D. G. Valentine's authoritative *The Court of Justice of the European Communities*, Vol. 1: *Jurisdiction and Procedure*, Vol. 2: *Judgements and Documents* (Stevens, £30.00 the set, 1965). Two other specialist studies of the early years of the Court's operations are Gerhard Bebr's *Judicial Control of the European Community* (Stevens for the London Institute of World Affairs, 1962) and Edward Wall's *The Court of Justice of the European Communities* (Butterworth, £6.00, 1966). An *Introduction to the Law of the European Economic Community* edited by B. A. Wortley (Manchester University Press, £2.40, 1972) and *EEC Law* by Anthony Parry and Stephen Hardy (Sweet & Maxwell, £6.50 hardback; £4.50 paperback, 1973) are more up-to-date studies of the judicial workings of the European Communities. Edward Wall's *Europe: Unification and Law* (Penguin, £0.35, 1966) is a good introductory work for the general reader.

Legal problems which might arise with the enlargement of the European Communities are probed in *Legal Problems of an Enlarged European Community* edited by M. E. Bathurst, K. R. Simmonds, N. March Hunnings and Jane Welch (Stevens for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, £6.75, 1972). A good legal commentary on the Act whereby Britain acceded to Community Europe is *European Communities Act 1972* by Edward Wall (Butterworth, £3.80, 1973).

3. Economic

The general economic ramifications of the European Communities have also received attention from British scholars and publishers. An excellent introduction for general readers is provided by D. Swann's *The Economics of the Common Market* (Penguin, £0.90, 3rd edition, 1973). A geographical appraisal of the economics of the Common Market is Geoffrey Parker's *The Logic of Unity: An Economic Geography of the Common Market* (Longman, £1.25, 1969). More specialist studies are *Economic Integration in Europe* edited by Geoffrey R. Denton (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £3.50, 1969, £1.50 paperback, 1971), *Economic Policy for the European Community* by Alec Cairncross and others (Macmillan, £7.50, 1974) and *From Free Trade to Integration in Western Europe?* by Christopher Saunders (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 22, £1.75, 1975). The international economic importance of the EEC is considered by George Taber in *Patterns and Prospects of Common Market Trade* (Peter Owen, £5.50, 1974).

4. Agricultural Policy

Those interested in the EEC's common agricultural policy would do well to consult *Agriculture: The Cost of Joining the Common Market* by T. K. Warley (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 3, 1967), *Agricultural Policy and the Common Market* by John S. Marsh and Christopher Ritson (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 16, £1.50, 1971), *Agricultural Marketing and the EEC* by Michael Butterwick and Edmund Neville-Rolfe (Hutchinson,

£3.50, 1971), *Farmers and Growers Guide to the EEC* (National Farmers' Union, £0.50, 1972), *Fields of Conflict in European Farm Policy* by Herman Priebe and others (Trade Policy Research Centre, £1.00, 1972), and *The Common Agricultural Policy and Britain* edited by S. T. Rogers and B. H. Davey (D. C. Heath, £3.50, 1973). The international impact of the common agricultural policy is examined in *Farmers and Foreigners* by John Marsh, Christopher Ritson, and Frank Ellis (O.D.I., £1.00, 1973) and *The Common Market and World Agriculture* by Francis Knox (Pall Mall, £5.25, 1973).

5. Planning, Technology and Industry

A useful study of economic planning in the Community is Geoffrey Denton's *Planning in the EEC: The Medium-Term Economic Policy Programme of the EEC* (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 5, £0.80, 1967), while regional policy is the subject of *Regional Policy in Britain and the Six/Community Regional Policy* by H. Lind and C. Flockton (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 15, £1.00, 1970). The implications of the EEC's common transport policy are investigated in *European Transport: A Study of Freight Transport in the United Kingdom and the EEC* by Brian Bayliss (Kenneth Mason, £2.50, 1965) and in two studies by Nigel Despicht - *Policies for Transport in the Common Market* (Lombard Press, Sidcup, Kent, £2.10, 1965) and *The Transport Policy of the European Communities* (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 12, £0.80, 1969). The various technological tasks which the new Europe should tackle are discussed in Christopher Layton's *European Advanced Technology: A Programme for Integration* (Allen & Unwin for P.E.P., £2.00, 1969) while the politics of technical collaboration are the subject of Roger Williams's *European Technology* (Croom Helm, £4.00, 1973). The possible industrial consequences of EEC membership are examined in *Ten Years of EEC: Lessons and Prospects for Industry* (Federal Trust, £1.05, 1968), *Industry and Europe* by Christopher Layton and others (P.E.P., £1.50, 1971) and *The Economics of Europe* edited by John Pinder (Knight, £3.00, 1971). The legal implications for British industry are considered in *British Industry and European Law* edited by G. W. Keeton and S. N. Frommel (Macmillan, £6.95, 1974).

6. Labour, Migration and Social Policy

Labour conditions in the new Europe are described by Campbell Balfour in *Industrial Relations in the Common Market* (Routledge, £2.00, 1972). Detailed studies of European trade union movements are provided by Marguerite Bouvard's *Labour Movements in Common Market Countries* (Pall Mall, £7.25, 1972), Eric Jacobs's *European Trade Unionism* (Croom Helm, £4.00 hardback, £1.95 paperback, 1973) and Walter Kendall's *The Labour Movement in Europe* (Allen Lane, £10.00; £5.00 paperback, 1975). There have been two good British books on problems relating to the free movement of labour in the European Communities: *Trade Unions and Free Labour Movement in the EEC* by R. Colin Beever (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 10, £0.80, 1969) and *Migration of Workers in the United Kingdom and the European Community* by Roger Böhning (Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, £3.00, 1972). Some of the social welfare aspects of the new Europe are probed in *Health Care in the European Community* by Alan Maynard (Croom Helm, £6.95, 1975) and *Social Security in the European Communities* by Roger Lawson and Bruce Reed (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 23, £1.40, 1975). A very comprehensive survey of social policies are contained in Doreen Collins' *The European Communities: Volume 1: Social Policy of the European Coal and Steel Community 1951-1970* and *Volume 2: Social Policy of the European Economic Community 1958-*

1972 (Martin Robertson, Vol. 1, £3.95; Vol. 2, £5.95, e.d.p. May 1975).

7. Business and Competition Policy

An account of the business environment within the enlarged Community and some of the opportunities for British businessmen are outlined in *Businessman's Guide to the Common Market* by Derek Prag and E. D. Nicholson (Pall Mall, £5.95, 1973), and *Britain in the Common Market* edited by M. E. Beesley and D. C. Hague (Longman, £5.50, 1973). European developments in incomes policy, capital sharing, and collective bargaining are considered in *Incomes Policy and Capital Sharing in Europe* by Derek Robinson (Croom Helm, £3.95, 1973). Competition policy is the subject of three authoritative British texts: *Competition Policy in the European Community* by D. L. McLachlan and D. Swann (Oxford University Press for the R.I.I.A., £3.50, 1967) examines the economic aspects, while *Restrictive Agreements in the EEC* by Bruce Cawthra (Butterworth, £3.20, 1972) and *The Common Market Law of Competition* by W. Alexander, C. Bellamy and J. Swift (Stevens and Sweet & Maxwell, £5.00, 1973) cover the legal aspects. Problems relating to 'European' firms and their activities are looked at in *Concentration or Competition: A European Dilemma* by D. Swann and D. L. McLachlan (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 1, £0.80, 1967), *A Proposal for a European Company* by Dennis Thompson (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 13, £0.80, 1969), *The Harmonisation of European Company Law* by Clive M. Schmitthoff (The United Kingdom National Committee of Comparative Law, £4.80, 1973), and *Cross Frontier Mergers in Europe* by Christopher Layton (Bath University Press, £1.50, 1971).

8. Monetary Policy

The traditional British taxation system and Community membership are investigated in *Taxes in the EEC and Britain: The Problem of Harmonisation* by D. Dosser and S. S. Han (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 6, £0.80, 1968) and *British Taxation and the Common Market* by Douglas Dosser and others (Charles Knight, £3.80, 1973). Sterling as an obstacle to Community Membership is discussed in *The Sterling Problem and the Six* by Susan Strange (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 4, £0.80, 1967). On a wider level the EEC's plan for full economic and monetary union is examined in *European Monetary Integration* by Peter Coffey and John Presley (Macmillan, £2.95, 1971), and *Economic and Monetary Union in Europe* edited by Geoffrey Denton (Croom Helm for the Federal Trust, £4.95, 1975).

9. Security

Although the European Communities do not at present have any formal functions regarding security questions, many observers believe that in the longer term European security and economic integration cannot be divorced. Sir Bernard Burrows and Christopher Irwin in *The Security of Western Europe: Towards a Common Defence Policy* (Knight, £3.00, 1972) look at the opportunities for greater security cooperation with the enlargement of the EEC. The possible evolution of relations between the new Europe and the United States and their strategic implications are discussed in *Kissinger's Atlantic Charter* by George Catlin (Smythe, £3.75, 1974). The vexed problems of East-West relations and a European security conference have received attention - notably *Peace in Europe: East West Relations 1966-1968 and the Prospects for a European Settlement* by Karl Birnbaum (Oxford University Press for the R.I.I.A., £0.70 paperback, 1970) and *Prospects for a European Security Conference* by Michael Palmer (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 18, £1.32, 1971). Other useful studies of European security include *Europe's future, Europe's choices: Models of Western Europe in the 1970s* edited by Alastair Buchan

(Chatto & Windus for the Institute of Strategic Studies, £1.50; £0.75 paperback, 1969), and *The Defence of Western Europe* edited by John Garnett (Macmillan, £4.95, 1974).

