

EUROPEAN STUDIES

teachers' series

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The Council of Europe and Human Rights

The Council of Europe is an organisation of eighteen European states dedicated to promoting closer cooperation among its members and maintaining the democratic principles which they regard as the basis of their political systems. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms is the Council's most outstanding achievement. The Convention challenges the traditional right of states to be the final arbiters of individual liberty and has established revolutionary machinery to judge whether individual human rights have been violated. Its existence adds a new dimension to international law and enhances the security of our every-day lives.

The Statute of the Council of Europe was signed by Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden in London on 5 May, 1949. Eight more European states have since signed: Austria, Cyprus, Greece, Iceland, Malta, Switzerland, Turkey, and West Germany. Portugal, Spain, and the East European Communist states cannot become Council members until their citizens are permitted the rights and freedoms enshrined in the Statute.

The Statute binds its signatories to strive for greater unity in order to safeguard and to realise the democratic ideals "which are their common heritage" as well as to facilitate their economic and social progress. These goals are to be "pursued through the organs of the Council by discussion of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters and in the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms".

Institutions

The Statute established two principal organs and a Secretariat to serve them, all based in Strasbourg. The Council's executive organ is the Committee of Ministers whose primary task is prompting member states to adopt common policies and to conclude

conventions or agreements among themselves. Recommendations by the Committee of Ministers are authoritative but not binding on the Governments. The deliberation body is the Consultative Assembly which consists of 147 Representatives from the Council of Europe's 18 member states. Ordinary sessions of the Assembly are held every year and are normally divided into three part sessions each lasting about a week. The Assembly makes recommendations to the Committee of Ministers, it can also make a resolution or an order; and it can adopt an opinion in reply to a request by the Committee of Ministers. Both the Committee and the Assembly have considerable scope for initiative, but neither possesses the statutory right or actual power to compel member states to act on Council decisions. The Committee not the Assembly is the primary channel of Council communication to member governments.

Achievements

The Council of Europe has been responsible for initiating over fifty European conventions covering subjects like industrial patents, the extradition of aliens, the mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas and the peaceful settlement of disputes. In particular, the *European Cultural Convention* of 1954 has played a very useful role in facilitating educational and cultural exchanges between the peoples of its signatory states. The *European Social Charter* of 1961, moreover, is an important milestone in the

pursuit of social justice in Western Europe. It is designed to protect social rights and professional freedoms and is thus the complement in the social field of the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The Charter lays down 19 basic rights, including those to: work; safe and healthy working condition; a fair remuneration; collective bargaining; social and medical assistance. There are also provisions for the protection of the family, children and young people and migrant workers.

The Convention on Human Rights

The Council of Europe's greatest achievement, however, is the formation of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Human rights are mentioned in the Council's Statute, but the Convention itself is a separate international legal commitment. Initiated by the Consultative Assembly in September, 1949, the Convention was signed in November 1950 and became operative in September 1953. All the Council's member states excepts France and Switzerland have ratified it.

Provisions

These are far-reaching and even revolutionary in scope. The Convention defines and specifies individual human rights in democratic societies: the right to life; freedom from torture; freedom from slavery and servitude; trial; protection from the retroactivity of the law; right to privacy and family life; freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of expression and opinion; freedom of assembly and association; right to marry and found a family; and the right to an effective legal remedy before a national authority. The Convention also forbids discrimination on grounds of sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status. These rights and freedoms were taken from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948 though they are defined in much greater detail in the European Convention. Moreover they form in the European Convention the object of precise legal obligations whereas the Universal Declaration was a solemn statement of intentions which had considerable moral value but no legal effect.

In 1952 a Protocol was attached to the Convention covering the right to peaceful enjoyment of possessions, right to education, and an undertaking by states to hold free elections at reasonable intervals

by secret ballot. Another Protocol of 1963 prohibits imprisonment for debt, a state's expulsion of its own nationals, and its collective expulsion of aliens. It also provides for the right to leave a state, including one's own, and right to liberty of movement and the individual's choice of residence within the territory of the state.

Is there a need for a European agreement on human rights when most Western European states are usually regarded as free countries? Existing rights and freedoms tend to be taken for granted until, perhaps exceptionally, individuals suffer injustice through governmental action. The Convention endeavours to ensure that free countries remain free by fostering greater awareness of basic human rights. It constitutes the signatory states collective guarantee of those rights. If one member state believes that another member state has violated them, the Convention enables it to file a complaint against the offender. The individual's right under the Convention to file a complaint against states represents an even greater inroad into the traditional realms of state sovereignty.

Implementation

The European Convention on Human Rights is enforced by a Commission and Court of Human Rights and by the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers.

The Commission

The members of the European Commission of Human Rights are elected for six years by the Committee of Ministers from a list submitted by the Consultative Assembly. There are as many members as there are contracting parties.

The Commission investigates alleged violations of the Convention by any contracting party. These may be brought to its attention by another state which is a contracting party. A particularly original aspect of the Convention is the right to individual application by private citizens, which has been recognised by 11 member countries.

The Commission alone decides whether complaints by signatory states are admissible under the rules laid down in the Convention. It also requests the comments of accused states.

If the Commission finds that a case is admissible, it sets up a Sub-Commission of seven members to establish the facts of the case and to seek a friendly settlement. Should the latter fail, the Commission then makes a report on whether the Convention has been violated. The case can then be brought before the Court by the Commission concerned providing that the competence and for the other signatory states the acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction is optimal.

The Court

The judges of the Court are elected by the Consultative Assembly from a list submitted by the

THE HUMAN RIGHTS IN EUROPE

APPLICATION BY A STATE ⁽²⁴⁾

APPLICATION BY AN INDIVIDUAL ^(If the State involved has accepted Article 25) (25)

European Commission of Human Rights

Consideration of admissibility
Decision on admissibility

The application is declared admissible

The petition is declared inadmissible
CASE CLOSED

The Commission establishes the facts ^{(28(a))}

The Commission is available for securing a friendly settlement ^{(28(b))}

No friendly settlement

Friendly settlement

Report stating the facts and giving an opinion on the violations alleged (transmitted to the Committee of Ministers and the interested States; not published) ⁽³¹⁾

Brief report, transmitted to the interested States, the Committee of Ministers and the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for publication ⁽³⁰⁾
CASE CLOSED

Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

An interested State brings case before the Court ^{(48(b), (c) and (d))}

The Commission refers case to the Court ^{(48(a))}

The case is brought before the Court

The case is not brought before the Court

The Committee of Ministers takes no decision

The Committee of Ministers decides whether the Convention has been violated ⁽³²⁽¹⁾⁾

The Committee of Ministers decides that the Convention has been violated

The Committee of Ministers decides that the Convention has not been violated
CASE CLOSED

The Committee of Ministers sets the State concerned a time-limit for taking the necessary measures ⁽³²⁽²⁾⁾

The State does not take the necessary measures

The State takes the necessary measures
CASE CLOSED

The Committee of Ministers decides what effect shall be given to its decision and publishes the Commission's report ⁽³²⁽³⁾⁾
CASE CLOSED

European Court of Human Rights

(if the State involved has recognised its jurisdiction)

Judgment by the Court on the violations alleged ^(51, 52)

The Court decides that the Convention has been violated ⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Court decides that the Convention has not been violated
CASE CLOSED

The State's internal law allows only partial reparation for the consequences of the violation ⁽⁵⁰⁾

The internal law allows reparation for the consequences of the violation

The Court affords just satisfaction to the injured party ⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Court's judgment is transmitted to the Committee of Ministers which supervises its execution
CASE CLOSED

The figures in italics denote the relevant articles of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Committee of Ministers, and their number is equal to that of the Council of Europe's member states. The Court's judgement is final. It is binding on the contracting parties, and the Committee of Ministers must supervise its execution.

The Committee of Ministers

If the Commission's report is not brought before the Court, it is up to the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers to undertake a judicial role and decide by a two thirds majority, whether there has been a violation. If the Convention has been violated, the Committee of Ministers prescribes a period during which the contracting party concerned must take the measures required by the Committee's decision. If the offender does not comply, the Committee by a two thirds majority vote can decide to publish the Commission's report. It could also suspend or even expel the offender from the Council of Europe if recommended to do so by the Consultation Assembly.

Inter-state cases

Under Article 24 of the Convention any contracting party may refer to the Commission an alleged breach of the Convention by any other party. This is a classic type of inter-state action, whereby one government may bring a complaint against another government for failure to fulfil its obligations under international law.

The first inter-state cases brought before the Commission concerned Greek complaints of alleged British violation of Cypriot human rights in 1956 and 1957. The political future of Cyprus was settled before the Committee took any action on the Commission's report. Although the cases were then dropped at the request of both Britain and Greece, they demonstrated the Convention's radical nature. The Commission had acted on Greece's complaint of the treatment received by British not Greek nationals.

Greece was nearly suspended from the Council of Europe in December 1969. The Greeks, however, chose to withdraw from the Council of Europe on December 12, 1969 the day that the Committee of Ministers were meeting to discuss the suspension of Greece from the Council of Europe without waiting for the vote. The vote would certainly have gone against Greece. Thus the Council of Europe was spared the embarrassment of suspending one of its member countries. The Governments of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands originally filed petitions to the European Commission on Human Rights against the Greek Government following the change in the political régime in May 1967. These Governments decided that the Greek régime was not compatible with the underlying aims of the Council of Europe which is devoted to "political

liberty and the rule of law, principles which form the basis of all genuine democracy".¹

Cases filed by individuals against states

The Convention's primary objective is neither to arraign nor to protect states, but rather to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the individual. Normally only states and international organisations are recognised by international law. The Convention provides a significant exception to this rule in permitting individuals, groups of individuals and non-governmental organisations to file complaints with the Commission against those Convention signatories who have accepted the right of individual petition.

Individuals must first seek remedies through their national judicial systems and only after exhausting these channels can they make applications to the Commission. The latter establishes a group of three to examine whether particular applications are admissible. Between 5 July 1955 and 31 December 1967, it received 3 450 individual applications of which only 49 were declared admissible. This small proportion results from the fact that many applications refer to matters like pension rights not covered by the Convention or because the group of three decides that the legal remedies available in national courts have not been exhausted. The number is further reduced by the requirement that complaints can only be declared admissible if the group of three is unanimous.

The Commission refers all admissible complaints to the member states concerned for their observations. The latter frequently prefer to rectify complaints themselves so as to avoid the undesirable publicity which might accompany further Commission investigation. Those doing so, however, must settle them in a manner acceptable to the Commission and, where necessary, satisfy it that similar Convention infringements will not re-occur.

This need to satisfy the Commission underlay reforms of the Austrian Penal Code in 1962 and 1963. The Commission had declared admissible complaints from Austrian prisoners that their human rights were infringed by the fact that the Austrian court hearing their appeals sat in camera without either them or their Counsel being present. Austria brought its law into conformity with the Convention while the Commission was considering the complaints and the matter was then dropped.

Belgium also changed its law after a human rights case had been filed against it. Mr. De Becker, a Belgian journalist, had been convicted in 1946 of collaborating with the enemy and was no longer allowed to work for a newspaper or participate in any other publication. In his application to the Commission, he invoked Article 10 of the Conven-

¹ See, *The Times*, December 13, 1969 page 1 and leading article.

tion, which guarantees the right to freedom of expression. After the Commission had reported to the Court, Belgian law on this point was changed and the Court decided to strike the case out of its roll.

If offending states take no remedial action, the procedure for individual complaints is similar to that for state ones. The only significant difference is that if individual complaints are referred to the Court of Human Rights, neither complainants nor their Counsel may appear before the Court, although the offending state may do so. The case for the complainant rests primarily on the Commission's report only.

The first individual complaint to be heard by the Court was the case of *Lawless v. Ireland*. The complaint was filed by Lawless's solicitor in a letter to the European Commission of Human Rights dated December 16, 1957. Gerald Lawless, a suspected member of the Irish Republican Army, maintained that the Irish Government had violated his rights under the Convention by detaining him without trial. The basis of Lawless's application to the Commission was that his arrest and detention were in contravention of Article 5 of the Convention on Human Rights which provides that everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. The Commission was unanimous in holding that arrest and detention without trial under the 1940 Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act, under which Lawless had been convicted in Ireland were not in accordance with Article 5 of the Convention on Human Rights. In July 1961, however, the Court ruled that the action of the Irish Government was justified under Article 15 of the Convention. This Article allows countries to derogate from their obligations under the Convention of Human Rights in time of war or other public emergency as long as they inform the Council of Europe at the time that they are derogating. In July 1961, however, the Court ruled that this action was justified "by the exigencies of the situation".

The Convention's impact

Overall the Convention has had an important impact on the domestic legal systems of its signatory states due to its very existence as well as the actual cases coming before the Commission and the Court. For example, the 1814 Norwegian Constitution was amended in 1956 because the ban on Jesuits was inconsistent with the freedom of religious conviction set forth by the Convention. Indeed, its provisions have been used as guide-lines in the judgements of many Western European domestic courts.

The Convention's impact has not been limited to Western Europe. In 1953 Britain extended its application to most of her colonies—the Convention's provisions subsequently being incorporated into the constitutions of such new Commonwealth states as Jamaica, Sierra Leone, and Zambia. The Organisation of American States and the Organisation of African Unity, moreover, are using the Convention as a model in their respective efforts to draft inter-American and African conventions on human rights.

The United Nations' Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 was a statement of faith to which all peoples might aspire. The European Convention provides the most viable attempt so far to give these aspirations practical implementation.

Further reading

- A. H. ROBERTSON, *European Institutions—Cooperation, Integration, Unification*. 2nd Edition, London: Stevens, 1966.
- A. H. ROBERTSON, *Human Rights in Perspective*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1965.
- The European Convention on Human Rights: Notes for Classroom Use*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1968.
- The European Convention on Human Rights*: Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1968.
- The Times*, December 13, 1969.
- British Yearbook of International Law*, 1960/1961.

Transport in the Six and in Britain

In this study, we are concerned with transport of freight and passengers, a basic human service essential to the proper functioning of an industrialized country, such as Britain or any of the six members of the European Communities where large volumes of materials and millions of people move long distances regularly.

Road transport now carries an average of over 40 % of all freight traffic in the seven countries, varying from 68 % in Britain to only 17 % in the Netherlands where the canal system is well developed. The rapid growth both in the volume of goods travelling by road and in its share of the total freight traffic has created serious problems for some of the other transport media, especially railways, and caused serious congestion on a road system initially designed for the horse and cart age. An increasing proportion of passenger journeys also use road transport, largely the result of a phenomenal growth in private car ownership. Since 1953 the number of motor vehicles in Community countries has risen from 6 million to over 45 million by 1969 and is expected to reach 80 million by 1980. In 1959 only one in ten of Community inhabitants owned a car, now it is 1 in 6 compared with 1 in 4 in Britain. Car production in the Six has climbed from 2,5 million vehicles in 1958 to over 6 million vehicles ten years later, with the largest single producer being Fiat (1,25 million vehicles per annum) and Volkswagen (1 million vehicles per annum).

Road transport

On average, rail transport now carries about 36 % of freight traffic in the seven countries, this varying from 52 % in France, where it has long been government

policy to maximize use of railways, to only 16 % in the Netherlands where most bulky cargoes move by water. But whereas in all seven countries, the share of traffic carried by rail has fallen, in most of the countries — except Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands—the total volume of goods carried has risen slightly. Both British and Community railways are now state-owned to prevent their further decline. None operates at a profit, although with a major improvement in traffic and income over recent years, British Rail are hoping to cut their annual deficit substantially.

Share of total freight carried by railways

	Average late 1950's	Average late 1960's
Britain	40 %	25 %
Italy	35 %	25 %
Germany	45 %	40 %
France	65 %	50 %
Belgium	35 %	25 %
Netherlands	15 %	10 %

Source : *The Common Transport Policy of the European Communities*, by Nigel Despicht, PEP, London, 1969.

Water transport - canals

Water transport, excluding shipping which will be dealt with separately) plays an important subsidiary

role in the movement of goods in most of the seven countries. Apart from Italy, where virtually no canals exist, or Britain, where commercial carrying is insignificant and the network has been transformed for pleasure use, water transport carries 5 % of freight in Luxembourg, 9 % in France, 27 % in Germany, 29 % in Belgium and over 66 % in the Netherlands which has an excellent system of waterways linking all parts of the country. The Rhine,¹ the world's busiest waterway, carries over its length of 840 kilometres the equivalent of one quarter of the total railway traffic of the Six carried on 94,000 kilometres of track. The heavy industries of West Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands benefit substantially from the cheap transport which the Rhine provides. The river links the world's largest port with the Ruhr, Europe's most important industrial area. Since 1958 the volume of goods carried on Community waterways has risen by over 35 % and, generally speaking, they have maintained their share of the total traffic much more successfully than the railways.

Shipping²

If Britain's application for membership of the European Community is finally successful, this will virtually turn the North Sea—already the busiest stretch of sea water anywhere in the world—into a Community lake. In addition, growing European dependence on imported raw materials for processing has increased traffic at seaports by a wide margin. Total traffic entering Community ports rose from 237 million tons in 1958 to over 422 million tons by 1965. The fastest rate of growth has been in the Dutch, especially the area around the Europort near Rotterdam which alone is preparing to handle more than 300 million tons a year by 1980. Other major ports include London, Hamburg, Marseilles, Bremen and Liverpool.

Air transport

In the early 1950's, civil aviation played only an insignificant role in the European transport network. The movement of freight by air was virtually non-existent. But since about 1957, the number of passengers and volume of freight travelling by air has quadrupled. It has grown at a rate faster than experienced by any other form of transport. In 1957 freight accounted for only 221 million ton kilometres in Community countries. This has since risen to over 770 million ton kilometres and shows every indication of continuing to grow at phenomenal rates of expansion. The picture for passenger transport has been

very similar. Even so, both types of air transport carry only a minute proportion of all the traffic in Europe. Air freight accounts for only 0.04 % by weight of world cargo movements. The six Community countries have 10 % of the world's air traffic compared with 5 % in Britain and 50 % in the United States. The main airlines, such as BEA, KLM, Air France or Lufthansa are either wholly or partly state owned and usually make reasonable profits on their operating costs.

Pipelines

The newest form of transport in widespread use is the system of pipelines which has spread over Europe during the last ten years. About 7,000 miles of crude oil pipeline have been laid in Western Europe since 1958. In recent years, an outline network has begun to develop pipelines linking up with each other. About 180 m. tons of fuel, mostly oil, are now carried annually. Construction costs for pipelines are heavy so most new lines are built and operated by company consortia. Multiple ownership also reduce operating costs since it ensures the pipelines are used continuously rather than intermittently. For example, the Ruhr refineries of BP, Esso, Shell, Wintershell, Gelsenberg Benzin and Petrofina are all served by pipelines from Rotterdam and Wilhelmshaven.

The main problems today

The main problem which has faced the transport networks of Europe in recent years has been the absolute growth of freight and passenger traffic which, in the case of roads and airways, has put a severe strain on the existing transport resources. A secondary problem has been that technical advance has presented the transport services with a whole range of challenges. Bigger aeroplanes, for example, have meant that the volume of passengers being carried has risen dramatically, larger airports with longer runways are required, new terminals to cope with the 'bunching' of passengers instead of the earlier, steadier flows. It has created problems of congestion in the air and overloading of airport facilities. Once the Concorde and Jumbo-jets are in service this problem will be even more acute. Faster cars have demanded custom-built roads, such as motorways and freeways. The call for speedier rail transport has led to research producing the new Advanced Passenger Train, planned to travel at 150 m.p.h. Supertankers have put a strain on existing harbour facilities and made deeper dredging necessary. Newer competitors, such as airtravel and pipelines can challenge more traditional carriers, like rail and water, by 'creaming off' the most lucrative traffics, thus putting the other transport forms in serious financial jeopardy.

