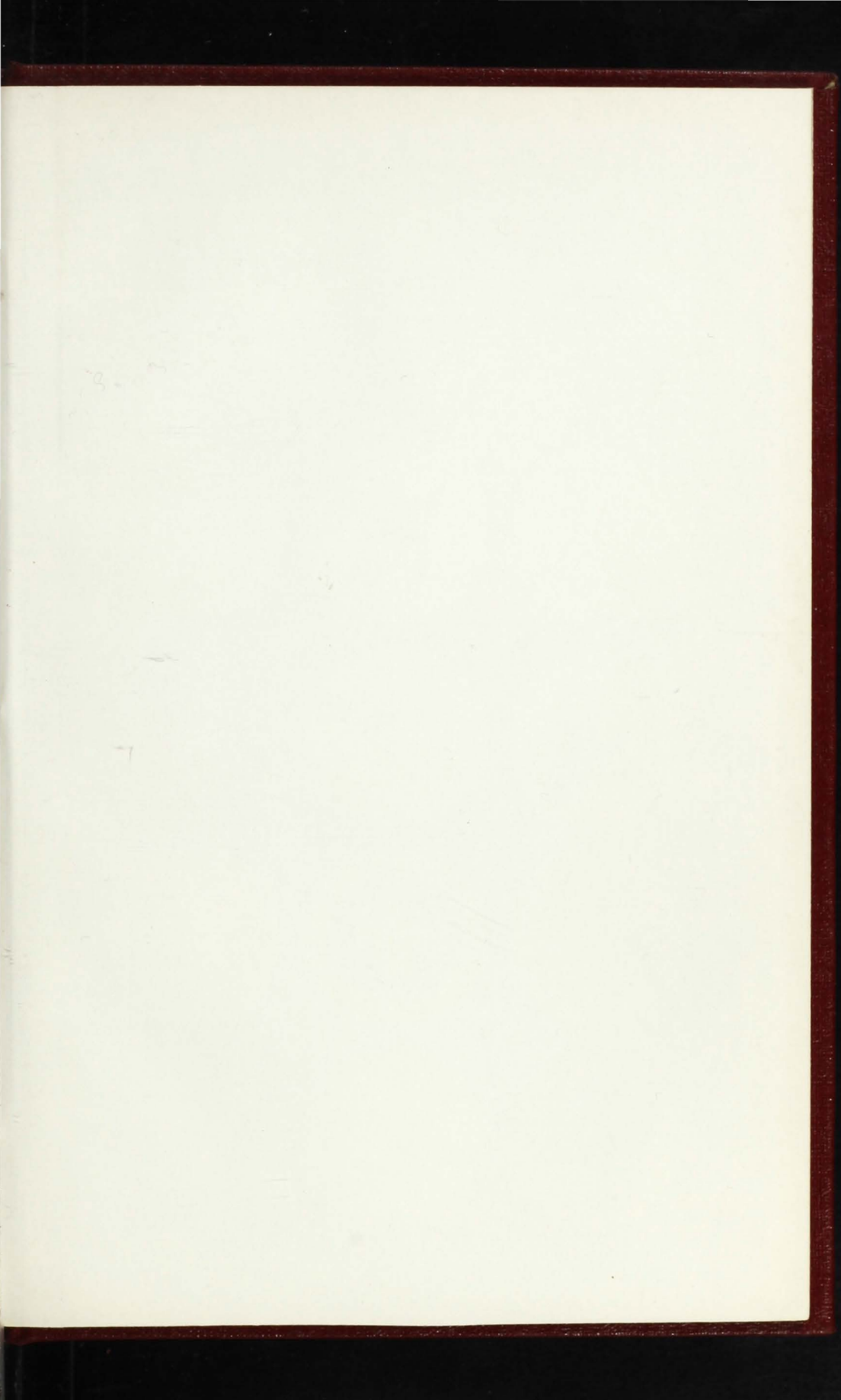
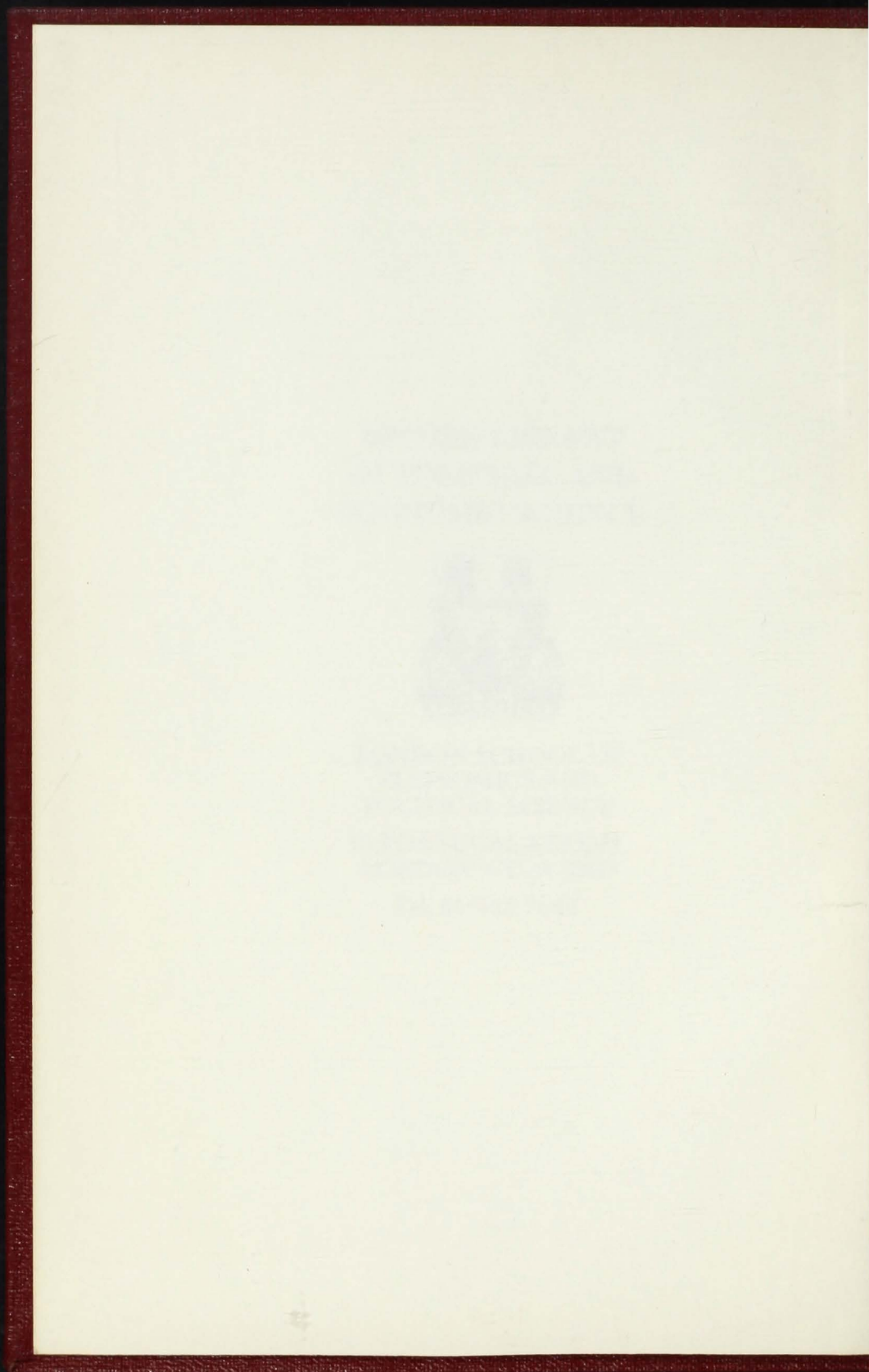


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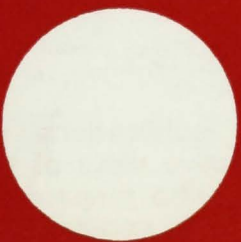
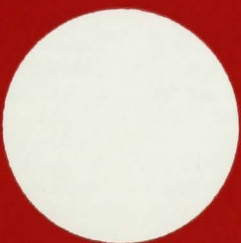
For Roy Manley
Project 400



creating a caring community

editor: Roy Manley
fabian tract 461

65p



fabian tract 461

creating a caring community

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1. introduction

Roy Manley

On 7 June, the United Kingdom will elect 81 members to the European Parliament. Their election will follow a campaign which is likely to be dominated by four themes.

The first will be British sovereignty and ways in which this might be eroded or preserved. The second will be concerned with balance sheets, an economic audit designed to show whether we have lost or gained by membership. The third will be the Common Agricultural Policy, the Community's Achilles heel. And the last will be the European Monetary System.

These are important issues. All have political, economic and social implications. For example, the domination of the Community's Budget by the Common Agricultural Policy (which accounts for some 75 per cent of its total expenditure) distorts the balance of the Community's intervention in industrial, regional, environmental and consumer affairs.

Yet it is not primarily with these issues that we deal in this pamphlet. There is another dimension to the UK's involvement in the Community that receives little or no attention and yet could be of equal, if not greater, moment. This is the creation of a caring Community.

The European Community will not only be judged on its overall strength, compared with the United States say, as a European *Economic Community*. It will be judged, as nation states are judged, by the way in which it treats its underprivileged and those outside its borders, by the way in which it can reconcile the demands of its consumers with the preservation of its environment, by the way in which its institutions are responsive to the demands of its people.

There are those, on the left and the right, who would deny this collective social role and point to the Treaty of Rome's comparative silence on matters other than a free internal market. But socialists of all people know the dangers of an uninhibited free market without intervention. Joint economic and industrial policies demand a joint social strategy.

A more caring Community, with its member states increasingly willing to act together to correct regional and social imbalances, is only one step. It is also a step away from a capitalist Europe with its peoples seen only as instruments of industrial production.

At the moment it is a faltering step. The Community has no coherent social policy. The brave words and the few brave deeds that followed the 1972 Paris Summit's decision to give Europe a human face have been overtaken by an economic blizzard that has sent member states scurrying towards their own fireplaces, towards the security of nationally determined policies. Whether it be on oil, wine, fish or education, they have vied with each other in affirming their national sovereignty.

It is to be hoped that this national introspection will pass and will be replaced by an acceptance that Community problems require Community solutions.

In this pamphlet we pose some of these problems and present possible solutions. Not all the contributors are committed pro-Europeans. They are, however, experts in their fields who are convinced that the Community should become more relevant to the needs of its citizens and to the demands of a divided world.

Roy Manley is a Deputy Director of the National Council of Social Service and Vice Chairman of the Fabian Society's International and Commonwealth Bureau. He has written two previous Fabian pamphlets: "Commonwealth Students in Britain" (1962) and, with Helen Hastings, "Influencing Europe: a Guide to Pressure Groups" (1977). He is standing in the elections to the European Parliament as the Labour candidate for Suffolk.