10. International Aspects

The international impact of the European Community has been discussed in *The European Community in the World* edited by Ph. P. Everts (Rotterdam University Press, 1972), another book with the same title by Richard Bailey (Hutchinson, £3.50, 1973), and *Europe in the World* edited by K. J. Twitchett (Europa Publications, e.d.p. February 1976). The possible evolution of a Western European foreign policy is examined by Roger Morgan in *High Politics, Low Politics* (Sage Publications, The Washington Papers, Volume 1, No. 11, £1.00, 1973), while Pierre Hassner has investigated whether Europe can become the world's first 'civilian power' in *Europe in the Age of Negotiation* (The Washington Papers, Volume 1, No. 8, Sage Publications, £1.00, 1973).

Some experts maintain that in the long term the European Communities' relationships with the 'Third World' will have a greater significance than European integration as such. African association with the EEC is looked at in *Europe and the Developing World: Association under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome* by William Gorell-Barnes (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 2, £0.80, 1967) and *Africa and the Common Market* (Longman, £2.50, 1967) by P. N. C. Okigbo. The actual EEC aid programme to the Yaoundé-type associates is analysed in *Europe's Chosen Few* by David Jones (O.D.I., £1.00, 1973). The evolution of the Communities' external policies and the administrative procedures for conducting common negotiations are examined in *External Relations of the European Community* by Stanley Henig (Chatham House-P.E.P., European Series No. 19, £1.50, 1971). The impact of British membership and its possible implications for the Third World is the subject of *Britain, the EEC and the Third World: Report of an International Conference jointly sponsored by the Society for International Development and the Overseas Development Institute, April 1971* (O.D.I. £1.00, 1971), *Europe or the Open Sea* by Ivor Richards, Geoffrey Williams, Alan Lee Williams and Glyn Mathias (Knight, £2.50, 1971), *The Seven Outside: Commonwealth Asia's Trade with the Enlarged EEC* by Peter Tulloch (O.D.I., £1.00, 1973) and *Britain in Europe: Impact on the Third World* by H. Fukuda (Macmillan, £4.95, 1973).

Pamphlets and Periodicals

Various European Community publications are available free of charge from the European Community Information Office, 20 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8. Details on application.

The leading British banks have produced some good booklets on the European Communities, many of which are also available free of charge: *Britain and the Common Market* (Barclays Bank, 1971), *Factual Guide to the Common Market* (Midland Bank, 1971) and *The Common Market and the United Kingdom* (National Westminster Bank, 1970).

Three British journals specialising in Common Market studies are: *European Community*, a monthly available free of charge from the European Community Information Office, which contains news and articles on current developments in the European Community; *Journal of Common Market Studies*, a quarterly journal published by Blackwell, subscription £3.00 per annum, which contains advanced, theoretical studies of economic integration in Europe and elsewhere; *Common Market Law Review*, a quarterly journal published by Stevens for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law and the Europe Institute of Leyden University, £10.00 p.a.

The Development of Summit Meetings

Andrew Duff

The decision of the heads of state or government of the nine Member States of the European Community in December of last year to hold regular 'European Councils' begs several questions. This article examines the role summit meetings play in the Community. What is the nature of the summits' relations with the institutions established by the treaties, and what will be the impact of regular 'European Councils' on the conventional political processes? Can the leaders learn from their mistakes in the past and tackle effectively the problem of political will? Lastly, how can the summits minimise the difficulties caused by dissimilar political cultures amongst the nine Member States?

Background

It is one of the stranger features of the Treaty of Rome that the leaders of governments were given no part to play in the affairs of the Community.¹ Historically, therefore, there has been a certain resistance to the idea of summit meetings, especially among the smaller nations who feared domination by an axis of the de Gaulle-Adenauer type. The theoretical independence of the institutions of a supranational organisation had been considered a major asset by the authors of the founding treaties of the Communities.

de Gaulle, however, had a personal predilection for high politics and he suggested regular summit conferences of heads of state or of government of the Six as early as 1961. But it was not until he left office that the resolution to tackle the many problems which were paralysing progress towards fuller integration became common to all Member States. The Commission, then presided over by Jean Rey, realised, despite some misgivings, that there was need for a political initiative which the Commission alone was no longer strong enough to give. There was a general acceptance of the fact that the role of the Commission as internal motor of the Community had declined over the years.

Another major reason for the convening, and relative success, of the summit at The Hague in 1969 was that the responsibilities of the Community towards the outside world were expanding to problematical proportions. For example, the policy of détente was gathering force: Germany's partners in the Community, no less than her partners in the Atlantic Alliance, had to adapt their own policies towards the Eastern bloc. The conduct of foreign policy is, of course, beyond the remit of the Community's institutions. It is not beyond the obligation of the Member States, however, to feature the Community prominently in the formulation of their own foreign policies. When Nixon wanted to speak to the Community during his much sought-after European tour he could hardly be fobbed off with the Council of Ministers.²

Similarly, the Community was quite simply becoming more important in the domestic sphere: heads of governments naturally wish to interfere in important matters. The organisation of Whitehall under the Heath Government, when the Prime Minister had wide-ranging personal control of the coordination of European affairs in the civil service, is a good illustration of this.

Several lessons can be drawn from The Hague meeting. What it did well was to swap, in the style of classical diplomacy, the CAP financing system (which

the French wanted) for the promise to open negotiations with Britain (which everybody else wanted). Almost unnoticed went the accord (on Brandt's initiative) to begin again inter-governmental coordination of foreign policy. **The Davignon procedure owes its existence to The Hague summit, and its development to the Paris summit of 1972.**³ The two Davignon Reports acknowledge this debt by making proviso for the holding of summits to manage a crisis and to give *grandes orientations* to the future progress of political cooperation. It should be noted that until last December the summits had only achieved legal, rather than *ad hoc*, status under this procedure. The Second Davignon Report of 1973 even talks of a 'mandate' from the summit.

Political will

It was the Commission itself which was most guilty of misreading the results of The Hague. 'The spirit of The Hague' became a slogan and with it the notion that 'political will' had at last graced the Community became generally accepted. But the truth was rather different. Political will cannot, unlike political cooperation, be created with a minimum of agreement. Political will is both a common policy and a political process, both a will and a way. On the agricultural policy and the British negotiations the summit had agreed on how to do something. In another field, monetary integration has always been feeble not because the concept of fixed but adjustable parities⁴ was necessarily bad economics, but because there was never a solution to the problem of how to reach that stage.

Organisation

The failure of all the summits to tackle seriously the institutional problems of the Community is the main reason why the agreement in principle to employ Article 235 ('If action by the Community should prove necessary to attain, in the course of the operation of the common market, one of the objectives of the Community and this Treaty has not provided the necessary powers, the Council shall, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Assembly, take the appropriate measures.') – which, on the face of it, could be claimed as summitry's greatest achievement – is so empty. The Commission, despite the Vedel Report⁵ and despite the pressure from Altiero Spinelli (one of the Italian Commissioners), acquiesced, during the preparations for the 1972 summit, in the decision of the governments to play down the disagreements over the

¹ Only Article 236, on amendment to the Treaty, presumably allows for a summit: 'The Government of any Member State or the Commission may submit to the Council proposals for the amendment of this Treaty.'

² 'If the Council, after consulting the Assembly and, where appropriate, the Commission, delivers an opinion in favour of calling a conference of representatives of the Governments of the Member States, the conference shall be convened by the President of the Council for the purpose of determining by common accord the amendments to be made to this Treaty.'

³ In the event Nixon's visit in 1974 was merely in order to attend NATO's twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations.

⁴ The Davignon procedure is so-called after the name of the (Belgian) chairman of the committee set up to make recommendations on the organisation of foreign policy coordination.

⁵ This formula was the basis of the Community's policy of Economic and Monetary Union.

⁶ The Vedel Report was produced at the Commission's behest to consider the institutional problems of the Community.

institutional question. By the end of June 1972 the *modus operandi* of all parties was characterised by the desire for a glamorous summit in Paris in October. In the event the Dutch Prime Minister Biesheuvel was quite isolated in his attempt to give the institutions more power; the conference was too well-structured and too well-prepared to allow for an upset. Most of the time was spent shuffling paragraphs around in the communiqué to give this or that item greater or lesser significance.

THE PARIS SUMMIT, October 1972

The Paris Summit, which took place a few months before enlargement of the Community, was an important landmark in its development. Substantial commitments were entered into and were given added impetus by being tied to specific timetables. A programme of action was decided upon and embodied in the communiqué which issued from the summit. Concrete decisions were taken in relation to economic and monetary union, regional policy, social policy, industrial, scientific and technological policy, environmental policy, external relations of the Community and reinforcement of the Community institutions. All these decisions were to be viewed together in the light of the final decision of the summit in which the heads of state or government set themselves the major objective of transforming before 1980 the whole complex of relations between the Member States of the enlarged Communities into a European Union. The Community institutions have been given the responsibility to draw up a report on this subject before the end of 1975 for submission to a further summit conference. The nature of this European Union has not yet been worked out in any detail and it will depend on the degree of political development arrived at on a functional basis by the Community over the next few years.

