

Economic and Social Committee

EUROPEAN UNION, A PEOPLE'S EUROPE AND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE

Committee Chairman Muhr's
speeches to the *ad hoc* Committees for Institutional Affairs
and a People's Europe



Gerd Muhr, Chairman of the Economic and Social Committee.

This publication is also available in the following languages:

DA ISBN 92-830-0065-X
DE ISBN 92-830-0066-8
GR ISBN 92-830-0067-6
FR ISBN 92-830-0069-2
IT ISBN 92-830-0070-6
NL ISBN 92-830-0071-4

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European
Communities, 1985

ISBN 92-830-0068-4

Catalogue number: EX-43-85-353-EN-C

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Printed in the FR of Germany

PREFACE

This brochure contains the main points made by the Chairman of the Economic and Social Committee, Gerd MUHR, in his speeches to the *ad hoc* Committees set up by the Heads of State or Government for

Institutional Affairs

and

a People's Europe.

These speeches reflect the viewpoints expressed over the last 10 years by the Economic and Social Committee in Opinions and other papers. Sources are given in a bibliography.

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Basic aims of the European Union

Economic, monetary, union

European social, union

Other basic elements of the European Union

(a) European quality of life

(b) People's Europe

Concerning (a) :

Environmental protection and environmental industrial policy

European waste management

Rational use of raw materials

New cleaning-up and renovation techniques for urban and rural areas

European social union

European framework provisions and financial resources

European-level consultation

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Development of the social union

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EUROPEAN UNION AND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE

Mr Chairman, Gentlemen,

I am glad to have today the opportunity — as spokesman for the Economic and Social Committee, which is the consultative body representing economic and social groups in the Member States — to address a group of leading figures commissioned by the Heads of State or Government to look into key issues of the future development of the European Community.

You have now given me the opportunity to express our views on the prospect of further development and progress towards a European Union.

On behalf of our Bureau, I should like to thank you, Senator Dooge, and the members of your committee most sincerely for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Since it was given the possibility in 1972 of drawing up Opinions on its own initiative, the Economic and Social Committee has paid close attention to moves to strengthen and extend the European Community, and has at times issued comprehensive Opinions in support of such moves.

We began doing this in 1974 and 1975 with two own-initiative Opinions on the aims of a European Union¹ — as expressed in the Tindemans Report — and on our own role in the further development of the Community institutions.²

We have issued detailed Opinions on the Dell Report (1979),³ the enlargement of the European Community (also in 1979),⁴ the prospects for Community policies in the 1980s (1981)⁵ and the future financing of the Community (1983).⁶ The prospect of the European Community developing further towards a European Union had a decisive influence on these Opinions.

Certain aspects of European Union have been the subject of major Opinions:

-
- (i) The internal market;⁷
 - (ii) Competition policy;⁸
 - (iii) Research and industrial policy and the new technologies;⁹
 - (iv) Monetary policy;¹⁰ and
 - (v) The European Monetary System (EMS).¹¹

In recent years, my predecessors as Chairman have been tireless in expressing our desire for rapid progress towards European Union; they have supported the European Parliament in its endeavours to this end.

A. The European Union as a true political unit

Let me say one thing quite clearly: We are all for a comprehensive and firmer integration of our national economies, social systems and societies into a European Union, which is a true political unit based on political solidarity and an ever closer association of our peoples.¹²

We think that political union is an essential institutional and political goal. Without it, the peoples of Europe will eventually no longer give the European Community their backing, and it will be more and more difficult to reach any kind of political compromise within the Community's bodies.¹³

We are convinced that the Community is not just a customs union. It has a political task, and one of the essential duties of all Community bodies is to make sure the public is constantly aware of this fact.¹⁴

We are therefore firmly convinced that mass media information must have a European dimension.¹⁵ This is essential if the man in the street is to be really Community minded.

The European Union must provide a framework within which the decision-making Community institutions can develop a balanced and coherent overall policy for the Community which reflects the legitimate interests of the general public and of the Member States, and does not consist merely of stringing together the interests of the individual Member States.¹⁶

To put it another way, we feel — like the European Parliament when taking its decision to draw up a Draft Treaty for European

Union — that it is essential to give a new impetus to the building of Europe through a European Union.¹⁷

The impetus of the European Union must affect both the consolidation of existing policies and the devising of new ones.¹⁸ It calls for a new institutional balance¹⁹ leading to a better synchronization of Community law-making.²⁰

It is necessary here to specify the roles of existing Community bodies — including, of course, the Economic and Social Committee — and, where appropriate, redefine them.

But we in the Economic and Social Committee do not want this European Union to lead to a *centralized State*. Our view is rather that the Community should only handle those tasks where a joint approach holds out a greater chance of success, or, in other words, where it is inefficient for the Member States to go it alone.²¹ This principle of subsidiarity should also be enshrined in the European Union treaty.

We are in favour of a clear demarcation being drawn between the tasks of the Member States — who should develop the greatest possible degree of convergence between their national economies — and Community activity, i.e. the Community's policies.²² We feel that these should be defined in clear overall terms and a coherent nucleus identified.²³ These policies should be a vehicle for the indissoluble solidarity of our peoples and States which is needed if the Community is to maintain itself and make progress.²⁴

Thus our basic view is the same as that in your interim report to the European Council in Dublin, when you spoke of the 'overall conception' of the Community's dealings and of a 'true political unit'.

We are not alone in believing that the European Union should be assigned only the tasks it can carry out more effectively than the Member States acting on their own. The same approach is found in the Draft Treaty of the European Parliament. Many of the statements in the Draft Treaty can be found in the same or similar form in our 1975 Opinion on European Union or in our 1981 Opinion on the prospects for Community policies in the 1980s.

The aims of the European Union should, of course, be based on the present state of integration and the objectives of the European

Community.²⁵ However, the Union should consolidate these and adapt them to the new requirements of the late 1980s, the 1990s, and 'second generation Europe'.

The Draft Treaty's economic and social objectives are not utopian. We think the proposals are realistic, Europe-oriented answers to problems which have been plaguing the Community for years.

Our 1981 Opinion on the prospects for the 1980s sets out aims that are basically the same as those in the European Parliament's Draft Treaty.²⁶

I should particularly like here to refer to the Draft Treaty's chapter on social policy, the aims of which are fully in tune with the statements of the Economic and Social Committee on social, consumer, environmental, research, educational and information policy.

B. Policies of the European Union

Your interim Report indicates that you attach at least as much importance to the policies of the European Union as to the powers of its institutions. This is very close to our own thinking for we consider that a European Union must entail a set of political aims, timetables for implementing them, and efficient action by the Community institutions.

I should like to tell you first what we think about existing policies which need to be developed further, and then about our ideas regarding new policies to be drafted from scratch.

Like you, I should like to stress the further development of policies to complete the internal market.²⁷

We must quickly bring about complete freedom of movement for people, goods, services and money, so as to ensure that our industrial, service and agricultural sectors enjoy the full benefits of access to a continental market.²⁸

In most of its major Opinions,²⁹ the Economic and Social Committee has stressed the importance of a single Community-wide market. This alone will enable Community industry to invest, produce and sell on equal terms with our American and Japanese competitors.

In our Opinions, we have never let ourselves be tempted by nationalist protectionism. Even in times of crisis, we have always worked for early establishment of a fully-fledged common market with all its growth potential.

But it is not only essential to dismantle barriers within the next two to 10 years, depending on the type. It is also important to create favourable conditions³⁰ for a Community-wide market.

For us, this means early replacement of national standards by European standards worked out by the European standards institutes (CEN and Cenelec) and brought into force through Community framework directives.³¹

Public purchasing markets³² should be opened up as quickly as possible, for this area has a decisive influence on our competitiveness in advanced technologies such as telecommunications, modern transport systems, and in the energy and environmental industry.

Also essential is the creation of a European corpus of company law³³ providing a vehicle both for firms organized on a Community-wide basis — e.g. as a European company — and for cooperation between independent firms e.g. in a European cooperative grouping. I shall go into this in more detail later on.

Such measures, which really belong to the field of internal market policy, must be backed up by:

European competition policy, which must be designed to give European firms a chance of merging or working together more closely in order to stay in business on the world market, especially in advanced technology.³⁴

In other words, the Community's competition policy must be broadened and made more dynamic. It must increasingly take account of the overall goals of Community policy and encourage the restructuring of production and positive structural adjustment. It should be based on the realities of world-wide interdependence.

European transport policy should open up the European transport markets and provide the necessary incentives and cooperation

machinery needed to equip Europe with the most modern road, rail, air and port infrastructure.³⁵

European industrial policy should first and foremost create favourable conditions for economic recovery in Europe. It should have the following watchwords in the European Union:

- (i) Adjustment;
- (ii) Innovation;
- (iii) Open towards the outside world; and
- (iv) Safeguarding of Community interests.