2. the community's underprivileged

Michael Barnes

"Europe must now have something to say to its people. Every worker, student, citizen — including migrants, the handicapped and the aged — must feel that Europe is being created for and through him. That is the challenge of this decade". So spoke Albert Coppé, a European Commissioner at the time of the Paris Summit in October 1972, a summit at which the Heads of Government proclaimed that they attached as much importance to vigorous action in the social field as to the achievement of economic and monetary union. Yet today, as the decade nears its end, progress towards these social objectives has been extremely disappointing. The Community urgently needs to develop a major policy focus that will, unlike the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) or the European Monetary System (EMS), unite its members rather than divide them. Social policy is an ideal area for such a focus and the time is ripe for a major initiative in this area.

the present position

Before we can be clear about the ways in which social policy in the Community ought to develop, we must be clear about the background situation. There is no provision in the Treaty of Rome for a full scale social policy as we would understand it in Britain. Social policy was seen by those who drafted the Treaty as simply that aspect of economic policy which was to ensure that social provisions were harmonized throughout the Community so that any disparities were not sufficient to favour one country's industry against another.

As an instrument of social policy, the first Social Fund went into operation in 1960 and began to play a part in ensuring that particular groups of people were not adversely affected by economic developments arising from the implementation of EEC policies. However, as originally constituted, the Social Fund was just a "clearing house" for money spent by member states on retraining and resettling redundant workers. Because the first Social Fund was so

narrow in scope, preparations were made in the late 1960s for the introduction of a new Social Fund which would be more flexible and interventionist. The new Fund, which came into operation in 1972, is backed by considerably more money than the old one. Its aim is to deal with structural unemployment (both long term and short term) and it is particularly concerned with disadvantaged groups — for example, the handicapped, migrant workers and school leavers. Like social policy, regional policy was also given a considerable boost by the 1972 Paris Summit and there was a further (though largely unsuccessful) attempt by the European Parliament at the end of 1978 to raise the Regional Fund to nearly £700 million or about 9 per cent of the Community Budget. Together, the Regional Fund and the Social Fund are important instruments for bringing assistance to areas or sections of the population most in need of help. Where employment policies are concerned, the Regional and Social Funds are complementary. The Regional Fund can help create new jobs, while the Social Fund can help train workers for them.

Another programme to result from the 1972 Paris Summit was the Social Action Programme which ran from 1974 to 1976. This did break new ground in that it aimed to help young people without jobs, to provide equal opportunities for women at work and to assist migrant workers, the handicapped and those living on the poverty line. But the Programme was still essentially employment oriented, having as its objectives full and better employment, improved living and working conditions, greater participation by both sides of industry in the economic and social decisions taken by the Community and a greater say for workers in the running of firms.

the need for a community social policy in its own right

The great weakness of the Community's social policy is that it does not exist in its own right. The individual is regarded as an instrument of economic produc-

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tion and social policy as some sort of expensive luxury that can only be afforded when times are good. The result is that, in difficult times, instead of social policy being brought into full play, there is a reluctance to put up the further funds that are needed to sustain effectively the various programmes.

The first thing that the Community needs to do is to define social policy and to decide where it belongs in relation to the other major policy areas such as economic policy, agriculture and regional policy. At the moment it is far from clear where social policy begins and ends. This contrasts with the position in a number of EEC countries where social policy has a much wider scope. The Community's 1978 information booklet on social policy begins: "Social policy is concerned with people and their welfare. In their working lives it has to do with job opportunities, safety at work, job satisfaction and the right of workers to have a say in the decisions that affect their future. Outside the place of work it is concerned with better housing and living conditions, improved social security and cultural amenities. Social policy also seeks to ensure that all sectors of society including the very young and old, the handicapped, the unemployed and other special groups such as migrant workers are helped so that well being is extended to all."

One is tempted to ask, what else is there? Of the main areas of domestic policy, only health, education and transport seem to be missing. How can a policy have any clear focus when it is defined so widely and loosely? The reason why social policy in the Community does not exist in its own right is clear: as presently defined, it is simply a collection of policies, some of which belong more naturally under a different portfolio.

A second obstacle to the recognition of social policy in its own right is the way in which it is currently regarded simply as the other side of the coin marked "employment". This stems from the

original concept of social policy in the Treaty as an adjunct of economic policy, the purpose of which is to iron out inequities that would otherwise give rise to economic distortions. Thus, social policy in the Community suffers from two parallel, but contradictory, confusions. On the one hand it is too narrowly constrained by economic and employment policy, being the responsibility of the same Commissioner and Directorate-General (DG—a Department of the Commission) as employment policy, but on the other hand it is referred to in a vague way, as in the passage quoted, as a sort of umbrella policy that includes everything under the sun. According to this line of thinking, the role of social policy is to give the Community a "human face", by which is meant ensuring that prosperity engendered by economic growth is translated into a better quality of life for all.

But is it really sufficient to say "right, we have our economic and employment policies, and the purpose of social policy is to make sure they have a human face"? Are social policies arrived at on that basis ever likely to be anything more than cosmetic exercises designed to sweep some of the more unsightly by-products of economic development under the carpet? If social policy is to achieve its objectives, its motivation must be altogether different, stemming from a desire to create a just society in which a basic level of social provision is fundamental to what that society is about.

If the Community were to decide to view social policy in this light, then some changes would be needed in the way existing policies are administered and organised. A major distinction should be drawn between policies that are directly related to employment and those concerned with the wider impact of economic development on various sections of the population. In practical terms, it would be necessary to separate social affairs from employment within the Commission's structure and to create a new Directorate-General with

specific responsibility for social policy. This would mean having separate Directorates-General for employment and social affairs and separating responsibility at Commissioner level so that the same Member of the Commission was no longer responsible for both. Thus employment, vocational training, the provision of job opportunities, job satisfaction, health and safety at work, industrial relations, labour law and worker participation would be under the control of the DG for employment. A separate DG for social affairs should then be created with responsibility for those aspects of policy not directly related to the work place, such as general social policy guidelines, social security, housing and living conditions, as well as the problems faced by various sections of the population such as school leavers, the old, the unemployed, the handicapped and migrant workers. It would be necessary to define clearly which parts of the Social Fund were the responsibility of which of the two DGs.

The great advantage of redefining employment policy and social policy along these lines is that both areas would have a much sharper focus and it would be easier to draw a distinction between those proposals that were essential to combat the effects of economic depression and to stimulate growth, and those that were concerned with the wider aspects of employment policy and with social policy. It would also mean that the right mechanisms existed for major initiatives in the social policy field, if the will to achieve them was there.

priorities for action

What are the areas where the European Parliament should be pressing for action as soon as it is elected? Some of the important priorities could well be:

Job Creation. The creation of new jobs by making available money from public funds to finance work that would not otherwise be undertaken is a familiar part of the British employment scene. The nine member countries of the Com-

munity have called upon the Commission to put forward proposals for similar schemes on a Community basis, but these are only just being put into effect. They ought to be fully implemented as soon as possible. Job creation schemes on an EEC basis are an obvious area for Community initiative. They are also a very logical extension of present Social Fund support for national training schemes such as the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) and the Work Experience Programme (WEP) in Britain. Much could be gained by co-ordinating schemes across countries and sharing common experiences. These schemes would come within the scope of employment policy but there would have to be close integration with social policy in view of the need to tailor schemes to suit the different categories in need of assistance. There should, for example, be close links with school-to-work pilot projects.

Disadvantaged Groups. Although equal pay/opportunity legislation has achieved a great deal for women in recent years, statutory measures can only partially ensure equal treatment. They need to be backed up by a whole range of measures in the educational, welfare and social fields. Women make up nearly 40 per cent of the Community's working population, yet too often they find themselves doing the less skilled and lower paid jobs. Unemployment has been increasing faster among women than among men and therefore schemes specifically suitable for women are needed.

There are nearly 6 million migrant workers in the Community, nearly three quarters of them from non-member countries. The Community should strengthen measures to ensure that migrants from member countries get their full rights as citizens of the Community. There should be reciprocal social security and health care (including for the self-employed) and there should be mutual recognition of qualifications. The whole point of being a citizen of the Community ought to be that people are at no disadvantage in another Community country; this is still often not the case.

Migrants from member countries should also be able to establish political rights so that after a certain period they can vote in the country where they are working. Migrants from non-member countries are in a rather different position because they have none of the rights of Community citizens. The Community's first task should be to get member states to accept responsibility for providing these migrants with basic social services, particularly adequate housing, health care and education. It should also seek to ensure that its members have consistent

and humane immigration policies. There are an estimated 10 million handicapped people in the Community. Most want to lead as normal a life as possible and are capable of doing so, given the necessary help and facilities. Finance is available from the Social Fund to help provide vocational training schemes and a long term programme for the social integration of the handicapped is being prepared. This programme should be given a higher priority. Like job creation, provision for the handicapped is an obvious area for extensive Community programmes operating alongside those of the member states.

Action Against Poverty. Another area which particularly lends itself to the development of Community programmes to complement and stimulate the efforts of the member states is the eradication of poverty. Despite increased prosperity and widespread social security arrangements, there are still many people living in poverty in the Community, not just in the poorer regions but also in the large cities. The Community began its contribution to tackling poverty in 1974/75 with a programme of pilot schemes aimed at testing and developing new methods of helping those on low incomes and at improving the understanding of the nature and causes of poverty. The amount of money from the Community for these pilots is very small and only 20 schemes are being funded.

There have been a number of unsatisfactory aspects to the programme. National governments are able to veto

schemes even when the member country's 50 per cent share of the cost is being met by non-governmental organisations. And where the country's share is being met from public funds, there have been problems where government departments have sought Community funding for projects that were in the pipeline anyway. Where no government money is involved, it would be far better if the sponsoring organisations could deal directly with the Commission. There should also be a relaxation of the 50 per cent funding rule in the case of non-governmental sponsors so that in worthwhile cases the Community could bear the major share of the cost. Another problem is the amount of red tape and unnecessary paper work that sponsoring organisations have to fight their way through. The Commission must realise that it is essential to adopt a non-bureaucratic and highly flexible approach when dealing with voluntary organisations.

The big question for the future is where exactly the Community's poverty programme—to date still only involved in pilot projects—is supposed to be going. Should it just remain a programme of pilot schemes designed to gather experience that can be used by the member countries in their own programmes, or should the programme of pilot schemes be expanded into an actual poverty programme in its own right, complementing those of the member states rather than simply providing research data from small scale projects? The latter is surely the better objective. There is a great need for the Community to diversify its expenditure via the Community Budget into a range of other areas apart from agriculture. Action against poverty should be one of them.

Social Security. The nine member countries of the Community have rather different traditions and priorities in the field of social security. Inevitably, social protection varies considerably from one country to another. The Commission tries to ensure that policies are co-ordinated wherever possible and that certain minimum standards of protection are applied throughout the Community.