1973 was a year of difficulties for the Community. Deadlines in the programme from the Paris summit came and went, unfulfilled. The Copenhagen meeting in December 1973 was really an impulsive reaction to Paris's presumed failure to shed enough political will. It was conceived as a 'fire-side summit' because there was a feeling, again widely-shared, that the leaders had given themselves too much to do at Paris, and too little flexibility, to do it. Perhaps the delegations had been overstaffed, though Britain, France and Italy scarcely reduced the size of their delegations from the one summit to the other. The 'fire-side chat' idea, besides having the intrinsic attraction of novelty, fitted in with Pompidou's conception of a summit as a central coordinating body in a confederal system. He foresaw a multiplication of contacts between *les plus hauts responsables* expressing themselves in summary form. His 'model' had little to do with the Community, but more with the pattern of bilateral meetings between leaders of governments.

It is indisputable that the Community has benefited, in some measure from bilateral summitry. Two outstanding examples of this are the Heath-Pompidou meeting in Paris of May 1971, and the half-hour conversation between Brandt and Pompidou on the fringes of the 1969 summit of the Six at The Hague. The first cleared the way to the successful conclusion of the British entry negotiations; the second prevented the conference from being as sterile as its predecessors. The Copenhagen experiment was intended to give a Community ear to the kind of confidences swapped at bilateral meetings. The intention, however, was

fundamentally misguided because there is no regular pattern to bilateral summits: some such as the Bonn meeting of July 1961, are clearly a waste of time, and others, such as Copenhagen, may even militate against progress within the Community. Diplomatic cosmetics can, of course, disguise many fissures but what can be done with two parties is infinitely more difficult with nine. It is also more important, insofar as the impact of a summit of the Nine on the political processes of the Community is direct and immediate.

Political processes

The crucial relationship is between the summit conference and the Council of Ministers. All the summits have attempted to speed up decision-taking in the Council, to take on the function in other words, of *déblocage de dossiers*. Certainly there is a need for this. The 'European Council' idea grew because of the increasingly debilitating incoherence of the Council's activity. On one day the ministers of finance would be stemming inflation; on the next the agricultural ministers would be stoking it.

The foreign ministers have been unable to play a dominant role, the excuse being that they have lacked sufficient political authority. But the summits have scarcely done better.

What has tended to happen is that the Council of Ministers, a few weeks before a summit, has ceased to take effective decisions. The summits have almost become a court of appeal for the Community institutions. The best example of this is the regional policy debacle of 1973. Moreover, even some supposedly conclusive decisions of the Council have had to have confirmation from a summit before they have become fully operative: the various decisions of the Council on economic and monetary union are a case in point.

In view of these handicaps does the desire of the heads of government to hold regular 'European Councils' of the Community offer much of a solution? What is likely is that the Council of Ministers itself will become more and more of a legislative body (a senate) to the detriment of its function as a policy-making body (a cabinet). The foreign ministers will now be meeting at least seven times a year outside the institution of the Council, that is thrice at summit conference and four times under the Davignon procedure.

There are, besides, several other disadvantages of summits which will have to be overcome. They have irregular chairmanship and an irregular secretariat. The pure mechanics of a diplomatic conference can become major political problems: translation facilities, links between drafting groups and the conference chamber, size of delegations, the keeping of minutes, the length of the meeting, the extent of preparation and the formality of the agenda, even the shape of the table create difficulties. There is a danger that summits become circuses dedicated to the celebration of the crisis of the hour – the Copenhagen summit in December and the oil problem shines out as an example. In those circumstances the run-of-the-mill problems of the Community are neglected – the Copenhagen summit spent barely an hour on regional policy. The meetings are held in quasi-public, and the power of the press to make or break them is astonishing. It has already been observed how the urge to be seen not to disagree pre-empted a constructive discussion of the institutional problems of the Community at Paris in 1972. It also curtailed a debate on relations with America to the ridiculous limit of whether or not to include in the phrasing of paragraph 12 of the communiqué a specific mention of the initials 'USA'.

Summits are not in the least conducive to the growth of democracy in the Community. The element of opposition is nowhere more absent. They have no link at all with the European Parliament, and the scrutiny

of them by national parliaments will, perforce, be minimal.⁶

Summits have always presented something of a challenge to the Commission. It was not invited to the conference of 1961, and it was badly snubbed by de Gaulle at Rome in 1967. President Mansholt battled throughout 1972 to get a major diplomatic and political presence at the summit. The Commission was included in the preparations from the very beginning, both as observers at meetings of foreign ministers and as full participants (with the Permanent Representatives of the national governments in Brussels, COREPER) on an *ad hoc* Committee which eventually sent the draft communiqué ('Report of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs') to the summit. Once there, however, Mansholt seemed to misjudge the political weight that his Commission could have, and was too often cast in the role of a formal opposition. It is arguable that this lessened the incentive of the Member States to be more *communautaire* themselves. The Commission is at its most effective in the drafting sessions of summits, where expertise in technicalities is invaluable.

The difficulty in integrating the summits and the conventional political processes of the Community is encapsulated in the doubt concerning the status of the final communiqués. The texts are frequently quoted in Community documents, and thus, it is safe to presume, have become part and parcel of the *acquis communautaire*. But they are not Council documents. How worthless they can be has received ample illustration from the present British Government's discovery that nobody can agree, or remember, what 'European Union' was intended to mean.⁷ Obsessive reliance on texts, it could be suggested, is symptomatic of the Community's political immaturity.

Political culture

The summits are intra-Community diplomacy par excellence. Unlike the Council of Ministers, which has formed a considerable collegial character and works in an appropriately flexible atmosphere, the conduct of diplomacy puts more of a premium on the personal political style of the participants. At summits the leaders have hardly known each other. Few have been able to spend as much time on the relevant dossiers as their foreign ministers: Edward Heath, for instance, had been almost totally involved with the executive of the miners' union prior to the Copenhagen summit. How many men, in similar circumstances, can be expected to be capable of global thought about the European Community?

Political culture, then, is another factor which makes a summit such an arbitrary and transient phenomenon. A fortunate combination of circumstances and moods made the 1972 Paris summit the zenith of opportunity for Heath, Brandt and

⁶ Note the complaints of the British anti-market MPs about the Paris Summit of October 1972.

⁷ See White Paper 'Developments in the European Communities, March-October 1974'. Cmnd. 5790, para 55. 'Widely differing views were expressed at that meeting on the meaning and content of European Union and it was clear that there was no common understanding of what was envisaged by the October 1972 Communiqué.

Pompidou. At no other time, beforehand or afterwards, were they able to comprehend each other so fully. Nevertheless, the inevitable problem of political culture made the area of uncertainty still quite great. Willy Brandt, for instance, unlike his successor, could never understand how crucial the regional policy was to his British colleague. Partly as a consequence of this, he arrived at Copenhagen the following year wholly unprepared to talk about the establishment of the regional fund.

The particular personality of each individual head of state or government is vitally important to the welfare of a summit, therefore, even if their respective constitutional positions were not to differ. As it is they do not have identical political authority. The French President can claim he is the summit of democratic legitimacy, the supreme repository of the national interest. But the Dutch Prime Minister, on the other hand, has no room for manoeuvre in foreign affairs without the presence and active participation of his minister for foreign affairs. Furthermore, there can be no safeguard against electoral misfortune: the Danish Prime Minister in 1973, having suffered defeat at the polls, survived in office merely to host the summit conference.

Above and beyond these awkward constitutional differences, however, is the fact that it is the leaders of heads of state or government, and they alone, who are responsible for legitimising the decisions reached at the conference. If one individual loses interest (as Brandt may have done after The Hague), or is forced to drop the follow-up to the agreement once he meets his cabinet, the whole Community accord is null and void. What has been proved beyond doubt already is that no summit can bind its successor. It remains to be seen how well the Community can learn from its past experience.

Summits since the founding of the EEC

February 1961, Paris: Discussions on political cooperation.

July 1961, Bonn: Discussions on political cooperation.

May 1967, Rome: Anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome.

December 1969, The Hague: Agreement reached over the financing of the Agricultural Policy and over the beginning of negotiations with candidate countries.

October 1972, Paris: Confirmation of the policy of Economic and Monetary Union; agreement on the creation of the Regional Development Fund and of European Union by 1980.

December 1973, Copenhagen: The energy crisis; failure to complete preparations for the Regional Policy.

December 1974, Paris: Progress on British 'renegotiations', Regional Policy, and direct election to the European Parliament.

March 1975, Dublin: Completion of British 'renegotiation'.

Education of Migrant Workers' Children in the European Community

The Statistical Office of the Communities estimates that there are at present some 6.25 million migrant workers living in the Community and well over two million of their children are under 18 years of age. The majority of these children are of school age and are faced with the problem of fitting into different school systems. The most obvious obstacle facing them, and generally the most difficult to overcome, is language. Some migrant children do not suffer as much as others; Italian and Spanish children in French-speaking countries adapt very quickly in primary schools, as do Commonwealth migrants in the United Kingdom. Others, the vast majority, come up against a language barrier which they have difficulty in breaking through. This article describes the main features of the problem of educating migrant workers' children and describes the response the Community feels it must make.