But it must also be a policy for selective public and private investments.

Community research, innovation and the funding of certain model projects must be major goals of the Union Treaty.³⁶ For the growth industries of the future, these industries include:

- (i) Telecommunications;
- (ii) Biotechnology;
- (iii) Microelectronics;
- (iv) Environmental industries in the widest sense; and
- (v) Energy.

Another thing which the Economic and Social Committee feels would be of decisive importance to the success of closer cooperation in Europe is the strengthening of the European Monetary System³⁷ through moving on to the second institutional stage. This provides for closer cooperation between the Member States and the Community, the setting-up of a European Monetary Fund and the development of an independent European central banking system geared to currency stability.³⁸

We are definitely in favour of the ECU being used much more as a means of payment in transfers, cash transactions, and loans.³⁹

We believe that the European Union Treaty should set out clear monetary policy goals along these lines, as was foreseen in the 1972 Werner Plan for European Monetary Union.

A stronger European Monetary System would help limit excessive exchange rate movements against the dollar and the yen, and thus provide a more stable balance for the national economies in Europe.⁴⁰

New Community policies should be part and parcel of an overall concept, the latter being a characteristic feature of any political entity such as European Union.

We believe — and several Opinions since the early 1970s have repeatedly emphasized — that the European Community must become an economic monetary and social union, with each of these objectives carrying equal weight but having its own set of values.⁴¹ The same point was made in a declaration by Heads of State or Government back in 1972.

European Union must provide a practical framework for the realization of these three equally important goals. Since our Opinion on the Community policies of the 1980s, we in the Economic and Social Committee have introduced two further concepts in support⁴² of the idea of European Union, namely Europe and the quality of life and the People's Europe. The first of these embraces the demand for a European policy on protection of the environment and an environmentally-benign EEC industrial policy.

A European policy on protection of the environment would embrace European-wide environmental standards and specifications, and become more effective as a result of the development of new technologies in environment-related industries.

An environmentally-benign EEC industrial policy would be based on the results of jointly financed research programmes, and would lead to the introduction of pilot projects part-financed by the Community. Such pilot projects would be fundamentally concerned with the development of industrial processes that use less energy and other primary materials and so place less of a burden on the environment. The development of an environmentally-benign EEC industry should be one of the most important aims of European Union.⁴³

We also believe that as far as the quality of life is concerned, a European Union should address itself to the following concerns:

- (i) the Community-wide exchange of information about activities in the fields of culture, leisure and tourism, such information to serve as a basis for the rapid development of a new, job-creating sector; if need be, support could be given by Community research programmes and pilot projects;⁴⁴

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- (ii) outline regulations for European waste management;⁴⁵
 - (iii) the encouragement of research and applications in the more careful, more economic use of non-renewable raw materials;⁴⁶
 - (iv) the application of new technologies and crafts to redevelop and rehabilitate urban and rural areas with run-down or inadequate infrastructures.⁴⁷

We share your support for the concept of an 'espace social' (social area). But in addition we are in favour of a fully-fledged European social union that carries as much weight as the economic, monetary and environmental-policy elements of European Union.

To make social union workable within European Union, appropriate framework provisions should be drawn up at European level and adequate funds made available.⁴⁸

The European social union should be prepared and realized via general and sectoral consultations at European level. Such consultations would involve both the Community institutions and social partners.⁴⁹

We in the Committee have repeatedly come out in favour of adopting European framework directives which lay down general objectives. The actual implementing provisions would be laid down at national or sectoral level in the usual way.⁵⁰

European-level consultations between the social partners should stem from the initiative of the social partners themselves and should respect their autonomy in the negotiation and conclusion of settlements.⁵¹ Outline agreements negotiated between the social partners at European level — as for example in the case of agreements on working hours in agriculture — could serve as models for other areas, for example when new technologies are introduced in the service industries.

The Union should have powers to improve the employment situation.⁵² Such powers should cover the following areas:

- (i) Community-wide programmes for basic and advanced vocational training and for retraining;
- (ii) mobility of labour;
- (iii) an active employment policy based on mobility between labour markets and the mutual recognition of educational qualifications and diplomas;

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- (iv) better coordination of Community instruments and funds;
 - (v) encouragement and support for the social partners in their efforts to reach a settlement on framework agreements covering work organization, i.e. against the background of the introduction of new technologies;
 - (vi) the more equitable distribution of available work, and
 - (vii) the improvement of living and working conditions.⁵³

Social policy within a European Union can be bolstered in two ways:

At a practical level chiefly by adopting and implementing a new social action programme⁵⁴ for the end of the 1980s and the 1990s, and legally, by ensuring that the following areas are embodied more securely in the Treaty of Union:

- (a) initiatives already introduced in the European Community, and
- (b) an effective range of decision-making instruments covering such areas as labour law and working conditions, the creation of comparable conditions for the safeguarding and creation of jobs, equal rights for men and women, basic and advanced vocational training; social security and social welfare services; the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational diseases, health protection at the workplace; the participation of workers in areas affecting working life; the right of association and collective negotiations between workers and employers.⁵⁵

This framework, — which the Economic and Social Committee would like to see adopted by the European Union in the field of social policy — has already been incorporated in the Draft Treaty of the European Parliament (Art. 56) in almost full accord with various statements made in ESC Opinions.

With regard to European Company Law, an area that is still underdeveloped, the Economic and Social Committee calls not only for the rapid creation of the European Company and the European Cooperation Grouping,⁵⁶ but also for the preservation and extension of the right of European workers to information and participation⁵⁷ both in companies with a 'European' legal form (which do not as yet exist) and in companies structured according to national legal systems. This means that the appropriate provisions will have to be incorporated in the Treaty on European Union. If we wish to

create a European 'social area', then the logical follow-up is the drawing up of outline provisions on company statutes that both take into account the wishes of management for efficient European-oriented companies, and the wishes of workers for relevant and concrete information about, and participation in, company decisions.⁵⁸

In our view it is perfectly conceivable that your Committee will draw inspiration from today's discussions and find an opportunity in the next few days to flesh out the tentative statements in your interim Report on the search for a balanced economic, monetary and social union.

C. The Community institutions

So far I have concentrated on our ideas about policy aims for European Union. Allow me now to say a little about the means for their realization through the Community institutions.

We are convinced that European Union will be effective only if it places its institutions in a position to carry out their tasks efficiently and in good time, i.e. if necessary decisions are taken at the right time using a procedure which does not allow blockages to develop.⁵⁹

We, therefore, argue for the application of the majority principle⁶⁰ in voting in the Council of Ministers and sympathize with your wish to restrict the 'right of veto' and to make it entirely superfluous after a certain time.⁶¹

Turning to the necessary amendments to the Treaties, we advocate an extension and clarification of the principles set out in Article 235 of the EEC Treaty, mainly to make clear that unanimous decisions should henceforth only be required for the adoption of new policies and the acceptance of new Member States.

The second aspect of the further development of the Treaties which you envisage is the idea of giving the European Parliament a genuine right to participate in the legislative process. This idea has been consistently supported by the ESC since 1975.⁶²

Such cooperation — as a response to the need for democratization of the Community — could be an important element in the quantum jump which political union should entail.

Our ideas about the basis for this European Union also include a genuine Community financing system. This would serve to ensure the financing of common policies which are urgently called for, above all those which can be implemented more efficiently than purely national policies.⁶³ A mere book-keeping approach is in our view bad politics. It jeopardizes our common future as economically, technologically, socially and ecologically progressive industrial countries.⁶⁴

We are entirely opposed to an approach which differentiates or even manipulates revenue in favour of one country at the expense of others. The best way to overcome transitory burdens and disadvantages for certain Member States is to develop suitable common policies, financed from own resources, the results of which should benefit both the Member States concerned and the Community as a whole.⁶⁵

After these fundamental observations on the structure and mode of operation of the European Community, I now turn to our view of the role of the Community's institutions.

The Council of Ministers, which should take decisions by majority, functions in a cumbersome way because several Member States have no Ministries of European Affairs with real powers of co-ordination and decision.⁶⁶

This leads to a policy orientation in the Council of Ministers whereby the sectoral concerns of the Minister concerned often prevail, without reference to the overall policy of the Community.

The departmental Minister's attitude is often determined by the defensive attitude of the specialists in his Ministry and is uncondusive — even if there is goodwill on the part of the Heads of State or Government — to the promotion of Community-orientated policies.

In our view, if the Council of Ministers were composed of real 'Ministers for Europe' from all Member States, decisive progress could be made. At the same time it would facilitate a homogeneous pol-

icy in the Council of Ministers which could not be regarded as 'defensive'.

