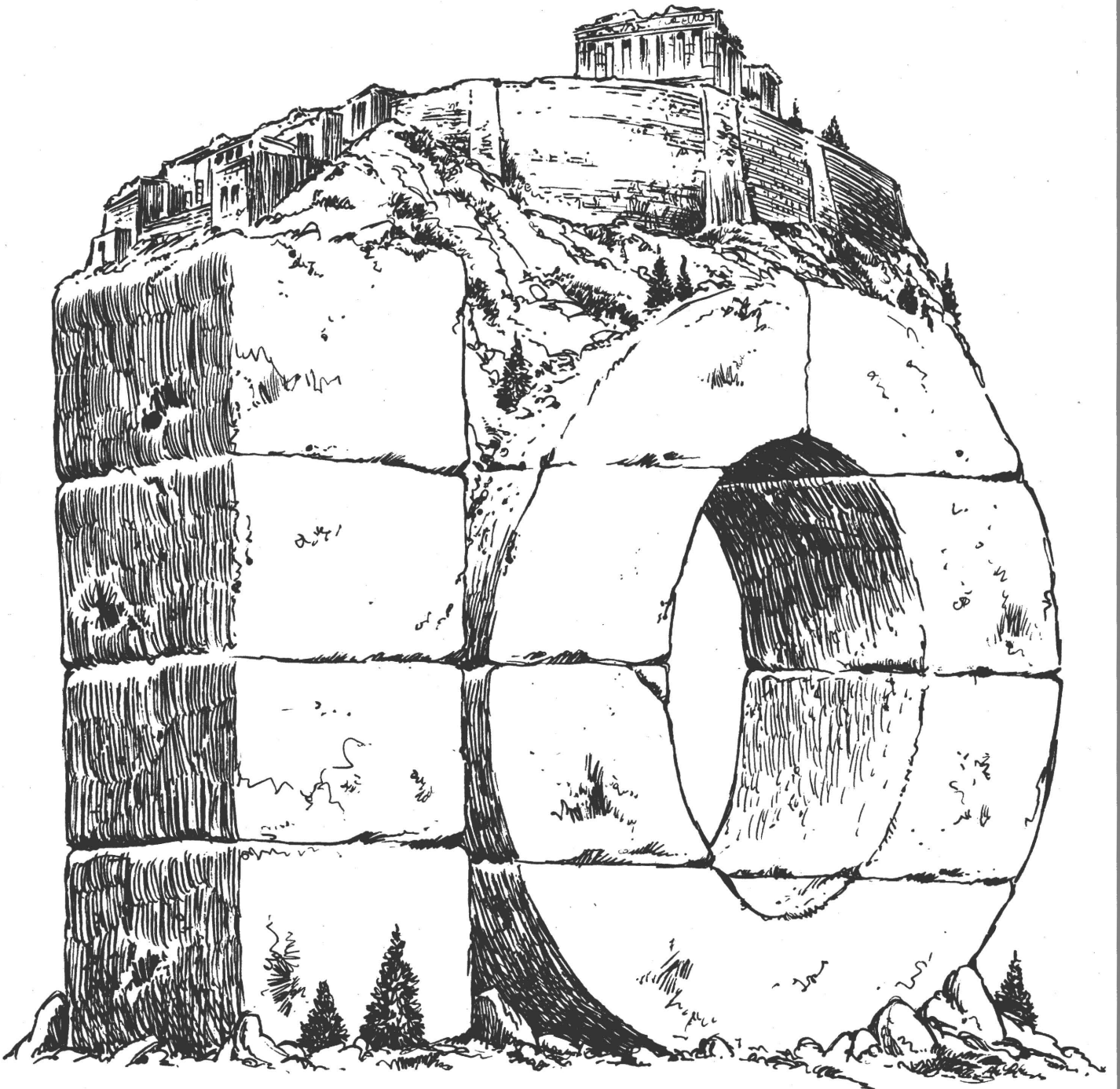


# Euroforum



Dawn of new era as Greece makes it the Ten. See page 3.