What are the problems?

Migrant children aged between three and five can learn a new language very quickly through constant contact with playmates. Six- and seven-year-olds still stand some chance of integrating into a normal class without too much trouble. Children aged eight and over, however, need special attention, and if they do not get extra language tuition, their future schooling may be jeopardised. During the first few years at a foreign school, the language handicap may prevent migrant children achieving the rewards to which they aspire. The result, particularly with adolescents, is a discouragement which can be permanent.

Migrant children, even the youngest, when transplanted to a strange environment suffer a psychological shock which must not be underestimated. First contacts with a new social and school environment can be complicated if the migrant child is confronted with indifference, scorn or even hostility from new classmates. To young Moslem, African and Asian migrants, European schools may present a social image which conflicts with religious beliefs and customs honoured in their own homes. These young people experience great difficulty in realising their own cultural identity

Absenteeism

Migrant children are often reluctant to attend school. Absenteeism or indeed a downright refusal to go to school, is rife. The number of children involved varies from region to region and with the country of origin. Most of them tend to be adolescents approaching school leaving age, often because their parents consider it unnecessary for them to remain at school when they are close to leaving, but in some cases it may well be that the quality of education provided discourages many migrant children. Where checks are made on school attendance, a great many infringements of the law are discovered. Usually they are due to ignorance of the law. The force of custom (e.g. the Moroccan custom of not sending girls to school, especially in pre-adolescence) is not to be confused with deliberate law-breaking. Law-breaking does also occur, though rarely, in the form of sending children to work early, out of an understandable – though not acceptable – desire on the part of recent immigrants to bring in more money.

Where no checks are made on school attendance, between 25 and 50 per cent of immigrant children may slip through the net: such is the case in Germany.

and there is a real danger they will remain on the fringes of both their old culture and the new.

Migrant children who have been to school before their families emigrated have particular difficulty in integrating in a class of children of the same age and ability. The language problem, coupled with differences in school curricula, can set a child back one year on average. At secondary level, periods of study completed, and qualifications obtained abroad are often not recognised – either on arrival in the host country, or on return to the country of origin.

Migrant children often have to cope with the additional problems presented by home backgrounds in which parents know little of either the language or educational system of the host country. These parents, who are often not well educated themselves and usually low down the social scale, are unable to help or advise their children and may, as a result, suffer from feelings of inadequacy or inferiority. This creates a bad educational climate which is often made worse by housing conditions which are rarely conducive to study.

What can be done to help migrant children?

Pre-school education

A small child's first social contacts are very important. If all goes well in the early, formative years, then integration will present fewer problems in the future. However, if the migrant child has no opportunity to mix with children of his age in the host country and remains exclusively in the charge of his parents or relatives and neighbours of the same nationality, he will not be able to form the necessary relationships and learn the new language.

If, on the other hand, the migrant child can attend a nursery school, then integration into the new environment will be quite natural and the child will learn to speak and understand the new language within a year. After two or three years of nursery schooling the migrant child is linguistically almost indistinguishable from his classmates and thereafter will attend school under the same conditions as nationals.

Reception systems

The aim of the reception class is to teach the migrant child the new language as quickly as possible so that he can be educated in the same way as nationals of his own age. Reception classes ought to be taught by specialised teachers and there should be never more than 15 children – preferably of the same age – in the class. The reception period may vary from one to two years depending on the age of the children. The new language is taught by intensive methods, perfected by

specialists and tested in practice. The migrant children join in with the other children for general activities such as games, recreation, singing, gymnastics, etc.

If social and linguistic integration is to be achieved without too much difficulty, reception classes should form part of a school complex in which the percentage of foreign pupils does not exceed 20 per cent. Once the children have a sufficient grasp of the school's working language they can then be switched to normal classes. Reception classes are used in Denmark and Germany¹ and are now being introduced in France and Luxembourg. Experiments have also been carried out in Belgium, some of them under the auspices of the Council of Europe.

Small beginnings

It is well known that factory hours and school hours do not coincide. Where the parents work shifts (the father in particular on a rotating eight-hour shift), there is often a problem of what to do with the children very early in the morning or after school in the evening.

For young children, morning and evening nurseries (which are not necessarily free) go some way towards making up for these discrepancies in hours which are a feature of industrial societies.

An interesting experiment with a continuous kindergarten has had considerable success in the outlying Brussels district of Etterbeek. Each kindergarten class has two nursery-school teachers, whose working hours overlap. (First teacher 7.30 a.m.–1.00 p.m., second teacher 12.30 p.m.–6.00 p.m.) One starts at the beginning of the morning and is assisted at lunch-time by the other, who then takes over the class until the evening. The advantage of this system is that it places the children without interruption in the care of well-trained, qualified staff who know about their psychological development, are familiar with suitable educational activities and are provided with proper equipment. Over the whole school day a rich social and linguistic exchange occurs.

Remedial classes

Less gifted children may need remedial teaching even after their integration into normal classes. This can be provided, as the need arises, for very small groups of children experiencing the same difficulties. Remedial teaching is becoming more and more common in primary schools in Member States as a means of helping children with a handicap to keep up with their class, and can easily be adapted to the needs of a migrant child experiencing problems with a new language where difficulties of syntax and grammar abound.

Native language and cultural background studies

Research workers and educationalists in many of the host countries have argued that it is essential for migrant children to retain or learn their native language. This is obviously essential for children who will eventually return to schools in their own country and for young people who return to take up employment at home after training abroad.

It is now recognised that a child's mother tongue plays an important role in the educational process and

should not be allowed to lapse. Conceptualisation, acquisition of another language, personality development and family relations are all influenced by retention of the mother tongue. For this reason the language and culture of the country of origin deserve a place in curricula for migrant children. In the past this type of education tended to be given entirely outside school hours and its success depended for the most part on the motivation of the migrant child and his parents. It became clear, however, that this out-of-school system led to strain, and manual workers' children in particular did not benefit.

Educationalists, psychologists and linguists now insist that the mother tongue be taught as part of the normal school curriculum, although until such time as all children take a foreign language at primary school it will be difficult to find four or five hours in the timetable without encroaching upon other subjects. In secondary schools, apart from the problem of finding a teacher who speaks the immigrants' language, there are fewer theoretical reasons why the migrant child should not study his mother tongue as his first 'foreign' language. In Germany, nearly all migrant children are already taught their mother tongue at primary and secondary level.

Active participants in school life

Although the presence of foreign children in a school poses problems, it also creates a multi-lingual and multi-cultural environment from which the school can profit. The European Schools and the experiences of schools in bilingual countries have shown that the first foreign language can play an active role in teaching, and children exposed to bilingual teaching from the beginning of primary school to the end of secondary school normally acquire a fluent command of both languages.

How should teachers be trained?

It is essential that teachers intending to work in immigrant areas should be trained to deal with migrant children. This is already being done in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands, where conferences and lectures are given by psychologists and sociologists, heads of reception centres, social workers and trade unionists.

It is also a considerable help if teachers are trained in the use of audio-visual and other rapid language-teaching methods, for this allows them to adapt better to foreign pupils who must be taught in a language other than their mother tongue. An ability to communicate in the pupil's mother tongue will obviously be advantageous at times, so trainee teachers who wish to specialise in teaching foreign children should be given an opportunity during their initial training of learning another language.

For those teachers already working, further training can be provided by organising three- or four-day courses to familiarise them with the educational, psychological and socio-cultural problems of migrant children. (Each year some 150–200 teachers get in-service training of this sort in France and Germany). In addition, longer courses lasting from three to six weeks can be provided for teachers specialising in reception classes. These courses would include practical training in language-teaching methods, together with courses of lectures on the psychology, culture and religion of the children who will be placed in their charge.

Finally, as no host country now has enough qualified teachers to provide courses in all languages spoken by migrants, the help of foreign teachers should be

¹ 22,000 children are at present in reception classes in Nord-Rhein-Westfalen.