Turning to the European Parliament, we have always stressed that we support its demands for real legislative powers.⁶⁷

Our own role, which would still remain a consultative one, could then be legally extended to include an advisory function *vis-à-vis* the European Parliament (this is already increasingly the case in practice).⁶⁸

We are, however, absolutely certain that our role differs from that of the European Parliament. It aspires to legislative powers and greater political influence, whereas we shall always remain the consultative assembly of the European associations — an expression of the economic and social group's specialized knowledge and desire for cooperation. We do not seek any joint power of decision.⁶⁹

The European Council should not, in our view, be an appeal body for unsolved technical problems. Moreover, if it does deal with such problems it should not subject them to unnecessary 'political dramatization' and thereby make solutions more difficult to achieve in some cases.

We are in favour of the European Council laying down guidelines for new objectives to be pursued by the European Community. However, it should not go beyond this role.⁷⁰

The Commission would be able, if there were majority votes in the Council of Ministers, to resume its role in the Community legislative process more easily, and it should consistently represent the interests of the Community as a whole.⁷¹ It ought to exercise its function as 'proposing body' fully. To this end it should present objective and consistent analyses of the situation in the Community and find 'Community answers' to problems.

The Economic and Social Committee and European Union

Allow me, in conclusion, to deal with our special situation as an Economic and Social Committee in the framework of the European institutions and bodies, and to summarize our views:

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- (a) Firstly, as I suggested earlier, we wish to see more efficient working methods in all institutions involved in the Community's legislative process, through better harmonization of their work in terms of timing and organization. For the Economic and Social Committee this means being consulted in good time instead of only at the end of the legislative process, when the form and orientation of draft regulations and directives have to a large extent been determined — in other words, at a time when the general lines and detailed content of these proposals can still be influenced.⁷²

This means that in addition to the Council of Ministers consulting us at a time when the Commission's work has already been completed, the Commission should do so even at the drafting stage. If need be, this could be guaranteed by a suitable clause in the new Treaty of Union.⁷³

- (b) Secondly, we wish it to be made clear that the Economic and Social Committee is the normal institutional representative of all economic and social groups in the Community and that we should therefore be the normal interlocutor of the Council of Ministers, the Commission, the European Parliament and the European Council; or, as the Report on the Community institutions puts it: 'Among the Community fora for socio-economic consultation, the ESC itself, as a Treaty institution, should hold a central place'.⁷⁴

As today's hearing shows, this is increasingly the case in practice. The main thing now is to anchor this practice in the Treaty on European Union, as provided for in Article 33 of the European Parliament's Draft Treaty.

- (c) From this position follow our reservations about the setting-up of new advisory bodies attached to the Commission or the Council. The Economic and Social Committee, as the great intersectoral consultative assembly of all economic and social groups within the Community, is the best place for all new consultation mechanisms to be developed in the area of Community legislation. Our greater independence — since the granting of the right of initiative — can and will make it possible in practice to comply flexibly with the wishes of the social and econo-

mic groups involved and ensure that they can influence the Community decision-making bodies through the ESC.⁷⁵

Accordingly we have since 1974 repeatedly opposed the creation of new advisory bodies in the legislative field, and fully agree with the European Parliament's view as expressed, for example, in the Boserup Report on the other consultative committees.

For groupings of the two sides of industry, which should function with the greatest possible autonomy — e.g. the sectoral committees of the two sides of industry, which could if need be draw up general conditions for future European tariff agreements — we can offer under the ESC's roof a working context which can guarantee them an autonomous mode of operation.⁷⁶

- (d) The right of initiative granted to the Economic and Social Committee 12 years ago gave it greater independence for its main activity, the drafting of Opinions. This enabled us to make our views known on all aspects of Community policies on our own initiative without having to wait to be consulted by Council or Commission.⁷⁷

However, we think it is now high time to draw conclusions from this with regard to our internal organizational powers. We should have the corresponding autonomy in the preparation and execution of our budget and the appointment of the senior staff of the General Secretariat.⁷⁸

We note with satisfaction that the Draft Treaty drawn up by the European Parliament provides that the Economic and Social Committee shall adopt its rules of procedure itself, independently of the Council.

- (e) Our Members, 90% of whom are representatives of large, small or medium-sized national or European associations, spend on average from 8 to 10 working days per month on their work in the ESC. Their status has not yet been satisfactorily defined. This applies both to the possibility of reimbursement of certain expenses, which does not exist at present, and to their personal status. We seek clarification and improvement of this situation in the context of the European Union.⁷⁹

(f) The above considerations lead us to the conclusion that it would be advisable to make the significance of this great consultative assembly of European economic and social groups more widely known, by giving it — in the context of European Union — the title of Economic and Social Council (of the European Union) and the status of a Community institution, as we have repeatedly proposed in the last 10 years.⁸⁰

This would be the logical outcome of the development over 25 years of our Committee, which has won, through its work, increasing recognition on the part of all the Community institutions and of the public. It rather regrets the fact that it is still frequently confused with European Parliament committees or Commission departments.

D. Conclusions

Finally, allow me to make it clear that the Economic and Social Committee has in recent years wholeheartedly supported all efforts to consolidate and deepen European integration.

In times of crisis for the European Community, we have often appealed to the Heads of State or Government to awaken to their responsibility for our peoples and our future and to act accordingly.

We know that your Committee is in the process of deciding what lines of action to propose to the Heads of State or Government for the development of the European Community into a European Union.

Will you be helping the Heads of State or Government to make a further declaration? Or will you be providing the necessary economic, social and social-policy goals and means of action, thereby enabling the Heads of State or Government to take decisions which point the way for the future?

We should like, on behalf of the many millions of citizens in our associations — which embody the driving forces of the Community — to challenge you to follow the latter — the 'courageous' path by proposing the decisions needed to overcome the present long-lasting crisis.

From what we have so far learned of them, your ideas are very close to our own. You will have the full weight of the great economic and social groups in Europe behind you if you can persuade the Heads of State or Government to take the decisive step towards European Union.

***BIBLIOGRAPHY A:
EUROPEAN UNION***

BIBLIOGRAPHY A: EUROPEAN UNION

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- ² Opinion on the place and role of the ESC in the institutional machinery of the Community in the context of a possible evolution thereof, 27/28. 3. 1974, OJ C 115, 28. 9. 1974, p.37 *et seq.*
- ³ Opinion on the report on the European institutions of 28/29. 5. 1980, OJ C 205, 11. 8. 1980, p.30 *et seq.*
- ⁴ Opinion on the applications of Greece, Portugal and Spain for membership of the European Economic Community of 27/28. 6. 1979, OJ C 247, 1. 10. 1979, p.24 *et seq.*
- ⁵ Opinion on the prospects for the Communities' policies in the 1980s of 27/28. 10. 1981, OJ C 343, 31. 12. 1981, p.29 *et seq.*
- ⁶ Opinion on the future financing of the Community — Draft Decision on own resources of 26/27. 10. 1983, OJ C 358, 31. 12. 1983, p.35 *et seq.*
- ⁷ See in particular the Opinions on the:
 - (i) Communication from the Commission to the Council on the strengthening of the internal market;
 - (ii) Draft Council Resolution on the easing of formalities relating to checks on citizens of Member States at the Community's internal frontiers;
 - (iii) Proposal for:
 - (a) a Council Regulation simplifying customs formalities in trade within the Community;
 - (b) a Council Regulation amending Council Regulation (EEC) No 2102/77 introducing a Community export declaration form;
 - (c) a Council Regulation amending for the fifth time Regulation (EEC) No 222/77 on Community transit of 24/25. 2. 1983, OJ C 90,

5. 4. 1983, p.16 *et seq.*; see also the Opinion on the proposal for a Council Regulation setting-up a Community system of reliefs from customs duty of 21. 11. 1979, OJ C 72, 24. 3. 1980, the Opinion on the problems of trade barriers and the alignment of laws in this area of 21. 11. 1979, OJ C 72, 24. 3. 1980, p.8 *et seq.*, the Opinion on the 1982 programme for the attainment of the customs union of 28/29. 4. 1982, OJ C 178, 15. 7. 1982, p.13 *et seq.* and the Opinion on the communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on the state of the customs union in the EEC of 29/30. 3. 1978, OJ C 181, 31. 7. 1978, p.31 *et seq.*

⁸ See in particular the Opinion on the competition policy of the Community in the light of the current economic and social situation of 29/30. 4. 1981, OJ C 322, 10. 12. 1981, p.3 *et seq.*; see also the opinion on the thirteenth report of the Commission of the European Communities (on competition policy) of 25/26. 10. 1984, OJ C 343, 24. 12. 1984, p.5 *et seq.*