Initiatives taken by the Community are supposed to be based on three principles—non-discrimination between nationals and foreign workers, transfer of benefits between member states and aggregation of periods of insurance anywhere in the Community for entitlement to benefit. However, many gaps need to be filled before these principles apply universally. The self-employed often find themselves at a disadvantage in another country and a particularly irritating piece of bureaucracy is the complicated situation surrounding holiday sickness schemes. Under the Community's reciprocal health insurance scheme, it is first necessary to apply for an entitlement certificate (form E 111) before going abroad. This certificate has to be applied for on form CM 1, which can be found at the back of DHSS leaflet SA28. Generally speaking in Germany, Italy, Denmark and Ireland medical care is given free by doctors approved by the insurance organisations. In France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, the holidaymaker must pay all or a large part of the treatment and up to about 80 per cent is then reimbursed. In practice, this makes the scheme virtually unworkable. Holidaymakers have to chase round finding the right office, filling in forms and often having to fork out large sums of money. A truly reciprocal scheme would make urgent medical treatment immediately and freely available on production of a passport. Holiday sickness schemes may seem a very marginal matter to bureaucrats in Brussels, but it is precisely this kind of area that makes the Community a reality for ordinary people. It is not much fun being ill abroad and away from home, but if the Community could come up with a simple scheme, it would greatly help to foster "community feeling". After all, in 1977 6 million UK travellers visited other Community countries.

The European Social Budget. A very useful initiative by the Community in the field of social policy has been the drawing up of a Social Budget for the Community. The first of these, covering 1970-75, was an analysis of member states' spending on social insurance benefits (including family allowances and medical

care), private occupational benefits, war pensions and means tested assistance. The Social Budget makes it possible to judge which countries are generous or mean in respect of various benefits. The effectiveness of such comparisons was underlined by the dismay with which the British Government regarded the first Budget. Such data is a prerequisite of effective co-ordination between countries. The Community ought to publish the Social Budget annually and extend it to cover the whole range of social policies.

A Bigger Share of the Community Budget. Fundamental to any major expansion of Community policy in the social field is a re-allocation of the Community Budget so that the common agricultural policy does not continue to eat up such a huge proportion. If the reforms currently being discussed to cut out some of the wastefulness inherent in the CAP are successful, then it would become possible to allocate more money to regional and social policy. This would make membership of the Community much more equitable for Britain. To have a Community Budget financed by import duties and levies and with most of the money spent on agriculture is manifestly unfair to us. We bear a disproportionate share of the burden of financing the Budget because we are a big net importer, but so long as 75 per cent of the Budget goes on agriculture we fail to get back anything like our fair share because we have a comparatively small, but highly efficient, agricultural sector. A significant increase in the proportion of the Community Budget allocated to social policy would not only make it possible to achieve Community social policy in its own right. It would also make membership of the Community much more equitable for Britain than it is at present.

Michael Barnes is a member of the International Committee of the National Council of Social Service. From 1966-74 he was MP for Brentford & Chiswick. He was formerly the Honorary Secretary of the Labour Committee for Europe and Chairman of the UK Advisory Committee on the EEC Programme of Pilot Schemes to combat poverty.

3. the community's unemployed

Brian Showler

The growth of unemployment in the EEC during the 1970s is arguably the single most important cause of increased poverty and inequality of income and opportunity. Thus tackling unemployment represents the biggest and largely unmet challenge to both EEC and national economic and social policy making for the foreseeable future.

the growth of unemployment

Registered unemployment in the EEC increased from 4.6 million in 1975 to 5.9 million in 1978, with the UK accounting for 40 per cent of the increase. Italy and France accounted for most of the remaining increase. According to OECD data adjusted to international differences in calculating unemployment, Italy and the UK suffer the highest rates of unemployment in Europe, averaging 7.5 per cent and 6.6 per cent of the workforce respectively in the first quarter of 1978, compared with 5.1 per cent in France and 3.6 per cent in West Germany. On the same basis, unemployment was 6.1 per cent in the USA. Only Norway and Sweden have rates (1.9 per cent and 2.1 per cent respectively) comparable to those common in the rest of Europe during the 1950s and 1960s.

the most vulnerable

The impact of increased unemployment has been far from even. The 1977 Report on the Social Situation in the EEC comments: "While total unemployment has doubled (1973-77), that of young people under 25 has trebled . . . and the increase for women has been greater than that for men". The average number of under 25s unemployed in the EEC for the years 1969 to 1973 was 560,000, representing 26.5 per cent of total unemployment. This had increased to 2 million by 1977 representing 37.4 per cent of the total.

The severity of youth unemployment differs between different member states. In Italy, three quarters of total unemployment in December 1977 was amongst young people, whilst in West Germany

the rate of youth unemployment was below the national average.

The causes of high youth unemployment are related both to the general economic situation and to certain structural changes. Young people tend to be vulnerable in a recession as they lack experience, and employers find it easier to shed excess labour by natural wastage and non-recruitment which adversely affects youth job opportunities. On the supply side, most EEC countries are experiencing a considerable increase in the numbers of young people entering the labour force up to 1980 owing to demographic trends. Changes in the structure of demand for young workers presents a somewhat confused pattern with higher unemployment amongst the well qualified in some countries, but in the UK the problem is most severe for the unqualified and unskilled.

Female unemployment has been increasing roughly twice as fast as male unemployment in recent years, with women accounting for some 45 per cent of EEC unemployment. Even this high proportion is an underestimate owing to non-registration, particularly in the UK.

Whilst the under 25s and women have shouldered a disproportionate share of the recent increase in unemployment, the over 25s (particularly male workers in the UK) still bear the brunt of long term unemployment. The proportion of all unemployed people in Britain who have been jobless for over six months has risen from 26 per cent in 1975 to 41 per cent in 1978, and the proportion unemployed for over a year has increased over the same three years from 14 per cent to 23 per cent. There are now far more people unemployed in Britain for over six months (611,000 in January 1978) than the total unemployed in the recessionary peaks of the 50s and 60s, and more than in the late 1930s when unemployment was last at similar levels.

The worker over 45 is the most vulnerable to long term unemployment, but an increasing number of workers of prime working age with children are affected. In Britain 29 per cent of men out of work for over six months were

aged 25 to 39. The long term unemployed encounter several pressures including financial strain; the need to re-organise daily life which has often strained domestic relationships; a sapping of self-respect; and having to face stigma and social disapproval.

To add insult to injury, most European social security systems discriminate against the long term unemployed with time limits imposed on the payment of unemployment benefit. The situation is particularly bad in the UK with the long term sick receiving up to 53 per cent more than the long term unemployed under national insurance provision, and with the unemployed excluded from the higher long term rate of supplementary benefit.

British and EEC policies

Attempts by the EEC to tackle unemployment have been limited in both scope and scale. That the EEC has a role to play is made clear in a 1975 EEC booklet: "Employment—enough jobs and the right jobs in the right place—must remain the Community's number one social aim. That means getting rid of unemployment which is a waste of human talent and resources and the cause of much suffering". This statement of priorities has unfortunately, not been fulfilled.

Most countries have recognised the seriousness of growing youth unemployment and have introduced a package of measures involving various combinations of job subsidisation, training, vocational preparation, work experience and job creation. Most of these measures have been introduced on an *ad hoc* basis, although Britain has tried to rationalise and extend provision on a more permanent basis through the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP).

The EEC has provided some financial support through the Social Fund for some of these programmes mainly concentrated upon training. Between 1975 and 1977 the Social Fund allocated about £118 million as aid to vocational training programmes for young people. How-

ever, in this period, applications to the Fund for assistance exceeding £250 million. Thus in the one area where the Community has acknowledged some priority regarding high unemployment, financial provision has been inadequate. This has resulted in aid being concentrated upon young people seeking their first job (mostly school leavers) whilst little has been done for youngsters who become unemployed after having a job. This bias is reflected in UK manpower policy. The enhanced YOP is directed towards those aged 16 to 18, particularly school leavers. The Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP) is designed to provide job creation places for those over 19 and mostly up to the age of 25. The STEP is to "build up" to only 25,000 places (compared with 225,000 places under YOPS). The existing Job Creation Programme in January 1977 was already providing over 25,000 places.

Policies both nationally and through the EEC remain insufficient to make any significant impact on youth unemployment. Policies to deal with the growing and alarming problem of long term unemployment amongst adult workers are virtually non-existent.

The only substantial improvement has been in the expansion of government vocational training, which has received financial support from the Social Fund, intended particularly to meet long term structural problems and the re-entry of women to the labour market. In Britain the Training Opportunities Programme (TOPS) has increased the number of trainees completing courses from 15,600 in 1971 to 94,200 in 1977, with women accounting for 43 per cent of the total in 1977. Whilst this development has undoubtedly helped many individuals in the labour market, many others continue to encounter unemployment after training and few trainees are over 40.

Apart from the limited support given to manpower policy measures, the other main EEC financial support towards tackling unemployment has come from the Community's Regional Policy. Substantial improvements were made in 1978, with

a doubling in the size of the Regional Fund, the introduction of more flexibility in the principles of allocation and more stress placed on job creation effects. But finance remains inadequate and the Fund has done little more than slightly offset the adverse effects of the general recession in the regions. Furthermore, improvements in provision have all too often been regarded by the member states as a replacement not a supplement to national regional policies. In Britain's case, for example, any small net gain from improvements in the Community's Regional Policy will have been more than offset by the removal of the Regional Employment Premium.

tackling unemployment

What policies must therefore be adopted if the problem of unemployment is to be seriously tackled? The first essential must be an explicit recognition of the seriousness of current mass unemployment and a re-dedication to a full employment policy. The return of mass unemployment in the 1970s represents the greatest single challenge to socialists. Until ten years ago, it was complacently assumed that full employment was and would remain a basic tenet of any socialist government. That assumption has been rudely shattered. The results have been a growing inequality in all West European societies, between the increasing minority who have borne the brunt of anti-inflation policies and technological change through long term or repeated unemployment or low paid, insecure jobs and others who hold a more advantaged position in the labour market.

Tackling unemployment is and will remain substantially a matter of national policy. But the EEC has such far reaching socio-economic effects that Community based policies will also be required if any permanent solutions are to be found. Community policy regarding economic expansion and industrial development, trade and capital flows are critically important to national full employment policies, as indeed is the need in many instances to co-ordinate and

harmonise manpower, social security and work sharing policies.

The single most important contribution towards tackling unemployment must be through reflation and an increase in aggregate demand for goods and services. It is difficult for individual member states to achieve this, particularly those such as Britain and Italy with relatively high inflation and high marginal propensities to import. Pressure must, therefore, be exerted upon stronger European economies—particularly West Germany—with relatively low inflation and unemployment and a trade surplus to reflate. But it is not sufficient for the weaker economies to ride on the coat tails of a German economic expansion. The problems of the British and Italian economies are of a more deep seated and structural nature. Both suffer from under investment and a lack of industrial competitiveness which could be exacerbated by further unequal economic development within Europe.

The basic tenets of existing EEC policy rest on assumptions of free trade in manufactured goods and a free movement of capital and labour within the EEC whilst maintaining a protectionist stance towards agricultural production against the rest of the world, supported by internal subsidisation through the CAP. Britain gets the worst of both worlds, facing high prices for its dependency on food imports and intense competition within Europe for its manufactured exports. Unequal competitiveness and economic development within Europe, combined with policies designed to foster the free flow of capital, have resulted in a serious outflow of capital from Britain, much of it into the more developed economies of West Germany and France.