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# Euroforum

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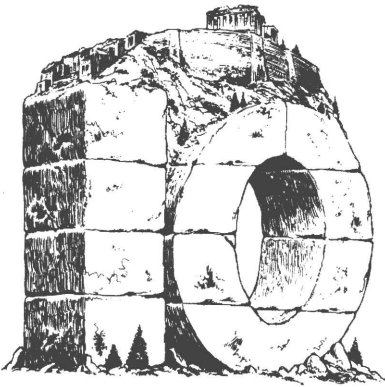
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Euroforum is published by the  
Directorate-General for Information,  
Commission of the  
European Communities  
Rue de la Loi 200  
B-1049 Bruxelles  
Belgium  
Tel. 735 0040/8040

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*On 1 January, Greece becomes the tenth Member State of the European Community. George Coats, correspondent in Athens for the BBC, and George Kontogeorgis, the first Greek member of the European Commission, give their personal views on what accession means for Greece.*

## Dawn of new era as Greece makes it the Ten

Greece's entry into the European Community comes at a time when the country is felt by many to be at a turning point in its political history, a turning point which may be reached as a result of a forthcoming election to be held within months of accession.

Greek politicians have active careers of a longevity that must be the envy of their European counterparts, and many of the faces which today dominate the country's political life have a familiar patina which comes from staring out of election posters for decades. And while many of the parties which will be on the ballots at the next election have names which have not yet entered the popular

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A restyled *Euroforum* will appear as an insert in the monthly magazines published by the Community information offices in the Member States. From next January, you will receive the publication of your national information office for a three-month trial period.

vocabulary, most are only the latest incarnation of groupings dating back generations.

But nonetheless there is a discernible feeling that Greece is in the process of change. In recent years a right wing military dictatorship has collapsed and been replaced by the traditional conservatives, but wearing a human face. In a country where the bitterness engendered by a post-World War II civil war led to the proscription of anything left wing, a party advocating socialism has emerged as the major opposition force.

There is a feeling in Greece that links with a backward and often painful past are about to be broken, and that the country is at long last about to achieve 'modernization', a status which has often been promised but has proved illusive.

But while, for some, entry to the Community is seen both as a symbol and a symptom of this feeling, for others it represents exactly the opposite, an attempt by the entrenched economic and political forces to prolong their dominance.

However, for the government, at least, accession represents a step not only towards modernization but is a guarantee of stability and furthermore an acceptance of Greece as an equal member of the community of civilized European nations rather than as a backward and volatile Balkan State.

And this is something new for the Community. While original members and those who have since applied to join have all made token obeisance to the European ideal they have made no bones about the fact that the major advantages they hope to gain from the Community are economic. In Greece, however, the debate has centred only marginally on the economics of entry and the main emphasis has been on a somewhat metaphysical level.

It is evident that this approach is not without its dangers. While it is possible to quantify membership of the Community in terms of trade balance, investments and other economic criteria, and even where these may be adverse as in the case of the United Kingdom, to cobble together a compromise which is mutually acceptable, it may be very difficult for the Community membership to be presented as a 'success' where motives

for membership include stability and increased international respectability.

It is clear that membership is likely to be a political issue in Greece for some time and, far from in some mysterious way imparting stability, it may indeed, like the question of the monarchy and electoral reform—issues which have sometimes lain dormant only to break out in a new rash on the Greek body politic—prove to be an element of discord.

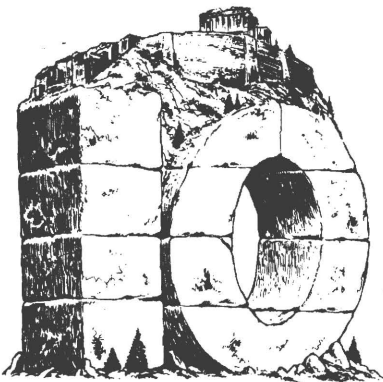
For Greek politics appear to thrive on confrontation rather than consensus. Divisions which split the political world during the First World War are still visible as a political gulf today, like some long-dug trench uncovered during an archaeological excavation. The question of whether to enter the war or not became associated with the question of the monarchy, the king being a brother-in-law of the Kaiser, while interventionists increasingly took a republican stance. The king's party also appeared increasingly conservative as his opponent, Eleftheros Venezelos, embarked on a liberal programme.