⁹ *Inter alia*: Opinion on the Commission's communication to the Council concerning investment in the rational use of energy of 30. 6./1. 7. 1982, OJ C 252, 27. 9. 1982, p.6 *et seq.*; Opinion on the communication from the Commission to the Council (entitled 'Energy and energy research in the Community: a five-year programme of action and its financing of 23./24. 11 1983, OJ C 23, 30. 1. 1984, p. 44; Opinion on the communication from the Commission to the Council) on the development of an energy strategy for the Community and energy pricing — Policy and transparency of 26/27. 5. 1982, OJ C 205, 9. 8. 1982, p.8 *et seq.*;

Opinion on the proposal for a Council Decision implementing the Decision empowering the Commission to borrow under the New Community Instrument for the purpose of promoting investment within the Community of 1/2. 6. 1983, OJ C 211, 8. 8. 1983, p.44;

Opinion on the proposals for a European scientific and technical strategy: Framework programme 1984-87 of 1/2. 6. 1983, OJ C 211, 8. 8. 1983, p.32;

Opinion on the research programme (1983-87) forecasting and assessment in science and technology (FAST) of 1/2. 6. 1983, OJ C 211, 8. 8. 1983, p.9;

Opinion on the proposal for a Council Decision adopting the first European strategic programme for research and development in information technologies (Esprit) of 29/30. 9. 1983, OJ C 341, 19. 12. 1983, p.33 *et seq.*;

Opinion on the communication from the Commission to the Council on the review of energy policy objectives for 1990 and Member States'

investment programmes of 24/25. 9. 1981, OJ C 310, 30. 11. 1981, p.32 *et seq.*;

Study of the objectives and priorities of a common research and development policy of 27/28. 1. 1982, in a brochure of the same title published in January 1982, Cat. No ESC 82-001-DE.

¹⁰ *Inter alia*: See European Union (note 1), p.7; Prospects (note 5), p.33;

Opinion on the development of the European Monetary System of 28/29 4. 1982, OJ C 178, 15. 7. 1982, p.46 *et seq.*;

See also the Opinion on the communication from the Commission to the Council on the progress achieved in the first stage of economic and monetary union, on the allocation of powers and responsibilities among the Community institutions and the Member States essential to the proper functioning of economic and monetary union, and on the measures to be taken in the second stage of economic and monetary union of 12/13. 12. 1973, OJ C 115, 28. 9. 1974, p.17 *et seq.*

¹¹ See note 10; see also Enlargement (note 4), p.28 and the Opinion on the economic situation of the Community (mid-1984) of 5/6. 7. 1984, OJ C 248, 17. 9. 1984, p.32 *et seq.*

¹² See Prospects (note 5), p.33; Financing (note 6), p.35 *et seq.*; European Union (note 1), pp.3, 6 *et seq.*, 9.

¹³ See Prospects (note 5), p.41.

¹⁴ See Prospects (note 5), p.41 *et seq.*

¹⁵ See Prospects (note 5), p.41; cf. European Union (note 1), p.3.

¹⁶ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.42; See also Financing, *sopra* (note 6), p.35.

¹⁷ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), pp.5 and 3; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.31, 32.

¹⁸ Similarly: Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.31, 32; Financing, *sopra* (note 4), p.25; see also European Union, *sopra* see (note 1), pp.6 *et seq.*

¹⁹ Since European Union, *sopra* (note 1), pp.5, 6; finally, in Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.41, 42.

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- ²⁰ Since European Union, *sopra* (note 2), pp.40, 41; see also (note 19) and (note 4), pp.25, 26.
- ²¹ Financing, *sopra* (note 6), p.36; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.31.
- ²² Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.31-33.
- ²³ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.7; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.32, 33.
- ²⁴ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), pp.6, 7 and 9; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.29-31; Financing, *sopra* (note 6), pp.35, 36 and Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4) p.25.
- ²⁵ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.41; see also Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), pp.25-27.
- ²⁶ See Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.33-40 and p.41.
- ²⁷ *Inter alia* Internal market, *sopra* (note 7); economic situation (1984), *sopra* (note 4), p.36; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.33, 34; trade barriers, *sopra* (note 7), pp.8, 9.
- ²⁸ *Inter alia*: Address given by the ESC Chairman to the *ad hoc* Committee on a People's Europe on 18. 12. 1984, contained in this brochure, in particular: ESC Opinion on the initial guidelines for a Community policy on tourism of 26/27. 10. 1983, OJ C 358, 31. 12. 1983, p.52 *et seq.*; Internal Market, *sopra* (note 7), p.17 *et seq.*; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.34, 35; ESC Opinion on the economic Situation in the Community (1982) of 30. 6./1. 7. 1982, OJ C 252, 27. 9. 1982, p.31 *et seq.*, p.34.
- ²⁹ *Inter alia* Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.34, 35; Enlargement *sopra* (note 4), p.28; Internal market, *sopra* (note 7), p.17 *et seq.*; Community competition policy, *sopra* (note 8), p.5.
- ³⁰ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.34; ESC Opinion on the economic situation in the Community (mid-1983) of 6/7. 7. 1983, OJ C 286, 24. 10. 1983, p.4 *et seq.*, p.7 *et seq.*
- ³¹ Opinion on the situation in the Community's construction sector and the most appropriate measures by which the EEC can promote growth and employment in this sector of 1/3. 7. 1981, OJ C 230, 10. 9. 1981, p. 54 *et seq.*, pp.57, 58; trade barriers, *sopra* (note 7), pp.12, 13; see also ESC

Opinion on the proposal for a Council Directive on the approximation of the laws of the Member States concerning safety of toys of 14/15. 12. 1983, OJ C 35, 9. 2. 1984, p.14 *et seq.*

³² Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.28: ESC Opinion on the possibilities of developing advanced technology sectors in the Community through a policy of liberalizing public purchasing of 25/26. 5. 1976, OJ C 197, 23. 8. 1976, p.1 *et seq.*, pp.5 and 9; ESC Opinion on the report on certain structural aspects of growth of 27/28. 2. 1980, OJ C 146, 16. 6. 1980, p.8 *et seq.*, p.12; ESC Opinion on the proposal for a Council Directive amending Directive 77/62/EEC coordinating procedures for the award of public supply contracts of 1/2. 3. 1978, OJ C 101, 26. 4. 1978, pp.28, 29 and ESC Opinion on the situation in the construction sector, *sopra* (note 3), p.57.

³³ *Inter alia*: Economic situation in the Community (mid-1984) *sopra* (note 11), p.36; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.34 *et seq.*; Economic situation in the Community (mid-1983), *sopra* (note 30), pp.5, 6.

³⁴ Common competition policy, *sopra* (note 8), p.5; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.34; Economic situation in the Community (mid-1983) *sopra* (note 30), p.5.

³⁵ ESC Opinion on the transport policy of the European Community in the 1980s of 27/28. 10. 1982, OJ C 326, 13. 12. 1982, pp.9-10; ESC Opinion on the proposal for a Council Resolution on the implementation, in stages, of a series of measures in the field of the common policy for inland transport and the communication from the Commission to the Council on progress towards a common transport policy — Inland transport of 1/2. 6. 1983, OJ C 211, 8. 8. 1983, p.34 *et seq.*; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.38, 39 and Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), pp.34, 35.

³⁶ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.34; also Economic situation (1983), *sopra* (note 30), p.7, and Financing, *sopra* (note 6), pp.36, 37.

³⁷ *Sopra* (note 10); see also Economic situation (1984), *sopra* (note 11), p.37 and Prospects, *sopra* (note 5) p.33.

³⁸ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.33 and Expansion of the European Monetary System, *sopra* (note 10), p.48.

³⁹ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.33; Expansion of the European Monetary System, *sopra* (note 10), p.47; also the ESC Chairman's address to the *ad hoc* Committee for a People's Europe, contained in this brochure, and the situation in the construction sector, *sopra* (note 11), p.57.