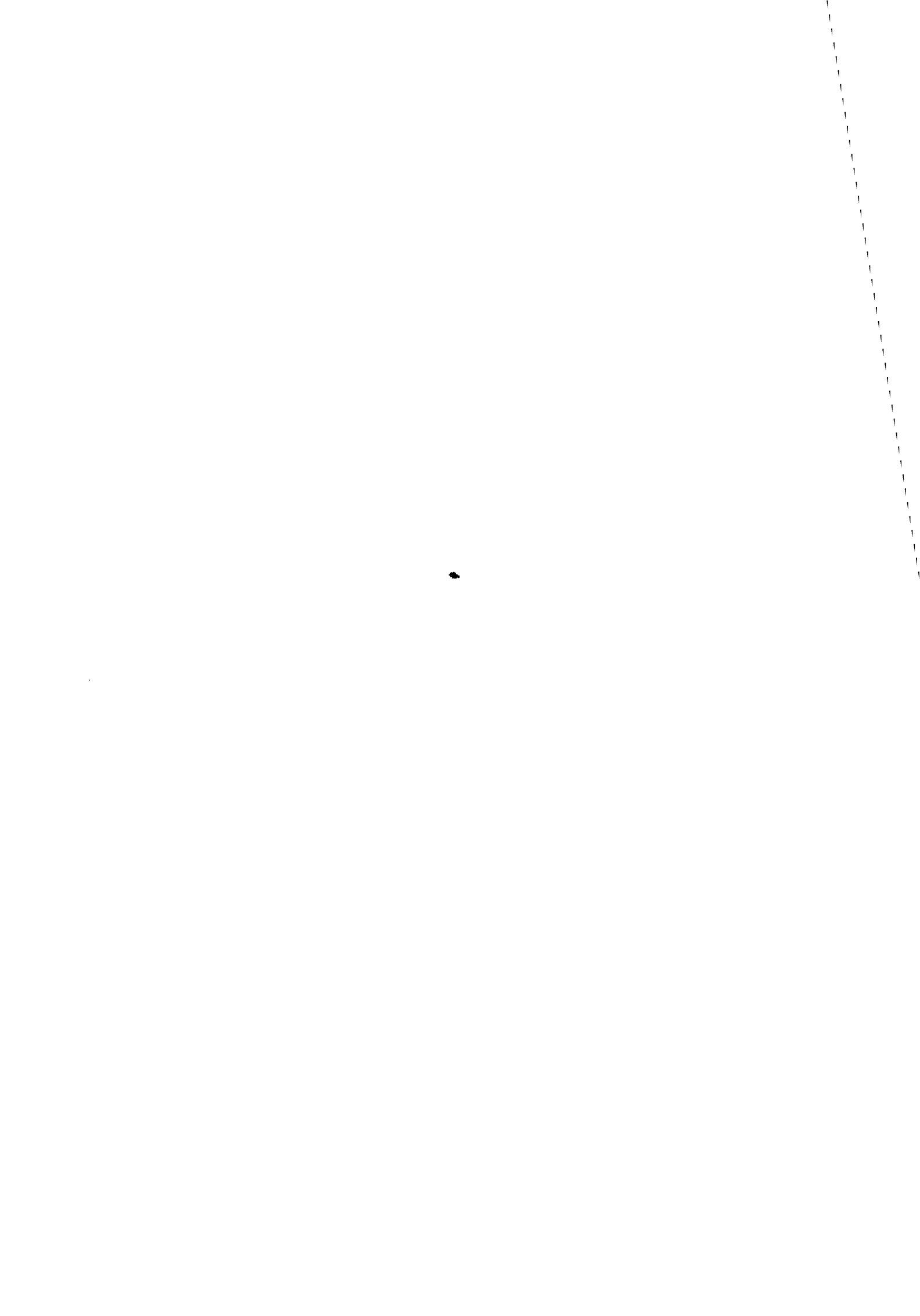
Statistical Data

MIGRANT WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE COMMUNITY

Country of origin	Country of employment									EC (Total 1973)
	Belgium (average 1972)	Denmark (1 Jan. 1971)	Germany (end of January 1973)	France (31 Dec. 1972)	Ireland (1972)	Italy (average 1971)	Luxembourg (average 1972)	Netherlands (15 June 1972)	United Kingdom (1971 approximately)	
Belgium		974	11,000	25,000	50	539	6,500	23,162	13,500	74,000
Denmark	200		4,000	1,000	50	248		126	2,000	7,500
Germany F. R.	4,500	5,385		25,000	210	7,190	3,900	11,652	20,000	81,000
France	15,000	568	51,000		210	4,145	6,000	1,742	20,000	93,000
Ireland	100	50		1,000		300			470,000	471,000
Italy	86,000	672	409,689	230,000	500		11,000	9,506	121,000	858,000
Luxembourg	1,400		1,450	2,000	7	32			500	5,400
Netherlands	13,500	974	70,000	5,000	250	1,146	500		6,000	92,000
United Kingdom	5,000	2,962	19,000	10,000		4,500	100	3,285		46,000
EC	125,700	11,585	566,139	299,000	1,277	18,100	28,000	49,473	653,000	1,753,000
Spain	30,000		179,498	270,000		2,006	1,200	14,824	30,000	527,000
Greece	7,000		268,096	5,000		768		1,145	50,000	332,000
Yugoslavia	1,200	14,241	466,128	50,000		4,103	500	8,810	4,000	535,000
Portugal	3,500		69,099	380,000		631	8,000	2,513	5,000	469,000
Turkey	12,000		528,239	18,000		317		20,883	3,000	582,000
Algeria	3,000		2,000	450,000					600	456,000
Morocco	16,500		15,317	120,000				14,205	2,000	168,000
Tunisia	2,100	10,617	11,162	60,000					200	74,000
Other non-member countries	18,000		239,576	130,000		18,205	2,300	9,715	918,205	1,348,000
Total number from non-member countries	93,000	24,858	1,779,115	1,483,000	843	26,030	12,000	72,095	1,013,005	4,491,000
TOTAL	219,000	36,443	2,345,254	1,782,000	2,120	44,130	40,000	121,568	1,666,005	6,244,000

MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE COMMUNITY NEW ARRIVALS OF PERMANENT WORKERS

TOTAL	The Six															The Nine
	176,000	152,000	333,000	436,000	514,000	516,000	638,000	713,000	595,000	286,000	522,000	860,000	946,000	767,000	623,000	
Nationals of member countries	110,000	94,000	207,000	229,000	222,000	182,000	190,000	261,000	213,000	96,000	164,000	166,000	205,000	198,000	195,000	225,000
	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973



enlisted. Experience in Germany has shown that this is perfectly feasible even where large numbers of foreign teachers are required.²

How should parents be provided with information?

Migrant workers learn of their rights and duties through a host of different channels. These include government emigration and immigration agencies, local and regional reception committees, local councils and advisory bodies, migrants' associations, trade union organisations, churches, social services, and employers. On the educational front, however, parents tend to be poorly informed and fail to appreciate the opportunities for social advancement available to their children through the educational system of the host country. They need, therefore, to be made aware of the opportunities before they emigrate. Responsibility for this lies partly with the country of origin, and partly with the emigration agencies involved. Documentation supplied to the would-be emigrant should contain information comparing educational facilities in the host country with those in the country of origin, together with detailed explanations of schooling arrangements for children and adolescents. Radio and television programmes could provide an effective follow-up to this information.

It will still, of course, be difficult for school authorities to establish and maintain contact with migrant families and it will be up to those people and agencies who work with migrant families to persuade parents to make use of school guidance services in their children's interest.

Improving the new environment

It is not enough for the mass media to try to build bridges between migrants and the rest of the community and efforts should be made to make migrants welcome at all levels of social life. School is one place where this can be done, but efforts to integrate migrant children depend for their success on schoolmates being prepared to meet them half-way. Some school subjects such as geography, history and economics offer many opportunities for teachers to explain the role of past migrations in the development of Europe and to place present-day migrations in their social, political and economic context.

In some host countries parents have expressed fears that the presence of foreign children in schools will result in lower educational standards. If, as has already been suggested, no more than 20 per cent foreign children are admitted to a school, their presence, far from being a threat to standards, can be of educational benefit to nationals. For example, many children and adolescents are very successful in helping their foreign schoolmates, both with homework and in class. For adolescents, contact with their peers and teachers from another country opens up wider human perspectives. Many find this helps them in their language studies.

Problems do arise, however, when over-rigid administrations prevent school authorities from distributing migrant children between different schools in a given locality. Migrant parents naturally tend to send their children to schools which are particularly good at integrating pupils and this can mean that the proportion of migrant children in such schools increases alarmingly. The settling of foreign workers in a town or region is a complex human problem which can only be fully resolved with the cooperation of many authorities.

² For example, in 1973, 1,080 foreign teachers were employed in Nord-Rhein-Westfalen.

What are international organisations doing?

In November 1972 a resolution was passed at the UNESCO General Conference urging all UNESCO members to take concrete steps to facilitate access to education for migrant children and to improve the quality of this education. A first meeting of experts on the education of migrant workers and their children was held in Paris in October 1973.

The International Labour Office has adopted numerous conventions and recommendations dealing with equal opportunity and treatment for migrant workers and access for their children to educational institutions, including general, technical and vocational education, school and vocational guidance and vocational training (cf. 56th, 57th, 59th and 60th sessions of the International Labour Conference).

The Council of Europe has passed a resolution on the education of migrant children which has given rise to a number of studies and pilot schemes and has led to positive action being taken in various host countries. At their Seventh Conference, held in Brussels in June 1971, Ministers of Education from the 21 signatory states to the European Cultural Convention agreed to devote special attention to the problems posed by the education of migrant children. In addition, delegates to the *ad hoc* Conference on the Education of Migrants held in Strasbourg last November passed a series of resolutions urging the adoption of measures to streamline the organisation of facilities for migrant children from the educational and administrative point of view (cf/CME/IX/75/7 of the proceedings – see Further Reading).

The Conference also emphasised the need for special reception measures and the importance of the mother tongue in the educational process. Countries affected by migration were urged to initiate and promote research into the problems posed by the education of migrant children.

What is the European Community doing?

Free movement within the Community is a fundamental right enjoyed by all Community nationals and their families.

Regulations prescribe that:

- 'workers who are nationals of a Member State shall by virtue of the same right and under the same conditions as national workers, have access to training and vocational schools and retraining centres.' (Article 7).
- 'the children of a national of a Member State who is or has been employed in the territory of another Member State shall be admitted to that State's general educational, apprenticeship and vocational training courses under the same conditions as the nationals of that State, if such children are residing in its territory.'³ (Article 12).
- 'Member States shall encourage all efforts to enable such children to attend these courses under the best possible conditions.' (Article 12).