The bitterness of the rift was accentuated in the 1920s and 1930s as the State, already reeling from a humiliating defeat in Asia Minor and desperately trying to absorb the more than 1.5 million refugees who followed its army across the Aegean, staggered from coup to putsch as republicans and monarchists jockeyed for position.

In the mid-1930s the monarchists appeared to have achieved supremacy when Gen. Ioannis Metaxas staged a king's coup and imposed what he called the Third Greek Civilization, modelled closely on the contemporary regimes in Germany and Italy.

This was aborted by Axis tanks, and the resistance to the occupation was undertaken largely by those forces which had been suppressed by the Metaxas dictatorship, the Venezelist republicans and increasingly the Communists whose party was already well trained in clandestine activity. With what, with the benefit of hindsight, resembles an ancient Greek tragedy's progress towards inevitable catastrophe, the country descended into civil war. While other European countries were beginning their post-war recovery, Greeks were killing one another with a bitterness and abandon nations reserve for internecine conflict.

The result was not only the defeat of the left and the emergence of the right as the dominant political force, with the chastened but still ostensibly republican centre playing a supporting role, but the effective thwarting of any attempt to follow the pattern in the rest of non-communist Europe with the establishment of a strong socialist-social democratic party offering evolutionary social transformation as one of the two major political options. A left-wing front party functioned but was beyond the pale when it came to running the country. Anything which smacked of socialism was tarred with the Communist brush, and this civil war mentality was a major factor behind the 1967 coup.



But although the junta years were some of the country's darkest, they served the purpose of showing that even for the old conservative establishment, there were enemies to the right. And the years since the junta fell in 1974 have in many ways been years of stocktaking while the country examines its options.

But they have not been static years. The most interesting development has been the emergence under Mr Andreas Papandreou, the son of the late centrist leader, of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) as the most dynamic political force in the country. Another has been the collapse, one is tempted to say the extinction, of the centre as a major factor. Also, the Communist party has been legalized and has consolidated its position as the third largest party in the country.

And the right has also undergone changes. Upon the fall of the junta, former premier Constantine Karamanlis returned as the country's leader with the acquiescence of all political tendencies. He called for a new era of political cooperation in Greece and formed the New Democracy party as a vehicle open to all Greeks of good faith of whatever

political persuasion. This *ralliement* approach was clearly influenced by his exile in France throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, as well as reflecting an emulation of President de Gaulle's style. It is also clear that the years in Paris had instilled in Mr Karamanlis a desire to bring Greece out of its introspective and parochial approach to politics and into the mainstream of European affairs.

The application to raise Greece's association status with the Community, which had lain dormant during the junta years, to full membership was a key part of this programme.

But while Mr Karamanlis may have been hoping that he could embark on a series of stabilizing steps with the broad, non-partisan acquiescence of a grateful nation grouped in New Democracy, it was clear from the outset that this was not to be the case. For one thing, Mr Karamanlis, given the perilous state of Greek affairs upon his return with the country apparently in the brink of a war with Turkey and the armed forces in disarray, fell back on his old colleagues; men whose weaknesses he knew, but upon whom he could rely. However, the presence of men whose track records went back decades to the post civil war years, while reassuring to the establishment, was not a credible indication to the newly enfranchized, both the young people voting for the first time or the left-of-centre whose votes were going to count for the first time, that New Democracy was going to offer radical change.

And it has not. But during his years as Prime Minister, Mr Karamanlis has presided over the two fairest elections in Greek history, given the State a feeling of continuity, closed with a referendum in 1974 the matter of the monarchy, and with a mildly reformist legislative programme removed the stigma of bolshevism from calls for change.