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- ⁴⁰ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.33.
- ⁴¹ Prospects *sopra* (note 5), pp.35, 36 and in particular p.37; Economic situation (1982), *sopra* (note 28), pp.34/35 and 35/36; Economic situation (1984), *sopra* (note 11), pp.32, 33.
- ⁴² Already in Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.39, 40; see also the ESC Chairman's address to the *ad hoc* Committee on a People's Europe, contained in this brochure.
- ⁴³ See the ESC Chairman's address referred to above, *sopra* (note 28), contained in this brochure, in particular: Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.39, 40; ESC Opinion on the proposal for a Council Directive on the limitation of emissions of pollutants into the air from large combustion plants of 21/22. 11. 1984, OJ C 25, 28. 1. 1985, p.33 *et seq.*; ESC Opinion on the Community action programme on the management of waste (avoidance, recycling, disposal) — Community waste management programme of 24. 5. 1984, OJ C 206, 6. 8. 1984, p.62 *et seq.*; ESC Opinion on changes in industrial and employment policy — Current situation and outlook for industrial policy of 28/29. 9. 1977, OJ C 292, 3. 12. 1977, p.16 *et seq.*, p.25, and Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.39.
- ⁴⁴ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.39, 40; see also Tourist policy, *sopra* (note 28), pp.57, 58; ESC Opinion on the proposal concerning vocational training and new information technologies; new Community initiatives during the period 1983-87 of 26/27. 1. 1983, OJ C 77, 21. 3. 1983, p.7 *et seq.*
- ⁴⁵ See EC waste management programme, *sopra* (note 43).
- ⁴⁶ See the hearing of the Chairman of the ESC before the *ad hoc* Committee for a People's Europe in this brochure; for further information, see especially Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.39; EC waste management programme, *sopra* (note 43).
- ⁴⁷ See the hearing of the Chairman of the ESC before the *ad hoc* Committee for a People's Europe in this brochure; for further information, see especially Tourism, *sopra* (note 28), p.57; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.39; the situation on the building market, *sopra* (note 31), pp.58-60.
- ⁴⁸ *Inter alia*; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.35, 36; Financing, *sopra* (note 6), p.36; Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4).
- ⁴⁹ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.35, 36; see also: Opinion on the proposal for an EEC Council Directive on the Community aid for industrial restructur-

ing and conversion operations of 19/20. 12. 1978, OJ C 128, 21. 5. 1979, p.1 *et seq.*; Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), pp.25, 28 *et seq.*; 33 *et seq.*; Stocktaking and prospects of the industrial policy, *sopra* (note 43), p.23 *et seq.*

⁵⁰ Prospects, (note 5), p.36; Stocktaking and prospects of the industrial policy, *sopra* (note 43), p.19; the economic situation of the Community (1983), *sopra* (note 30), p.7.

⁵¹ Opinion on the social developments in the Community in 1983 of 26/27. 9. 1984, OJ C 307, 19. 11. 1984, p.10 *et seq.*; the economic situation of the Community (1983), *sopra* (note 30), pp.8, 9; Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.30; Vocational training and the new information technologies, *sopra* (note 44), p.8.

⁵² *Inter alia*: Social developments 1983, *sopra* (note 51), p.10 *et seq.*; Review and prospects of the industrial policy, *sopra* (note 43), pp.18, 19; the economic situation 1983 *sopra* (note 30), pp. 7, 9; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.36, 37.

⁵³ *Inter alia*: Chapter D (social policy) in Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.35 *et seq.*; Social developments 1983, *sopra* (note 51), p.10 *et seq.*; Opinion on the Commission communication to the Council concerning technological change and social adjustment of 26. 9. 1984, OJ C 307, 19. 11. 1984, p.4 *et seq.*; Opinion on the coordination of labour market instruments of 24/25. 2. 1982, OJ C 112, 3. 5. 1982, p.12 *et seq.*; see also the hearing of the Chairman of the ESC before the *ad hoc* Committee for a People's Europe in this brochure, for further information, especially: Opinion on the Draft Council Decision on vocational training policies in the European Communities in the 1980s of 23/24. 3. 1983, OJ C 124, 9. 5. 1983, p.9 *et seq.*; p.11; Vocational training and the new information technologies, *sopra* (note 44), pp.7, 8 and also the Opinion on education in the EEC of 23/24. 4. 1975, OJ C 255, 7. 11. 1975, p.9 *et seq.*, p.12.

⁵⁴ See particularly: Social developments 1983, *sopra* (note 51), p.10 *et seq.*; Report of the Section for Social Questions on the social developments in the Community in 1983, CES 264/84 final of 28. 6. 1984, p.15 *et seq.*; p.19 *et seq.*; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.37.

⁵⁵ See (note 54); see also (note 53) as already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), pp.7, 8.

⁵⁶ See Thirteenth report on the competition policy, *sopra* (note 8), p. 5 *et seq.*; Hearing of the Chairman of the ESC before the *ad hoc* Committee

for a People's Europe in this brochure for further information; see also competition policy of the Community, *sopra* (note 8), p.10 *et seq.*, p.12.

⁵⁷ See the hearing of the Chairman of the ESC before the *ad hoc* Committee for a People's Europe in this brochure; for further information, see especially: Opinion on employee codetermination and the structure of society in the European Community compiled by the sub-committee Green Paper of 1/2/2. 1978, OJ C 94, 10. 4. 1979, p.2 *et seq.*, p.4 *et seq.*, p.8 *et seq.*; Opinion on the proposal for a fifth Directive on coordination of safeguards which, for the protection of the interests of members and others are required by Member States of companies within the meaning of the second paragraph of Article 58 of the Treaty, with a view to making such safeguards equivalent throughout the Community of 29/30. 5. 1974, OJ C 109, 19. 9. 1974, p.9 *et seq.*; see also the Opinion on the proposal for a Council Directive on the harmonization of legislation in the Member States on the protection of employees' rights and privileges after company amalgamations, firm transfers and the merger of concerns of 23/24. 4. 1975, OJ C 255, 7. 11. 1975, p.25 *et seq.*, pp.29, 30.

⁵⁸ *Sopra* (note 57), especially the proposal for a fifth Directive (so-called, Vredeling Directive)

⁵⁹ European Union, *sopra* (note 2), pp.38, 39, 40; European Union, *sopra* (note 1), pp.5, 6; European organs/bodies, *sopra* (note 8) p.33 *et seq.*; Enlargement *sopra* (note 4), pp.25, 26; prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.31, 41, 42.

⁶⁰ European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.39; European Union, *sopra* (note 4), p.5; Enlargement, *sopra* (note 5), p.42.

⁶¹ Especially in Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.25, and also Social developments 1983, *sopra* (note 51), p.10 *et seq.*

⁶² European Union, *sopra* (note 1), pp.5, 6; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.42.

⁶³ Financing, *sopra* (note 1), pp.5, 6; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.31, 33 *et seq.*, 42, 43.

⁶⁴ *Inter alia*: Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), pp.27, 28; Competition policy in the Community, *sopra* (note 8), pp.3-5; Social developments 1983, *sopra* (note 51), p.10 *et seq.*

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- ⁶⁵ See especially: Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.42, 43; Financing, *sopra* (note 6), p.36.
- ⁶⁶ As in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.6; see also Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.25 and also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), pp.31, 42.
- ⁶⁷ See *sopra* (note 62).
- ⁶⁸ *Inter alia*: Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.26; European bodies, *sopra* (note 3), p.34; already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.6.
- ⁶⁹ Especially in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.6; in European Union, *sopra* (note 2), pp.40, 41; European bodies, *sopra* (note 3), pp.31, 33, 34; Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.26; Prospects, *sopra* (note 5) p.42.
- ⁷⁰ Expressly in Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.42.
- ⁷¹ Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.42; already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.6; see also European bodies, *sopra* (note 3), p.34.
- ⁷² Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.40; European bodies, *sopra* (note 3); see also Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.26.
- ⁷³ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.40; European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.6; Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.26; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.42.
- ⁷⁴ Expressly in European bodies, *sopra* (note 3), p.33; and also Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.26; see also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5).
- ⁷⁵ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.40 *et seq.*; see also European bodies, *sopra*, (note 3), pp.31, 32, 33.
- ⁷⁶ This clearly, already in European Union, *sopra* (note 2), pp.41, 42.
- ⁷⁷ See European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.40; European bodies, *sopra* (note 3), p.32.
- ⁷⁸ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.40, 41.
- ⁷⁹ This basic attitude of the Economic and Social Committee is evident from various debates of the presiding-board, see e. g. the Minutes for the

following meetings of the Bureau: 160 of 22. 4. 1975 (R/CES 471/75) 261 of 5. 7. 1983 (R/CES 660/83, p.2) and 269 of 27. 3. 1984 (R/CES 364/84).

⁸⁰ Already in European Union, *sopra* (note 1), p.6; European Union, *sopra* (note 2), p.40; see also Enlargement, *sopra* (note 4), p.26 and also Prospects, *sopra* (note 5), p.42.

A PEOPLE'S EUROPE
AND THE
ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL COMMITTEE

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A PEOPLE'S EUROPE

Mr Chairman,
Gentlemen,

Our discussion today brings together two levels of European integration which normally have little contact with each other and which are quite different.

I refer firstly to 'your' level, that of policies laid down by the Heads of State or Government, whom it is your Committee's task to assist in providing a stimulus for the rapid realization of a 'People's Europe'.

The other level is that of the economic and social groups represented in the Economic and Social Committee, who carry out practical work and detailed technical work for Europe; for, in accordance with the Treaties of Rome, it is in the Economic and Social Committee that the great economic and social groups, the associations in Europe, with their practical know-how and specialized skills, can have their say.

Our work nearly always has practical and detailed relevance to the great objectives expected of the Heads of State or Government, which should now be pursued with your help with a view to achieving a 'People's Europe'.