If Britain is to achieve long term economic development and full employment and take full advantage of the balance of payments breathing space afforded by North Sea oil, it will require a strong interventionist strategy by the state. Several of the basic components of such a strategy are existing Labour Party policy—for example, the negotiation of planning agreements with major com-

panies, public investment through the National Enterprise Board and control over the level of private investment abroad. It may also be necessary to introduce temporary and selective import controls and trade agreements to enable certain sectors of industry to achieve international competitiveness. Most of these policies run counter to the basic policies of freedom of trade and capital movement within the EEC, which only provide for limited state support for declining regions and industries, many of whose problems stem from the free competition policies of the EEC itself.

These policies which work to the disadvantage of economies such as those of Britain and Italy must be challenged if more equal development and full employment throughout the Community are to be achieved.

This is not to deny that manpower policy has an important role to play. If reflation and a major restructuring of industry were to begin tomorrow, high unemployment concentrated amongst the weakest and most vulnerable members of society would continue for some years. Manpower policy has, therefore, a role to play in providing meaningful job creation, industrial training and retraining. Some limited success has already been achieved. In Britain, without the various job subsidisation and manpower policy measures, registered unemployment would be some 200,000 higher.

Existing policies are, however, concentrated upon only one aspect of the problem, namely youth unemployment. Programmes comparable in scale to YOP need to be developed to meet the needs of unemployed young people aged 19 to 25, and to address the problem of long term unemployment amongst older workers. Pressure should, therefore, be exerted within the EEC to make the social policy far more interventionist and to expand financial provision considerably for measures which will reach a much larger proportion of those suffering severe unemployment.

Member states should be encouraged to improve social security provision for

the unemployed, particularly the long term unemployed. Time limits on the payment of unemployment benefit need harmonising and also extending considerably to reflect the changed structure and impact of prolonged unemployment. Some recent changes have worked in the opposite direction. The relatively generous provision of 80 per cent of earnings for up to a year for those made unemployed for economic reasons in France has been considerably restricted since January 1979. And in Britain more generous annual increases are made in the long term rate of supplementary benefit from which the unemployed are excluded. This discrimination in social security provision against the unemployed should be stopped.

The trade union movement has begun to press for "work sharing" measures, particularly the introduction of a 35 hour week and also earlier retirement, as means of tackling unemployment in the medium term. The co-ordination of hours and conditions of work within the EEC would aid the introduction of such measures and reduce employer opposition based on arguments regarding relative competitiveness.

Pressure through the EEC for improvements in manpower policy, social security provision and work sharing measures do not necessarily run counter to the "fair competition" ethos of the Community, but direct state measures to improve the industrial, trade and investment position of weaker members such as Britain and Italy do, and will encounter powerful opposition from established vested interests within the Community. But such policies will be essential if any sustained attack on the glaring inequalities and poverty created by present mass unemployment is to be achieved and full employment restored in the 1980s.

Brian Showler lectures in employment and social economics at the University of Hull. He is the Director of a research project on Youth and Job Entry for the Department of Employment and author of several publications including the Fabian pamphlet "On to a Comprehensive Employment Service", 1973.

4. the community's consumers

Anthony Dumont

In June 1977, in his first speech to the European Parliament, Roy Jenkins stressed the importance of creating a Community responsive to the needs of consumers. In doing so, he echoed the call from the 1972 Paris Summit and boosted the morale of the Commission's Environmental and Consumer Protection Service which had been set up in its wake in 1973.

The Community, of course, was not originally conceived of as a "consumer" oriented organisation. If anything, the reverse is true. Its aims were more the furtherance of producer interests and, indeed, the word consumer appears only twice in the Treaty of Rome. It is true that the Community is no longer the "businessman's club" that it may once have been. But anyone familiar with the Brussels scene will be only too aware of the strength and the pervasiveness of the producer lobby there and of its original influence on the Community's bureaucracy.

That bureaucracy is not large—the Commission employs fewer people than the London Borough of Barking. What is perhaps more revealing is the relative size of its Directorates-General (or departments). The one dealing with agriculture for example, employs 568 people. By contrast, the Environmental and Consumer Protection Services employs less than 100. COPA (the European Farm Union) has a Brussels staff of about 30 and, in addition, each national union has its own people in Brussels full time. The European Consumers' Union (the Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs) has a staff of five.

Should the Community be written off as a body that can never serve the interests of its citizens as consumers? Have its origins and multifarious trade lobbies given it a permanent anti-consumer bias? Probably not. The European Community offers tremendous scope for the furtherance of consumer interests.

The Community *does*, for example, have the capacity to provide its consumers with secure supplies of food at reasonable

prices. It *does* have the capacity to raise the standards of the goods they buy. And it is through Community action that major legal reforms, like product liability, could effectively be enacted in the UK—no member state will take this initiative on its own and place an unequal responsibility on its producers.

But to fulfil this new role, to become a consumers' Community, it must change. The rest of this chapter describes the direction in which that change must take place.

food prices and the CAP

In the regular public opinion polls commissioned by the Consumers' Association in Britain, food prices consistently score highest on the list of consumer problems. And whilst it is true that the CAP is not the sole cause of rising food prices, it is certainly a key element. In fact, the price of all basic foods in the Community, excepting fruit and vegetables, is higher than almost anywhere in the world. Amongst the advanced nations, only Japan's prices are as high. Some of the differences are striking: at the end of 1978, the Cif London price of New Zealand butter was about £750 a tonne; the going price in the EEC was on average £1,600. The EEC sugar price of nearly £250 a tonne compares with a London daily price of £95. Differences like this are inevitably reflected in retail prices.

At the same time, these prices have put supply and demand out of balance in certain sectors by depressing consumption and stimulating production. The most notorious example, of course, is the dairy sector. The Commission estimates the dairy surplus at about 16 per cent over demand with production increasing annually at about 2 per cent in the face of stagnant, if not falling, consumption.

The sugar sector is also in imbalance. The current forecast of a sugar surplus stands at between 2 and 2½ million tonnes. Although most attention has been focussed on the few thousand tonnes of cheap butter exports to Russia, most of

the sugar surplus will be sold off at subsidised prices on world markets.

What then is the answer to the problem of Europe's structural surpluses? Consumer organisations have argued that common prices are set at too high a level and that only by setting lower prices, and adopting a more flexible policy to food imports, will the problem be solved. In its 1978 report on the CAP, BEUC (the Bureau European des Unions de Consommateurs) called for a freeze on the price of foods in structural surplus—dairy products, sugar, wine, beef and soft wheat. The Commission, it is true, has made efforts in this direction through its "prudent" price policy—in 1978 it succeeded in keeping the average common price increase down to just over 2 per cent. But, in fact, because of green currency devaluations in member states, average prices paid in national currencies rose by about 8 per cent—UK prices went up by 10 per cent and Italian prices by nearly 15 per cent.

Green money is, of course, intimately bound up with the question of farm prices and remains one of the most intractable problems of the CAP.

There is a clear economic argument for realigning green currencies. As things stand, German farmers receive about 10 per cent more than the "common" price, UK farmers 30 per cent less, and only in Denmark do "common" prices operate. With true common prices, production would tend to be relocated in the most suitable areas and, as economists will argue, a free market like this will secure the optimum allocation of the Community's resources. The snag, however, is that if green currencies were realigned around the current common prices, farm prices would, on average, rise by about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This, in turn, would lead to a further reduction in food consumption, increased production and thus even bigger food surpluses. Realignment around present common prices is clearly not a viable solution. If realignment is to take place it can, reasonably, only take place at a lower level than at present, ideally at or around the UK level.

The political problems involved in such a solution—rational though it is—are, of course, enormous. The 6 million farmers in the Community pack a lot of punch, particularly in Germany, and are unlikely to acquiesce in a plan to reduce farm incomes in the EEC. One looks in vain for a counter-lobby to COPA of anything like the same weight. Organised consumers certainly make their voice heard and the ETUC (European TUC) has supported them in consultations with the Commission. The Commission itself does seem only too aware of the need for change and the direction of that change. But year after year it has seen its price proposals raised by the Council, cheered on by the European Parliament. However, were the Parliament not quite as dominated by the farm lobby, things might change a little. Were socialist candidates to be elected in large numbers with a firm commitment to reform the CAP, the Commission and the consumer lobby would have a very powerful ally indeed. The EEC might then finally acknowledge that there is no good reason why farmers should be insulated uniquely against the effects of comparative national failure as felt in a declining exchange rate.

prices in general

In 1974 the Commission published its first Consumer Protection Programme. It listed five "rights" for the consumer, including the protection of his economic interest. Under this heading, it talked about a number of directives dealing with consumer protection in commercial transactions. What it didn't discuss were the more general effects the Community's policy might have on the consumer's economic interest. It is worth making this point because it typifies the Community's attitude to consumer protection—it tends to see consumer protection as a separate and perhaps peripheral field of action.

Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. The Community's various "big" policies—agriculture, trading, regional and social—whilst not "for" the consumer, certainly affect the con-

sumer interest. In other words, while a Commission official in the Environmental and Consumer Protection Service may sit drafting a directive on textile and clothing labels, his colleague in another part of the Commission may be working on a trading agreement that will considerably limit imports of textiles and clothing, reduce the consumer's choice and put up prices. Further, yet another official might be putting the finishing touches to plans for a synthetic fibres cartel that will significantly limit competition amongst producers in the Community.

protectionism and the consumer

Given all this, what changes in the Community's economic and particularly its trade policy might be desirable from the consumer point of view? There is no doubt that what is needed is a halt to the tendency for European industry to try and take a leaf out of agriculture's book. Some industries are clamouring for protection, others have already achieved it.

The most recent example, of course, is the GATT Multi-fibres Arrangement (MFA) concluded in December 1977. The MFA negotiations related to imports of textiles, clothing and footwear into the Community. In the event, third world imports were limited by the MFA, in some cases drastically. Whereas before, under the old agreement, imports were divided into 60 categories, the new agreement defined these, much more precisely, into 123 groups. For each of these a quota was set. Naturally, by defining the categories in such detail, Community negotiators could be much more precise in restricting imports, particularly the "sensitive" items like T-shirts and men's cotton shirts. Quota reductions in this area were striking. To take just one example, shirts were cut back to 1976 levels.

For the consumer import controls are, generally, a bad thing—they reduce choice and raise prices. It has been suggested, for example, that manufacturers in third countries will, in the face of the

MFA, "trade-up" to maximise the cash value of their quota. This might happen in two ways. Either they will switch from lower quality to higher quality goods or they will move from children's garments to adult's. Because it tends to be the lower, cheaper end of the market that is hardest hit by restrictions such as these, it tends to be the worst off section of society that suffers most. As one recent report, on footwear, concluded "the likely effect of the imposition of quotas and licences will be to increase... the import of shoes which compete more directly with British footwear and to exclude non-competing footwear which forms a basic part of the wardrobe of poorer families and school children".

This is not the place to examine the pros and cons of import controls in detail. The point is that great pressures exist within the Community to restrict imports and there is a danger that regimes akin to those in agriculture will tend to develop for industrial products. The consumer interest in price and choice does not always outweigh sectional interests in jobs, but in many cases controls simply don't have the desired effect of a "breathing space" for a beleaguered industry.