The social action programme adopted by the Council of Ministers in January last year lists as one of its priorities the creation of an action programme for migrant workers and their families. Among other things this programme would deal with training and education of migrant workers' children. In fact the social action programme does not discriminate between intra-Community migrant workers and

³ A recent ruling by the EEC Court of Justice (Case 9/74) held that Article 12 applies not only to rules on admission but also to general measures, including grants etc. to facilitate attendance. This regulation also provided for the creation of an Advisory Committee which has the job of providing, at the request of the Commission or on its own initiative, reasoned opinions on vocational training and all forms of assistance to workers and their families.

migrants from third countries whereas the Articles above apply only to Community nationals. When the nine EEC Education Ministers met in Luxembourg in June last year they listed, as a priority in their resolution on co-ordination in the field of education, better facilities for the education and training of nationals of member and non-member countries and their children.

As a preliminary to positive action to improve educational conditions for migrant children in the Community, the Commission will attempt to get Member States to agree on a number of fundamental principles.

These are as follows:

- the migrant child is entitled to education tailored to his needs;
- special teaching should be provided to help the child integrate into the school and social environment of the host country;
- the child's native language and native culture should have a place in the school curriculum;
- reintegration into the school system of the child's country of origin should be possible;
- there should be no discrimination between Community and non-Community nationals as regards schooling.

The Commission has put forward a number of concrete suggestions for action in the social and educational fields:

- increasing the number of reception or adaptation classes for children who migrate between the ages of six and 16 years;
- improvement of teaching methods and provision of special educational material for migrant children;
- arrangements to allow migrant children to study their native language and learn about their cultural background during normal school hours;

Light in the Tunnel

The education of migrant workers' children, at the best of times a long, slow job, is made more difficult by the immigrants' constant mobility. **External migration** causes a constant turnover as work contracts expire. New batches of migrants succeed each other at more or less regular intervals and the teachers have to start all over again with a new set of children. Even that might not be so bad if these manpower fluctuations affected large numbers simultaneously, but in fact they are staggered and classes with a high proportion of immigrants are constantly changing (the headmaster of one city school recently reported an average of one transfer every two days). **Internal migration** (where it is allowed) makes matters worse: migrant workers change employers, change occupations, change address and the children are moved from one school to another, each time disrupting their education.

On the other hand, where the immigrant population has been stable for long enough, good results can be achieved and among the millions of migrants in the EEC a growing number of families are becoming bicultural. Moreover, a significant trend is beginning to emerge. Whereas immigrant children all used to make for vocational courses (with a strong practical bias, leading to apprenticeship in a manual trade), some of them now go for technical studies (demanding a wider vocabulary and better primary education). The most recent generations are even opting for general secondary education, which is evidence of some social advancement through education.

- arrangements to allow the reintegration of migrant children into the school system in their country of origin;
- training of teachers specialising in the education of migrant children;
- recruitment of foreign teachers capable of teaching migrant children their native language and explaining their cultural background to them;
- revision of national regulations on study grants to give migrant children access to all levels of education under the same conditions as nationals;
- extending the activities of social workers to ensure that migrant children do in fact attend school and that out-of-school activities are organised along more appropriate lines;
- encouraging bilateral and multilateral agreements between individual host countries and countries of origin in order to increase cooperation in educational matters, particularly in the recruitment and training of specialised teachers.

In more general terms, the Commission is in favour of furthering studies and research projects calculated to lead to better understanding of the problems posed by the education of migrant children. The Commission will do all it can to support pilot schemes related to the education of migrant children and the training of specialised teachers.

As a result of the decision taken by EEC Social Affairs Ministers in June last year, the Commission is now able to guarantee aid from the European Social Fund for expenditure incurred in organising special courses geared to the needs of migrant children.

The Social Fund can also foot part of the bill for training schemes for social workers and teachers entrusted with the education of migrant children. The Fund can repay up to half the cost of schemes organised by public or private bodies under the conditions and within the limits fixed by existing regulations.

In implementing its programme for migrants, the Commission hopes to be able to count on the assistance of a working party set up within the Advisory Committee for the free movement of workers. It will also draw on the advice of experts in the field of migrant education and in social assistance to migrant families. The Commission will also consult representatives of teachers' organisations and migrants' associations.

Further reading

A detailed bibliography, classified by country, will be found in a Council of Europe document which deals with this problem in a broader context:

Council of Europe: Standing conference of European Ministers of Education: Ad hoc conference on the education of migrants, Strasbourg 5-8 November, 1974, country reports. Documentation Centre for Education in Europe CME/HF-M (74) V and CME/IX/75/7. (Record of the proceedings of the ad hoc conference).

Education and Culture - Review of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe No. 27: 'Education of Migrant Workers' Children.'

Educational Needs of Children from Minority Groups - Community Relations Commission March 1974.

Education for a Multi-Cultural Society:

Language by Christopher Candlin & June Derrick.
A Bibliography for Teachers.

Teacher Education for a Multicultural Society.

(From CRC Publications, Reference Division, 15-16 Bedford Street, London WC2E 9HX).

Consumers in the Common Market

Eirlys Roberts

The consumer's needs, when he buys goods or pays for services, may be summarised as:

the need for what he buys to be safe and healthy:

the need for full information about what he is buying so that he can buy it intelligently: the need for prompt and full redress if what he has paid for is unsatisfactory: the need to have his interests represented when governments and firms make important economic decisions: the need to be safeguarded from misrepresentation (e.g. by advertising): the need to have his world protected from waste and pollution.

In most countries of the Community there is legislation which satisfies some of these needs. But the legislation varies from country to country and there are always gaps. In the Common Market itself consumers fall into various groupings:

BEUC (Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs) *i.e.* independent consumer organisations.

Consumers Consultative Committee (*an organ of the EEC Commission*) consisting of independent consumer organisations plus family organisations, cooperatives and trade unions.

Consumers in the Economic and Social Committee (*an organ of the EEC itself*) and the

Consumer Affairs Division of the EEC Commission. *All these are working towards Community laws which fill the gaps and comprise the best of the consumer legislation in the various countries.*

The most recent activity of this kind is a move towards a Community idea for consumer education in schools – for it is this that lies at the root of all consumer self-protection.

Consumer education

In January, in Berlin, there is held what is called the 'Green Week', an agricultural exhibition so called because it is mounted for the benefit of farmers. The festival is celebrated throughout Germany and consumer organisations in Europe were invited this year to hold a Consumer Forum as part of the celebrations. One of the speakers at the Forum was Pierre Lardinois, Commissioner for Agriculture, and there was heated discussion about high prices, particularly the high price of food. But the theme that dominated the Forum was the need for consumer education in schools, and one of the three resolutions passed at the end asked the Commission to provide money for research into the best way of providing the necessary teaching material. It also asked for a European centre for the necessary training for teachers in the subject.

This illustrates the concern which consumer organisations are now showing with the problem of consumer education in schools. They say that the aim of consumer education must be to produce a society in which consumers – that is, the people who buy goods and pay for services – operate on a level equal to that of manufacturers and shopkeepers. They cannot do this at the moment chiefly because they lack the necessary knowledge. The manufacturer who is selling, say, a dishwasher, knows how it was made, how it works, how it might go wrong. The buyer knows nothing – or almost nothing – about how it works or how it might go wrong, and almost nothing about the subtleties of his legal rights if it does. The buyer is therefore in a weak position in any argument with the manufacturer. Certainly, consumer organisations and newspaper articles can give some of the necessary information, but they cannot give it all, about all products and services. And the people who belong to consumer organisations and read the newspaper articles on the subject tend to be a highly-educated minority. What is needed is a kind of consumer education for everyone, starting very early, which will provide the necessary skills in making informed choices. Obviously, this cannot be easily done in one period a week labelled 'Current Affairs',

and certainly no teacher can be expected to do it on his or her own. Help is needed, and this is coming, on a national and on an EEC level.

What does the consumer want?

The consumer's needs can be summarised under six headings:

- **Health and safety.** When we buy something to use or to eat, we need to be as certain as is humanly possible that it will not kill or harm anyone who uses or eats it. The consumer needs to be sure, for instance, if he buys an electric fire that he will not get an electric shock when he switches it on.
- **Information.** The consumer needs to know as much as possible about the product or service that he intends to buy so that he can spend his money as intelligently as possible. This means, for instance, that packaged food should be labelled with the *amount* of food in the tin, tube or packet: with its *composition* (so that one knows how much actual meat there is in a meat stew, for instance): and with the *date by which it should be used*. Price people obviously need, and some would also like unit pricing (the price per lb, kilo, etc.) Some would also like *nutritional* information (how many calories, how much protein).

For goods other than food, people want relevant information which they cannot get simply by looking at the product. With clothes and textiles, they want to know *what the material is made of* and how to *wash or clean it*; with a package holiday, what is included and what is left out, and how far the hotel is from the beach, etc.

- **Redress.** Everyone benefits from the fact that mass production gives us things like washing machines and stereos comparatively cheaply. But mass production also means that every so often a 'rogue' machine will get through, and one person may suffer by finding an expensive purchase useless. The consumer who suffers in this way needs to be assured of fair redress, promptly.