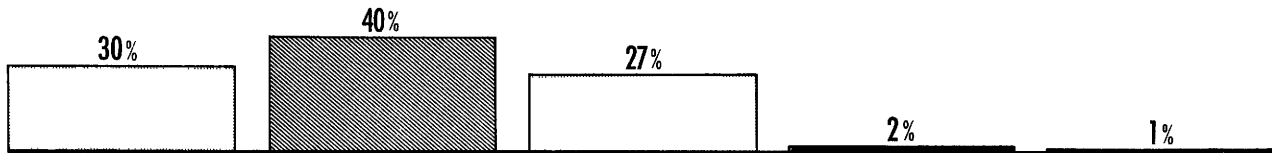
¹ See European Studies Teachers' serie No. 2 *The Rhine*.

² See European Studies Teachers' serie No. 3 *The North Sea Ports*.

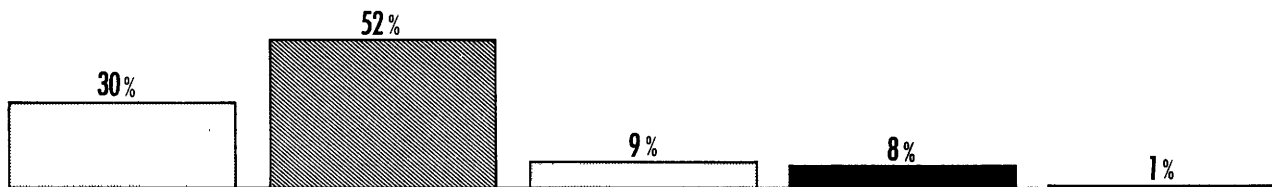
PERCENTAGE OF INLAND FREIGHT TRAFFIC CARRIED BY EACH TYPE OF TRANSPORT 1967

ROAD
 RAIL
 INLAND WATERWAYS
 PIPELINE
 AIR

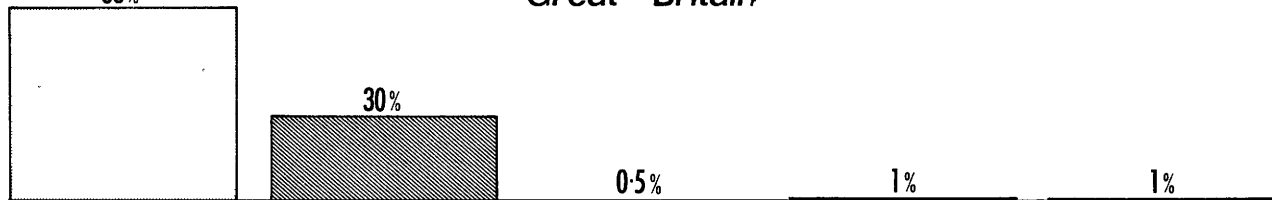
Germany (F.R.)



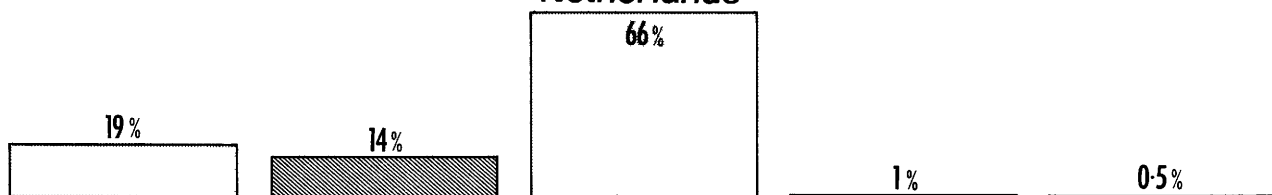
France



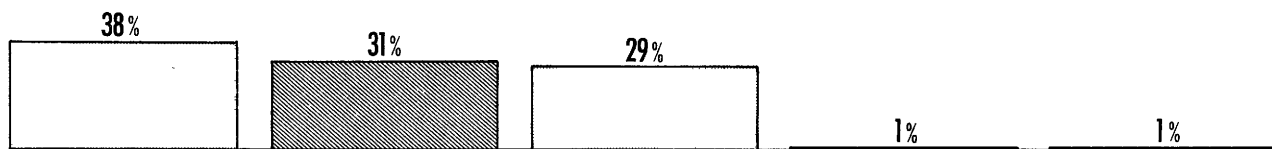
Great Britain



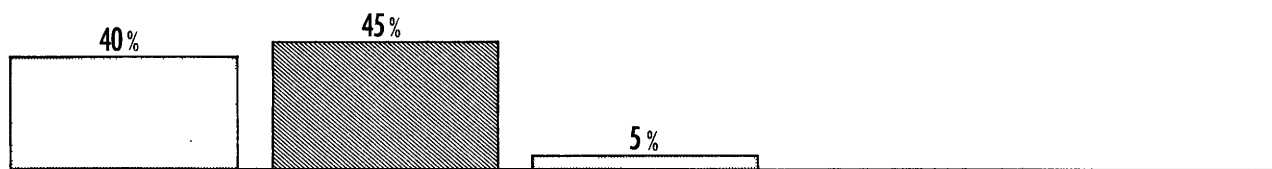
Netherlands



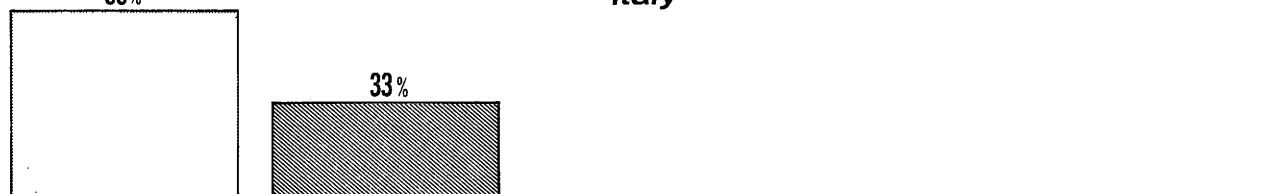
Belgium



Luxembourg



Italy



These figures are rounded to the nearest 1% and may therefore not add up exactly to 100% in all cases.

The containerisation of transport requires whole new investment programmes for the docks of Europe.

The picture is plain. The huge growth in the volume of traffic and the concurrent technical advances have meant massive and continual investment in transport on a size never previously equalled. The response of the various transport media to this challenge has been similar in both Britain and the Community countries. Since their transport systems are remarkably alike, they have had to face the same problems.

Most of the new investment has been in roads, particularly motorways. In addition, the European Investment Bank has advanced money to improve the road links across national boundaries where they are usually at their worst. Equally urgent are major improvements on the main international routes linking the capital cities or the main regional centres. The pace of motorway building has quickened in recent years. In 1965 there were 2,250 miles of motorway in Germany, 1,150 in Italy, 750 in Britain, 450 in France and 660 in the Benelux countries. By 1974/75, when Britain should have about 1,000 miles of motorway, France will have over 2,000 miles, Germany over 3,000 miles and Italy nearly 3,500 miles of motorway. Germany is already increasing the capacity of some existing motorways by adding an extra lane. For air services, most European governments have backed their national airlines with investment grants to build up their networks. Large amounts of capital have been invested in advanced railway stock to improve the speed and regularity of services: diesel and electric power have replaced steam.

Transport harmonization

However, it has become increasingly obvious as the volume of traffic continued to mount, as journeys crossing frontiers trebled in only ten years, that the transport network of the seven countries had already become heavily inter-connected, and that this tendency will develop still further. It became clear, therefore, that the transport problems of these countries could not be solved in isolation. This led to an increasing need for some type of common transport policy which the six member countries would decide upon jointly and then coordinate and harmonize their plans and services. Although the idea of a common transport policy was first legally enshrined in the Treaties of Rome in 1957, the idea of the harmonization of international transport had a much earlier genesis. The Treaty establishing the Benelux Union in 1944, specifically included transport. The provisions of the European Coal and Steel Community of 1951 were much more radical. Part of the Community's aim was to introduce a common market in coal and steel, which were the two vital products in Europe immediately after the war. Transport had a vital role in creating this common market in coal and steel. To its credit,

the Community helped to reduce the serious disparity between carriage of coal and steel on national and international routes over comparable distances—there had been the example of coal moving from Pas de Calais to Lorraine at 776 francs per ton over 340 km between Lens and Homecourt, while if it came to Homecourt from Gelsenkirchen in the Ruhr and crossed a national frontier it cost 2,463 francs for 363 km—over three times as much to move a mere 7 % further. By 1963 the worst of these inconsistencies had disappeared, and international through rates were beginning to reflect the true costs of the transport involved.

Transport policy in the Common Market

When the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community was signed in 1957 it was specifically stated in the Treaty that the six member states should strive towards complete economic union and that a common transport policy should be included as part of that policy. Article 74 Treaty of Rome "The objectives of this Treaty shall ... be pursued by the member states within the framework of a common transport policy." But there were snags in the Treaty, which did not become obvious until later. Few had any idea on what principles a common transport policy should be organized. The Treaty (see article 84) confined the policy to road, rail and waterway transport, excluding shipping and two of the most rapidly expanding—and therefore increasingly essential—types of transport: airways and pipelines. In addition, the common transport policy omits vast areas of highly relevant transport and transport-related problems—rapid urban transports, congestion and pollution, to name only a few. It seems certain that no common transport policy would be effective without them.

However, the Communities have made some modest progress on working towards their policy of a common transport service, even though most of this progress has dealt with only road transport so far. It has taken some steps to regulate competition by banning price fixing or market sharing. In addition, it has agreed to introduce gradually over a number of years a system of vehicle licensing which makes it no longer necessary for owners to buy licenses for each of the countries they travel in. By January 1972, 1,200 of these Community licenses will have been issued to enable any vehicle to travel freely in any of the six member countries. The expansion of this system will gradually replace the existing system of bilateral quotas which individual governments have negotiated separately with each other. In some cases, these are already well-developed, there is, for example, a Franco-German agreement for 100,000 licenses. There are also agreements to allow

up to fifty-litres of lorry fuel to cross national boundaries from February 1st, 1969 without payment of additional tax. More important, there is to be a gradual harmonization of driving hours—from October 1st, 1969 the maximum is fifty hours a week. Finally, maximum and minimum rates for intra-Community road transport within which carriers may negotiate have been agreed. Decisions have been postponed on the harmonization of transport subsidies and double taxation until some future date.

When viewed against the whole range of transport services and the problems they are facing, this concentration on the fringe assets of road transport—and only international road transport at that—can look extremely modest. It is possible to argue that the idea of introducing a common transport policy by a carefully planned series of piecemeal measures introduced over a period of time will not necessarily harmonize the six national transport systems into a new European one. Even if this approach to transport integration has its drawbacks, the negotiations on the type of transport policy that should finally emerge have already produced some significant results: the establishment of an agreed procedure of prior consultation on national transport policy and of guidelines for Community transport infrastructure, the banning of discriminatory practices, the launching of a series of measures designed to refine the structure of inland transport and harmonize conditions of competition. Some practical results are also visible. The European Investment Bank has made a £12,5 million loan to help finance the Franco-Belgian motorway link, a £20 million loan to push forward the Franco-Italian motorway link, and has encouraged many other cooperative road programmes such as the E3 Stockholm to Lisbon route and the new tunnels under Mont Blanc and St. Bernard to improve the international road network.

The rapidly increasing volumes of passenger and goods traffic as well as the constant technical progress are already re-shaping the complex European transport network of the 1970's. The development of a series of well-used container routes from Britain to the Continent is but one indication of this. Huge amounts of capital are involved in preparing for the needs of present and future generations. It will be cheaper if these capital investments are integrated into some sort of international plan, than if each government or transport media should plan ahead regardless of the activities of other types of transport. Only cooperation and the standardization of facilities that this could bring will avoid the expense of duplicated or uncoordinated effort. The Community could create an international network of trunk routes planned as though the Community were already enlarged, to include not only the traditional forms of transport but also shipping, aviation and pipelines. The services should be developed as if the Community and its applicant members were already one country.

The big question is whether the governments will compete with each other in planning and executing their transport programmes—and so end up with seven national transport systems unrelated to each other—or whether they will recognize that cooperation is in their long term interests. Only if they choose the second course, and press on with a common transport policy, will they create a sufficiently integrated transport network to meet their needs in the future.

Further reading

N. DESPICHT, *The Common Transport Policy of the European Communities*, PEP, London, 1969.

Just published:

EUROPEAN STUDIES HANDBOOK

80 pp. 5/-

A guide to materials and sources for teaching European Studies
in secondary schools

Prepared by Peggotty Freeman, for the Centre for Contemporary European Studies and the Centre for Educational Technology at The University of Sussex.

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The polders

The problems of drying and reclaiming marshes are common to all European countries with low-lying marshland. The polders of Holland are the best known but there are also polders in Great Britain, Germany, Italy, the Baltic Area and on the Atlantic coast of France.

The word "polder" is Dutch in origin but has been adopted in most European languages. A polder is an area of land which has been won back from the waters and is continually protected from them by walls or dikes. Although the word usually refers to low-lying land in the vicinity of the sea its meaning also covers alluvial areas which have been drained artificially and are protected by walls or dikes from the waters of a lake or a river.

There are three different kinds of polders. Firstly there are drained coastal marshes situated above the level of the water at high tide (for example the Italian Maremma). Secondly, there are polders which are situated above the low water mark but below the high water mark (for example, the polders in the Dol, Zealand, Schleswig and the Fens), and thirdly there are "low" polders whose altitude is even lower than the low water-mark (for example, the polders of the Zuyder Zee).

History

Before machinery was invented men conquered the marshes with simple tools. The Etruscans had a reputation as good engineers. The later Roman writers praise their drainage schemes. The Etruscans converted the marshland round the river Po into rich agricultural land which was governed by Spina, the "Etruscan Venice." Their work was so successful in draining the Pontine Marshes that they did not need to be recon-

quered until the 20th century. Between the beginning of the Christian era and the Middle Ages the Frisians did some important work on the North Sea coast between the Rhine and Jutland. They built artificial mounds of earth to a height above that of the high level mark. 2,500 of these mounds still remain. From the 11th Century on the Frisians built dikes by hand to protect the land that they had won back from the sea. It was necessary to struggle against continuous attacks from the sea.

Further south the Flemish and the Dutch conquered the marshes of the estuaries of the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Rhine. Indeed, it was in a Zealand charter of 1219 that the word "polder" appeared for the first time. On the lakes and peatbogs which stretched from Rotterdam to Amsterdam a ring of towns called the Randstad was built from Delft to Utrecht passing through The Hague, Leyden and Haarlem. The Randstad is still the heart of the Netherlands today. At this time the Dutch were much more organised than other nations. Indeed they founded the Waterschappen, associations to fight the waters in the 12th Century. A few schemes were carried out in other countries, usually by monks, but they were insignificant compared with the Dutch schemes at this time. In France, the "Cinq-Abbés" canal and the "Achenal-le-Roi" which were dug in the 13th Century in the Marsh Poitevin gradually became filled in due to lack of maintenance. During the religious wars of the 16th Century the drainage schemes that remained in England and France were neglected so that the problem needed to be tackled again at its roots in the 17th Century.

The Dutch technique

During the 17th Century the Dutch got their independence from Spain, expanded their navy until it became the greatest in the world, founded the Indie Companies and the Amsterdam Bank. Dutch art flourished. They also developed some technical inventions for the drainage of the marshes. The capital of the bankers and merchants was invested in vast drainage schemes. Between 1600 and 1700, 300,000 acres were recovered from the sea.

It was at this time that the Zealand archipelago acquired its final outline.

A new technique in draining was developed in the 17th Century—the drying of inland lakes in Holland and Friesland by pumping. Windmills were improved so that they could raise water more than 9 feet. If the lakes were deep (some reached a depth of 18 feet) batteries of mills drained the water into a series of adjacent canals. A ring canal then collected all the water and drained it into the sea or a river by means of a system of locks. Lake Beemster, an area of 17,000 acres was dried in 5 years by 43 mills.

Two Dutch engineers dominated this period—Andrew Vierlingh and John Adrian Leeghwater.

Andrew Vierlingh “master of the dikes” of William the Silent, was also a classical scholar and scientist. He looked at the problem of flooding scientifically and looked for the causes. He was not satisfied with the seventeenth Century exploitation that floods are acts of God. Man’s responsibility seemed to be more important. Thus he wrote a “Treatise on Dikes” subtitled “The Hope of the Poor People,” in which he describes suitable methods of stabilizing alluvial deposits by using clay, stones and water-willow branches. This method is still used today.

John Adrian Leeghwater (1575-1650) was less of a theoretician and more of an engineer. The inventor of the diving-bell and an architect of repute, Leeghwater was mainly interested in the drying of inland lakes. He was in charge of schemes to drain inland lakes in Holland by means of windmills. He was also asked to act as a consultant to similar schemes in England, France and Germany. He thought that the wind should do all the work and that man should content himself with directing the scheme and building the windmills. On this account he was given the nickname “Jan Wind” or John Wind. Leeghwater, a man of vision, thought of drying the greatest lake in Holland, the “sea of Haarlem,” by means of 160 windmills arranged in four batteries. Due to timidity and lack of foresight on the part of the governmental authorities this project was not carried out until 200 years later.

So great was the technical skill of the Dutch engineers that princes from all over Europe hired them as consultants. They went to Sweden and Muscovy, at the request of Peter the Great, they were hired by the electors of Brandenburg and Pope Urban VIII called upon them to drain the Pontine Marshes.

In England Dutchmen regained marshes from the water at Yarmouth, Wells and Canvey. The most famous Dutch engineer who worked in England was Cornelis Vermuyden (1590-1683) who drained the Fens by dirt of 25 years of work in association with the Duke of Bedford. Our Fenland district is still called Holland.

In France Henri IV appointed Humphrey Bradley of Zealand “Grand-master of the dikes of France” who drew up a comprehensive plan for the French coast.

Mechanisation

The mechanical methods of drainage available today are much more efficient than the windmills of the 19th Century. The windmills were superceded by the steam engine of the 19th Century and this has given way to diesel motors and electric pumps. One electric pump drains off 240 million gallons per day whereas the most advanced types of mills did not drain 2.5 million gallons per day. It was only with mechanised equipment that it was possible to carry out the old dream that the Dutch had always had—that of conquering the “Sea of South” the Zuyder Zee.

The Zuyder Zee project

Henry Stevin conceived the first plan for a dam separating the Zuyder Zee from the North Sea in 1667. This plan was followed by many others. In the early plans, the aim was to protect the centre of the country from floods not to cultivate the sea bed although it was certainly not more than 5 metres deep. In 1894 a scheme was finally chosen which was primarily concerned with reclaiming the maximum area of fertile land and abandoning the sandy soils which were to remain covered by the IJselmeer, a fresh-water lake. The IJselmeer was to be separated from the North Sea by a gigantic dam 19 miles in length.

The project which was the first of its kind began in 1919 and lasted for thirteen years. No-one had ever built such a long dike before and they did not know how the currents and tides would affect it. When the dike was completed in 1932 the main task was still to be undertaken; the cultivation of 560,000 acres which had been divided into fixe polders.

The first polder to be completed was the Wieringermeer polder (50,000 acres in size) which produced its first harvest as early as 1933. The North-East polder was then completed in 1942 and ten villages and a town were subsequently built on it. The East Flevoland polder was dried out in 1956 and its development is now being terminated. The 112,500 acres of South were dried out by 1968 and in a few years the last polder, the West polder, will be completed. The three latter polders have an unusual characteristic in that they are not directly linked to the mainland but are separated from it by an artificial lake which prevents the polder soil from becoming dried up. The reclaimed land forms a separate new province called the Zuyder Zee Province with its own capital Lelystad.

In *Italy* the same methods have been used in reclaiming the Pontine Marshes as the Dutch have used on the Zuyder Zee. 290,000 acres were reclaimed on the Pontine Marshes between 1926 and 1938. 620 miles of canals and 310 miles of roads were constructed and five towns were built from scratch. Malaria disappeared, fields of corn and sugar-beet replaced the marshes and the population of the area increased from 5,000 to 70,000. Since 1946 other areas of Italy have been improved—such as the Tuscan Maremmes, the Po delta, Tavoliere, Sardinia and Campidano.