There may, however, be a case for some forms of restrictions in some cases. But in any decision it is essential that the consumer interest is at least put alongside other interests. Import restrictions cost money, not to the exchequer but to the consumer. Their cost doesn't show up in the Community or national budget but the family one. If consumers are to be forced to fund restrictions, their voice should be heard in the preceding deliberations. And when restrictions are in force, their effect should be independently monitored to decide whether the industry or sector concerned is making proper use of its temporary breathing space.

Socialist candidates in European elections will hopefully support the idea of an independent watchdog on those lines. As Vincent Cable has written, "there are techniques such as cost benefit analysis which can be used to quantify gains and losses to producers and consumers . . .

Using such criteria, relevant officials should be forced to appear before publicly convened parliamentary select committees to defend their decisions, and businessmen (public and private sector) to disclose details of their transactions" (*Import Controls: the Case Against*, Fabjan Society, 1977). Now that decisions on import controls tend to rest with the Community rather than member states individually, how much more appropriate it would be for a European parliamentary committee to fulfil this role.

harmonisation

In 1975 and in the middle of 1978, the Community's policy of harmonisation came under heavy fire in the UK.

In the first period, food law harmonisation was the main target—"Euro-beer", "Euro-bread". The common market in those cases was seen to be taking away some cherished part of our heritage in pursuit of its policy of uniform standards. The Commission responded in two ways. First, it cut back on the number of food directives it was promoting, particularly the more contentious ones such as on beer and bread. Secondly, it began to place more emphasis on "optional" harmonisation whereby member states could retain their own rules but were required also to accept products made to the common European standard.

The second wave of criticism came in 1978 but this time the arguments were rather different. Whereas before the Commission had simply been criticised for seeking harmonisation of particular products, now it began to be argued that the Commission had no *right* to tackle some of the issues in its programme. The attack was both legalistic (in particular from the House of Lords EEC Legal Subcommittee came criticism of the use of Article 100) and political (such as Roy Hattersley's remarks on the Commission's consumer directives in July).

Although the Commission has produced some exotic, muddled and unnecessary directives, there is more to the recent

criticisms than just a rational man's critique of bureaucracy. Indeed, in many respects it has more in common with the "states' rights" issue in American history. Any measure, simply because it originates from Brussels, will receive that much more attention. Parliament, for example (through its committees), seems to spend much more time scrutinising EEC directives than it does British draft legislation. And almost irrespective of the merits of the draft directive, it tends to be seen as interference.

Many of the directives that have come under fire have been those concerned with consumer protection—advertising, product liability and doorstep selling, for instance. So consumers have an important stake in the success of those parts of the harmonisation programme which could benefit them. If the Commission responds again, as it did earlier, by cutting back, consumer directives are likely to be at the top of the casualty list. There are, in fact, signs that the Commission will pull back and slow down on harmonisation directives that are not directly related to intra-Community trade.

This would be a shame. The Consumer Protection Programme launched in 1974 comes to its close this year with few of the original goals achieved. Certainly, some of the directives have got through, but several major ones, notably product liability, await approval. The product liability directive, in fact, illustrates an important point—no member state is likely, unilaterally, to alter the rules in favour of consumers on this score. Only when all agree can strict liability for defective products be introduced in any Community country.

There have been many Community initiatives which have infringed, or been seen as infringing, "states' rights". The Commission, therefore, would be wise to proceed with caution. But there are areas where the Commission should press on. It should, for example, see through the remaining outstanding items of the consumer programme. For the rest, it should do two things. First, it should concentrate on matters of safety—a Europe wide

accident surveillance scheme similar to the UK's own would help identify the priority areas. Secondly, it should consult more widely before issuing draft directives. The Green Paper technique works well in the UK and the Community would do well to learn from it.

conclusion

For most people in Britain, the Community tends to evoke thoughts of high food prices and "mountains". They are almost certainly unaware of the many pieces of Community legislation that directly benefit them. They do not know that around 30 directives on car safety exist or that tough rules on the safety of food and cosmetics have been put into force by the EEC. But the Community could do more for them, a lot more. To become a true consumers' Community quite a lot has to change. A directly elected Parliament may give fresh impetus to this change. What direction should this change take? What, in the coming campaign, are the consumers' priorities for Europe? There are at least four possibilities.

First, the CAP must develop into a common food policy where the consumer interest is given as much weight as that of the farmer. Structural surpluses should be eliminated through a more rational pricing policy, and that means a price freeze for dairy products, sugar, soft wheat and beef. Where a rational pricing causes hardship to inefficient but necessary farm communities, they should be helped by direct income support, not by what amounts to a tax on food.

Second, the Community's protectionist tendencies should be subjected to scrutiny whether they take the form of import controls or "crisis cartels". A special Surveillance Committee of the Parliament to assess the case for and monitor the effects of restrictions on free trade would provide a useful counterweight to trade lobbies pursuing protectionist goals.

Third, the Commission should see through its first consumer programme

and then proceed with caution on harmonisation. Its first priority should be directives in the field of product safety.

Fourthly and in furtherance of these three aims, the Community should reassess the resources devoted to its consumer protection service. British consumer organisations have, since its inception, found our own Department of Prices and Consumer Protection a friend and powerful ally in Whitehall. The Community could learn from the British experience and raise the status of the service to that of a Directorate-General with, amongst other things, a watching brief on other DGs whose activities impinge on the consumer interest.

Finally, the kind of changes and developments described will take time though they must come, however slowly. The Community *must* develop if it is to continue to exist. And if it is to retain the support of the mass of its citizens it must be more responsive to their needs. The machinery already exists to effect these changes, only the political will is lacking. It is to be hoped that a directly elected Parliament with members responsible to the electorate will provide the political force to turn Europe into a truly consumers' Community.

Sadly, on 7 March 1979, shortly after he had completed this chapter, Anthony Dumont died at the age of 58. A solicitor, he was Deputy Chairman of the Consumers' Association and Vice President both of BEUC (the Bureau of the European Union of Consumers) and of the EEC's Consumer Consultative Committee. He had been a Labour Parliamentary Candidate and Leader of the Labour Group in Paddington.

5. the community's environment

Nigel Haigh

Just when environmental concerns have come to be understood as central and not merely cosmetic, the legal basis for the Community's involvement in environmental policy has been called in question. It is indeed hardly surprising that the Treaty of Rome and Euratom Treaty make no reference to the protection of the environment since, in 1957, when the Treaties were signed, environmental protection was the concern of only a small minority, and had yet to find a place on the political agenda. Not till the campaigns associated with European Conservation Year 1970 can the subject be said to have assumed political prominence; it had to wait for an event such as the 1972 UN conference at Stockholm on the Human Environment, or the creation of ministries in various countries to develop environmental policies, before it achieved a status as more than a passing fashion.

The Community had to respond to this new found concern. One possibility would have been to decide that the Treaties did not empower an economic or nuclear community to involve itself with environmental matters. Alternatively it could have decided that the Treaties would have to be amended to admit completely new subject matter. In the event it adopted a middle course.

In the Paris Communiqué of October 1972, the Heads of State and Government effectively reinterpreted Article 2 of the Rome Treaty—which defines the task of the Community as promoting a continuous economic expansion and an accelerated raising of the standard of living. They declared that economic expansion was not an end in itself but should result in an improvement in the quality of life as well as in standards of living; by this verbal sleight of hand, the Community felt able to adopt an environmental policy. Accordingly, in 1973 the Commission drew up the first programme of action on the environment without any of the upheaval involved in amending the Treaties and without any changes in the Community institutions.

What happened to change the climate between 1957 and 1972 was that the

economic expansion called for by Article 2 and which had undoubtedly taken place had created unforeseen problems and sown doubts about its benefits. Economic man might in theory accept a steadily rising income as compensation for an impoverished environment, but real men and women obviously do not. The growth of local and national bodies concerned with the environment is only one manifestation of a new mood but it has been one of the more dramatic developments of the last ten years. The extension of this movement into the political arena in some countries has already forced the political parties to begin listening to new voices.

It is not difficult to think of examples where public concern has expressed itself. Over enthusiastic programmes of nuclear power production is the most dramatic. In other fields a more muted reaction has taken place, whether to the erosion of landscape and the disappearance of wild-life as a result of industrial farming methods; or to the destruction of the character of towns to make way for the heavy lorry, the multi-storey car park or the anonymous office block; or of families being made to live in expensive but inhuman tower blocks; or simply against the profligate waste of energy and resources generated by a production and consumption orientated society. These ill effects of undifferentiated economic growth are resented by individuals in ways in which the experts who confidently believed in their ability to harness the apparatus of modern technology to provide a better world never foresaw.

The Community was therefore right to emphasise in 1972 that "economic growth was not an end in itself"—but what an indictment that anyone could ever have thought it was. The declaration was a confession of a past wrong direction but nevertheless welcome.

the community's response

But has the response been adequate? Has the setting up of an Environment and Consumer Protection Service within the

Commission and the adoption of a number of directives in the field of pollution control been enough to right the balance and to inject into the Community a realisation that the intangible values implicit in peoples' concerns about the environment must override a single minded concern with what can be measured in money? Did the Community really turn itself in a new direction in 1972 or have the worst excesses of expansion simply been deferred as the result of the 1973 oil crisis? The answer must be no—and for good legal and institutional reasons.

Whatever kind of gloss is put on the Treaty of Rome and Euratom Treaty, the fact remains that they were never designed as the basis of a policy for environmental protection. The ideas that natural resources might limit expansion or that environmental considerations might constrain economic activities are wholly missing. The creation of a common market was seen as a self-evident good and the fact that it might, for example, stimulate unacceptably large flows of goods by heavy lorries was never allowed for. Again, the Euratom Treaty was specifically designed to promote "the speedy establishment and growth of nuclear industries" and since no provisions in the Treaties relate to energy generally, the Commission's energy thinking has inevitably been lopsided and biased against alternative and environmentally preferable policies. Perhaps the most dramatic example of bias in a Community institution is to be found in the European Investment Bank (EIB), established by the Rome Treaty to "contribute to the development of the common market in the interest of the Community". The EIB is underwritten by the member states and so can grant loans at very advantageous rates of interest, but since it makes loans to large scale projects it is usually these that reap the benefit. 40 per cent of the money lent by the EIB towards energy projects has gone to nuclear power, the very embodiment of large, centralised and expensive development. Energy conservation, by contrast, which involves a multitude of small schemes does not get

a look in. Whether or not small is beautiful, the EIB helps to make it more expensive.

environmental action programmes

But what of the specific environmental measures proposed since 1973 by the newly created Environment and Consumer Protection Service? Even these stand on precarious legal foundations to the extent that the Council could not agree that it had power to carry out the first and second action programmes on the environment. The Council's resolution adopting the programmes has rather lamely had to say that though some parts of the programme are proper field for action by the Community, other parts are more appropriate for action by the member states. Some measures have been adopted for which there is no clear legal authority and the practical consequence of this is that when the going gets tough it will be possible for a member state to argue that a directive is *ultra vires* and so avoid its responsibilities. It is not inconceivable that such a fate could befall the most popular environmental directive adopted so far by the Community—the directive to prohibit the annual slaughter of migratory birds—where action at national level is inadequate and Europe wide legislation is essential.