- **Representation.** Producers, shopkeepers, workers and trade unions have powerful lobbies which can press for their interests with governments. The consumers do not, and need them.
- **Misrepresentation.** Many people consider that advertising should not be allowed to impinge on the consumer uncontrolled. The advertising of cigarettes and alcohol in a way that appeals particularly to young people, for example, is often questioned.
- **Waste, pollution and the quality of life.** A problem which concerns everybody is the waste of scarce natural resources, the pollution and spoiling of our physical environment and the way in which industry can influence and change our lives in its own interests, which are often against ours.

Consumer laws

There are laws in most Western countries to protect the consumer, but the amount and the type of protection differ from one country to another. In general, one can say that the United States and the Scandinavian countries are ahead of the rest, and of the EEC countries, the United Kingdom is slightly ahead. Sweden, for instance, has an Ombudsman with a large staff acting on consumer complaints – and on those he thinks the consumer ought to have.¹ In the United States, the National Highway Bureau imposes (for instance) very strict safety regulations on cars and the Federal Trade Commission can and does require advertisers to correct advertising which it considers misleading. The United Kingdom is the only country in the Community with a Minister of Consumer Affairs (Mrs Shirley Williams), an Office of Fair Trading, and three advanced pieces of consumer legislation – the *Trade Descriptions Act* (which forbids mis-statement about goods or services), the *Fair Trading Act* (which gives the Director General of Fair Trading power to stop unfair trade policies), and the *Consumer Credit Act* (which sets out to protect consumers from dangers which may lurk in hire purchase and other credit contracts and advertisements). The rest of Europe aims to look after consumers in the particular areas mentioned above by the following procedures.

Safety and Health

As far as *food* is concerned, most governments are very particular and have strict regulations to see that the food we buy is safe to eat. Progress is now being made in agreeing food standards on a world-wide basis by a body called the Codex Alimentarius Commission, an unfortunately remote name for a body which deals with a subject so close to us all.

Processed food, in tins, bottles or packets, has to contain some preservative and often does contain some additional substances to colour or flavour it. In this area, there are some national differences among European countries. Thus, while there is general agreement that there should not be any unnecessary additives which could make the food dangerous in the long-term, the UK is trying to limit the additives that may be used. But on the whole, for example with permitted colour, the UK leaves it to the manufacturer to decide in which food these may be used, while some Europeans allow colouring only in certain foods. In this, they are in advance of us.

As far as safety of other products is concerned, the law in all Community countries is patchy. There is a Common Market law – now operative in the UK – which lays down that all goods offered for sale must conform to certain electrical safety standards. In the UK, unsafe oil heaters and inflammable children's nightdresses are banned, safety belts must be fitted in

the front seats of new cars, and vehicles over three years old must pass a – mainly safety – test. In all European countries, the manufacturer can be prosecuted if anyone dies or is injured because there has been some negligence in making the product. But all these safety laws (apart from electrical safety) are distinguished more for what they leave out than for what they cover. No European safety regulations – even the general German law – are as satisfactory as the position in the United States where the Product Safety Commission has powers to find out and get rid of unsafe products, and uses its powers.

Information

The most useful way in which the consumer can get information about what he is buying is at the point of sale, on a label in the product. So legislation concentrates on getting satisfactory labelling. As far as processed food is concerned, the laws are reasonably satisfactory. In all European countries, the *weight/contents* of food must be given. There is a difference between the UK (and the Netherlands and Japan) where the weight in the package must be *at least* that marked on the package (minimum weight) and most other countries, where it is the *average* of a sample (average weight). The latter is obviously less satisfactory, but more realistic given modern high speed packing.

Ingredients of the food must also be given. In the UK and most of the other countries this means all ingredients in the order of the amount in which they appear. In Germany, only the most important ingredients are required. This is not really satisfactory, for some people are allergic to quite small amounts of certain substances.

There has been a battle recently over *date marking* – showing the date by which the processed food should be eaten. In the UK, it is proposed that date marking will be required for certain foods, such as dairy products and meat pies. France has a 'best eaten by' date on foods with a life of 90 days or less. Germany requires a durability date on all processed meat and fish.

Unit pricing – giving the price per lb/kilo, pint/litre or whatever – would be most useful for people trying to compare the value for money of packaged food. Denmark, the UK and Belgium require it for some foods, France and Germany for all foods not pre-packed in standard quantities.

In the United States most textiles have to be labelled with their *fibre content* and with instructions about how to look after them. All Community countries will have to give *fibre content* after January 1976, but *care labelling* (how to look after them) is required in none. Very little labelling is required on other products (except, in certain circumstances, on some medicines).

Redress

In the United Kingdom, Common Law requires that a manufacturer who has been negligent in making a product shall compensate the buyer if he is injured as a result. The Sale of Goods Act of 1893 and the Supply of Goods (Implied Terms) Act of 1973 require the consumer to be compensated if he has been sold something which is faulty or does not work as it should. Under the Trade Descriptions Act of 1968, combined with the Criminal Justice Act, he can also get redress if he has been misled by an advertisement and suffered loss in consequence. Most Western countries have similar legislation. The disadvantage is that most consumers are ignorant of their rights or lack the confidence (and money) necessary to pursue the trader into the courts.

Representation

When governments nowadays make important decisions about the economy of their countries, they normally consult both industry and the trade unions. Consumers – equally concerned – are not consulted. In

¹ See 'Sweden: the Consumer Ombudsman', EFTA Bulletin Vol. XVI March 1975.

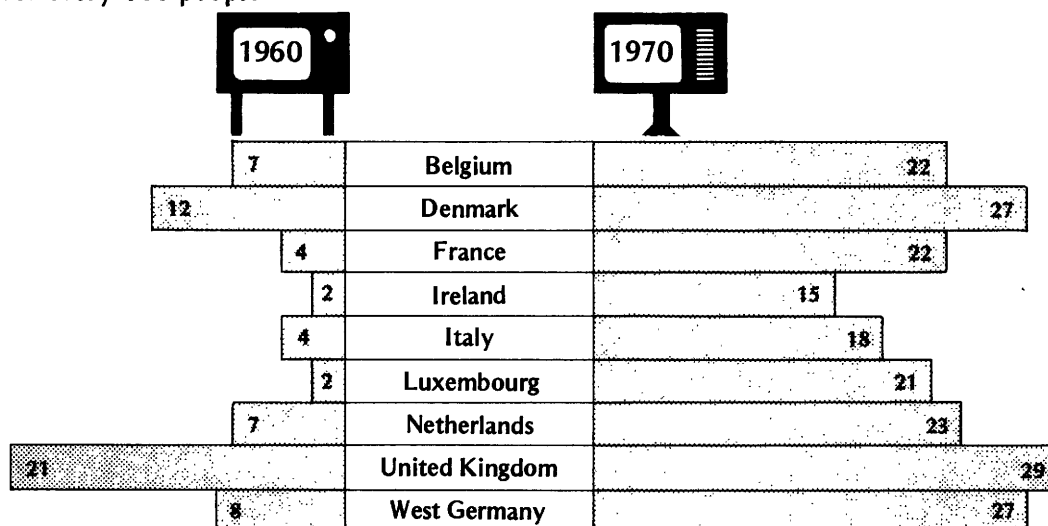
Consumer expenditure in the EEC

Percent of total consumer spending

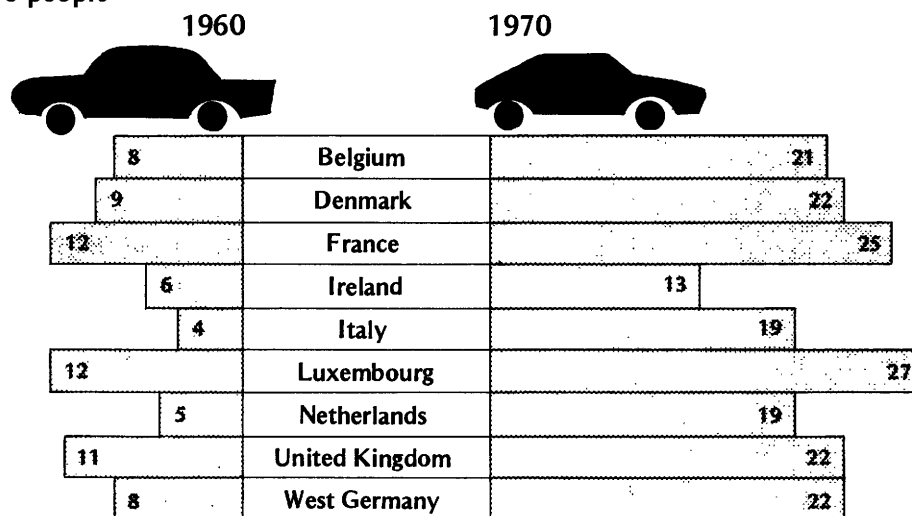
1960				1970			
Transport, leisure and other spending		Consumer durables		Rent, rates and mortgages		Food and drink	
40	11	12	27	Belgium	24	9	13
42	17	8	24	Denmark	21	9	18
41	9	6	32	France	26	10	9
19	8	11	52	Ireland ^a	47	10	10
32	8	10	40	Italy	35	10	9
23	10	16	40	Luxembourg ^b	32	18	10
34	11	8	31	Netherlands	24	8	13
28	10	14	38	United Kingdom	33	17	9
25	14	10	38	West Germany	30	15	13

^a1968 ^b1969

Television sets for every 100 people



Cars in use for every 100 people



the UK, however, there is a legal requirement to consult them on certain matters connected with nationalised industries. So there are local and national consumer consultative councils for gas, electricity, public transport, the Post Office, and coal. Theoretically, these should at least help to see that the industries work in the public interest. Their disadvantages are that there are some subjects that the Councils are not consulted on (e.g. the price of electricity) and some are too closely linked to the professional staff (by having the same secretary, for instance) to be really independent.