The work that has been done in other European countries seems much more limited. A few polders were built in Schleswig-Holstein during the Hitler régime; the British have improved the Somerset marshes and are now making plans to improve the Wash, Morecambe Bay and the Solway Firth. The French have dried the Vernier Marsh, a part of the Vendéenne Bay

at Aiguillon, and the Arzel dam at the estuary of the Vilaine has recently enabled 100,000 acres of marshland to be reclaimed. These schemes, however, are all on a smaller scale than the Dutch ones.

Building techniques

The polders of alluvial deposits are the simplest to construct. Men dam up the silt along shores sheltered by islands (for example in Frisland, Schleswig or Brittany) on the borders of estuaries such as the Thames, Scheldt, Gironde or Po or at the bottom of bays that are silted up such as the Wash, the Solway, Mont Saint-Michel. Then one plants helophilous plants such as spartina, or salicornia or digs trenches ("mud gardening") to promote sedimentation. Little by little the alluvial deposits raise the level of the muddy ground ("slikke" in Dutch). This muddy ground is slowly transformed into Saltings ("Schorre") which only the spring tides cover. Then it is necessary to dam up the polder to protect it from storm tides. The slivergates of the locks on the dams are opened and the water flows out. This is the oldest type of polder and there are examples of it all over Europe.

Polders which result from the drainage of inland lakes and marshes are more modern as they depend on the pumping of water which is several feet deep and this was only possible after the invention of the windmill. This technique was used on inland lakes in Holland but also on peat-bogs as in the Dol, the Cambridge Fens, the Pontine Marshes and the Flemish "Moères." The coastal marshes were protected from the sea by an off-shore bed and a screen of clay or sand. The contraction of the peat after the drainage of marshland often causes the ground to sink thus making permanent pumping necessary.

Polders like those of the Zuyder Zee are built partly like the polders made out of alluvial deposits and partly by drainage. Their scale and the engineering techniques employed distinguish them, however, from the earlier ones. They resemble polders made of alluvial deposits because of the diking technique that is used, and they resemble inland lake polders because drainage by pumping is also necessary.

One fifth of the land-surface of Holland is considered "polderland" and half of the surface of the country would be exposed to floods if it were not protected all the time. The maintenance of the polders is a problem of the first order of magnitude in Holland although in other parts of Europe such as Germany, Denmark, England and Italy it is only a secondary problem.

The maintenance

There are several dangers which menace the existence of the polders: tides and storms, the raising of the sea-level and the subsidence of the land.

The tide swells as it goes up gulfs and sounds. The difference between high and low water marks on the coast of Holland is 5 feet but this increases to 13 feet in Zealand and 50 feet in the bay of Mont Saint-Michel. The currents erode the foundations of the dikes. Where the tide is weak or non-existent the threat may come from storms which hurl other waves onto the shore as in Jutland and the Adriatic. A combination of

strong tides and storms are the cause of great catastrophes. The worst possible combination would be the combination of an equinoctial tide, as storm and swollen rivers; this could happen in the vicinity of estuaries like the Thames, the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt or the Po.

All coast-lines are affected by a rise in the level of the sea which is caused by climatic warming and melting of the ice-cap. This rise in the sea-level is particularly serious in areas which are also subjected to continental subsidence. Such subsidence affects precisely the geologically weak shores of the North Sea basin, the bay of Mont Saint-Michel, the English Wash, the lower Loire, etc.

Various techniques are used to consolidate the polders and protect them from erosion caused by the factors mentioned above. In some places such as Frisland, Holland and Norfolk narvan grass or other plants with long roots are planted on the polders to act as a binding agent on the soil. Elsewhere sea-pines have been planted—for example in Vendée and Gascony. The needles of the pines form a carpet which prevents wind erosion. Jetties can also be built perpendicularly to the shore to weaken the action of the currents. But often artificial defences in the form of dikes are necessary.

Initially dikes were just simple ramparts of earth covered with lumps of turf sometimes strengthened with sticks and stones.

From the 19th Century on dikes were built more solidly. A solid base is coated with turf on the inner side and on the outer side which is exposed to the sea it is made of bricks, basalt, granite or concrete covered with asphalt. The Zuyder Zee dike and that of Westkapelle in Zealand rise above the high tides by more than 23 feet and are no less than 330 feet thick. The cost of such dikes is very high: since the 15th Century the Westkapelle dike and its maintenance have cost the equivalent of its weight in solid silver.

Salt removal and drainage

The first operation to be carried out in a newly formed polder is to remove the salt from the soil to make it fit to bear crops. Plants cannot stand more than 6 to 7 grams of salt per litre of water (sea-water has up to 35 grams per litre). On polders which dam up grassy coastal regions which were formerly only flooded by strong tides, rainwater soon removes part of the salt from the top layers of the soil. In the polders which are maintained by pumping, for example the Zuyder Zee polder, the problem does not exist as the water was fresh or contained little salt.

The annual rainfall is an important factor for salt removal: in Holland, Western France, Great Britain and Italy it remains around 28 inches. But what is more important is the seasonal distribution: the Mediterranean regions only receive 2 to 3 inches during the summer month (compared with 8 inches in North-Western Europe); the rise of the salts due to capillary action causes a concentration on the surface which can even form crusts as in Tavoliere, the Camargue, and on the marismas Seville.

Sometimes it is necessary for man to intervene in order to hasten the natural removal of salt. To this end gypsum is spread as it exchanges its calcium for sodium and magnesium or crops like lucerne are grown

or rice in the Mediterranean basin. After a few months, as in the case of the Zuyder Zee polders, or a few years at the most, the removal of salt is sufficiently far advanced that cultivation proper may be undertaken. Then another problem arises, that of drainage.

Excess water on the polders comes from rain and infiltration under the dikes and locks. The object of drainage is to control the level of water so that it is maintained at an optimum level for vegetable life. Ploughed lands require a fairly deep water-level 2.5 feet to 3 feet; meadows can make do with between 1 foot and 1.5 feet. In the case of the North-East Polder, for example, 14 inches of water seep onto the polder underneath the dikes annually and are added to the 28 inches of annual rainfall; after deducting the 12 inches which disappear due to evaporation, there remain about a tenth of an inch to be drained off per day; over an area of 120,000 acres: that means 50 million gallons per day. It can be appreciated that without modern machines the Zuyder Zee could never have been regained. Drying by trenches and drains is supplemented by planting suitable kinds of shrubs: a eucalyptus tree has an evaporating power 1,200 times greater than that of an oak.

Drainage causes soil subsidence which is particularly serious in the case of peaty soils; the more marked the subsidence, the deeper the drainage must be. Subsidence is common in Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, the Fens, Holland and the French marshes.

After draining polders the water table is maintained at a depth that is suited to the needs of the plants through drainage by gravity to be sea at low tide or by pumping when the water table lies below the low water-mark.

Malaria

As for the malaria and the other diseases of the marshes which were formerly so greatly feared, they have practically disappeared. In 1810 they forced the British to evacuate Walcheren. Also "that Single Goddess Malaria" (D'Annunzio) reigned in the Pontine Marshes for a long time . . . DDT has eradicated the mosquitos which carry malaria. The health of the inhabitants of Zealand or the Italian Maremma has therefore improved immeasurably.

State intervention

In order to safeguard the polder a strong defence organisation is vital. No individual person has sufficient resources for such works; a comprehensive plan is necessary. Thus either state intervention is necessary, the state being considered as the supreme representative of the community, or else the common defence becomes the responsibility of associations of land-owners.

Associations of land-owners have existed for a long time. The Dutch waterschappen were founded in the 12th Century. The land-owners elected administrators who were sometimes entrusted with judicial powers and were assisted by registrars, tax collectors, supervisors, lock-keepers. . . . The organisation was of a syndical type which is still in evidence today, as in the Poitou Marsh, in Holland, the Po valley and the Bay of Fundy in Canada. 2,800 waterschappen work in the Netherlands under the high authority of the Waterstaat. In France 7,000 syndicates are grouped together in larger associations (Association générale des propriétaires du Marais de Dol, Fédération des marais des Deux-Sèvres, etc.). On the other hand, in central and southern Italy no association of this type has appeared. In central and southern Italy it has been necessary to wait until the 20th Century for control which is undertaken by the State.

For a long time the conquest of the marshes was carried out without comprehensive regional planning. The irregular network of ditches and roads bear witness to this. But recently governmental intervention has become more and more important. As early as 1798 the "Waterstaat" or "Ministry of the Waters" was set up in Holland as a central organisation responsible for coordinating the work of the numerous "Waterschappen." The "Waterstaat" nationalised planning and made overall regional development possible. State intervention has become increasingly necessary in all European countries as more ambitious and wide-reaching plans requiring more expansive engineering techniques have been undertaken.

Secondary school curricula

North-West European countries since the war have been facing similar problems concerning the degree of curricula specialization in secondary schools, the process of streaming, and preparation and selection for higher education. This article compares the experience of England and Wales with that of three continental countries, France, Germany and the Netherlands. It follows on from an earlier article (European Studies No. 6) on the structure of secondary education in the Six.

The Crowther Report (1958) on secondary education in England and Wales recommended sixth form specialization but urged that studies should be kept as broad as possible lower down in secondary schools. Since then, hostility towards specialization at any stage of the secondary grammar-school curriculum has grown both amongst academics and governmental and semi-governmental committees. The Dainton Report (1968) recommended a mixed advanced level course and this has been adopted in modified form in the most recent Schools Council proposals.

Recent moves in the same educational area in three other West European countries are examined here. They are France, with its increasing proportion of children attending school courses which give the right to a university place; West Germany, where the requirements for entrance are not tied to the subjects followed in school; and the Netherlands, which after having a structure similar to the English system has adapted it to be flexible in terms of curriculum and university entrance requirements. All four countries have had specific problems to deal with and it is interesting to compare their basic pre-university secondary school systems.

Similarities

The basic school structure for pre-university secondary schooling in all four countries is broadly speaking similar, and developed from the elementary to grammar-school pattern familiar in England and Wales for most of this century. Children enter a grammar type school between the age of 10 and 12 and take general subjects for 3 to 5 years. At the end of this period there is an intermediate level examination in all the

countries concerned. Children who are successful in this may stay on and follow an advanced course of two or three years which leads to an advanced examination. Success in this course in all the countries except England gives the automatic right of entry to university.

All four countries share similarities in certain other aspects. Until relatively recently, only certain schools administered the examinations which were the main channel to the universities in each country. The grammar-schools in England and Wales, the Lycée in France, the Gymnasium in Western Germany, and Hogere Burgerschool and Gymnasium in the Netherlands had the monopoly of pre-university courses.¹ In practice only a small proportion of university entrants come from other schools or institutions although in theory each country did provide another channel for children who did not go to a school recognized as the normal route to universities. The Netherlands, for example, let any children enter a Staat Diploma equivalent in status to the school diplomas; and in England and Wales any individual who wished might sit the state examination.

The other main similarities lay in the proportion of children entering this type of secondary school and the proportion going on to university. During the fifties, figures for all four were between 20 and 25 per cent of 13-year-olds in pre-university secondary education and about 4 per cent going to universities.

Taking the situation over the fifties before reforms in each country were initiated the basic secondary school structure meant that children who wanted to go to university were expected to get a place in a secondary school which provided courses for specific examina-

¹ Although in England and Wales since the war the grammar streams of bilateral schools and later comprehensives did provide such courses. In addition increasing numbers of secondary modern school pupils are entered for examinations at both the intermediate and advanced stage.

tions and after, following a fairly general intermediate course for three or four years, take the advanced course leading to university entry qualifications. The proportion of children catered for by each of the four countries was the same (though, of course, the criteria in each country were not).

Differences

The biggest difference between the countries at this time and in later developments was in the curriculum offered by the schools and its actual function from the point of view of streaming and university faculty selection.

One can look at the choice of subject options in three main ways.

In the first place, one may be interested in the actual content of the syllabus. Ideally one would like to know about the actual level of subjects studied but in practice, one can only compare the hours spent on them.

Secondly, if children are divided into different subject groupings, one wants to know to what extent commitment to one group implies a continued commitment to certain faculties at university level.

Thirdly, and this is to some extent connected with the second point, one wants to know to what extent following a certain course is associated with streaming by ability.

Some of these elements are found in the course structure of pre-university schools in each of the countries, but before their effects and the subsequent reforms can be discussed a description of the characteristics of the courses taken in each country is given. All countries are similar in that any subject grouping which exists is in terms of science and non-science, though there are sometimes additions to this basic pattern.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands was the only country of the four where courses could be said to be really comparable for any length of a child's school career. There was no narrowing of options during the intermediate course when all children studied similar amounts of foreign languages, science, mathematics and history and geography. The only difference in content at this stage came between children who took Latin and Greek in the Gymnasium school and the others in the Hogere Burgerschool. This definitely reflected streaming, and the drop-out rates for children between the third year of the intermediate course (before the school leaving age) and the first year of the advanced course show this quite clearly. Such figures are about 10 per cent in the fifties for the Greek and Latin course children in the Gymnasium schools and 15 per cent or more for those in the modern language only schools. This differential was narrowing.

At the next stage, however, even though the curriculum followed remained fairly broad, streaming by ability became more important. An additional factor entered in that the following of certain courses was necessary for entry to specific university faculties.

Thus, at the advanced stage, there was a division into two course types at each school. At the Gymna-

sium it was an arts/science division and at the Hogere Burgerschool it was a social science/science division. In all courses some science or maths was taken together with a foreign language. The difference was in emphasis rather than coverage except that the arts course was the only one with classical languages still on the syllabus. The science courses in the two school types were exactly equivalent in coverage.

The figures on the proportions staying at school between first and second year of the diploma course, however, show differences in streaming both by school and subject division. In the late fifties the highest retention rate was between 85 and 90 per cent for children on the Gymnasium arts course. This was followed by a fairly steady 80 per cent for those on the Gymnasium science course and the Hogere Burgerschool social science course. The lowest rate of all was for children taking the Hogere Burgerschool science course—65 per cent. This was because one year of the science advanced course entitled children to enter technical college. Add to this the fact that, although pass rates in the exam were similar, only a small number of those on the social science course got to university and one sees that the figures show quite clearly that although the choice of schools and course had little effect on actual school education it was used as a streaming device. At the same time entrance requirements contribute to make it a streaming by specialization as well as by level of further education to be reached. Until 1963, only those with school science diplomas could take university science courses and those with arts diplomas the arts courses though there was allowance made for arts specialists who wanted to take medicine. The holder of any of the three diplomas could enter the social science faculties which included subjects like history and geography as well as the more usual law, economics and anthropology.

Thus in fact the system was geared to give a broad education but keep control over student numbers by institutional and university faculty balance from quite an early stage of school.

West Germany

The West German system, though superficially similar was completely different in the way subjects were dealt with. This was, of course, to some extent due to the great variety in the details of the school system within the Federal State itself but nonetheless a broad pattern can be discerned for the country as a whole.

As with the Netherlands, there were different types of pre-university school. From the very beginning there was a general division into three kinds of school corresponding fairly well to the subject divisions at advanced diploma level in the Netherlands. Each gymnasium was either of the mathematics-science, the classical languages, or the modern languages type. As with the Netherlands, the main difference was in the fact that classical languages were studied almost exclusively in one type of school. Here, however, the coverage in all schools was not quite as broad as before and there were variations in the amount of science studied in each school, though even at the most specialized stage—advanced diploma (Abitur) stage—children in classical and modern gymnasium spent 3 hours a week on science and an average 2 hours a week on mathematics.

Here the similarity between the two systems ended. After taking and gaining the Abitur (the school leaving certificate) university entry was not restricted by particular faculty and the figures show a considerable amount of changing in subject. Looking at male university entrants in 1963 one finds 13 per cent of men from a mathematics-biased gymnasium entering the arts faculty compared with 18 per cent for all new university entrants and 21 per cent of classical gymnasium entrants to the science and technology faculties compared with an overall figure of 32 per cent. Evidently there was a tendency to continue in roughly the same field of studies as before but this was by no means the most important consideration.

There is evidence, however, that school-type, although unimportant from the point of view of subjects studied and eventual university faculty entered did have streaming implications. In most Länder the classical gymnasium had most status and Abitur pass-rates there were higher. Certain Länder like Bavaria attach greater importance to the scientific gymnasium and the best results are produced by them. In all Länder it seems that the modern language gymnasium was of lower status.

France

Here the situation is similar to England and Wales not in the labelling used, but in the fact that in France there is a system which has been expanding to take in a higher proportion of children of academic secondary school and university level. This part of the educational system in France was more fluid than in the other countries even in the fifties, but broadly the pattern was as follows.

Initially pre-university courses were offered at the Lycées which children could either enter at 11 or 12 or four years later after passing an examination in a college where similar courses were offered over the period. Gradually the two have been merged to the CES (collège d'enseignement secondaire) where eventually all school children go. Over the fifties the proportion entering courses equivalent to the CES rose from about 25 per cent to well over 50 per cent. For the time being, however, the organisation of curricula remained broadly as it had been before.

The French pre-university course lasted for seven years. The first four years, the intermediate course, were general in character, though there was streaming into science and non-science bias as well as classical languages.

The interesting point to note is that the grouping was done in terms of general ability. Children who took a strong classical language option did not necessarily take a weak science option. They were quite likely to take more mathematics, for example, than a child who took the modern language courses. In fact the main difference between those taking the classical language course and the others seems to be that they spent less time on the modern languages they had to study.

The next two years, to the first part of the baccalauréat followed the same pattern and there were six main option groups—three classical courses with varying amounts of science and modern language, two modern courses with varying amounts of science and mathematics, and a technical stream.

Over the whole six-year period movement between any one course and another was theoretically possible though it would obviously be difficult to move from a modern to a classical stream because of the learning of new subjects this involved.¹

Generally, however, other movements were possible and did take place. There was considerable change in the first years between the different classical streams. The true meaning of the classical/modern streaming is also shown by the figures on movement. Every year 5 per cent of children in the classical stream who moved up a grade moved into the modern stream, and, once the school leaving age had been reached, 5 per cent of modern stream children left the school system completely.

In the light of this evidence it would appear that the streaming system was an ability one and, unlike Western Germany and the Netherlands, there was little emphasis on the amount of science done as the determining streaming factor. In fact, the very brightest children spent more time on mathematics and science than any other groups while at the same time they took a full classical language course.

As this was so, it is difficult to see how the third factor—university course to be followed—came into play. This is to some extent accounted for by the final years school study. For the second part of the baccalauréat children were divided into three groups at this stage: philosophy, mathematics and experimental science. No classical languages were studied in any group, and all groups did some science, mathematics, philosophy and modern language. The syllabus, however, was geared to the main field—9 hours a week were spent in each section on their relevant special subjects.

There was no formal university faculty entry requirement except that a child should have passed the baccalauréat, but there was a fairly strong connection between subjects taken at the second part of the baccalauréat and faculty.

Thus the final year of school was fairly closely connected with the university course. There was no obvious linkage between the school course followed before that and the final year orientation. However children from the classical streams were more likely to take philosophy or science while those in the strongest ability groups took mathematics. Children from the modern streams spread themselves fairly equally between all three.

With the democratisation of the French educational system and the early development of the collèges d'enseignement général, where in fact mainly modern language courses only were offered, some modification of this system was found necessary. Accordingly a cycle of specialization was set up from the age of 15, admission to which did not depend on the type of course previously taken but corresponded to the aptitudes of the pupils. In the first year there are three sections of academic courses and three of occupational training. In the second and third years (for 1968) there are seven sections, each leading to a different type of baccalauréat examination, giving access to university. There is a fairly strong connection between the section chosen and the faculty.

¹ In fact the bigger schools provided transitional forms where classical languages were taught to make this transition more feasible.