The precariousness of the legal position is best summarised in the words of the House of Lords EEC Scrutiny Committee: "It is clear from Article 2 that the purposes of the Treaty are confined to the economic sphere, with only such excursions into social affairs as are ancillary to economic policy. In the result the Treaty furnishes a considerable number of powers which can be used incidentally to further the protection of the environment: but this is not the main purpose for which the powers are provided and it would be wrong to use them as a legal basis on which to found an environmental policy" (22nd Report, Session 1977/78). The Scrutiny Committee did not go on to argue that the Community should abandon its environmental policy and certainly such a

course would be quite misguided. A Community without an environmental policy would have even more difficulty in showing a human face. On the contrary the Community must continue to develop environmental measures. Even if it is wrong in law, it is still a perfectly defensible position to say that it might as well remain wrong in law so long as it is recognised that this period of error is a period of gestation, and that eventually a revision of the Treaties and a recasting of its institutions are necessary.

Here is an area where the newly elected Parliament would have a key role to play in discussing the kind of revision that would be necessary and deciding on the appropriate timetable. A suggestion already made by the European Environmental Bureau is that Article 2 should be amended so that the tasks of the Community would embrace the concept of *quality* now and for future generations. Such a wording could also embrace the concerns of the consumer movement.

The newly defined tasks of the Community would help to ensure that environmental concerns were not just the prerogative of one department within the Commission but would inform all fields of Community action, be they agriculture, transport or energy. This process has already started but only tentatively.

agriculture

The CAP has been debated almost exclusively in terms of farmers' incomes and the price of the shopping basket. But agriculture is much more than a matter of economics: it provides a way of life for almost 9 million people within the Community and forms part of our culture by the way it moulds the landscape. The future of wildlife is inextricably bound up with agricultural practices which have important influences on our health. Since the CAP is by far the most influential of the Community's policies, it is essential that decisions on the CAP take account of these other concerns. This will require an amendment of the objectives of the CAP and the

introduction of specific environmental measures.

Having largely reached self-sufficiency in food production—which does not imply security of supply since modern agricultural methods are so dependent on imported fuel and fertilizers—the only way that the incomes of poorer farmers can currently keep up with those in industry is by increasing food prices or reducing agricultural jobs. But the flight from the land means either abandoning the rural environment or seeing it progressively mechanised. At the same time, more people have to look for jobs in towns where work is hard to find.

The CAP's attempt to provide adequate incomes for poorer farmers by setting high intervention prices means that large farmers are disproportionately well off while surpluses are created which will eventually cause the CAP to collapse under its own weight. A solution to this problem is to recognise that farmers are not just producers of food but contribute to society through their effect upon the environment and by sustaining the rural economy. One way of rewarding the farmer would be by direct income payments corresponding to the estimated level of social and environmental services provided—benefits particularly associated with smaller farms.

Two basic concepts should be emphasised in a reformed CAP. The first is the special responsibility of agriculture as the central activity through which the economy of very large areas can be kept alive and healthy. Secondly, expression should be given to agriculture's obligation to future generations—its obligation to prefer methods which will conserve the fertility and will respect the natural and cultural heritage of the land rather than those which will gradually impoverish and destroy them. The EEC must realise the importance of a willingness to incur costs in the short term in order to forestall depopulation of the countryside and the development of biological imbalances so severe as to undermine the basis of the agricultural economy. Ecological considerations are no mere optional

luxury but central to the establishment of a viable and sustainable agriculture.

transport

The Common Transport Policy has never been a success because it has never been able to come to terms with the forces supporting the French and German railway systems. With the notable exception of the question of lorry weights, the EEC Commission and the British Government are closer together on transport policy than in many other fields. Both believe in a free market in freight with minimum of regulation and this leads to the total domination of road freight even for long hauls. By contrast both in Germany and France the proportion of freight travelling by road is far less than in Britain. Since a common market means increasing the flow of goods between countries we have the position that the more heavy lorries that cross frontiers the more successful can the market be said to be! Transport is by far the most ubiquitous of industrial activities and its ill effects are experienced directly by all. If the Community were to give environmental factors their due weight, it would develop policies to try to stabilise and, if possible, to reduce the volume of long distance road freight and it would use its coordinating powers and grants to encourage the adoption elsewhere of the sensible Dutch freight transhipment centres.

energy

Attempts to form a common energy policy between countries some richly endowed with energy resources and others with none—apart from the sun—are bound to be fraught with difficulty if the policy concentrates exclusively on energy supply. The Community would be far more successful in developing an energy policy if it were to be founded on the demand side of the equation, since all member states share an interest in reducing energy demand. The EEC is ideally placed to develop a large common market for solar energy devices and energy saving equipment. Appropriate

specifications and standards need to be prepared as well as training programmes to ensure an adequate number of appropriately skilled workers for the installation and maintenance of such technologies. Such a policy would both have environmental benefits and also create a considerable number of jobs. As demand for electricity fails to increase as previously forecast, it may also be necessary for the Community to cushion the manufacturers of generating equipment and to encourage them to diversify.

A key to such a policy would be the breaking of the old assumption that electricity consumption is directly linked to economic growth. This led to the absurd view that increasing electricity consumption was somehow a measure of progress.

conclusion

The evolution of the Community into an organisation which began to concern itself with the environment in 1972 now needs the impulse of a revision of the Treaties and of the Community institutions if it is to be permanently effective. The new European Parliament should tackle this; in doing so it will have the support of a growing constituency disenchanted with the view that more is better. Many of the solutions to environmental problems require ways of thinking which are inimical to the concentration of power in few hands and so require a more responsive and human decision making system. There is also no inherent conflict between environmental protection and high employment. On the contrary, many sound environmental policies help to create more jobs.

Nigel Haigh read Mechanical Sciences and was a Chartered Patent Agent before working full time in the environmental movement. Since 1973, he has been with the Civic Trust partly giving help and advice on planning to local amenity societies and partly helping to introduce environmental concerns into policy making in such fields as transport and energy. He is a Vice President of the executive committee of the European Environmental Bureau.

6. responsibilities to the world

Adrian Moyes

A lot of people in Europe care about poverty. A recent survey showed that over half would give money and/or time to combat poverty in their own country. Probably a high proportion of them also care about Third World poverty; there are over 800 voluntary agencies and religious missions in the Community which deal with developing countries, and a voluntary aid programme of about £180 million a year (1977). But even the people who care about world poverty have other interests which they consider more important: jobs, money, security.

The institutions of the Community, and of its member governments, are naturally designed to look after the interests of the members or populations they represent. The function of the UK government, for instance, is to get the best deal it can for the people of Britain—fishermen, farmers, consumers, exporters. This has been most obvious at the Law of the Sea Conferences where the ownership of the world's deep sea minerals is at stake. The UK delegation's job has been to get the best deal for Britain that it can—not to allocate these new world resources either equally or equitably. Its function is to be selfish on behalf of the people it represents. Similarly the institutions of the Community are basically designed to look after the interest of Community members. They could hardly survive, let alone flourish, if they were otherwise.

This makes for a difficulty in considering the Community's relations with people outside it. It means that the Community is only likely to do anything for the poor when it is in the interest of its members to do so (unless the poor in some way obtain enough power to compel it to). And "interest" is usually taken to mean rather hard and practical things like security, jobs and money—not unquantifiable aspirations to be nice to the poor. Governments and the Community are correct to take that line in so far as their members are primarily interested in jobs and money and only secondarily in helping the poor outside the Community.

In the long run, perhaps, it may be possible to evolve institutions on which

people outside the Community who are affected by its decisions are represented. In the meanwhile we have to recognise that the Community is not designed to be a philanthropic body, and we should not expect it to act as one. But we can expect it to take a wide view of the interest of its members (governments and individuals), a view which includes a desire to help the poor outside the community.

All the more so in that as the twentieth century begins to end, poverty becomes increasingly unnecessary. The technical knowledge to keep everyone healthy, adequately fed, clothed, sheltered and educated exists. It is probably possible to end absolute poverty worldwide by the year 2000—or at least a large part of it. It is surely one of the interests of the people of Europe that that possibility should be achieved. If it isn't, Euro-MPs will be partly responsible; by taking too narrow a view of their members' interests, they could perpetuate the poverty their members deplore.

the Lomé convention

Meanwhile, in the nearer future, the next stage in the official relationship between the Community and the Third World is the renegotiation of the Lomé Convention. This was signed in 1975 and runs out in 1980. It forms a major part of the Community's policy towards the Third World. It includes preferential trading agreements, technical and financial assistance, a scheme for the stabilisation of export earnings (Stabex) and provision for industrial cooperation. It has been heralded as "a new model for relations between developed and developing countries" and a first step towards meeting "the aspirations of the international community towards a more just and more balanced economic order". If this were so, the task of Euro-MPs would be easy; the 1980 version should be the same only more so. Unfortunately the Convention is far from perfect.

Firstly, its coverage. The 55 ACP countries (that is, the beneficiaries of the Conven-

tion) are almost all ex-colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (thus ACP). Their total population is about 285 million—of which perhaps 250 million should be classified as very poor. This compares with the 800 million very poor people world wide estimated by the World Bank. The economies of the ACP countries are largely dependent on the export of raw materials. Other poor countries, especially those which might compete in some way with the Community's industries, are not parties to the Convention. Thus those countries with the world's largest concentrations of poor people are not members—India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Indonesia, Brazil. That may not matter if the intention is really to start the scheme off on a relatively small scale and then, using it as a model, to extend it to other poor countries. But many in Europe are totally against such an extension—and many of the provisions of the Convention seem to be designed to prolong the ex-colonies' dependent status rather than restructure the relationship. Euro-MPs should press for the new Convention to be designed so that it is capable of being extended to other larger and more competitive poor countries and for a timetable for extension over the next decade.

Secondly, even within the Convention, the benefits are not so great as they seem at first. Over 99 per cent of total exports (and 94 per cent of agricultural exports) of ACP countries enter Europe free of customs duties—but over 75 per cent would do so anyway under Most Favoured Nation treatment (the underlying principle of GATT). Also, although products from ACP countries get favoured treatment, they can be made subject to quotas—and these quotas are subject to annual review which makes long term planning difficult. Guaranteed free access to the Community is obviously important for the development of the ACP countries. At the same time their diversification and growth would result in larger markets for Community exports, while Community consumers would benefit from cheaper products from the ACP countries. But to achieve such diversification and growth demands change within the Com-

munity. The whole idea of interdependence involves a reallocation of the division of labour. Traditionally Third World countries have been producers of raw materials and sources of cheap labour. If they are to develop into something different, the Community will also have to change. A large scale programme of adjustment assistance will be needed to help the change and cushion its effects.

A small scale assistance programme plus quotas to ensure it does not succeed is no answer. As Frank Judd, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, has put it: "It is no use saying 'We'll help you while you are desperately poor, but please understand that if you dare to start helping yourselves by building up your own economic capabilities and begin to compete with us in world trade, we reserve the right to slam on the protectionist measures and to knock you down amongst the poorest again where we'll be prepared to help you'."