I am therefore particularly glad to have the opportunity, as Chairman of this advisory assembly of the economic and social groups in the European Community, to make our contribution to your deliberation on a 'People's Europe'.

On behalf of our Bureau, I would like to express our warmest thanks for this opportunity to you, Mr Adonnino, as Chairman, and to all the members of your Committee.

According to the Rome Treaties, the Economic and Social Committee was set up to be the normal negotiating partner of both the Commission, which is the Community institution which proposes,

and the Council, which is the Community body with the power of taking decisions.

In recent years, we have considerably strengthened our contacts with the European Parliament, so that we hope to be the natural negotiating partner of this institution, too, during the further development of the Communities.

The framework for our work is formed by the Treaties and the economic and social policy aims contained in them, and, of course, by the prospects for Community policies as indicated in the proposals of the Commission and the European Parliament.

In essence, our task is to further progress towards integration as much as possible by working out a consensus among the Groups representing employers, workers, and other interests such as farmers, consumers, the skilled crafts, the professions and the co-operative sector. But, if it is impossible to reach unanimity, we try to set out the views of the majority and the minority clearly and unambiguously.

We are therefore a sort of yardstick of what is 'on' and what is 'not on' in the pluralist society of the Community, or in other words, of what has some chance of success with the support of associations at European level.'

Without wishing to be presumptuous, I think that the Economic and Social Committee has been working for a 'People's Europe' ever since its foundation in 1958.

A. Early deliberations and initiatives by the European Council on a 'People's Europe'

Allow me briefly to look back at the period when for the first time the European Council focused its attention on a 'People's Europe'.

In the mid-1970s the European Council attempted to break out of the already existing impasse by seeking to bind together more closely the body of Community law and the achievements in the field of political unity in order to create a European Union.

The first tentative step in this direction was the Summit Conference of the Heads of State or Government held in Copenhagen² in 1973 which issued a communiqué on the European Identity.

A year later, at the Paris Summit in December 1974³ the Heads of State or Government went so far as to consider the practicalities of granting the European citizen specific rights within a 'Community legal area'.

At that time there was already talk of a European passport and of the abolition of frontier checks for individuals.

The report initiated by the Heads of State or Government and named after its author, Mr Tindemans⁴ did not concentrate merely on the need to develop the substance and form of Community institutions and policies; a special chapter was devoted to the 'People's Europe'.

According to Mr Tindemans this special chapter was justified by the fact that the citizens of Europe had an essential role to play in the development of the European Community into a 'European Union'.

In parallel with the Council's initiatives, the Economic and Social Committee brought its thinking on European Union to the attention of the other Community institutions in late 1975 in the form of an own-initiative Opinion.⁵

In the Opinion the Committee gave a comprehensive account of its views on the principles of a 'People's Europe'.

The Committee stressed that a 'European Union' must take account of the ideals and aspirations of the peoples of Europe. They wished to live in peace, freedom and security and to see the abolition of frontiers and the creation of a natural 'living area'.^{5a}

Whether the people gave their support to a European Union would depend on its effects on the everyday life of the individual. People needed to be aware of and understand the actions of the Community — what effect these had on the consumer, for instance. And this in turn would require practical measures in the appropriate areas, together with an objective and coherent programme of education and information.^{5b}

Workers would gain direct experience of the Community through the harmonization of working conditions.^{5c}

The Committee called for a 'Charter of the Objectives of European Union' which would define the rights of European citizens and draw attention to the economic and social objectives of European Union.^{5d}

Ever since, we have consistently maintained our support for a European Community which takes account of the interests of its citizens.

Allow me to tell you more about the scope and range of our activities.

B. The Economic and Social Committee and a 'People's Europe'

1. The Economic and Social Committee is involved through its Opinions in the decision-making process of the European Community

As we are an advisory body of the European Community, a large part of our work is of course subject in timing and content to the rhythm of proposal and decision in the Commission and the Council.

However, since 1972 we can deliver Opinions on our own initiative on subjects which interest us particularly.

We have not so far delivered any Opinion formally entitled 'A People's Europe', but we have dealt with the subject exhaustively in a number of more general fundamental Opinions.

I should like to name a few of them:

- (i) on 'European Union' (1975);⁶
- (ii) on the 'Prospects for Community policies in the 1980s' (1981);⁷
- (iii) on 'Tourism in the Community' (1983);⁸
- (iv) on 'Strengthening the internal market' (1983);⁹
- (v) on the 'Consumer/producer dialogue' (1984);¹⁰
- (vi) our study of a 'Community code on nuclear safety' (1977).¹¹

We have also addressed detailed aspects of this question in many other Opinions — between 40 and 50 of them.

I shall refer to these Opinions in more detail later.

I should like today to present to you a kind of mosaic of the Economic and Social Committee's statements on the 'People's Europe' theme in recent years.

One general point should be made at the outset:

2. We fully support the Commission and Parliament proposals on a 'People's Europe'

However, we have the impression that the Council, for lack of a firm political will,¹² leaves too many questions to the national bureaucracies, which waste far too much time and attention on unimportant technical details.

This leads to neglect of the really important tasks, such as the dismantling of administrative obstacles to trade, the creation of a European customs union and the completion of the internal market.

We in the Economic and Social Committee are just as impatient as the Commission and the European Parliament when we see how slowly these proposals are being implemented and in how many sectors Council decisions are currently blocked.

3. I shall now turn to the sectors to which the ESC has devoted special attention

I am sure you will not be surprised if, as Chairman, I concentrate on those aspects which have always been of most interest to our members, who are both citizens of this Community and representatives of the various social groups within it.

I should like to summarize these aspects as follows:

- (a) the European citizen as traveller/tourist/transport user;
- (b) the European citizen as consumer;
- (c) the European citizen's quality of life (as affected by cross-frontier environmental changes and risks arising from industry, traffic, etc.);

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- (d) the European citizen as entrepreneur/business partner;
 - (e) the European citizen as worker, whether employed or self-employed;
 - (f) the European citizen as information user;
 - (g) the European citizen as participant in monetary transactions.

As you see, these aspects overlap to a certain extent with those which you addressed in your interim report to the European Council and which are included in the conclusions of the European Council meeting held in Fontainebleau.

I see from your interim report that you think it important to propose to the Heads of State or Government a range of practical measures selected from the proposals already submitted to the Council of Ministers — some of which have been held up for rather a long time — measures which will be noticed by people in their everyday life and which can be rapidly implemented.

We, too, have the impression that these are mostly problems which, in the view of the average European citizen, should be fairly easy to solve.

If they were rapidly solved the European Community would be seen in a much better light and the average citizen would be able to identify with it more easily.

We therefore fully support your proposals, as listed in points A, B and C of your interim report, and would like to complement them with a few more detailed aspects from our opinions.

We also wish to assist you in providing new stimuli for the work of the Heads of State or Government.

Allow me now to comment in detail upon the views which the Economic and Social Committee has expressed on the broad theme of a 'People's Europe'.

I shall start with the first of the seven aspects I mentioned earlier:

(a) THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN AS TRAVELLER/TOURIST/TRANSPORT USER

People who cross the frontiers within the Community for personal reasons or for work purposes still encounter substantial admin-

istrative or legal obstacles which clearly conflict with the ultimate political, economic and social objectives of the Treaty of Rome.

The Economic and Social Committee regrets that although some obstacles to the free movement of tourists have been removed others have been introduced in their place (e.g. additional exchange controls and restriction of currency flows).¹³

On the other hand, the Economic and Social Committee endorses all measures to simplify the crossing of frontiers within the Community and calls for checks at these frontiers to be ultimately discontinued.¹⁴

A decisive step in this direction would be the introduction of the European passport and European driving licence, advocated by the ESC on a number of occasions.¹⁵

Further simplifications and reduction of checks and formalities at frontiers within the Community would, in the ESC's view, result from the introduction of standard tax-free and duty-free allowances for certain consumer goods carried in baggage, e.g. wine or tea.¹⁶

In this connection the ESC has pointed out that the current intra-Community duty-free allowances and the increases proposed by the Commission are inadequate.¹⁷

However, the Committee welcomes the Commission's approach to the introduction of a system of automatic annual correction of tax-free and duty-free allowances.¹⁸

In addition, the abolition or reduction of tax formalities and checks for removals within the Community (simple change of residence or cross-frontier carriage of household effects for a second home) would simplify life for European citizens.¹⁹

In the ESC's view the import of motor vehicles could be simplified if the proof of tax payment related to the country of residence (and not as hitherto to the country of origin or of previous residence).²⁰

The ESC also attaches great importance to the safety of the individual citizen in intra-Community travel.

The ESC therefore gave a comprehensive view on this field in its 1983 Opinion on tourism policy in the Community.²¹

An important aspect of travellers' safety is the guarantee of adequate medical care in the event of accident or illness.