England and Wales

This contrasts strongly with the moves suggested for the syllabus in England and Wales mentioned earlier in this article. Before discussing this aspect of the situation in greater detail a brief review of the English situation will be given. Since 1951 qualification for university entry has been in terms of a single subject examination at two levels—ordinary and advanced in the General Certification of Education. Generally children going to university have six O level subjects and three A levels (though the actual university entry requirement is only two A levels). At A level stage the subjects taken are generally all sciences or all arts though there has been an increasing tendency away from this degree of specialization and by 1967 the DES figures show that about 15 per cent of school leavers took and passed mixed subjects at A level. This compares with only 5 per cent for 1961. Before this stage, however, there is some subject grouping. Broadly speaking, those who go on to take A level sciences take three or more science O levels while those who take arts subjects take less than one science O level. There is an intermediate group which is not so fixed in orientation.

Thus the curriculum followed by children taking a pre-university course in England is differentiated by the subjects covered to a much greater extent than in the other countries. The second aspect, that of the extent of orientation towards university faculty is also important. A child following three or more O level sciences out of his six or more subjects at this level will probably proceed to take three A level sciences and then enter the scientific or medical faculties.

The one aspect in which this streaming does not seem to be important is for ability grouping. There is little evidence that the child following an arts course or a science course is different in his propensity to drop out. The marginally better arts grades achieved at A level are counterbalanced by the greater number of subjects taken by the science specialists and the slightly higher university entry rate for scientists at a lower level of ability reflects the manpower situation in a fixed faculty size university sector rather than actual differences between the capacity of children in each group.

Thus, England and Wales has been gradually developing from a highly specialized school system in the sense that subject grouping meant a considerable variation in the possible syllabus a child could take and this in turn affected his university career.

It is interesting to note that over a period when an increasing proportion of the age group has been taking

these examinations the situation has been gradually relaxing. More and more children are taking mixed A levels and their O level orientation is no longer so clear. At a later stage school science specialists are becoming more likely to enter university social science faculties. Recently a change in the examination system has been suggested which will make it compulsory for all children to continue with science and languages up to sixth form level.

Conclusion

It is interesting to compare this with moves in the other continental countries described. France, which has been implementing comprehensivisation on a large scale since 1955 has found it necessary to introduce specialization to some extent in the taking of science and mathematics. West Germany, in an attempt to increase the number of working-class children getting a university place has encouraged the setting up of special faculty orientated examinations in specific subjects which are to be taken at all schools and technical colleges and is gradually moving away from its very generalist system.

Only the Netherlands, which was the only country studied to adapt its secondary school system to accommodate rigid faculty requirements has not followed a course of increased specialization. Of course, here the syllabus was always much broader than in England, but now the rigid connection between school subject stream and faculty has been relaxed in an attempt to deal with the increasing proportion of scientists staying at school and then going on to university social science. It is perhaps this system, combined with a comprehensive programme which corresponds most closely to possible future English experience.

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EUROPEAN STUDIES

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6

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Energy in the EEC (II)

The energy resources used by the Six have been described in Energy I; here we are concerned with the development of these resources and the implications of the development. The essence of the discussion is that energy policy is crucial to economic and social growth.

Efficient use of power resources is one of the keys to industrial expansion. In the nineteenth century the availability of cheap coal determined the location of those industries which employed large numbers of people. Coal was needed to produce steam: steam generated power. Coal is still needed for this purpose

but its primacy has been challenged so that the alternative fuels of oil, natural gas and uranium, have become more important as primary sources of energy. It is the substitution of these fuels for coal which has demanded new energy policies and has created a new range of problems for economic planners.

The decline of coal

Table 1 Share of each primary energy product in gross domestic consumption

Country	Coal		Brown coal		Crude oil		Natural gas		Primary electrical energy		Total energy	
	1958	1967	1958	1967	1958	1967	1958	1967	1958	1967	1958	1967
Germany (FR)	65.7	37.2	15.9	10.8	14.6	46.6	0.4	2.2	3.4	3.2	100	
France	56.9	32.0	1.3	1.0	29.2	53.1	0.6	4.3	12.0	9.6	100	
Italy	19.2	10.1	0.7	0.8	40.3	67.4	11.6	8.6	28.2	13.1	100	
Netherlands	56.6	21.0	0.9	0.1	41.4	67.0	0.8	12.1	0.3	-0.2	100	
Belgium	71.1	45.1	0.2	0.1	27.9	53.0	0.4	1.4	0.4	0.4	100	
Luxembourg	91.7	61.6	2.3	1.3	5.9	27.1	—	—	0.1	10.0	100	
EEC	57.4	30.2	7.7	4.7	24.6	54.1	1.9	4.7	8.4	6.3	100	

¹ Production by refineries, and from other sources, of energy products other than gas.
² Natural gas and manufactured gas, incl. liquefied petroleum gas and refinery gas.

In table 1 we can see the reduction in the percentage of coal in the total Community consumption of primary energy. This reduction may be viewed as economically good in the long term provided that it is possible to avoid social dislocation. The substitution of a low cost energy source for a high cost energy source should

benefit the economy which effects such a change. Persons employed in the production and distribution of coal, and communities dependent on coal mining, suffer a reduction in their standard of living, if only temporarily, as a result of the change. The significance of the "energy revolution" to the observer varies

according to whether he adopts a regional, national or community viewpoint.

A reduction in the demand for coal has led to the closure of some collieries and the expansion of others. The collieries which have closed are those which are least efficient. Clearly some of these collieries would have closed because of the exhaustion of the coal seams or the difficulties encountered in mining badly faulted or thin seams. Others produced types of coal which were no longer in demand. Generally the high cost mines were the first to be closed.

The remaining collieries are located in those areas where good supplies of steam coal and anthracite are available. To these collieries redundant miners from other areas have moved e.g. Belgian miners have transferred to mining areas in the Ruhr. Technological

advance has, however, reduced the demand for manpower in the larger mines. The use of coal-cutting machinery, electric underground transport, automated surface sorting and transport of coal and other developments have resulted in the employment of fewer persons and these persons generally are more highly skilled. Production per man shift has increased; production in parts of the coalfields has increased but large numbers of coal miners have become redundant. Special government assistance has been authorised by the ECSC for the persons involved and this is reflected in the abnormally heavy social insurance charges borne by the coal industry. Half the cost of retraining and re-deploying ex-miners is borne by Community funds. In 1968 the Community spent 26 million UC¹ for this purpose.

Table 2

Personnel employed in coalmining industry '000s, 1958-1968

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Germany	593 ^a	543	493	470	438	414	400	382	279	296	267
Belgium	149	131	111	98	91	89	90	80	69	62	55
France	237	230	227	205	200	194	186	180	173	161	144
Italy	5	4	4	4	3.5	3	3	3	2	2	2
Netherlands	64	62	59	57	57	56	56	55	49	40	34
Community	1 047	970	884	833	788	756	735	700	637	561	502

^a Including Saar territory.
Source: ECSC Annual General Reports.

At the same time as redundancy in coal mining in some areas is a serious problem, in the expanding mining areas there are problems of recruiting persons to the coal mining industry. The recruitment problem has been partially solved by the movement of persons from other parts of the Community e.g. from Southern Italy to the Ruhr and by the employment of immigrants from more distant parts of Europe e.g. Turks, also to Germany and Belgium especially.

It should be emphasised that the coal industry is not declining as quickly as strictly economic forces might have dictated. Each nation in the Six has employed methods of government support in order to reduce the social problems consequent upon colliery closure. Thus in Germany the pressing need of German industry for cheap power has been seriously prejudiced by the prolonged subsidization of the coal industry which requires publicly owned power stations to utilize coal, and the imposition of a tax of DM 25 a ton on heavy heating oil.

While the governments of the Six adopted individual policies regarding the coal industries it should be recognised that the problems are different in each country. (Italy does not have a major coal mining industry and for this country the problem does not exist.) The differences are the result of the variations in the size and quality of the coal resources.

From the Community point of view the coal industry is seen in terms of the total energy-supply picture. However, the fact that coal is an indigenous resource, even though an expensive one compared with coal supplies from the USA, raises the question of security

of supply in the strategic sense. We shall return to this point later.

Oil

The primary energy sources are concentrated within a limited geographical area. Reliance upon these sources alone could lead to a concentration of future industrial growth in those areas which were based upon coal. The problem of future economic growth must be seen against the background of the whole economics of the relevant countries. Rural depopulation and the run-down of provincial centres is balanced by congestion and decay in older urban industrial centres. Both types of environment require rejuvenation; in both environments a vital element in the rejuvenation is the supply of power.

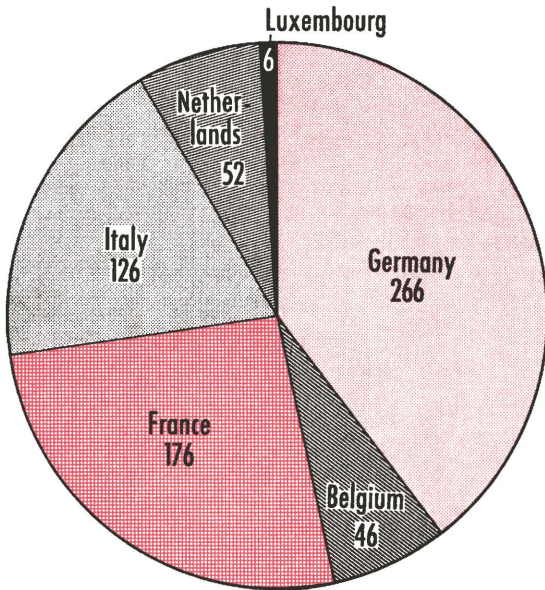
Unlike coal, electricity is more flexible as a source of power. Through the effective use of pipelines, oil can be carried to places where it would be uneconomic to transport coal. Electricity, associated with oil-fired (and nuclear) generating plants, introduces a new element to regional planning.

The percentage of oil in the supply of energy to the Community increased from 24.6 per cent in 1958 to 56 per cent in 1968. The year 1965 saw a 16 per cent increase in oil supplied for domestic heating (coal deliveries in the same year were 14 per cent less). Whole industries are moving away from coal and are using oil or natural gas e.g. cement, pottery and glass making.

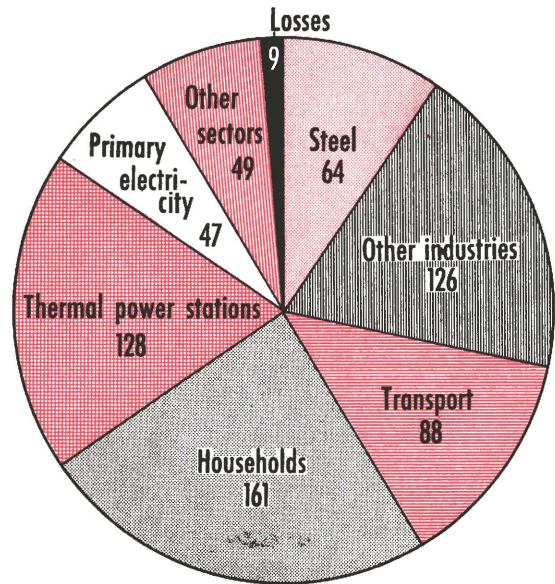
¹ 1 UC = 1 dollar.

CONSUMPTION OF PRIMARY ENERGY IN THE COMMUNITY YEAR 1968

CONSUMPTION
BY COUNTRY

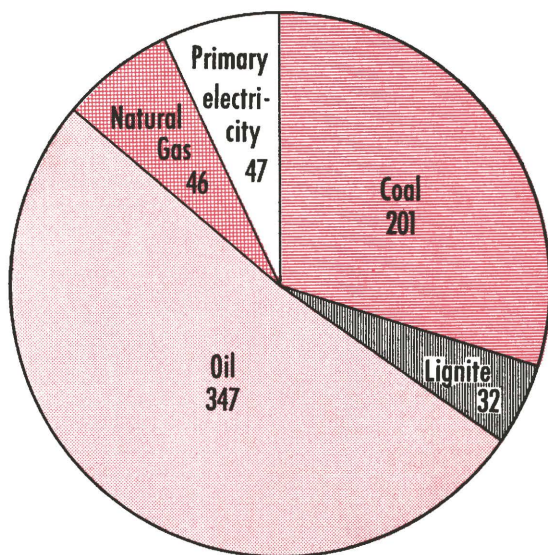


INLAND CONSUMPTION
BY SECTOR

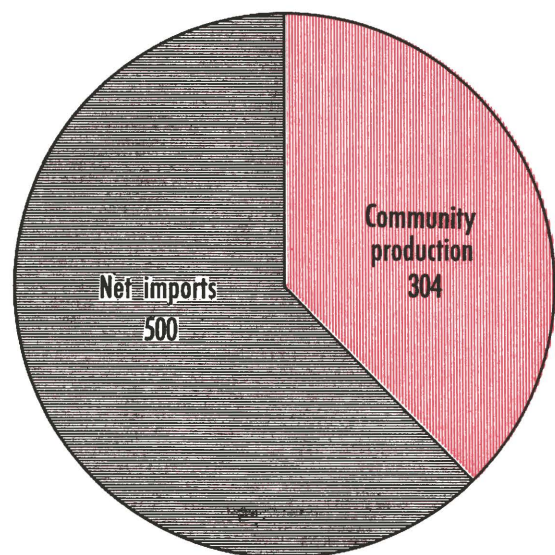


TOTAL
672

SHARE
OF CONSUMPTION



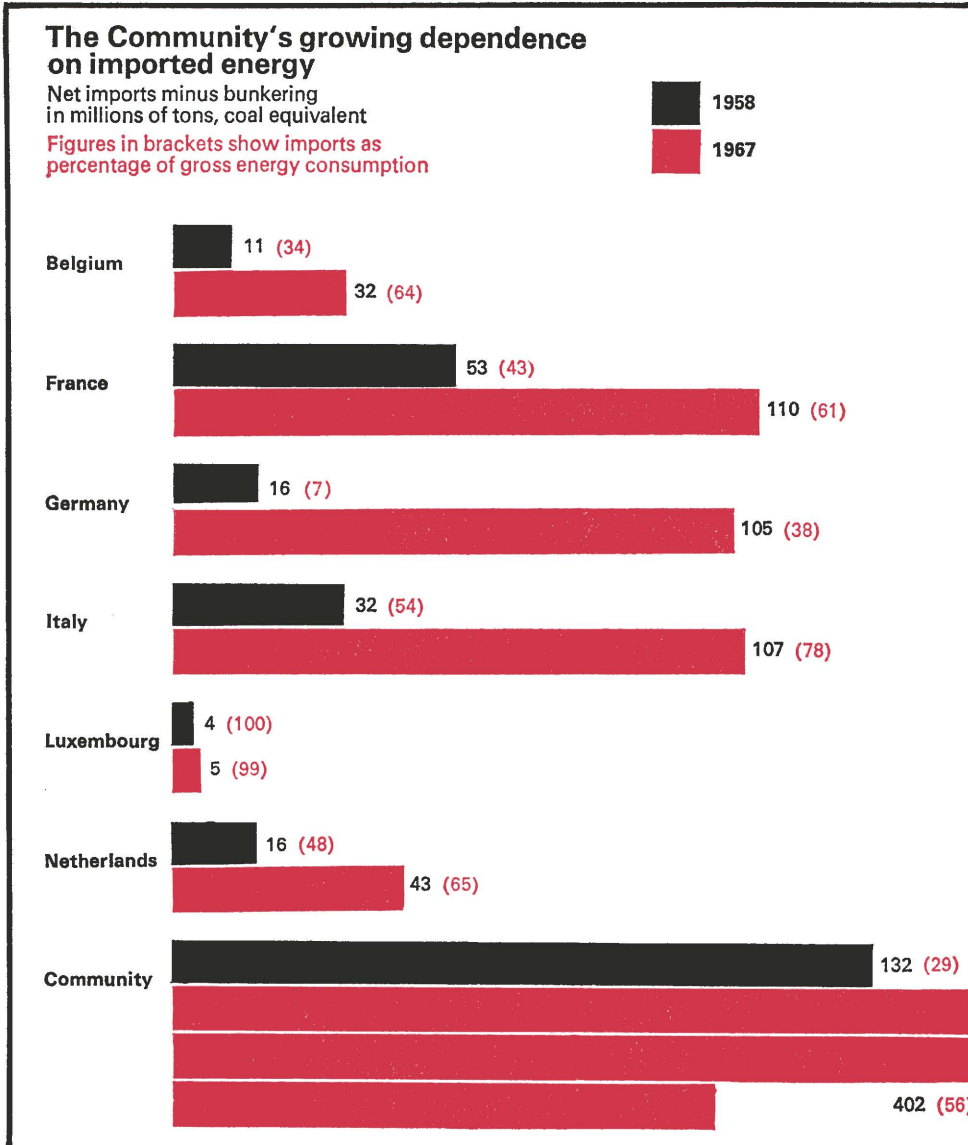
ENERGY SUPPLIES



Absolute value in millions of t.e.c.

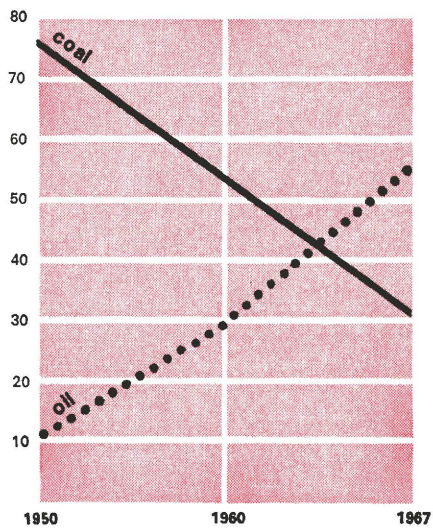
SOURCE: LA CONJONCTURE ÉNERGÉTIQUE DANS LA COMMUNAUTÉ - BRUXELLES - FÉVRIER 1969

Energy in the EEC



Coal's decline, oil's rise

Percentage of total Community consumption of primary energy



The major implications of the changing role of oil in the Community's energy picture are firstly, the strategic effects of dependence on external supplies, and secondly, the effects of oil supplies on industrial location.

The growing dependence on imported energy is clearly seen in the accompanying diagram.

This dependence means that the price of imported energy is the most important element in determining the cost of energy in the Community. Most imported supplies are distributed within the Six by foreign companies. In Germany, for example, German-owned refineries supply only about 28 million tons of some 109 million tons of refinery products used annually. The exploration, recovery and transport of oil sometimes rests with the same companies. This situation contrasts with the coal-supply situation.

The threat of political interference to oil supplies can be countered by diversification of dealings with supplying countries. Such flexibility is required given the changing oil supply situation within supplying countries. Deposits are constantly being depleted; new deposits are being discovered. The pie-charts indicate clearly the response of the Communities to such changes. Technological advance (e.g. improved pipeline technology and tanker developments), results in radical re-thinking about the role of oil.

Incidentally, the vulnerability of internal long distance pipelines such as the trans-Alpine pipelines from Northern Italy to Bavaria should be considered from the strategic point of view. This too contrasts with the coal transport situation. Potential threats to imported oil supplies partially explain the attention given to supporting the national coal industries and to the intensive research for indigenous supplies of other fuels.

Dependence on external supplies is affected by the world supply and demand situation for oil. The over-simplified division of the globe into have and have-not industrially developed nations is only a temporary phenomena. In terms of fuel supplies there is a different arrangement of have and have-not nations. In the long term the industrially underdeveloped nations will be seeking increasing amounts of fuel and requiring these in competition with the industrially advanced nations. Political considerations are vital in this context. One may refer to the current Suez problem, the Israeli-Arab conflict, and the Biafran situation. These "internal" crises are of grave consequence to the economic policies of the Six and Britain.