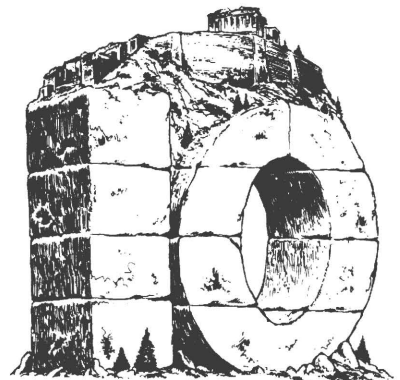
And he has successfully allowed a successor to emerge. Earlier this year Mr Karamanlis at long last translated himself to the presidency and saw Mr George Rallis elected as his successor as party leader and premier. The succession was bitterly fought, and the rift between Mr Rallis, representing a continuation of the Karamanlis moderate line, and Mr Averof, who leads the party's diehard right wing, has not healed.

Mr Papandreou, on the other hand, appears to be in full control of his party. Not only has he no obvious

successor in PASOK's ranks, but something close to a personality cult has been constructed around him.

His achievement has been remarkable. When he refused to join the reformed centre, the party of his father and in which he had served as a cabinet member in the early 1960s, and instead formed PASOK with the centre's left wing and motley other groups, he was written off by many as a crank. He emerged from the 1974 elections leading the third largest party and in the succeeding years established that he, not the centrist leader George Mavros, was in fact the leader of the opposition. With the centre's decimation in the 1977 election he achieved this position and since then has been moderating some of his wilder proposals in an attempt to establish himself in the popular mind as a credible alternative premier. And he has had to build up his party when a strong Communist party is already in the field, a difficulty avoided by most of his European colleagues whose parties were the parents the Communists broke away from.

Mr Papandreou has undoubtedly been helped in his fight for a place in the political sun by the centre's demise. There is an old Greek proverb to the effect that if one has five Greeks one has seven parties, and for a period after the 1977 election it began to look as if the surviving centrist deputies were doing their best to make it literally true. In fact the rump of the party eventually split into two, one retaining the centrist name and promoting social democratic policies, another calling itself social democratic and hoping to re-establish the traditional centrist dialogue with the right. Both have 1% of the seats in parliament.



But the political initiative in Greece at the moment clearly lies with Mr Papandreu. The government has two major political preoccupations, to stabilize the economy and to make a success of accession to the Community. On each of these, Mr Papandreu feels he can offer an alternative.

An election must be held before November 1981, and for the first time the economy is going to be a major issue. Whereas in the past personalities rather than policies have proved the basic fare of elections, there now cannot be a housewife in the country who does not know what inflation is.

But it is the European Community which could in the long term present major problems. There has in fact been very little debate in Greece about the pros and cons of membership. The government throughout the four-year negotiations presented the Community not so much as an economic community but as a political bloc of the privileged and stable which Greece was going to join.

There would also be immense economic advantages, it was pointed out, but detailed information of the sort available before the last enlargement in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway through the press, the media, letter boxes and discussion groups has been completely lacking.

The opposition, on the other hand, has been equally lax. PASOK and the Communists have denounced the Community as being a rich man's club, a grouping of monopolist capitalists which will keep Greece at a peripheral level of economic development, but during the negotiations and finally at the debate on the accession treaty terms, the two parties boycotted the proceedings, leaving the man-in-the-street with little more than slogans as vacuous as the government's optimism.

But Greece is entering the Community at a time when the country is experiencing economic problems. In fact Greece appears to be headed for its first real economic crisis following a generation of spectacular growth rates. Unemployment, an unknown phenomenon in Greece in recent decades, could also become a factor.

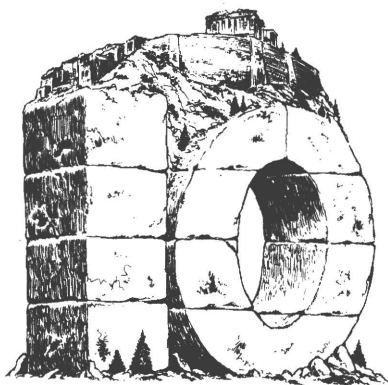
And as in the United Kingdom, the country is entering the Community without the benefit of a referendum to settle once and for all whether the people think it is a good idea, while

the opposition at the time of entry has reservations it is willing to exploit for electoral gain.