The system using the E 111 form, which has applied up to now, appears to the ESC to be unsatisfactory and in need of reform. In its view the Member States, which all profit from the tourist trade to some extent, should undertake to provide automatic cover for EC tourists, provided that they are compulsorily insured under the relevant national social security system.²²

Another form of tourist assistance could be provided by the introduction of a European emergency health card for seriously or chronically ill travellers, to ensure that the necessary help is speedily given them if they are involved in an accident or taken ill.²³ Knowledge of the medical history recorded on the card can enable doctors to save lives in such cases.

The ESC feels that further standardization of national traffic regulations would help to improve safety on European roads.²⁴

The ESC has submitted a range of proposals for maximum rapidity in the settlement of damage claims covered by compulsory motor vehicle insurance.²⁵

An equally important aspect is the safety of hotel guests.

Here I need only mention the ESC proposal for the laying-down of a European standard for safety systems (especially to guard against fire).²⁶

This should, among other things, provide for a possible obligation on hoteliers to take out insurance covering personal injury and damage to property.²⁷

With regard to travel insurance in general, the ESC is concerned at the apparently increasing tendency to insure tourists more than once against the same risks. For the sake of greater clarity and transparency it therefore recommends the introduction of a Community-wide standard minimum insurance for tourists and the compilation of a list of additional risks which can be covered by an optional extra insurance.²⁸

We have always come out in favour of standardizing certain living conditions, e.g. summer-time (now almost standard throughout the EC).

However, we also propose that holiday periods in Europe be better staggered than hitherto, so that the quality of life in holiday areas does not seriously deteriorate at peak times in the summer months.²⁹

(b) THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN AS CONSUMER

The European citizen as consumer has been the subject of many Opinions of the Economic and Social Committee. One of the 'leit-motivs' of the ESC's views was the need to ensure free choice of goods and services for the consumer.³⁰

In an own-initiative Opinion adopted in May 1984 the Economic and Social Committee calls for a permanent dialogue between the consumers and the producers and suppliers, including the producers and suppliers of public services at Community level. This could contribute to the development of a Community consumer policy while supplementing existing legislation with a voluntary and more flexible element.³¹

In this context dialogue is seen as an exchange of views which can contribute to greater understanding between the partners concerned.³²

It could lead to the conclusion of voluntary agreements between producers/suppliers and consumers in certain fields of trade and sectors in order to avoid unnecessary State interference as far as possible.³³

We, in the ESC would suggest as possible areas for this the sectors of advertising, tourism, insurance, the motor trade and the motor repair trade.³⁴

What is required here is a European framework directive covering the various forms of dialogue, of agreements and of codes of behaviour, implementing instruments and legal protection.³⁵

Such voluntary agreements between producers and consumers could later be extended to other fields.³⁶

In the traditional fields of consumer policy, consumer protection and consumer information we have of course repeatedly urged that the consumer's capacity for choice be increased by greater clarity, truthfulness and comparability in the supply of goods.³⁷

We strongly support the Commission's latest proposals that the indication of the sale price of a product be accompanied by the price per unit of measurement for all products in daily use,³⁸ so that the citizen can rely on a standard of comparison. The same applies to Community-wide standardization of measurement units.³⁹

Both measures are likely to improve the image of the European Community in the eyes of many consumers.

(c) THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN'S QUALITY OF LIFE (AS AFFECTED BY INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT OR ENVIRONMENT)

When we talk of a 'People's Europe' we should think not only of freedom of movement for travellers, transport users and business partners, but also of keeping citizens safe from disasters which may occur across frontiers and indeed on a European scale as a result of the production and transport methods of industrial society, if precautions are not taken in time. Community-wide regulations are the only answer to these challenges.

We have therefore repeatedly and strongly urged in various Opinions the need for a Community-wide harmonization of legislation on the orderly disposal of waste:⁴⁰ this includes the supervision of the transport of toxic waste (Seveso containers!).⁴¹

A few years ago we were the first to demand measures following the oil disaster caused on the Breton coast by the 'Amoco Cadiz'. We take the view that, particularly in view of the dreadful consequences of the toxic gas disaster in India, it is high time to implement the necessary harmonization of the appropriate safety provisions on a European scale.⁴²

In the field of nuclear safety we did not envisage — as Tindemans did in 1975 in his Report on European Union — a common European authority for the control of nuclear power stations.⁴³ But precisely because many nuclear power stations are situated in frontier areas of the Member States, greater safety must be ensured for the citizen on a European scale through strict controls and standards. In 1978, therefore, we brought together in a study the most important aspects of a 'Code of nuclear safety in Europe'. This code should take account of the concern of large sectors of the population about accidents and disturbances resulting from the operation

of nuclear power stations, and make possible an adequate Community-wide safety standard.⁴⁴

As a general rule the 'polluter pays' principle should be applied to ensure effective environmental protection in frontier areas.⁴⁵ It is unimaginable that part of a region should benefit from jobs and tax revenue while another part has to suffer atmospheric and water pollution or endure safety risks from neighbouring areas.

We have, moreover, stressed the primary importance of European environment policy, especially in the 'Quality of life' section of our Opinion on the prospects for Community policies in the 1980s.⁴⁶ We take the view that the European Community should ensure in the medium term, through increased research, that less energy, and different raw materials, are used in industrial production, thereby causing less pollution for human beings and the environment.⁴⁷

In this connection a European awareness must be developed of the fact that on the one hand we should use non-renewable raw materials carefully and economically and on the other hand we should find new processes for better recycling of expensive raw materials.⁴⁸

The ESC also attaches great importance to consideration of the role of forests for the environment and the quality of life.⁴⁹ The main emphasis should be placed on the importance of forest areas for leisure time, breaking up urban and rural areas, storage and filtering of water, protection from erosion, noise and wind and protection of natural beauty. European citizens' awareness of such considerations should be increased.

Accordingly there is widespread support in the ESC for Community-wide reduction of the dangers to forests resulting from the operation of oil-fired and coal-fired power stations, industrial plant and motor vehicles.⁵⁰ (Desulphurization of coal-fired power stations and less harmful car exhausts!)

We further suggest that Europeans take in hand the rehabilitation and renewal of urban and rural areas following a European competition for ideas (cf. our colloquium on the subject of the building trade and growth, 1980).⁵¹

Standardization of building components and materials could, as a desirable side-effect of this competition, contribute to reducing the costs of these rehabilitation measures on a European scale.⁵²

(d) THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN AS ENTREPRENEUR/BUSINESS PARTNER

If we place great emphasis in nearly every important Opinion of the ESC on the need to complete the internal market, it is because we are convinced that it would be a decisive step towards a 'People's Europe'. For a real internal market means the circulation of people, goods and services without frontiers and hence without interference or restriction of the personal freedom of European citizens.

We have the impression that the campaign begun in 1983 and 1984 by the Commission for the completion of the internal market, supported both by the ESC and by the European Parliament in their various Opinions and Resolutions, has set the wheels in motion. The overall concept underlying this campaign — that of the total and unconditional opening of frontiers and the complete dismantling of obstacles — would create a different, decisively improved situation for European citizens.

While the obstacles facing individuals wishing to cross frontiers within the Community are usually tiresome and time-wasting, the position in economic matters — in business and the movement of goods — is even worse. Here formalities, import, export and transport duties are a far more serious, because expensive obstacle (the costs amount to about 5 to 10% of the value of intra-Community trade).⁵³ Thus they prevent greater specialization of enterprises which could occur in a true common market, and this can adversely affect their competitiveness in relation to third countries.

Moreover the costs and complexities of these formalities constitute a serious obstacle for many firms, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises, since they prevent them from fully exploiting their potential and from seizing the opportunities offered in the EC for greater expansion across the frontiers of the country of origin.

They frequently hold small and medium-sized enterprises back from competing on the markets of neighbouring countries and thus cause them to lose opportunities in the European market.⁵⁴

Measures to complete the common market, particularly through the dismantling of technical obstacles to trade, administrative obstacles and obstacles in the transport sector, are also urgent and essential elements of a European strategy for economic and social recovery.⁵⁵

The Committee therefore favours the reduction of formalities attached to the forwarding of goods within the Community⁵⁶ and the harmonization of existing provisions through the introduction of a uniform document.⁵⁷

This proposal is, however, practicable only if the formulation of the uniform document guarantees wide applicability. It would be particularly difficult to formulate since account must be frequently taken of national statistical concerns. In the ESC's view, however, it is essential to keep the information on the uniform document to an indispensable minimum. The presentation should be appropriate to the data conveyed.⁵⁸

In addition, existing simplifications of formalities, e.g. the use of collective customs procedures, should be retained.⁵⁹

This also applies to existing simplified procedures at the national level (such as the national simplifications between Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands).⁶⁰

(e) THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN AS WORKER WHETHER EMPLOYED OR
SELF-EMPLOYED

In our Opinions on the introduction of the European limited company we have repeatedly stressed that it is not only to encourage the formation of transnational company mergers that the development of a body of European company law is necessary. European companies and European cooperative associations should also create for workers and entrepreneurs a European legal framework and sphere of action within which they can consolidate and extend their independent rights as social partners at the European level.⁶¹

The creation of this legal instrument would lead to an awareness of being European citizens in an economic sense who could also accept the Community as a reality in the commercial field. This would be a decisive step forward from the present situation, where

European-minded entrepreneurs, ready for cross-frontier cooperation, must resign themselves to the fact that there is as yet no truly European level for companies. Despite the goodwill of those involved, many cross-frontier cooperation projects are rendered impossible for fiscal, labour-law or other reasons.⁶² The failure of the Estel-Hösch merger and the difficulties in the cooperation between AGFA and Gevaert are cases in point — among many.