The introduction of super-tankers as the most efficient form of transporting large amounts of oil across the seas, and the use of pipe-lines for trans-continental oil transport, has led to basic changes in the location of industry. Examples of these changes are the expansion of Europort, at Rotterdam, as the heart of a massive industrial complex, and the increasing attention to industrial expansion in Southern Italy and Bavaria. In Europort an industrial complex of oil refineries, petro-chemical plants and steel mills is rapidly being established. Firms from the Six and from outside the Six are involved in this growth. The pricing policies adopted by individual governments for oil and the attempts at establishing a common policy for the Community may be seen to be in conflict in this situation. Thus the big three German chemical companies, Farbenfabriken Bayer AG, Farbwerke Hoechst AG and Badische Anilin Soda Fabrik AG, threatened to locate plants outside Germany if cheaper power supplies were

not forthcoming, and have established new production plants in Antwerp and Flushing.

The availability of oil, brought by pipeline to areas, such as Southern Bavaria, which were distant from fuel supplies, has led to the expansion of oil refining and associated industries. Similarly in the Italian Mezzogiorno and the Naples area plants such as the steelworks at Bagnoli and at Taranto and other large industrial establishments have been promoted here as the result of government pressure and the new ease with which power can be obtained.

Natural gas

The exploitation of indigenous resources of natural gas in the Netherlands and in the off-shore areas beneath the North Sea has provided an alternative fuel to coal and oil. Further supplies have been imported from North Africa and more recently plans have been drawn up for importing natural gas by pipeline from Siberia. The terminus of such a pipeline would be in Bavaria. Austria already imports Russian natural gas.)

The planning of natural gas utilisation has been on a national basis. France bases her policy on gas from the south-western gas fields. Italy has her own pipeline network. The Netherlands supplies gas to Belgium and Germany. The location of the vast Netherlands on-shore and off-shore gas fields so near to the traditional heartland of Western European industry could lead to a re-location of industry within the area and to the promotion of projects here rather than in the provincial development areas.

Nuclear energy

By the middle of 1969 Euratom had spent \$650 m on research into nuclear power. This money was spent on attempting to encourage a unified Community nuclear energy programme. At the same time individual governments of the Six have developed their own national nuclear programmes. For the Community the major priority is to get a common procurement policy among member governments so that orders for nuclear power stations would be placed with European contractors and some tangible pay-off obtained from the joint research expenditure.

The location of nuclear power stations poses no serious problem. Raw materials are of small bulk; the transmission of electricity to consumers is a more serious issue. Proximity to consumers is a more important consideration than proximity to raw material supplies.

The Community's energy policy

The Community has faced three major difficulties in planning a common energy policy:

- Responsibility for energy was shared between the European Coal and Steel High Authority, the Euratom and the EEC Commission. There is a need for a single treaty to replace the three separate treaties. The merger of the executives in July 1967 was a step towards this.

- The wide variations in national policies have made it difficult to find common ground.

- The changes in the structure of the energy market e.g. the substitution of oil and gas for coal, have hindered progress towards establishing a common policy.

In a recently published report the Commission made a series of proposals aimed at creating an energy policy. These fall into three broad categories.

Setting up a general framework

The Commission advocated the drawing up of forecasts and medium-term guidelines and an annual examination of the economic situation in the energy sector, Petrol, gas, and electricity should have guidelines similar to those already in existence for coal.

Creating a common market for energy

It advocated a plan to make it easier for governments to remove commercial and structural obstacles to free movement of fuel products. It advocated the abolishing of national monopolies.

The Commission set four goals in the field of competition:

- equal access to energy supplies,
- Commission supervision of projected mergers,
- notification to the Commission of fuel and power price changes,
- harmonization of national fuel and power pricing provisions.

Ensuring cheap and stable energy supplies

A successful common supply policy would involve joint action in the fields of trade, investment and industrial structure. The Commission recommended a co-ordination of coal import policy and a joint programme for oil and gas and nuclear fuel supply.

The Commission wished to be allowed to recommend alternative action to member states if it saw that they, in preparing their investment policies and projects, were over-investing.

It proposed that coal output should be reduced to meet demand, and that production be concentrated on the most efficient pits. A system of Community aids to mining should be introduced and existing Community aids should be coordinated with national aids to the coal industry.

For oil and gas the Commission called for tax measures which would eliminate disparities between the competitive position of Community companies and that of firms established elsewhere. Community oil companies must be helped to acquire their own crude-oil resources. A joint-enterprise status with tax concessions, similar to that provided by the Euratom Treaty, should be introduced to encourage joint prospecting and production.

For nuclear energy the Commission proposed the building of a Community isotope separation plant to meet the need for enriched uranium.

Other proposals related to investment in projects likely to benefit the Community and the encouragement of research into new techniques.

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Farming in the European Community (II)

The common policy

The formation of a common market for agriculture in Europe could not be achieved, as in the industrial sector, simply by removing customs barriers and by adopting common rules about such matters as competition. Agricultural policies among the Six were not only too varied but were also frequently in opposition to one another. These national policies conferred protection on farming through guaranteed prices, subsidies for exports, restrictions on imports, and other procedures. It was therefore impossible to reach agreement about a new agricultural economy for the European Economic Community on the basis of market forces alone. The task was to reshape in one agricultural market the farm economies of the Six, at the same time seeking solutions to the problems facing farming in an industrial society.

The agricultural policy developed in the EEC has made an effective contribution to Community integration. The barriers which separated the Six markets have been abolished for practically all agricultural products. Intra-Community trade has grown. The prices for farm produce are now set by Community bodies responsible for the management of markets, within and outside the EEC. All this has been accomplished in a field where governments have been accustomed to intervene on a large scale, and where the former national policies often ran counter to one another.

Although pricing policies in the Community have had some favourable effect on farm incomes, more in some sectors than in others, they are still lagging behind the incomes of other socio-economic groups.

It has become clear that market and price support policies alone are insufficient to solve the deficiencies of European farming. The key to the problem is to change the structure of production to form "modern agricultural enterprises". Hence the Commission of the European Communities, in the *Mansholt Plan* of December, 1968, has launched a far reaching programme of reform for its agriculture.

The aims of the EEC farm policy as set out in the Treaty of Rome were:—

- To increase agricultural productivity through technical progress and rational development to attain the optimum use of the factors of production, particularly of labour.
- To ensure a fair standard of living for those in farming by raising their earnings.
- To stabilise markets, eliminating gluts and scarcities.
- To guarantee adequate supplies of foodstuffs at reasonable prices to consumers.

Agricultural policy thus covered two broad spheres:—marketing and pricing arrangements, and commercial activity on the international side, as well as structural and social change in farming itself. Up to 1968, market and price considerations tended to predominate. There were major

discrepancies in levels of efficiency and output in agriculture as the Six encompassed both technically advanced and backward systems of husbandry. There were also divergences between those members whose agriculture was geared to exporting and those who were importers of farm products. The Netherlands and Italy were leading exporters, with France a close third, while West Germany was the major importer.

Pricing and financing policy

Different types of marketing arrangements depending on the nature of the product were formulated. The intention was firstly to remove tariffs and harmonize prices within the Community, thus creating a single free trade market—this has now been largely realized; secondly to enable EEC producers to compete in that market; thirdly, to provide a guaranteed common price to farmers throughout the Community.

Protection against cheap imports

For products from outside the Community, each country's import duties and restrictions have been gradually replaced by a common system of variable levies (though customs duties are retained for a few products). The levy is not a percentage charge, as customs duties usually are, but a variable charge added to the importer's price to bring it up to the Community price. Gluts and deficiencies in world agricultural output cause sharp fluctuations in world prices; countries with a surplus try to sell it to others at low prices, a practice known as "dumping". By using the levy system to bring the price of imported farm produce up to the Common Market level, protection is afforded to EEC farmers. Most products from other temperate-zone countries are subject to the levy system.

Joint financing

Both price support (through the authorities buying certain products when prices fall below a fixed level) and the subsidizing of exports of farm produce to non-member countries are financed by a special common fund. This is the *European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund* (EAGGF); it carries out the financial aspects of the common agricultural policy. It has two sections:—

1. The guarantee section meets the cost of price support on the internal EEC market, and of exports rebates.
2. The guidance section finances expenditure on structural reform in farming, such as the consolidation of holdings, land drainage, and reforestation, as well as the alteration and improvement of production and marketing facilities (e.g. the construction of silos, abattoirs, auction markets and refrigeration plants).

The EAGGF at present derives its resources from two sources: the six governments pay into the Fund 90 per cent of their revenue from the levy on imported farm produce; and the balance needed to cover Fund expenditure is provided by the governments according to a percentage key.¹ This is however a provisional arrangement due to expire at the end of 1970. The Commission in fact proposed in July 1969 that the procedure be extended for a further year, and then be replaced by a new system giving the Community genuinely independent resources (derived from levies, customs duties, and certain other charges which are imposed by the Community as a whole rather than the governments individually). These independent resources, which would be subject to the budgetary control of the European Parliament, would be used to finance all Commission activities, including that of the EAGGF.

The breakdown of contributions to and repayments by the Fund up to the end of 1968 is given in the table below.

Table 1 **EAGGF contributions and payments to 31-12-1968**^a
(\$ millions)

	Contributions			Repayments		
	Guarantee	Guidance	Total	Guarantee	Guidance	Total
Belgium	156	23	179	95	15	110
France	436	82	518	875	44	919
Germany	538	87	625	168	56	224
Italy	413	64	477	306	150	456
Luxembourg	5	1	6	1	3	4
Netherlands	200	27	227	303	16	319
Total	1,748	284	2,032	1,748	284	2,032

^a Excluding special payments made in 1967-1968 totalling \$208 m to German, Italian and Luxembourg grain producers.

Common prices and market arrangements

One of the principle elements in the common farm policy is that price levels should be roughly the same throughout the six countries. Otherwise free trade would be impossible. Common prices are now effective for all major types of farm produce. The fixing of these common prices has been one of the Community's most difficult achievements, since it has involved all member countries having to make sacrifices. The common prices are fixed in the "unit of account"—the unit used by the Community for all its accounting, and equal to the US dollar at its present value—and not in the different national currencies. It should be remembered, however, that these common prices are the prices which the farmer receives, not those the consumer pays. Retail prices may vary considerably according to transport costs, marketing methods, middlemen's and retailers' percentages, and so on.

The common marketing systems naturally differ from product to product. There are however several basic elements found in most sectors which are best illustrated by the arrangements for grains. The system here is based upon a *target price*—an agreed reference price calculated for the area of the EEC which produces the lowest proportion of its grain requirements, and where prices will therefore tend to be highest. The target price is not a guaranteed one, but is estimated to offer a fair return to efficient producers. The market price may fall below the target price, but if it should fall as low as the *intervention price* (set 5 to 7 per cent lower), the national farm support agencies must intervene to purchase supplies of EEC produced grain in order to keep the price up. The EAGGF then reimburses these national agencies.

A third constituent is the *threshold price*, which is the price level to which imported grains are raised by imposing a variable import levy. It is based on the target price less transport costs between the port of entry and destination.

The price which a farmer receives will be somewhere between the target price and the intervention price. Should the price on the open market fall below the intervention price, the farmer can sell to the public authorities at that price. On the other hand, the market price is unlikely to go above the target price, because of the intense competition from imported grains.

Similar procedures are applied to most other types of agricultural output, though common customs tariffs are used, instead of levies, for beef and for horticultural products, and in the latter common quality standards are also central to the marketing mechanism.

Under this marketing policy, agricultural production in the Community has been rising by about 3 per cent p.a. At the same time, 4.5 million persons have left farming since 1958. The output per person employed has increased by nearly 7 per cent p.a.—much more than in industry.

Producer prices which were rising in the years 1962-1965, have since declined in Germany, Italy and Belgium. Elsewhere in the EEC, the price rises appear to have slackened. For many farm products, consumption is now increasing more slowly than is production—hence the gap between the value of the farmer's output and the consumer's expenditure on food is widening.

¹ France 32 per cent, Germany 31.2 per cent, Italy 20.3 per cent, Netherlands 8.2 per cent, Belgium 8.1 per cent, Luxembourg 0.2 per cent.

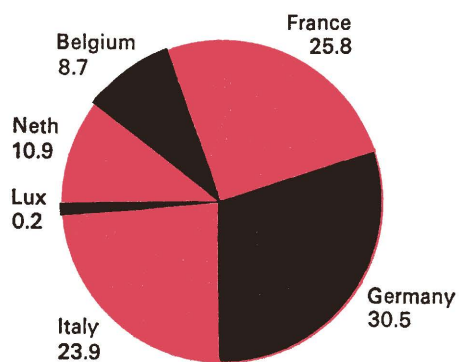
European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF)

Member states' contributions and repayments up to December 31, 1968

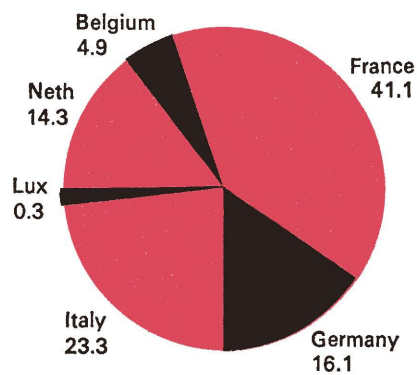
Percentage shares

Including special payments

CONTRIBUTIONS



REPAYMENTS



Balance

\$ millions

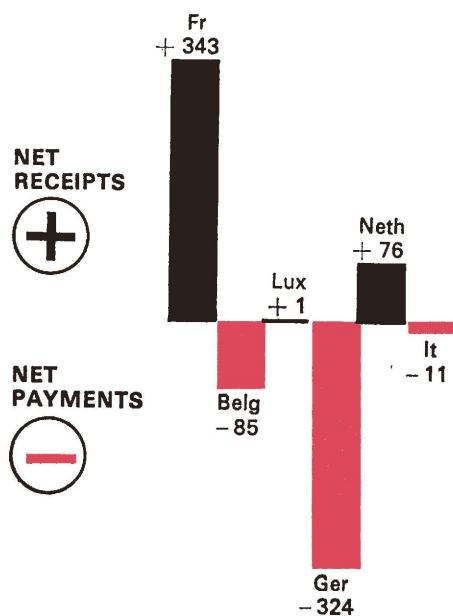


Table 2

Growth in agricultural production in the Community

	Production 1 000 t		Percentage increase
	1952-1956	1962-1966	
Cereals			
excluding rice	44,700	57,500	30
Sugar beet	21,200	39,800	30
Tomatoes	1,800	3,900	115
Apples	3,400	5,300	55
Beef	2,700	3,700	35
Pork	3,200	4,700	45
Poultry	500	1,200	140
Milk	54,200	68,600	25
Butter	800	1,200	50
Cheese	1,000	1,500	50
Eggs	1,300	2,000	55

These trends are significant in view of the substantial degree of self sufficiency which the Community has achieved. It provides more than 90 per cent of its temperate food requirements. For several products—pigmeat, poultry and eggs—self-sufficiency is nearly complete. Large imports of feeding stuffs, beef and veal are purchased, but the EEC has growing surpluses of wheat (European grades), dairy products and sugar, with an overabundance of certain fruits and vegetables developing. The surplus of butter has now reached around 300,000 tons. Despite the export refund scheme the products in surplus cannot readily be sold on the world market.

These surpluses, promoted by price guarantees to EEC producers, have involved Community agencies in mounting expenditure for market support. It is estimated that this will increase to around £960 million for 1969, quite apart from the £1,040 million which will be spent on farm improvement (£920 m by the member governments, £120 m by the EAGGF).

Production quotas are no solution, as they are difficult to apply, and are contrary to the specialisation which is one of the main benefits of a common market (though they are in fact used for sugar). Any cutback in output means a lower income for a producer, which would in turn have to be offset by still higher prices. It has become clear that more is needed for agriculture in the Community than marketing policy alone can bring; the pattern of production must also be adapted to changing conditions. Hence the guarantee section of the EAGGF will have to allow demand to guide and limit production via the price mechanism thus permitting agricultural markets to work in a more "normal" way. It is envisaged that the fund will spend less on price support.

An agricultural policy which affects the selling prices of products but not their costs of production cannot secure adequate standards of living within a reasonable time for many engaged in farming. High prices can do little to solve the fundamental problem of numerous too small and sparsely mechanised holdings. In West Germany, France, Italy and Luxembourg farmers earn on the whole less than those in other occupations; their position is however more favourable in the Netherlands, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. Together EEC farmers contribute 8 per cent (roughly £1 out of every £12) to the Community's gross product. Although the EEC comprises one of the world's most technically advanced and industrialised regions, agriculture has not kept pace with other sectors, and hence the Mansholt Plan, entitled "Agriculture 1980" has been drawn up.

Structural policy

The EEC and its member states have already made investments to improve the structure of agriculture. Yet farming is slow to change. The average size of holdings of more than 1 ha. has increased by only 1 ha. in France over 2½ years, and in West Germany over 10 years. Of more than 4 million dairy farmers, only about 75,000 keep more than 20 cows. Pig and poultry production is also predominantly small scale.

About 80 per cent of the farms in the EEC are too small to provide enough work for one man on a modern rational basis. The Mansholt Plan states that with up-to-date facilities and equipment, one farmer can easily cope with 30 to 40 ha. (75 to 100 acres) or 40 cows. People will therefore have to be induced to leave farming—some 4.7 million will have left between 1960 and 1970, and a further 5 m will need to leave by 1980, of whom half will retire and half will go to jobs in industry.

Since the output potential of so many farm units is so limited and farmers have often no opportunity to earn additional income, the majority have to apply highly intensive production methods in order to make a minimum return, producing as much as their techniques will permit without reference to market conditions. Surveys have shown that well managed farms with sufficient productive capacity (land, stock and capital) do earn incomes comparable with those in other sectors of the economy, but in the Community, too many yield incomes far below a satisfactory level. The Commission urgently wants to remove economic and legislative barriers in the Six which are obstructing the increase in farm size, and to improve the mobility of labour and land use.

Implementing a far reaching policy to modernise farming will require resourcefulness and adaptability from the farming community. Structural reform, as set out in the Mansholt Plan, will work only if cooperation is voluntary. Farmers, both as individuals and in their trade organisations will have to do much to help themselves. The Commission makes the following recommendations:

- Production should be concentrated on efficiently run farms of a size to allow an optimum combination of the factors of production. These units, "modern agricultural enterprises", would give better investment outlets, justify the application of new techniques, and provide a working week and income for farmers similar to those of other employments.

- The new enterprises would consist of not less than 80 ha. (200 acres) of arable land and for grain cropping, or at least 40 head of dairy cattle, or 10,000 laying hens. These production units would be formed by expanding existing holdings, or by amalgamation. Financial assistance, providing initial grants for individual farmers to join such enterprises, or to change from dairying to beef production will have to be provided. Member countries' spending through grants and loans will have to be directed to the same ends.

- The new farm units would employ fewer persons than present holdings. Older people will have to receive financial assistance towards their retirement, and compensation would be given to farmers over 55 who offer their land for the structural reform programme. Younger farmers will also have to leave farming, helped by financial aid and retraining for other employment for themselves and their families.

- To adapt the total agricultural area to the pattern of demand in the EEC, and in export markets, no new land should be farmed, and marginal land will have to be abandoned. The Community's farm land may be reduced from 70 m. to 65 m. ha. (175 to 162.5 m. acres) between 1970-1980. The area going out of farming would meet the

growing need for recreational land use, and secondly, the afforestation of 4 m. ha. (10 m. acres) would compensate for the extreme scarcity of timber forecast for the Community.

• Certain short term measures will also be required. The number of dairy cattle is to be reduced, with a compensatory payment to farmers. Member states have been asked to stop measures to augment dairy stocks in order to reduce milk and butter surpluses. As such a large number of farmers depend on income from milk sales, no immediate change in milk prices was proposed, but a severe cut in butter prices was recommended. If no action were taken, the EEC butter surplus could rise by 300,000 tons p.a. making storage facilities inadequate. Fattening subsidies were suggested to encourage beef and veal production. The situation for grains and sugar is also critical, and sugar output should be curtailed. In horticulture, the production of apples, pears and peaches was rising faster than consumption, being complicated by seasonal surpluses. A ceiling on quantities grown and marketed was proposed, with processing arrangements for products in glut. Oil seed prices would be reduced. The price level for oils and fats involves international markets, since the EEC is the biggest importer of these commodities for preparing margarine. Here the interests of developing countries associated with the Community are at stake, and the Commission proposed to charge a tax on products made from vegetable oils with financial compensation going to Community associates in Africa to ensure adequate export earnings. Such measures are intended to reduce or remove marketing difficulties for the products at present in surplus.