Thirdly, Stabex. This scheme to stabilise export earnings by compensating countries with (normally) interest free loans when prices fall (and recouping with repayments when prices rise) is certainly an advance. But it only covers 18 commodities—none of which are minerals except iron ore. It could usefully be extended to cover more. And since it is not inflation linked and is based on export earnings not prices, it is not so valuable as the proposed global scheme of International Commodity Agreements and a Common Fund in the North-South dialogue. Euro-MPs should press for improved coverage and better terms.

aid

Most of the Community's aid programme is handled under the Lomé Convention through the European Development Fund (EDF). It is however a rather small part of total aid from OECD (DAC) members; under £2,500 million has been allocated for the five years to 1980, compared to an estimated £35,000 million total for OECD (DAC) members. Nonetheless, £2,500 million is about four years' worth of

Britain's aid programme and it is obviously important to make the most of it. Like the Lomé trade agreements, the Community's aid programme covers only a limited number of the world's poor people—some 250 million out of about 800 million. Only about 5 per cent of the aid programme, £142 million over four years, goes to countries in non-ACP countries in Asia and Latin America. That matters less than it might because the EDF is such a small proportion of total aid; other aid programmes can be used to counterbalance it. But for most member governments the Community's aid programme is an alternative to other forms of aid, not an addition. So increases in its budget are usually at the expense of aid to non-ACP countries—where the majority of the very poor live. It follows that increases in the EDF's budget should be viewed with caution.

Secondly, since the Community's aid programme is an alternative to other forms of aid (whether through another international organisation, or direct country-to-country), it is important to be sure that it is in fact more helpful to the very poor. The record to date suggest that it is not. For one thing the types of project approved by the Community seem to be designed to perpetuate the ex-colonies' dependent status. In agriculture, for instance, 40 per cent of the £181 million committed by December 1977 went to projects involving export crops, while only £25,840 went into processing agricultural products. In industry (the largest category at £195 million), ACP countries have been cautioned against expanding industries whose products compete with European goods. It would be better if the EDF's policies were more like those of many of its member governments—to help the very poor.

Thirdly, the EDF seems to be less efficient than the aid ministries of its member governments; it is notorious for its paperwork and delays, while its decision making procedures exploit the dominant position of the Community. The machinery should be streamlined and the procedures made more a partnership, as the ACP countries have already asked.

One particular form of aid, widely thought to be self-evidently beneficial, is in fact very suspect: food aid. The Community is bound to give cereal food aid under the International Food Aid Convention of 1971. In 1977/8 it gave 1.3 million tonnes—about 15 per cent of the world wide total of cereal food aid. It supplied 150,000 tonnes of dried skim milk and 45,000 tonnes of butter oil.

The value of non-emergency cereal food aid is extremely limited. It depresses local prices and thus discourages local food production; it is difficult to distribute without corruption, and difficult to ensure that it reaches the people who need it.

Finally, even food-for-work schemes seldom attack the causes of poverty; they only reduce it on a temporary basis and often end up by helping the rich to take further advantage of the poor.

Emergency food aid looks more useful but it is surprisingly seldom necessary; local supplies are often available and if they are (as in Guatemala after the 1974 earthquake) an influx of foreign food destroys the one asset the poor have—the value of their foodstocks. Even where there is genuinely a food shortage, it has proved almost impossible to get food quickly to the people who need it. The other forms of foodstuffs—dried skim milk and butter oil—are not often useful either. It is not helpful to teach mothers good nutritional practice through the medium of an exotic imported foodstuff; it is better to help them to make use of their own environment and the foods that are available locally. Butter oil is essentially a luxury product. It can either be given to the poor as a temporary luxury—or (as happens more often) sold off to the local elite to provide funds for development. This is rather like making chocolates to sell to British Cabinet ministers to get funds for government poverty programmes.

To date food aid has been thought to be obviously beneficial, and not a lot is known about its actual effects. What is known suggests that while it may save some lives in the short run, it has many

harmful effects in the long. If food aid is to be expanded, or even continued at its present level, new ways of using it need to be devised.

land tenure

Even if food aid could be used effectively it would make only a minor contribution to the fight against poverty. In much of the Third World (especially in Asia and Latin America), the basic obstacle to growing more food is unequal land tenure. Many have no land at all (in India 22 per cent of rural families have no land); many have almost none (in India 47 per cent of land owners have less than an acre); many have to work as low paid labourers for others; and many have to "share" half the net harvest with their landlord. It is hardly surprising that so many of the poor can hardly keep alive. Many cannot; in Bangladesh, for instance, the death rate for under five year old children of landless people is five times higher than for those with land.

The conventional wisdom is that land reform is purely an internal political matter for Third World governments and that it is wrong for rich countries to interfere. There are two things wrong with this view. One is that it ignores the amount of human misery caused by inequitable land ownership; the other is that aid programmes do interfere with land tenure anyway. Surprisingly often they do so to the detriment of the very poor. The "miracle" rice and wheat of the Green Revolution, for instance, actually increased the power of the landlords and the number of the landless. The main problem in fact is not whether or not to try to do something about land tenure, but how to; land tenure is the basis of power in much of the Third World and it is hard to alter that base from outside.

But Euro-MPS can do something. They should be pressing for land tenure to be made a key issue in the fight against poverty. It affects far more people, and more permanently, than do violations of

human rights. Under the Lomé Convention most of the Community's aid programme goes to countries where unequal land tenure is not a major problem, but the Community can press other donors, national and international, to use their aid to non-ACP countries to promote more equitable and productive land tenure.

Given the right leadership, the Community could play a significant part in reducing poverty by the end of the century, particularly through its trading arrangements. It is important that Euro-MPS should help it do so; if they do not, the Community will, in trying to get itself the best bargain, keep a lot of poor people poor.

Adrian Moyes is the Head of Oxfam's Public Affairs Unit (which tackles those causes of Third World poverty that are affected by British activity). Until recently, he was Oxfam's Field Director in Tanzania and before that worked on Oxfam's overseas spending policy, visiting most Third World countries. He previously worked for the National Innovations Centre, the SSRC and the Overseas Development Institute, having earlier been a freelance journalist in Asia.

7. whose community?

Roy Manley

In the other five chapters of this pamphlet, contributors have proposed ways in which Britain and its European MPs can help to create a more caring Community. But whose Community is it and whose should it be? Michael Barnes has quoted Albert Coppe's words at the 1972 Paris Summit: "Every worker, student citizen . . . must feel that Europe is being created for and through him".

how the community works

There is still sufficient misunderstanding about the structure of the Community to describe it, albeit briefly, yet again.

The Commission acts as the watchdog of the Treaty of Rome, proposes policies and is responsible for the Community's civil service, organised in the main into specialist Directorates-General (departments). Its 13 members sit in Brussels and, although nominated by member governments, are not responsible to them.

The Council of Ministers considers the Commission's proposals and has final authority on all matters of major policy. It is composed of the appropriate ministers from the member states for the subject in hand and represents severally the member states.

The European Council is not an official institution of the Community but is the name now given to the regular summit meetings of the heads of government of the member states and, as such, has unique power.

The European Parliament, meeting in Luxembourg and Strasbourg, is virtually a consultative body, although it has power over elements of the Community's Budget and the constitutional right to dismiss the Commission. It has, until now, had members nominated by each member state in proportion to the political complexion of its own national parliament.

The Economic and Social Committee is also a consultative body. It has a total

membership of 144, all nominated by member states in rough relationship to their size and represents employers, trade unionists and other interests.

The European Court of Justice sits in Luxembourg, is composed of one judge per member state and arbitrates on matters of Community law.

In practice, a Community policy or programme has to clear a number of hurdles before its adoption. It is conceived by one of the Commissioners who instructs his Directorate-General to prepare it. It is then discussed by the Commission which, if it approves it, consults the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee. At the same time the proposals are considered by the Committee of Permanent Representatives, civil servants from the member states who shadow and devil for the Council of Ministers. Only after this are the proposals submitted to the Council of Ministers for a final decision. The process is further complicated by the political bargaining which takes place between the Commissioners, often through their Chefs de Cabinet, and between the member states on the old principle of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours". All this is not helped by the Commission's having to work in five languages and by its employing less staff, as Tony Dumont has pointed out, than the London Borough of Barking—or Harrods. It is, then, little wonder that the Community Regional Policy, for example, took 18 months between agreement by the Commission and acceptance by the Council of Ministers.

a people's community?

It could be said that the Community is already a democracy of its peoples. In each member state they elect their national parliament which in turn forms a government which then represents them on the Community's decision making bodies—the European Council and the Council of Ministers. But this is a theoretical and limited view of democracy more popular with professional

politicians than with those who elect them. It makes even less sense for the complex and extended nature of the Community's activities than it does for the comparatively simple and direct character of national and local government. If the European Community is to become a People's Community, we must apply to it not only some of the principles we give lip service to in Britain, open government and wide consultation for example, but measures that are appropriate to an international bureaucracy.

a directed elected parliament

Lawyers in Brussels argue that direct elections cannot change the constitutional powers of the Parliament and its constitutional relationship to the Commission and the Council of Ministers. In doing so, they ignore political reality. Directly elected members, many of them having stood on Community-wide party political election platforms, will find their loyalties are to their constituents, their European party groupings and to the European Parliament. In exercising these loyalties, they will forge a new role for the Parliament.

They will have unique political muscle as the only direct representatives of the Community's peoples and it is impossible to imagine that they will not use it, often as allies of the Commission in furthering European initiatives, policies and programmes. The nominated Parliament has already shown in its insistence on increasing funds for Third World development and for regional policies that it thinks European. An elected Parliament will be even more independent of the member states.

the economic and social committee

While direct elections to the European Parliament will provide people with the opportunity, every four years, to listen to, question and vote for somebody to represent them to the Community and to feel closer to what happens in Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg, a People's

Community also demands the consistent representation of sectional interests. This was the purpose behind the establishment, under the Treaties, of the Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC) to which the UK sends 24 nominated members, 8 representing employers, 8 trade unions and 8 covering such other interests as farmers, professionals, consumers and craftsmen.

Until 1972 ECOSOC was a purely advisory committee responding to requests from the Community for its views. Since then it has been able to offer advice on its own initiative.

There are, however, three criticisms that can be levelled at ECOSOC as it is constituted and as it works. First, it is dominated by employers and trade unionists whose primary interest is in the industrial workplace, not in social policy. Secondly, its membership, certainly as far as the UK is concerned, is of older established figures who are unable to devote the time or bring fresh ideas to its deliberations. And thirdly the complexity of the problems it has to deal with and the consequent complexity of the opinions it gives lead one to wonder whether it can ever devote time to broad issues of policy.

Trade unions and employers have vehicles other than ECOSOC for influencing Community policies—their associated political parties, their national governments, their associated European MPs and the Community's tripartite conferences for example. Thought should, therefore, be given to re-establishing ECOSOC as a body with the majority of its membership representing other interests, consumers, professional associations and voluntary bodies.

Such a transformation would take time. Meanwhile the British Government should, at least, nominate mid-career people, professionally involved in their fields, as their "other interest" members and should use open consultation to decide upon them.