A European cooperative association, which should simplify cooperation among small and medium-sized firms in fields such as joint research, joint purchasing, and joint marketing and selling, could in our view be agreed upon without much difficulty.

It would simply be necessary to take account of the proposals of the Economic and Social Committee⁶³ and the European Parliament on workers' participation.

The development of transnational firms and the increasing business concentration in Europe call for a corresponding development of the workers' right to participation and codetermination at plant level and at a higher level. Minimum standards for the protection of workers' interests must also be introduced. On this last point, I would refer you to the ESC's Opinions on the directives relating to measures in the event of large-scale redundancies and the safeguarding of rights when firms, plants or parts of plants change hands.⁶⁴ With regard to increased workers' participation in the affairs of the plant, possible European codetermination regulations were dealt with in the context of the supervisory bodies of firms (in connection with the European limited company and with the fifth Directive on the approximation of company law.⁶⁵ However, it seems to me that the provisions in these two documents relating to factory councils and the company-level council are just as important as institutionalized representation of workers in the management bodies.⁶⁶ The creation of European factory councils would undoubtedly constitute a form of practical integration in everyday working life.

The Economic and Social Committee endorsed by a majority the Commission's proposals on information for and consultation of workers in complex (mostly multinational) enterprises.⁶⁷

In this it was concerned to ensure for workers a Community-wide minimum standard for information and participation possibilities in enterprises of this kind.

Improvement and harmonization of vocational training⁶⁸ will also contribute to a 'People's Europe'. In view of the high unemployment in the Community a flexible vocational qualification can help to reduce unemployment — especially among young people looking for a first job — on a European scale, or to prevent it from the outset.⁶⁹ To this end there should be more exchange of young workers within the Community.⁷⁰

The Economic and Social Committee has also repeatedly pointed out that new technologies should not be allowed to lead to a worsening of working conditions.⁷¹ Their introduction must be accompanied by appropriate extension of training, improvement of its content and permanent further training using syllabuses applicable on a European scale.⁷² Initial vocational training should be supplemented by possibilities for further training in line with technical development⁷³ — in other words further training should be based on 'building block' modules.⁷⁴ In this connection Community-wide minimum standards for certain job descriptions should be aimed at.⁷⁵

A very serious hindrance to the formation of a European awareness is the petty withholding of recognition for diplomas issued in another Member State. For the medium term we envisage a systematic harmonization of the more important training courses. When the diplomas are more comparable, it will be easier to achieve more rapid recognition of them.⁷⁶

(f) THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN AS INFORMATION USER

The formation of a European consciousness is impeded by the purely national organization and orientation of reporting in the mass media, which also has a negative effect on the presentation of the 'European dimension' of subjects in the realms of general, economic and social policy. In addition, in recent years people have been fed an increasing amount of deliberate disinformation in which the Community is made the scapegoat for national failures and wrong decisions.

A scandalous, overwhelmingly national choice of issues in a number of countries for the 1984 direct elections to the European Parliament — potentially a golden opportunity to draw attention to the 'European level' of economic and social policy within the European Community — aggravated the 'negative image' of the Community in the eyes of European citizens.

In its Opinions, particularly that on prospects for Community policies in the 1980s, the ESC has urged that the position of the Community as such and the varying views of political, commercial and social groups be reflected fully and without distortion in radio and television programmes.⁷⁷

To this end the information policy and technique applied must be consistent in conception, visual approach, tone, language and choice of subject-matter.⁷⁸

The Community needs a 'house style' recognizable to every European — in the same way, whichever Member State he or she belongs to.

We take the view that the mass media must give more attention than hitherto to events organized by the European institutions, through which a European consciousness can be formed — e.g. the European conferences of the Economic and Social Committee.⁷⁹

One example is our conference on the economic and social effects of new technologies, held in November 1984.

A 'People's Europe' will not emerge if, as has hitherto been the case to some extent, our national mass media create an information market which takes no account of the European Community level or reflects it only in a fragmentary or distorted way.

In the coming months we will have the opportunity, in our Opinion on the Commission's green paper on 'Radio and television in the European Community', to give our views on this aspect and once more to stress the need for an information policy with a European dimension. It will become even more necessary given that from 1986 onwards it will be possible to receive the same television programmes by satellite in large areas of Europe (without a cable

connection). The European Parliament's proposal to develop one of these satellite TV programmes as a European television programme would be a contribution to the necessary 'Europeanization' of information policy.

Thus the Economic and Social Committee's conclusion is: A 'People's Europe' must have Community-wide information provided by European-trained media which take account of the European dimension and report objectively.

(g) THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ECU AS A EUROPEAN MEANS OF PAYMENT

Your interim report to the Dublin European Council makes it crystal clear that a European Community spirit can develop only if the Community makes its presence felt by the individual citizen in his or her daily life.

In our view these day-to-day aspects should include the rapid introduction of the ECU as a means of payment in bank transfers and cash transactions. A greater role for the ECU would of course depend on further development of the European Monetary System. We are ready for the transition to the second — institutional — stage of that System.⁸⁰

Conclusion

Finally, on behalf of the Economic and Social Committee, I would like to stress that we have consistently worked for a 'People's Europe', in our proposals regarding:

- (i) freedom of movement for persons, goods and services in the EEC,
- (ii) consumer protection and information,
- (iii) the quality of life in the face of dangers from industry, transport and the environment,
- (iv) increased rights for entrepreneurs and workers in the Community,
- (v) a European dimension to information policy, and
- (vi) the ECU as a European currency.

We have the impression that, out of the host of proposals we have made, affecting the daily lives of most of us, there are some which

could be adopted by the Heads of State or Government without undue difficulty.

However, we also have the impression that the real difficulty lies in the inertia of some of the national bureaucracies which determine the rate of progress of the Council of Ministers. Another factor is the lack of courage and confidence in the future of the European Community on the part of some leading national politicians. The consequences are a reluctance to take decisions, immobility or opting for the easy way out.

We believe, however, that progress towards Community-wide, sensible solutions can be made by the political representatives of the peoples of Europe, meeting in the European Parliament, and by the representatives of the socio-economic groups, meeting in the ESC. Much greater use should be made of these opportunities. Otherwise, and I say this with an undertone of resignation, the European commitment of the leaders of the major European trade associations and organizations will be in vain in the long run.

We have great hopes for your Committee. You, who enjoy the trust of the Heads of State or Government, must finally persuade them to stop playing the role of crisis-manager, to take their courage in their hands and go forward.

While you would have to overcome the resistance of some of your ministries, you would, as the abolition of border checks between France and Germany showed, have the support of the people.

At all events you have our support. On many occasions, generally at moments of crisis in the Community, we have appealed directly to the Heads of State or Government to meet their responsibilities.

You can count on our specialist and steadfast support in removing the obstacles in the way of a 'People's Europe' and in pointing the way to a European Union.

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PEOPLE'S EUROPE***

BIBLIOGRAPHY B. PEOPLE'S EUROPE

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European Communities — Economic and Social Committee

European Union, a People's Europe and the Economic and Social Committee

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

1985 — 71 pp. — 14.8 x 21.0 cm

DA, DE, GR, EN, FR, IT, NL

ISBN 92-830-0068-4

Catalogue number: EX 43-85-353-EN-C

This brochure sets out the speeches made by the ESC Chairman, Mr Gerd Muhr, before the European Council *ad hoc* Committees for Institutional Questions and a People's Europe. These speeches summarize the Opinions delivered on these subjects by the ESC in recent years and indicate the basic lines of approach taken.

In the Chairman's address to the Committee on Institutional Questions the emphasis lay on the consolidation of existing policies and the formulation of new policies aimed at economic, monetary and social union. The European Parliament should be strengthened and the unanimity requirement in the Council should be abandoned. The ESC would adapt to these changes in the institutional machinery.

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