Furthermore the market structure and distribution system need radical overhaul if full benefit is to be derived from the Common Market. Efficient information services on the supply, demand and stock position are essential for producers, whether acting in farmers' societies or cooperatives. Community wide organisations for each commodity or group of products would be advantageous in spreading information. The Mansholt Plan thus shows that "drastic reform is the only means of ending the financial, economic and social chaos which is called 'the agricultural problem'." Effective measures will have to be taken under the 'Agriculture 1980' programme to restore equilibrium to the Community's farming economy.

The cost of implementing these new proposals will be high. But, the Commission maintains, to continue as at present, with ever mounting surpluses of some products, would be even more costly. During 1969 agriculture will probably cost the Community some £2,000 million, as is explained above. The new proposals will mean slightly higher expenditure initially, but the average annual cost over the ten years 1970-1980 would be around £1,040 m., and by 1980 it would have fallen to not more than £830 m., being £310 m. for price support and £520 m. on modernisation. To this must be added the cost of attracting new industry into many farming areas and of retraining labour. But unless a programme of reform is undertaken it is difficult to see how the Community will ever have an efficient agricultural industry.

Differences from the British farm support system

All Western European countries have to protect their farmers from the more efficiently and cheaply produced

temperate-zone food products which come from such countries as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina.

Under the British system of protection, imported produce is allowed into the country free of duty, so that the ruling market price in Britain is basically the same as the world price. Since the British farmer could not possibly compete on this basis, he receives from the government (i.e. from the taxpayer) a subsidy known as a deficiency payment. The deficiency payment, added to the price he receives for his produce on the open market, covers the production costs of the farmer and is intended to assure him what is considered a reasonable income. The amount of the deficiency payment on each product is fixed each year by the government in the Annual Price Review.

None of the EEC countries has ever operated this system, and the levy system which has now been agreed upon for the whole area is very different. Indeed, the British system would have been prohibitively expensive for the EEC since it would have involved their subsidising about 16 per cent of their working population, whereas the British have to subsidise less than 3 per cent.

Under the EEC's variable levy system, instead of keeping domestic prices artificially low at the world market level by subsidising the home farmer, the price of imported farm produce is artificially raised to the domestic level by imposing the levy.

Conclusion

With common prices and market organisations in force for all main and most minor products, one can say that a common market for farm produce is very nearly complete. However, market situations are still far from uniform in the six countries; taxation and customs legislation, plus veterinary, food and plant protection laws are not fully integrated, frontiers can still be closed between member countries of the EEC for health reasons based on national regulations. But work on the task of harmonising all these is progressing, and many of them are in any case relatively minor and uncontroversial matters, especially compared with pricing and financing policies. It must be admitted that the level of prices agreed for certain products—notably grains, dairy produce and sugar—is too high and has consequently led to over-production. This is because the farming community is large, and some governments have in the past felt either unable to risk angering a powerful lobby or disinclined to reduce the incomes of a less favoured section of the population by agreeing to lower prices. But, in line with the proposals of the Mansholt plan, emphasis on price support will almost certainly lessen in future. Furthermore, the devaluation of the French franc in August, and the revaluation of the German mark in October 1969, led to the Community's agreeing temporarily to isolate, in different ways, both France and Germany from the common agricultural market.

Nevertheless, despite these setbacks, agriculture is the field in which the Six have moved closest together and where integration has proceeded farthest. Decisions on prices and marketing and financing policies are no longer taken unilaterally by the individual governments, but jointly in the Community institutions.

Trade Unions in Britain and the Common Market

Most trade unions in the Common Market have for many years been ardent advocates of European integration—political as well as economic integration—and of British membership of the European Community. In the British trade union movement most people have, until relatively recently, been much more cautious in their attitudes—reflecting of course the attitudes of public opinion generally. These differences reflect differing historical backgrounds, though it is probable that they are today fewer than ever before.

The origins

The conception of the trade union as a collective bargaining agent negotiating wages and conditions on behalf of an aggregation of individuals, thus adjusting the imbalance of power which would otherwise exist between any single one of them and their collective employer seems self evident in Britain. The divisions along religious and ideological lines which exist among the unions of most continental countries come as a surprise to the British reader. Yet they are as much the outcome of a different cultural and historical experience as the divisions in the British trade union movement, based on craft status, which many continentals find it difficult to understand.

British trade unions, the first, and for many decades the most powerful in the world, grew up as a mutual defence against the cruelties and hardships of the industrial revolution. Through most of the 19th century the leaders of Britain's early unions shared the 'laissez faire' outlook of the ruling business élite. The relative freedom of operation accorded the unions, largely composed of a skilled "aristocracy of labour", encouraged a tacit acceptance of the status quo. The turn of the unions towards socialism did not begin until the 1890's. Its final outcome was an allegiance not to marxism but to the ideology of "Labourism" in which the unions themselves, through the operation of the Labour Party Constitution, had a dominant voice.

On the Continent by contrast, the industrial revolution arrived decades later and was carried out to a far greater extent under conditions of "étatisme". Political democracy was a great deal less developed, the unions suffered far

more from employer hostility, legal constraints and direct state coercion. Socialist organisation tended to precede the growth of trade union consciousness, in a fashion which was the inverse of the British model. The trade unions which emerged were heavily imbued with anti-capitalist ideology and as a rule closely linked with socialist parties.

The rise of socialism, which they considered a serious threat to the spiritual allegiance of those elements of the working class confided to their pastoral care, caused great alarm amongst the Catholic hierarchy. The foundation of Christian unions which sought to insulate Catholic workers from the rising influence of socialism amongst the masses was a direct result. Thus the fragmentation of European unions into confessional and non-confessional organisations dates from the end of the 19th century or even earlier. The Communists similarly split the labour movement and set up their own trade union organisations after the Russian Revolution. It is only since the Second World War however that the major union federations in France and Italy have fallen under Communist control.

The unions of the Six are divided into three groups. The first and by far the largest comprises unions affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which enrol some 11,000,000 workers in Community territory. The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, now renamed the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), organises some 2,300,000 members, in France, Belgium and the Netherlands. The Russian dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) claims allegiance in only two countries, France and Italy. Its affiliates, the CGT and CGIL claim to organise over 4,000,000 members.

Table 1
Trade-union membership and affiliation

<i>ICFTU: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions</i>	
<i>FGTB: Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique (Belgium)</i>	760,000
<i>CGT-FO: Confédération Générale du Travail - Force Ouvrière (France)</i>	500,000
<i>DGB: Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (Germany)</i>	6,400,000
<i>CISL: Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (Italy, Catholic)</i>	2,000,000
<i>UIL: Unione Italiana del Lavoro (Italy, socialist)</i>	500,000
<i>CGT: Confédération Générale du Travail (Luxembourg)</i>	29,000
<i>NVV: Nederlands Verbond von Vakverenigingen (Netherlands)</i>	560,000
<i>TUC: Trade Union Congress (UK)</i>	8,875,000
<i>WCL: World Confederation of Labour (former International Federation of Christian Trade Unions)</i>	
<i>CSC: Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens (Belgium)</i>	760,000
<i>CFDT: Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail</i>	700,000
<i>CGD: Gewerkschaftsbund Deutschlands Christlicher (Germany)</i>	200,000
<i>LCGB: Confédération Luxembourgeoise des Syndicats Chrétiens (Luxembourg)</i>	11,000
<i>NKV: Nederlands Katholiek Vakverbond (Netherlands, Catholic)</i>	430,000
<i>CNV: Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond (Netherlands, Protestant)</i>	240,000
<i>WFTU: World Federation of Trade Unions (Communist)</i>	
<i>CGT: Confédération Générale du Travail (France)</i>	2,000,000
<i>CGIL: Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (Italy)</i>	2,500,000

Note: Please note that it is difficult to find accurate statistics of membership in all countries. These figures should then be treated as only a rough indication of comparative union strengths. The figures are all to the nearest 1,000, and relate to 1966, 1967 or 1968. A number of other smaller unions also exist in most countries, catering mainly for white-collar workers, civil-servants, teachers, etc.

Organization and role

Britain

The bulk of Britain's over 10,000,000 organised workers are affiliated through their national unions to a single national centre, the Trade Union Congress (TUC), which in its turn is affiliated internationally to the ICFTU. Although a few white collar organisations stand outside the TUC, these do not in any sense claim to be a rival national centre. Of great moral significance and usually accepted by all affiliated bodies, the TUC's decisions have no disciplinary force behind them. The TUC's power is that delegated to it by affiliates and not power wielded on its own account.

The unions affiliated to the TUC fall into three main categories, craft, industrial and general. The craft unions, such as the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, originally organised skilled workers in one trade alone, although in recent years they have been going over to a somewhat broader base. Industrial unions, such as the National Union of Railwaymen and the National Union of Mine-workers have sought to organise all the workers within a given industry irrespective of craft or grade. General unions, the product of a drive to organise the unskilled, now stretch across all craft and industrial boundaries. The largest, the Transport and General Workers' Union, enrolls

over 1,500,000 members. Although there are 160 unions affiliated to the TUC, the largest eight aggregate some five million of the TUC's total membership of 8,725,000.

A dense and complicated industrial relations system enables trade union negotiations to set the general level of wages even in sectors of the economy where the density of organisation is low. National agreements are general, but shop floor negotiations hold an important place. Some 140,000 rank and file shop stewards are engaged in plant negotiations, on a day to day basis, whilst continuing to work at their trade.

Although the TUC remains a fully autonomous organisation most British unions are independently affiliated to the Labour Party. The unions by their collective affiliations, comprise over five million of the Labour Party's six million members, and thus exercise a decisive say in the formulation of Labour Party policy. This fact goes far to explain the continuing absence of serious splits in the British Labour Movement.

Germany

The German unions, reconstructed very rapidly after the military defeat of Nazism, are the strongest, most unified and most powerful in Continental Europe. Enrolling some 6.5 million members in sixteen industrial unions, the DGB (Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund-DGB) possesses as many members as the unions in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg combined. Originally a dependency of the German Socialist Party (SPD) the DGB is now fully independent and stands somewhat to the left of the SPD on a number of issues.

Although as in Britain the individual unions retain their autonomy the DGB is in reality a great deal more powerful than the TUC. The fact that the leaders of each industrial union sit on the directing board of the DGB makes it a great deal easier to establish and execute a unitary strategy. The German unions pay higher dues than their British counterparts, based on a percentage of earnings. An important proportion goes to the DGB which as a result is wealthier and better staffed than the TUC.

The wage policy of the German unions has been consistently moderate. There are two distinct types of industrial agreement, the "Manteltarif", a kind of basic structural agreement, renewed at three to four year intervals, and the narrower "wage agreements", negotiated annually, usually at both industry and regional level, and which are accommodated within the Manteltarif framework.

Christian Democrats and Socialists despite political differences collaborate amicably within the DGB. Their support for a unified federation owes much to two factors; a consciousness that working class disunity materially eased Hitler's rise to power, and the presence of the Ulbricht regime across the eastern border. The German Communist party, once the most powerful in the world outside Russia has now little importance in either union or national affairs.

As a result of union pressure the workers and their unions have a 50 per cent representation on the Supervisory Board of all large coal, iron and steel companies. In effect they also appoint one of the three working directors. The DGB is at present calling for the extension of this Mitbestimmung (Co-Determination) law to key firms in the rest of German industry and insisting that similar provisions be written into any future European Company Law. Since in this last demand the German unions have the support of all the other ICFTU affiliates it is clear that any final draft will have to take most serious note of their demands.

Italy

Unions in Italy are relatively weak. Formerly united in a single centre, the CGIL, comprising socialists, communists and catholics, founded in 1943, the contending factions burst apart under the partisan stresses of the Cold War in 1947-1948. At the present time the Italian unions are

divided into three centres. The CGIL, the largest, is controlled by communists and left wing socialists. The CISL, led by Christian Democrats, affiliated not to the Christian International but to the ICFTU, comes close behind. The smallest, but powerful in certain limited fields, UIL, is controlled by Social Democrats who refuse to merge with either CISL or CGIL. At present the Cold War wounds are healing. The degree of inter union co-operation is greater than at any time since 1948.

All three confederations are organised on industrial lines. The failure of members to pay consistently even a low level of union dues means that unions lack funds and are notoriously understaffed especially at regional and local level. Financial weakness and political ties have meant that until recently all unions have been dependent on outside subventions.

In the 1960's the rise of the "check off" system, especially in engineering, has increased union financial viability and political autonomy in equal degree.

Post-war Italian collective bargaining took over a system of nationwide, across the board, confederal contracts, which originated in the era of Mussolini's corporate state. The late fifties and early sixties have seen a marked shift towards more realistic, industry, trade and category negotiations. The state employer confederation, Intersind, has acted to some extent as a wage and condition leader in this regard.

Italian unions, generally have no shop floor bargaining rights. Commissione Interne, elected by all plant workers, union and non-union alike, were established by law in the post war years. In the absence of strong union organisation these were widely utilised by employers as substitute bargaining agents and a means of manipulating work force loyalties. The Italian unions have now succeeded in excluding the commissione interne from contract negotiations and hope in the forthcoming years to be able to take big steps towards "in plant" recognition.

Netherlands

The Netherlands, like Italy, possesses three trade union federations. Yet these, despite differences, have managed an astonishing degree of close collaboration in the last decades.

Dutch society has deep religious fissures, the origins of which go back to the struggle of the Protestant United Provinces against Spanish Catholic rule in the 16th century. Protestant and Catholics each have regions of concentration, and each have created a nationwide network of community organisations, as indeed have the socialists as well. The Netherlands has for that reason been described as a three column society and it is not surprising to find that these three columns, Socialist, Catholic and Protestant manifest themselves in the union field as well.

The socialist NVV is the oldest of the Dutch trade unions centres and remains the most powerful. However, shifts in industrial structure which have favoured the confessional unions, and the more liberal attitude of the hierarchy, have combined to narrow socialist predominance in the post war years. As seems to be customary in most countries, the socialist NVV has more members amongst the wage earning working class, the Christian NKV and CNV amongst white-collar employees.

Professionalisation of trade union leadership has gone farther in the Netherlands than elsewhere in the Six. Union dues are high and paid regularly, offices are well staffed, industrial bargaining centralised to an exceptional degree.

The Netherlands suffered particularly heavy damage in the closing months of the Second World War. In the aftermath there emerged a high degree of union-management-government collaboration designed to aid recovery.

United in a Council of National Trade Union Centres, the NVV, NKV and CNV joined with the employers in a National Foundation of Labour established in 1945. Under a policy of tight governmental controls, of which the Foundation of Labour was an integral part, wage scales

were fixed down to plant level, salary demands held in check for a number of years. Some re-allocation of income between sectors of the work force, although not between capital and labour was achieved. In the late 1950's this tight hold broke. Since that time market forces have exercised somewhat more freedom than formerly.

Concentration on national bargaining has meant that workplace unionism is weak in the Netherlands. Legislation passed in 1950 making the formation of elected works council with limited powers compulsory, has so far exercised little influence on industrial relations. All three union centres are committed to further advances somewhat in the manner of Germany's Mitbestimmung. These proposals are not yet due to appear on the bargaining table.

France

The French unions, like those of the Netherlands are divided, but on somewhat different lines. The Cold War splits of 1947-1948 left the Communist in control of the CGT, France's most powerful union federation. The socialists control a much smaller organisation, Force Ouvrière (FO), with its main base in government and white-collar employment. A more serious rival to the CGT is the CFDT, a former Catholic organisation which de-confessionalised in 1964 and is now the most militant of the three main union centres in France.

Although industrially organised, the French unions remain weak. There exists a tradition of episodic, spontaneous militancy, interspersed by a chronic unwillingness to pay union dues which has left both the CGT and the FO dependent upon subventions from outside sources. The CFDT has fought consistently for autonomous, self financing unionism, and in this has achieved an important measure of success.

The French unions, more than outmatched by a powerfully organised employers federation, have sought to achieve by legal enactment gains that they have failed to win by collective bargaining. The general structure of industrial negotiations is far less complete than in Britain, far more dependent on external political pressure to bring results.

The French unions first won recognition on a significant scale as a consequence of a spontaneous semi-insurrectional worker occupation of the factories which took place in 1936. The events of May 1968 repeat this pattern although the docility of the Communist unions, the absence of a Popular Front Government, has meant that the gains achieved have been fewer and more ephemeral than in 1936.

As in Germany there exist two forms of contract one of which must include a series of obligatory provisions, the other which may be a more limited simple wage agreement.

The strongly organised Paris region tends to set the pace of industrial bargaining. Since the legal provisions for union recognition stipulate that contracts may be signed by the "most representative organisations" and not a sole bargaining agent, the continued union fragmentation has some roots in the legal code.

Although there exist legal provisions for elected "comités d'entreprise" and "délégués du personnel" in the plant, these due to the general lack of effective shop floor organisation have failed to have any great impact on working life.

The original post war pattern of national agreements has shifted slightly towards local and plant bargaining following a precedent voluntarily set by Renault in 1955. Motor plants like Peugeot, and the nationalised aircraft factories, have been amongst those involved in such deals. There exists in France no counterpart to Britain's rank and file shop steward organisation.

Belgium

The Belgian unions, by comparison with both French and Italian are strong and powerful and this despite the division into confessional and non-confessional organisa-

tions. Due to shifts in the economy from coal and steel into newer growth industries, the Catholics CSC probably now for the first time exceeds in size its socialist rival the FGTB.

Belgium was the first of the Six to industrialise and is the closest to the British in organisation and outlook. Yet surprisingly the socialist unions have been distinguished by a unique willingness to use the general strike for such diverse political purposes as the granting of universal suffrage and the abdication of King Leopold on account of his war time record.

Organised largely on industrial lines, their members accustomed to pay dues regularly, the Belgian unions are strongly centralised. The leaders of the Catholic CSC have perhaps the greatest power since they control a central strike fund which may be used only at their discretion.

The general level of organisation is high. Official Social Security figures register 70 per cent of engineering workers organised, and over 85 per cent in textiles. The socialist FGTB predominates in heavy industry and large scale enterprise, the Catholic CSC in smaller plants and to some degree in white collar employment.

Linguistic divisions between Dutch speaking Flemings and French speaking Walloons which overlap areas of differing industrial concentration have in recent years placed considerable strains on union organisation as indeed upon society as a whole. One result has been a tendency towards a greater de-centralisation intended more easily to accommodate localist and linguistic divisions.

Luxemburg

Present day trade unionism in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg owes its origins to the growth of a large scale coal, iron and steel industry in the closing decades of the 19th century. The single trade union centre formed during the First World War was subsequently split by Catholic and Communist secessions.

The Communists rejoined the majority socialist organisation in 1965/1966 so that at the present time there are only two main union centres, the socialist CGT and the Catholic LCGB.

Whilst both CGT and LCGB have links with rival political parties, this does not prevent a large measure of practical cooperation on immediate issues of the day. The CGT is committed to a degree of co-determination somewhat on the German model and with this the LCGB is substantially in agreement. The Luxemburg unions exist in a hostile legal environment in which up to the present time the right to strike remains severely circumscribed. It may be that through co-determination the unions are seeking standard ends by alternative means.

Table 2

Strikes 1958-1967
Days lost through industrial disputes per 1,000 workers
(salaried employees and wageearners)^a

	1965	1966	1967	Average 1958-1967
Belgium	25	188	58	117
France	68	173	286	151
Germany	2	1	19	13
Italy	577	1,207	699	891
Netherlands	13	3	2	21
UK	126	103	122	144
USA	382	390	642	486

^a The figures give only a rough comparison as definitions used for collecting statistics vary from country to country.

Source: ILO.