ECOSOC's business will be determined by its membership. It could be a powerful

influence on the Community's policies and programmes but only if its members have the time, knowledge and imagination to devote to it.

voluntary organisations

The Fabian pamphlet, *Influencing Europe: A Guide for Pressure Groups*, argued that voluntary organisations had played a part and could play a greater role in affecting the Community's policies and programmes (Roy Manley and Helen Hastings, Fabian Society, 1977). Such bodies as the EEB (European Environmental Bureau), COFACE (the organisation of family agencies in the Community), BEUC (the union of European consumer bodies), the NGO Liaison Committee (representing voluntary agencies concerned with Third World poverty) and the new European Youth Assembly enable voluntary organisations throughout the Community to have their voices heard. But the Community, and indeed the Commission, does not have a consistent policy towards consultations with volunteer organisations. It should begin to consider the establishment of specialist consultative committees, like its Consumer Consultative Committee, through which the professionalism and knowledge of the European volunteer movement could be brought to bear on the Community's thinking.

Meanwhile voluntary organisations in the UK should encourage the formation of other associations at the European Community level (none exists, for example, to represent the handicapped or the old). They should also use the occasion of direct European elections to canvass candidates on their views towards the interests they represent.

the UK parliament, government and civil service

So far, we have been concerned with creating a People's Europe through European institutions, not least through the satisfactory monitoring and publishing of developments in the Community. British MPs complain of being kept in the dark

on impending Community legislation. In contrast, the House of Lords has more effective scrutiny arrangements. If MPs are ill informed, the general public is in a state of ignorance.

It should be the responsibility of the individual government departments to fill this gap. With their representatives in Brussels they would be able to produce regular European Information Sheets on matters lying within their authority and to make them available to legislators and to the public.

This is not to criticise those who are already providing information about the Community, the London, Edinburgh, Cardiff and Belfast Offices of the Commission, trade unions, the Confederation of British Industry, the National Council of Social Service. But what they are able to give should be supplemented by regular, well ordered, authoritative Information Sheets published and distributed officially by government departments.

a European institute

Lastly, is it not the appropriate time to consider founding a government financed European Institute to house the UK European MPs and to hold permanent exhibitions on the Community and its member states? Those who know the officially supported Commonwealth Institute in London will realise how valuable it would be.

8. summary

Here we give the major recommendations arising from this pamphlet.

the community's underprivileged

The Community should re-define social policy and relate it to other major policy areas.

A distinction should be drawn within social policy between policies related to employment and those not related to employment.

This distinction should be reflected in the organisational structure of the Commission with separate Directorates-General and Commissioners for Employment and Social Affairs. The Community should implement job creation schemes on a Community wide basis.

Equal opportunity legislation should be backed up by a whole range of measures in the educational, welfare and social fields.

The Community should strengthen its measures designed to ensure that migrants from member countries get their full rights as Community citizens.

It should also persuade member countries to provide non-member state migrants with basic social services and to develop consistent and humane immigration policies.

The long term programme for the social integration of the handicapped should be given priority.

The programme of pilot schemes to combat poverty should be made more flexible and effective and developed into a Community Poverty Programme.

The Community should develop simple sickness schemes for those on holiday.

The Social Budget should be published annually and extended to cover the whole range of social policies.

The Community's budget should be re-

allocated to give less to the Common Agricultural Policy and more to regional and social policy.

the community's unemployed

The Community should encourage the stronger European economies to reflate.

The Community should grant temporary licence for state intervention in industry, including, in the UK for example, control over the level of private investment abroad and selective import controls and trade agreements.

The Community's social policy should become far more interventionist with expanded financial provision for measures aimed at reaching a much larger proportion of those suffering severe unemployment.

The Community should encourage improvements in state social security provision for the unemployed, particularly for the long term unemployed and for women.

The Community should continue to work towards the coordination of hours and conditions of work between its member states.

the community's consumers

The Community's economic (and particularly its trade) policy should cease to be protectionist, giving adequate weight to the consumer interest; an independent method should be devised to quantify gains and losses to consumers, possibly through a surveillance committee of the Parliament.

The Commission should see through the remaining items in its consumer programme and should then concentrate on matters of safety while developing greater consultative procedures on draft directives.

The Common Agricultural Policy should develop into a common food policy. CAP prices should be cut until surpluses

are eliminated. Green currencies should be realigned around these lower levels.

The Community should give greater resources to its consumer protection service and raise its status to that of a Directorate-General with a watching brief on other DGs whose activities impinge on the consumer interest.

the community's environment

The newly elected Parliament should have a key role in discussing the revision of the Treaties and the recasting of its institutions to take account of such new found concerns as the environment.

Article 2 should be amended so that the tasks of the Community would embrace the concept of quality now and for future generations.

The farmer should be rewarded under the CAP by direct income payments corresponding to the level of social and environmental service provided.

A reformed Common Agricultural Policy should recognise two basic concepts: the special responsibility of agriculture for keeping large areas economically healthy and its obligations to future generations for conserving fertility and respecting the natural and cultural heritage.

The Community should develop policies to stabilise and, if possible, reduce the volume of long distance road freight.

A Common Energy Policy should be founded not so much on aspects of energy *supply* but on energy *demand* since all member states have a common interest in reducing energy demand. This would involve creating a common market for energy saving equipment and solar energy devices.

the community's responsibilities to the world

The principles of the Lomé convention should gradually be extended to countries

now outside it, such as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Brazil.

The ACP countries should have guaranteed free access to the Community for their goods and a large scale programme of adjustment assistance should be introduced for producers inside the EEC.

Stabex should offer improved coverage and better terms.

The European Development Fund should be revised to help the very poor, to encourage partnership and operate more efficiently.

The Food Aid Programme should not be expanded or even continued at its present level before new ways of using food aid have been devised.

The Community should press for more equal land tenure to be made a key issue in the fight against world poverty.

whose community?

Thought should be given to re-establishing the Economic and Social Committee with a majority of members representing interests other than employers and unions.

The UK Government should nominate to ECOSOC's "other interest" membership mid-career people professionally involved in their fields and should use open consultation to decide upon them.

The Community should develop a consistent policy towards consultation with volunteer organisations and should begin to consider the establishment of specialist consultative committees involving them.

Voluntary organisations in the UK should encourage the foundation of associations at Community level.

Individual government departments in the UK should produce regular European Information Sheets.

The UK government should fund a European Institute.

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creating a caring community

In this pamphlet, the authors look at those aspects of the EEC where newly elected Labour Euro-MPs could help make the Community more concerned for its people. They identify those most in need of help (the unemployed, the migrant worker, women, the handicapped) and propose policies which, if implemented by the EEC, could lessen their hardships. One chapter stresses the need for the EEC to be concerned with its people as consumers and not to take decisions just in the interests of producers. Another chapter calls for the EEC to promote and safeguard a healthy environment both for present and future generations. The EEC, say the authors, should be more accountable to its inhabitants and more caring for their needs. Their proposals to ensure this amount to a "manifesto" which socialist candidates for Europe should seek to implement.

fabian society

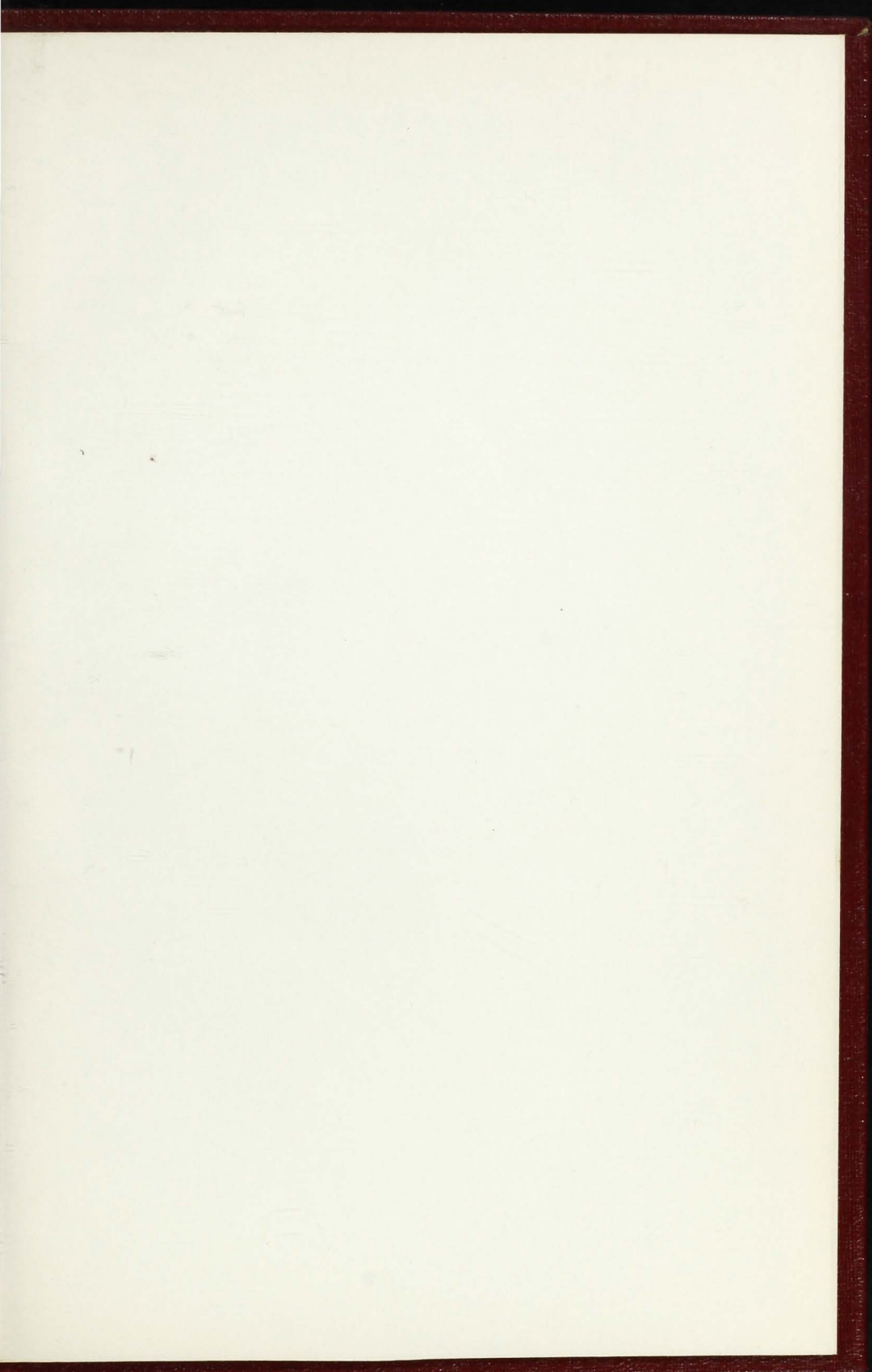
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Enquiries about membership should be sent to the General Secretary, Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW1H 9BN: telephone 01 222 8877.

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at the present time the Commission of the European Communities is working on a proposal for a common European code of conduct for the public sector. This code would be a set of principles which would guide the behaviour of public officials in the exercise of their functions. The Commission is also working on a proposal for a common European code of ethics for the public sector. This code would be a set of principles which would guide the behaviour of public officials in the exercise of their functions. The Commission is also working on a proposal for a common European code of ethics for the public sector. This code would be a set of principles which would guide the behaviour of public officials in the exercise of their functions.

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