Misrepresentation

Advertising is a subject of great concern to consumer organisations. In the UK, there is a strict Code of Advertising Practice, administered by the advertisers, which, if kept in spirit and letter, would leave little need for legislation. It is not so kept. Other Common Market countries have a less comprehensive Code, formulated by the International Chamber of Commerce, which is also self-administered. France forbids the advertising of strong liquor, Italy forbids tobacco and pet food advertising. Only in the United States and France can advertisers be required to issue corrections of advertisements considered to be misleading.

Waste, pollution and the quality of life

Concern with these is new and there is comparatively little legislation. All EEC countries have planning regulations, to preserve the beauty of the countryside and what is left of the beauty of towns. There is also some control over the polluting of rivers, seas and estuaries by industrial waste, and some moves to enforce laws which aim at controlling the pollution of beaches. The regulations are not wholly effective, partly because, in the case of aircraft noise, oil spillage etc., legislation often needs to be inter-governmental. *Clean air* laws have been effective in some British cities – London fogs are now historical only – and are beginning to bite elsewhere.

The role of consumer associations

From this brief description it will be clear that consumer associations have quite a task. There is much that they need and laws, on the whole, give them little.

The first consumer organisation was founded in the United States in 1928. An economist and an engineer in the American Bureau of Standards wrote a book called *Your Money's Worth* in which they pointed out that the United States Government never bought anything – not even 20 lb of maple sugar – without having tests made and discovering which kind or brand was the best value for the American taxpayers' money. The ordinary citizen, they argued, had the right to the same information. The American Government was not willing to hand over the data it had gained by testing (it still is not) so the authors of the book started an organisation, now called Consumers Union, to get the information for its members. So that there should be no suspicion that the results of the tests were not honest, the organisation refused to take advertisements, to have anything to do with business, manufacturers or shopkeepers, took no money from Government or elsewhere and relied for their finance entirely on the subscriptions of their members.²

Inspired by this example, comparative testing organisations started in the late 1950s in the United Kingdom, (Consumers' Association publishes the magazine *Which?* with a circulation of around 700,000 and an annual income of around £3 million), in Belgium, (*Test Achats* has around 240,000 and the

Union Feminine pour l'Information et la Défense du Consommateur has around 120,000), in France, (*Que Choisir?* has around 300,000 members), and in Holland (*Consumentengids* has around 400,000). There are also successful comparative testing organisations financed by the government in Germany (Stiftung Warentest), in France (Institut National de la Consommation) and in Norway.

All these organisations attempt to redress the imbalance between the powerful, knowledgeable producer and the weak, ignorant consumer by giving the consumer the knowledge which will enable him to fight his own battles. But it has long been pointed out to them that, although this works for the already privileged and well-educated people who belong to such organisations, not everyone has the will nor always the ability to read complicated test reports. Something should be done to redress the imbalance between the producer and the under-privileged consumer. And the method must be not so much by information (which the consumer could use) as by legislation (which governments can use on the consumer's behalf). So other consumer organisations have arisen (notably in Scandinavia) whose primary object is to induce governments to pass laws protecting consumers.

European dimension

Some comparative testing organisations in the EEC now see it as part of their job to do the same. In the Common Market countries, the consumer organisations are remarkably of one mind in what has to be done to protect the consumer interest, and they now have the necessary machinery to work with.

First, there is the *Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs* (BEUC) which consists of eleven consumer organisations in EEC countries, has its office in Brussels and, as its only object, represents consumer interests to the EEC authorities.

Then there is the *Consumer Affairs Division in the EEC Commission*. Its job is to look after consumer interests, from the inside, and it has already produced a Consumer Programme for the Common Market which includes all the consumer needs mentioned earlier. The Consumer Affairs Division has also set up a *Consumers' Consultative Committee* to be its own adviser on consumer matters. This Committee includes trade unions, cooperatives and family organisations, as well as the independent consumer organisations belonging to BEUC.³ Finally, the EEC contains a body which is consulted on all EEC legislation – the *Economic and Social Committee*. This Committee (which has national counterparts in several EEC countries but not the UK) represents a cross-section of the Community's economic life and has *six consumer representatives* (nominated by governments), two British, three German and one Danish, among its 144 members. They stand up as best they can for the consumers interest.

The first concern of all these 'consumers' in the EEC is *prices*. They are all – BEUC, the Consumer Affairs Division, the Consumer Consultative Committee and the consumers in the Economic and Social Committee – united in saying that prices are allowed to go too high, in the producer's interest, instead of being kept as low as possible, in the consumer's interest. In particular, they are pressing for a revision of the Common Agricultural Policy – on the grounds that, in helping farmers, it keeps food prices too high – and have at least succeeded in getting the Commissioner for Agriculture to agree that consumers shall be consulted before the next fixing of farm prices.

³ The Consumers Consultative Committee has 25 members representing all major European consumer organisations. British members are Mrs Chloe Davis of the NCSS (she is Chairman of CAGNO – Consumers' Affairs Group of National Organisations) who sits in her own right as 'a public figure versed in consumer affairs', Mr Anthony Dumont of the Consumers' Association representing BEUC and Mr J. M. Wood of the Cooperative Union representing EUROCOOP.

² The Consumers Union now has about 2½ million members and an annual income of around \$16 million. The members have a higher than average income, a higher than average level of education, and more are men than women.

On *health and safety*, the Commission's draft legislation is, on the whole, progressive. Consumers find themselves supporting proposals to reduce the amount of lead allowed in petrol; to restrict additives in food; to require danger warnings on aerosols; to forbid certain substances to be put in cosmetics; and, above all, make cars safer. The EEC proposals for laminated glass in car windscreens, strict lighting requirements and compulsory seat belts in the back seats of cars, for instance, are ahead of British thinking. There is, still, plenty left to fight for, however. A recent study carried out by BEUC and financed by the Commission showed how alarming is the number of accidents in the home in Europe and how inadequate, in proportion, the safety regulations.

As far as *informative labelling* goes, consumer organisations do not have to fight for the principle (this is acknowledged) but they do for the practice. Danger warnings, for instance, are required in the proposed legislation – but they need not be in the customer's native language. And there are no specific requirements that labelling shall be in a legible size of type.

On *redress*, consumer organisations in Europe are working towards a fundamental change in the law, which will remove total responsibility for unsatisfactory products from the seller and oblige the manufacturer to take his share. The Commission supports this and consumers will benefit.

On *representation*, the Consumers Consultative Committee marks a beginning, but before consumers have anything like the influence of the farmers and producers, or even of the trade unions, we have a long way to go.

Misrepresentation. BEUC has just produced a study on advertising based on the UK and Germany, which showed that a substantial minority of advertisements were misleading and that a number of these actually misled the people who read them. The study recommended strict self-regulation by the industry and, if that failed, strict legislation by the EEC and member governments.

The future

What will be the future in the EEC for consumer associations and their ideals?

The British Consumers' Association is large, powerful and comparatively rich, with a sizeable research staff, some of it concerned entirely with European affairs. BEUC, the Consumer Affairs

Division, the Consumers' Consultative Committee and the Economic and Social Committee will all benefit from its strength. Correspondingly, British consumers will certainly benefit from improved consumer legislation. The UK is ahead in some things, other countries are ahead in others: when we are aware of advances that some countries have made, we fight to get them for ourselves as well. The UK, with its Minister of Consumer Affairs, is a strong consumer force.

We come back, once again, to consumer education in schools. The climate in the Common Market is favourable to consumer activity. Most European countries have embryonic schemes for consumer education in schools. The Community is in a good position for collecting them together and making them into a helpful whole. The Commission has taken the first step by financing BEUC in a study of the subject, which will use the experience, notably of Denmark, the UK, France and Germany and – as a result, hopefully – give teachers interested in the subject material which they can use, or on which they can build.

Further reading

The EEC – Your questions answered: The EEC Information Unit, The Department of Trade and Industry, 1 Victoria Street, London SW1. Free.

L'Europe pour les Consommateurs: Bureau d'Information de la Communauté Européenne, 16 rue des Belles-Feuilles, Paris. Price 2F.

Who are We? – a description of BEUC's membership and activity: Consumers' Association, 14 Buckingham Street, London WC2. Free

Consumer Law in the UK – a summary: Consumers' Association, 14 Buckingham Street, London WC2. Free.

A Community Programme for Consumer Information and Protection: EEC Commission, 200 rue de la Loi, Brussels 1040.

Le Combat des Consommateurs by Josée Doyère: CERF, 29 Bd Latour Maubourg, Paris.

BEUC's Study of Advertising in the UK and Germany: Consumers' Association, 14 Buckingham Street, London WC2. Price £10.00.

Consumer Protection in the EFTA countries: EFTA Bulletin, Press and Information Service, 9-11 rue de Varembe, CH 1211 Geneva 20.

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