The Unions and European integration

The leaders of the non-communist continental unions, many of whom served in the Resistance during the Second World War, came to accept that the small independent nation-states of Europe—small compared with Russia and the USA, that is—were unable to guarantee either the security or the prosperity of their citizens. Consequently the unions in the Six have supported European integration as much for political reasons as for the economic advantages which they felt it would bring for their members.

The unions affiliated to the ICFTU and the WCL take almost identical viewpoints. They favour much closer integration, including the further democratisation of the European Community by direct elections to a European Parliament with far wider powers than at present, and a Community as opposed to a national approach to such problems as employment policy, agriculture and industrial and regional development policy. They have in fact frequently criticised the Community precisely for not progressing rapidly enough in this direction. They also strongly support the enlargement of the Community to include Britain and other democratic countries of Europe.

The unions have a formal voice in Community affairs through the ECSC Consultative Committee and the Economic and Social Committee of the EEC and Euratom (see the Institutions of the European Countries, European Studies No. 1, 1968). These are consultative bodies on which the unions, employers and other interest groups are represented, though the unions claim they do not have sufficient power.

Both the free and Christian trade unions have set up organisations in Brussels—the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions in the Community (ECFTUC), and the European Organisation of the WCL—whose task is to co-ordinate the actions and policies of their affiliates and represent them at the Community level.

The two affiliates in the Six to the Moscow dominated WFTU, the Italian CGIL and the French CGT, initially followed the official communist line of opposing the whole idea of integration in western Europe. But as early as 1957 the CGIL was beginning to change its attitude, accepting that its members' interests would be better served if it had a voice in Community affairs. The CGT however took much longer to move to this position, and it was only in 1967 that the two unions set up a joint liaison office in Brussels and asked for representation on the appropriate Community institutions. This has still not been formally granted.

The British TUC still remains cautious in its attitude. It supported the British applications for membership in both 1960 and 1967, but demanded a number of important safeguards. Since 1967 the TUC has sent representatives, as observers, to all meetings of the ECFTUC and in 1968 took the initiative in setting up the Trade Union Committee for the European Free Trade Association (EFTA-TUC), bringing together the free trade unions of Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Austria. This body has the double task of liaison between its member unions, and with the Community's unions. In the event of Britain and the other countries joining the EEC, ECFTUC and EFTA-TUC would presumably amalgamate. Such a merger would create a united free trade union movement of considerable strength and influence favouring a more positive social policy in a more democratic Community.

Further reading

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COLIN BEEVER, R., *Trade Unions and free labour movement in the EEC*, Chatham House/PEP, London, 1969, 50 pp.
Trade Union News from the European Community, European Communities, 23 Chesham Street, London S.W.1. Quarterly.

The structure of secondary education in the Six

For most children in Europe before the Second World War, schooling meant seven or eight years in a primary school learning to use the elementary tools of reading, writing and simple calculation; a secondary education was restricted to an élite drawn from a limited social class.

Since the War there has been to a greater or lesser degree a democratisation of secondary education in each of the Six as in Britain and this has been reflected in the changed structure of the educational systems as well as in the reforms in the curricula.

Italy

It would seem that in Italy democratisation has gone farthest. Before the War it was generally accepted that there should be the two systems of education: one for the mass of the people who would not need any high standard of culture to be useful citizens and the other, in the best traditions of a classical education, for those who could afford it. However, even in 1940 there was an interesting development, for the Minister of Education, N. G. Bottai, created the *scuola media* or middle school which meant that all pupils who wished to continue their education beyond the secondary stage, would from the age of eleven for three years take a common course, thus delaying until the age of fourteen the necessity of making a choice of a future career. This *scuola media* would lead to all types of higher education, including technical institutes, but it would however be open only to those pupils who previously would have attended the *ginnasio liceo* (equivalent of Grammar School), and the trade schools (*scuola secondaria di avviamento professionale*) continued to exist. (See Fig. 1.)

In 1940 there were still children who left school at the age of eleven after the primary stage. Those pupils who attended the trade schools went on to higher technical schools or to institutes for technicians, or in the case of girls to schools where they trained to become primary school

teachers (*scuola di magistero professionale*) or to other schools which prepared them for women's careers (*scuola di professionale femminile*). The children from the *scuola media* went on to the *ginnasio liceo* at fourteen and, if they were successful there, on to the University.

Various suggestions for reform after the War culminated in the achievement of the Education Minister Gui in 1964, of a system which it is claimed provides equality of opportunity for all, in accordance with the Constitution of 1947, by giving every pupil between the ages of six and fourteen the common basic education of the *scuola media*. (See Fig. 2.) Access to this middle school depends on passing the examination which gives the *licenza elementare*, and at the age of fourteen (the end of compulsory schooling), success in the examination for the *licenza di scuola media* gives access to the *liceo*, the *istituti tecnici*, the *istituto professionale*, the *istituto magistrale* or the *scuola magistrale* (the latter for the training of nursery school teachers).

The middle school is the key to the Italian system, and while it is true that there are still many children who do not attend one, chiefly in those areas where the low standard of living and the lack of parental conscience cause the law on obligatory schooling to be evaded, the setting up of these schools has improved school attendance, and will in future help in the development of the potential of each Italian as an individual seeking self fulfilment and as a contributor to the national economy.

France

The aims of the democratisation of the structure of French education at the secondary stage were clearly stated: to provide technicians and managers necessary for the state; to develop the aptitudes of every person to the fullest extent; to ensure that all social classes can aspire to a full life and contribute to the national well being, and to raise as high as possible the cultural level of the nation. In the past the policy had been the education of an élite but today there is a need to capitalise on the talents and intelligence of all.

Before 1959 for most French children, who were destined to be manual workers, schooling finished at fourteen, the last three years being an extension of the primary school curriculum without any high cultural content and with very little opportunity to go on to any higher education (see Fig. 3). Access to secondary forms of education depended on reaching certain standards in the primary school, passing entrance examinations for the *lycées* or *collèges*, having parents able and willing in certain cases to pay fees and accept the idea of longer schooling, and in many parts of France, on the availability of a place in a *lycée* near enough for the pupil to travel each day. The *cours complémentaires* were intended for those pupils who wanted to extend their education but did not reach the high standards of attainment at 11 years needed for entrance to the colleges or the even higher standards for the *lycées*. Pupils from the *cours complémentaires* could find their way to a technical college or to a training college for primary school teachers, and even in certain cases, but rarely, to University. Children from the extended primary course could at best enter apprenticeship centres or other strictly vocational courses.

The Reforms of the 6th January 1959 raised the school-leaving age to 16 years for all those in school aged six on the 1st January 1959, thus giving ten years compulsory schooling from the academic year 1967/1968. Also the secondary system was re-organised to distinguish between those who would go to the University, those who would become technicians including primary school teachers, and those who have no aptitude for academic study. For everybody from the age of eleven to thirteen there would be a period of orientation and assessment (*cycle d'observation*) (see Fig. 4). After this a few children would have an extended primary school type education, either because they were not suitable for the *cycle d'observation* in the first place, or because they had failed during that course. In these *classes terminales* they would have the opportunity for some practical training and might go on to an agricultural, domestic or trade course at the age of sixteen. Others would go to a *collège d'enseignement général* where they could train for non-technical employment at sixteen or, after a further year, go on to an *école normale* or training college for primary school teachers. Another alternative would be the *collège d'enseignement technique* with a three year course leading to the *certificat d'aptitude professionnelle* (CAP), or a four year course leading to the *diplôme de technicien* which might alternatively be taken at a *lycée technique* and which is the equivalent of the first part of the baccalauréat at the *lycée technique*. At the latter there are also courses for *techniciens supérieurs*, a title which has the equivalence of the second part of the baccalauréat. In the *lycées* would be given the academic courses leading to university studies. The decision as to which course should be followed after the *cycle d'observation* was to be taken by the parent on advice given by a *Conseil d'orientation*

composed of teachers: if the parent would not take the advice and wanted a more academic type of education than the child's aptitude seemed to demand, the child would have to take a written examination.

The faults of the system of 1959 soon became apparent. Firstly, by using institutions which already existed and giving each their own *cycle d'observation* there was really very little change: wherever children went for that stage, there they stayed after the age of thirteen. Secondly, it appeared that the orientation given at thirteen was too early and would be better given at the age of fifteen or sixteen. To begin with the hopes of the legislators were thwarted as nearly half of the pupils did not go to secondary education at all and largely because their parents did not want it for them.

The then Education Minister, Charles Fouchet, carried out two further reforms. The first on the 3rd August 1963 set up a sole secondary school called *collège d'enseignement secondaire* which caters for all pupils aged eleven to fourteen and contains classic, modern, transitional and terminal cycle streams. Children enter one or other of these streams according to their performance in an entrance examination taken after the five years of primary education, but the colleges are run on comprehensive lines which permit children to pass from one stream to another: an attempt is made at continuous orientation.

By the reform of February 1966 pupils at the age of fifteen enter on the second cycle of secondary education, choosing between two orientations: occupational training and academic training.

Occupational training is designed for pupils who will go into industry, commerce or the public services, after one or two years training, some with a Diploma of Professional Studies (*Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles - BEP*), others with the Certificate of Professional Aptitude — CAP, and others who, for lack of ability cannot achieve CAP, with the Certificate of Professional Training (*Certificat de Formation Professionnelle - CFP*). (See Fig. 4.)

Academic training: This culminates at the age of eighteen with the baccalauréat (the university entrance qualification) or, for failed baccalauréat candidates with at least 8/20 in written papers, with the Certificate of Completion of Secondary Studies.

All first cycle secondary education is to be given in former colleges and all academic second cycle education in former *lycées*: this has meant a certain interchange of staff.

Minister Fouchet himself in 1963 posed the criticism of the first cycle when he said that it could be argued that the *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* really house three types of education and that although all children aged eleven to fifteen would come in contact with each other in these *établissements polyvalents*, segregation according to ability would continue and that movement from one stream to another would be well nigh impossible. The solution, he suggested, rests with the teachers, who, with their expertise and their sense of civic responsibility must make the scheme work, for there would have been overwhelming opposition to any other solution.

Germany

Each of the Länder can decide on its own system of education but from 1949 there has been a standing conference of their Ministers of Education, not to impose a

The Italian school system

In 1945

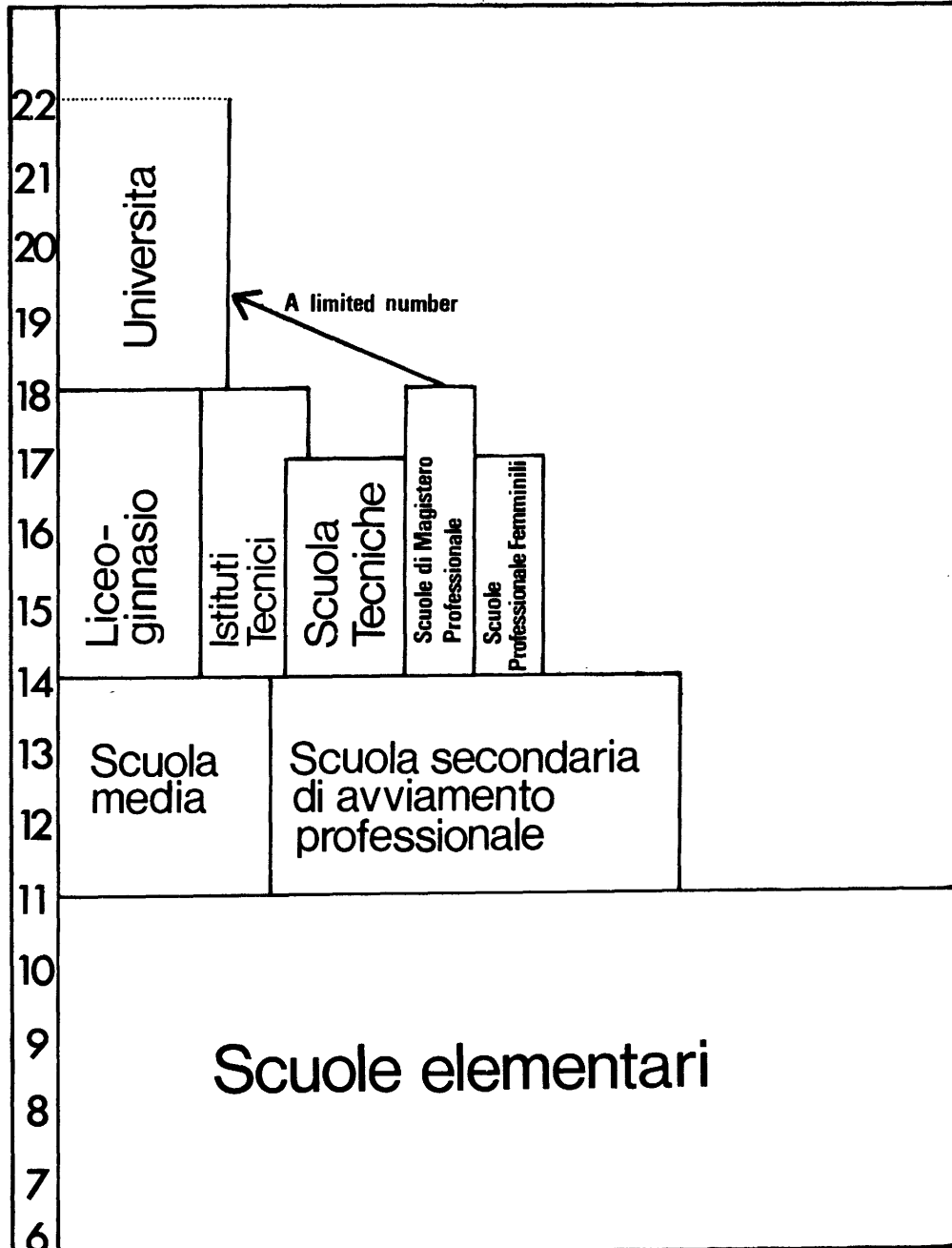


Figure 1

Post 1964

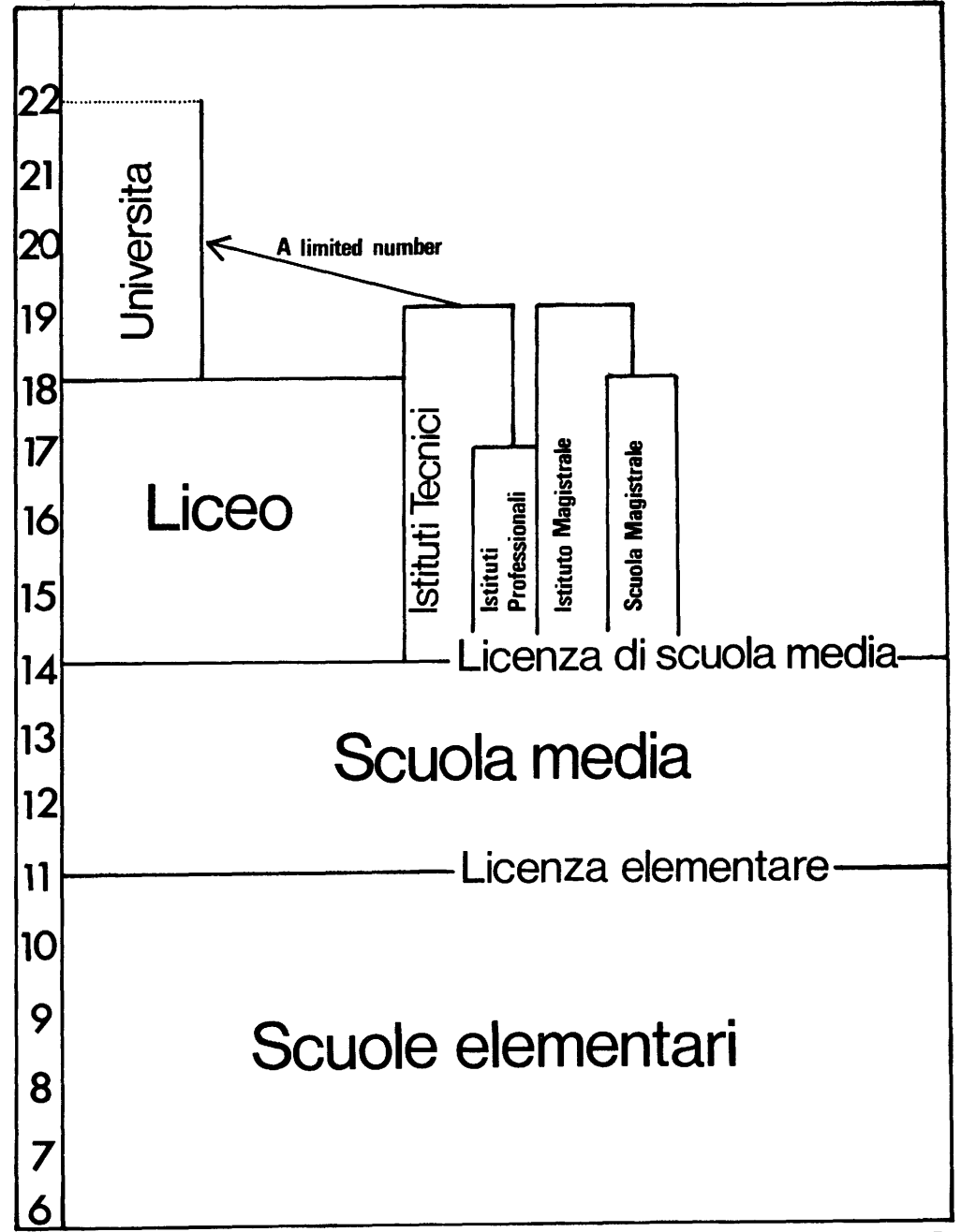
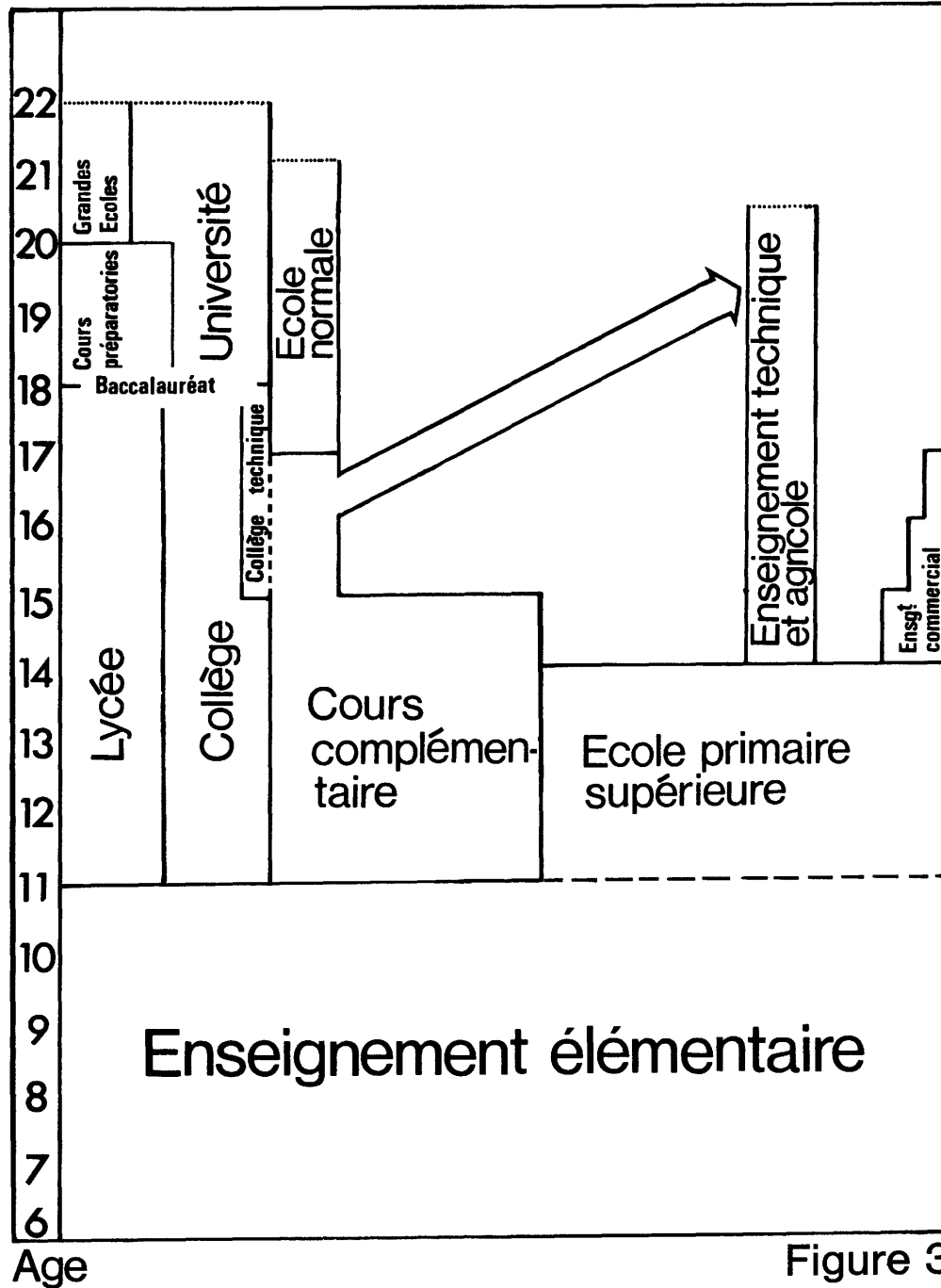


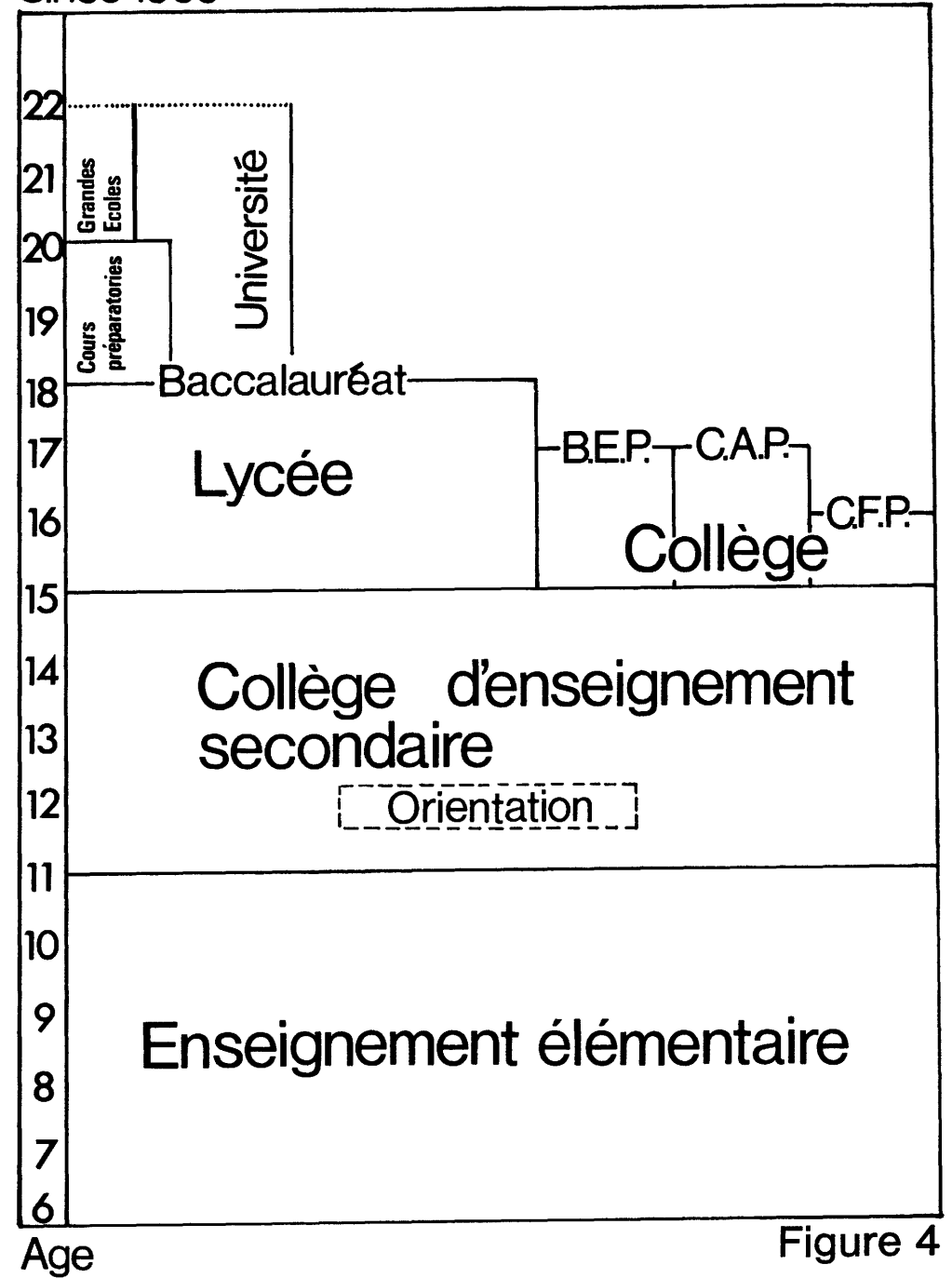
Figure 2

The French school system

Before the 1959 Reforms



Since 1966



The German school system

Pre-Rahmenplan

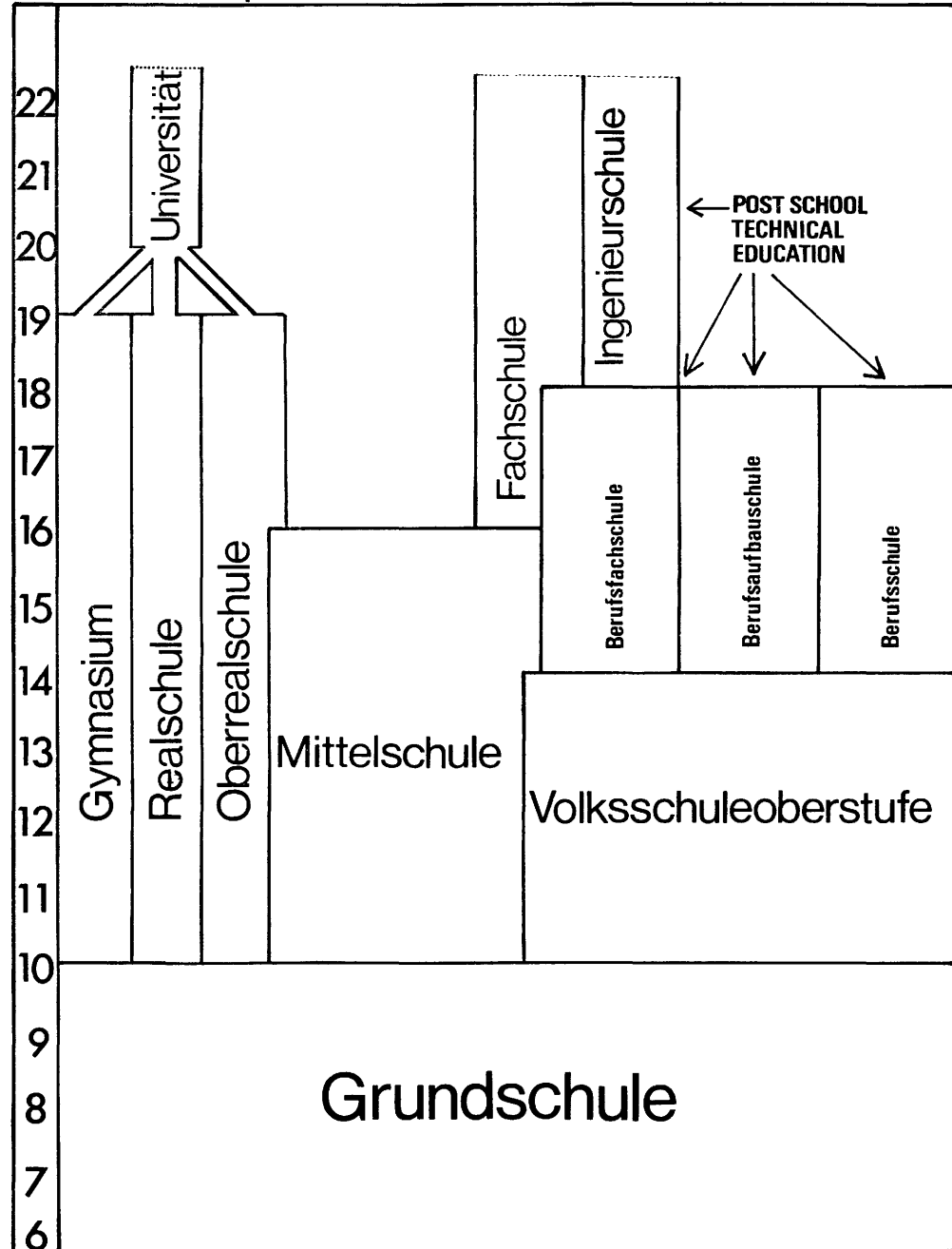


Figure 5

Rahmenplan 1959

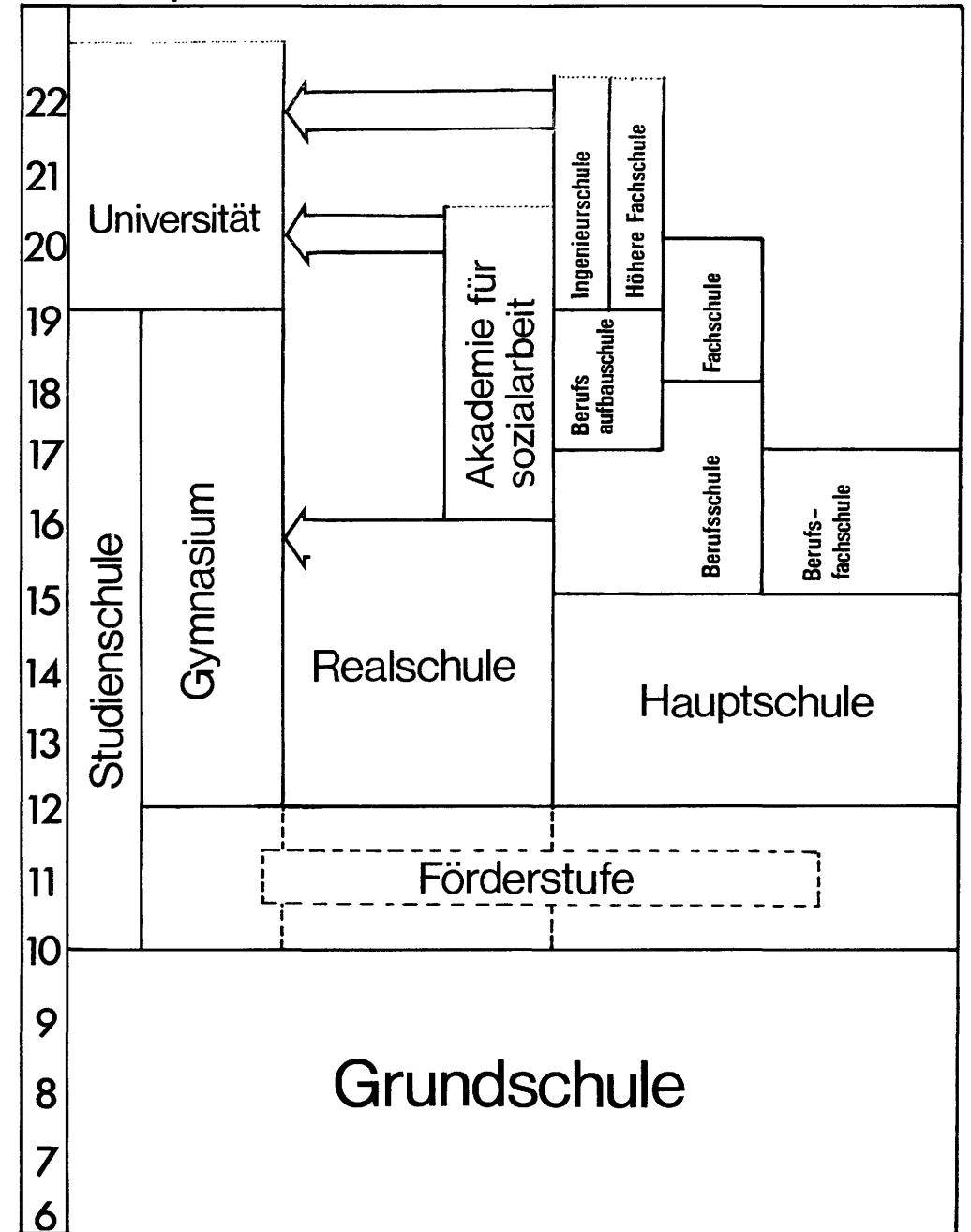


Figure 6

federal solution, but to permit an exchange of views and agreements on principles to be followed if the individual state governments accept them. In 1953 the Conference of Ministers set up a committee of experts to make proposals for reform of the structure of education. The result of this work was the *Rahmenplan*, put forward in 1959 (see Fig. 6).

The main lines of this scheme are as follows:

Primary education is provided by the *Grundschule*, with a four-year course on a non-selective basis. Children then attend either the *Hauptschule*, the *Realschule* or the *Höhere Schulen* (*Gymnasium* or *Studienschule*). The *Studienschule* represents a form of classical "A" streams and entry to it is by competitive examination at the end of the *Grundschule*. Selection of pupils for the three other schools is made as a result of studies during a two-year trial and observation period (*Förderstufe*).

The *Hauptschule* provides a five-year course which can lead to vocational training.

The *Realschule* caters for children who are more suited to practical than theoretical studies. It provides them with a general education which will enable them to take up intermediate posts in industry and commerce. These schools, also known as *Mittelschulen*, offer a 3 to 6 year course, this period varying from one *Land* to another. Children attending the *Realschule* obtain a *mittlere Reife* certificate to show that they have completed their intermediate school studies. If successful in an entrance examination they can transfer to the *gymnasium*, the education in this type of school differs from that given by the *Hauptschule*. The grounding it provides is more thorough, particularly where mathematics are concerned; one foreign language is compulsory and a second optional. The programme is supplemented by optional courses and joint study cycles.

The *Gymnasium* can be either classical, modern or scientific. The course lasts seven years, normally beginning at the age of 12 years. The *studienschule* provides a nine year classical course, beginning at age 10, for children who pass an entrance examination. The last two years at the *Höhere Schulen* lead to the *Abitur* examination, which gives an automatic right to university entrance. A lower level leaving examination is taken by those pupils not wishing to follow the final two-year course.

In some *Land* it is the intention that bridging classes should make it possible to move from the *Hauptschule* to the *Realschule*, and from the *Realschule* to the *Gymnasium*, but only if pupils pass an entrance examination.

The *Rahmenplan* has been accepted and implemented to different degrees in different *Länder*. Nevertheless, the *Länder* did agree in 1964 on certain common basic points, notably compulsory schooling for at least nine years (ages 6-15), though ten years has been introduced in some *Länder*. There has however been criticism of the *Rahmenplan* as an unworkable compromise between tradition and innovation. Various more radical changes have been proposed, the most significant being the *Bremen plan* of 1964. This plan, based on a completely non-selective system, involves compulsory schooling to the age of 18, though the two last years may be part-time: four years in the *Grundschule*, two in the *Förderstufe*, four in the *Oberschule* (secondary school), followed by at least two years in the part-time professional school or three years in the *Studienstufe* (leading to university).

The Free Cities of West Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen, and *Land* Schleswig-Holstein have partially reorganised their school systems, adopting some of the Bremen plan proposals. General education has been re-arranged into two

grades—primary and secondary. Primary education is provided by the *Grundschulen*; it lasts six years and is compulsory for all children. Secondary education is provided by the *Oberschulen*, which are in three distinct streams: a practical one (*praktischer Zweig*), lasting three years, to complete compulsory schooling; a technical one (*technischer Zweig*), which is a four-year course; and a cultural one (*wissenschaftlicher Zweig*) lasting seven years and arranged in various sections (Humanities, Modern-Latin, Modern-English, Mathematics-Science, Commercial).

One feature common to both the pre-reform system and the *Rahmenplan* is that the generous provision of technical education for young people after leaving school, which is compulsory until the age of eighteen and may be part-time or full time, does mean that everybody has an education extended into the tertiary stage and, for some, access even to a university course from the *Ingenieurschulen*.

Belgium

After the revolution against William of Orange, by the constitution of 1831, liberty of education was assured and there grew up two parallel systems: an official one subject to State control and a "free" system controlled chiefly by the Catholic Church. The law of 29th May 1959, while recognising the continuance of these parallel systems, has facilitated a general structure which is common to both. The type of secondary education to which a pupil is directed is decided by his performance in the primary school (in state schools all education is free). There is a common syllabus for all pupils in the first two years of the secondary stage and a possibility of transference from one school to another, although this is not very easy. For those children who do not complete the primary stage satisfactorily by the age of twelve there are two further years of primary education with a third year which includes some vocational training in accordance with the local economy. (See Fig. 7.) It is hoped that in time there will be no need for primary education after the age of twelve.

Holland

Here the problem of the reform of the school system was complicated by the sectarian groupings of the people: about 40 per cent Calvinist, about 40 per cent Catholic and about 20 per cent secularist. The principle has been adopted that each of these groups may set up their own schools, which must conform to certain regulations, but which are a charge on state funds. The Mammouth Law of 1963 introduced by Education Minister Cals sought to give every child the opportunity of realising his full potential by making a wide choice of courses possible at the age of twelve, entry to these courses being based partly on an entrance examination and partly on primary school teachers' assessments. The reformed system (see Fig. 8) is not so very different from the previous one except that the *Hogereburger School* with the middle class connotation in its name has disappeared, the *Lyceum* is now more comprehensive in that after a year of a common syllabus a pupil may choose between the classical *Gymnasium* kind of course and the modern course such as is offered at the *Atheneum*. Similarly in both of these there is one year of a common syllabus which is used as a period of orientation for the pupils.

The child who fares badly at the primary school may still go at the age of twelve to the *Uitgebreid lager onderwijs* (upper primary school) after which he may go on to a trade or technical school. In some areas there are sectarian schools which provide the general course which may lead to a teachers' training college, or some other professional course. These schools may fairly be described as "middle schools".

Compared with the systems in France and Italy the structure of Dutch secondary education does not permit an easy change from one course of study to another after the age of thirteen.

Luxemburg

There has been little democratisation of the secondary school system: once a pupil is committed by an entrance examination to a particular type of education, orientation means only the choice of options. In some ways, by the law of 1962, the government changed to a system which had been found to be out-moded elsewhere, for example, the adoption of "les classes complémentaires" for those not considered suitable for the *lycées* or any other form of secondary education. There has however been good progress with the setting up of trade, technical and agricultural schools which take pupils for up to three years from the age of fourteen.

Conclusion

There are certain conditions which must apply if there is to be a fully democratic system of education. Firstly all education must be free, and compulsory until the age of

fifteen or sixteen. Secondly both parents and children need to be motivated: they must want the most suitable form of education and be prepared for the demands of the discipline. Thirdly pupils should be taught in such a way that not only is their potential realised but so that they and their parents are well aware of the type of education it is right for them to choose. Fourthly the point at which they have to make a choice must not be too early in their school career. (In France the choice is made at the age of fifteen, and in Italy at fourteen, whereas in Holland and Luxemburg there is no real choice at all).

It will have been seen from the review of the educational systems above that all these desirable advantages are not present in any one country, although France and Italy are near the target.

In addition to these factors, however, there is the question of the curricula: at each stage the curriculum should be not only the best preparation for the next, but it must permit a transference to another course of study so that success can be consolidated or failure retrieved.

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