Should the Community not be seen to deliver on all the rather inflated expectations that have been placed in it within the few months between entry and elections, and indeed should the Greek economy's decline continue, it is very likely that the Community will end up, again as in the United Kingdom, being blamed for all the ills affecting the nation. And should Mr Papandreu find himself in a position to form a government as a result of taking such a line during the election campaign, both he and the Community could find themselves on the horns of a dilemma.

Mr Papandreu has been indicating in recent months that his position on the Community may not be as simple as a blunt rejection, and that some sort of renegotiation to redress the balance of the accession away from the Euro-monopolists and towards the Greek-in-the-street may be enough.

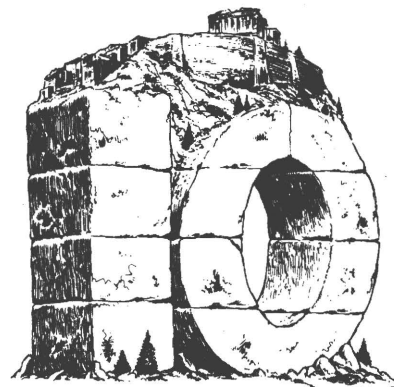
But with the example of the still unassimilated United Kingdom behind it, the prospect of Portuguese and Spanish accession in the future and the problems of Community budget ceilings and agricultural policy reform preoccupying it, it is an open question whether Brussels will be in a mood to accommodate a Greek government wishing to reopen negotiations for reasons which smack of



domestic politics rather than Community welfare.

In such an event Greece could find itself at a more fundamental turning point than it had expected.

George Coats



## Facing up to the challenges of membership

The first Greek member of the European Commission will be Mr George Kontogeorgis who, as Minister for relations with the Community since November 1977, was in charge of negotiations for Greek accession.

During a wide-ranging interview with me in Athens recently, Mr Kontogeorgis conceded that his country may face some difficulties in adjusting to Community membership, but he was adamant that Greece had a valuable contribution to make alongside its nine new partners.

'We will bring freshness, imagination, creativeness and the will of our people to the construction of a united Europe', he said.

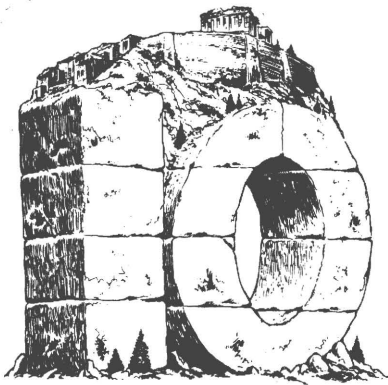
On the more concrete level, Mr Kontogeorgis believes that Greece's geographical position in a sensitive corner of the world can, because of its membership of the Community, be an important factor for stability in Europe and strengthen Europe's international voice.

He also pointed out that Greece's entry would increase the Community's international weight in the commercial field since the addition of the Greek merchant fleet will mean that the Community will become the number one shipping power in the world.

Mr Kontogeorgis also believes that Greece will be a valuable source of supply to its Community partners of a number of vital minerals which they themselves lack—bauxite for aluminium, nickel, chromium, asbestos and zinc. There are even indications of uranium deposits in northern Greece which could be commercially exploitable.

Greece will be looking to Community funds as a source of finance to help it develop its mining activities. It is also hoping for a large injection of Community funds in to other sectors of its economy, particularly in the less-developed region.

Although he does not underestimate the challenges Greece will face in competing within the enlarged Community, Mr Kontogeorgis believes that at the present stage of its industrial and agricultural development it needs the possibilities to expand in a larger market.



Mr Kontogeorgis believes that the arrangements made for Greece's entry are satisfactory and that in particular the transition arrangements will help its adaptation to the Community's regime. He also points out that Greece has been associated with the Community for 18 years and that 68% of duties existing in 1962 when the association agreement was signed have disappeared.

'The adjustments will therefore not be as great as they might have been', he says.

In addition to its potential as a source of minerals and a reservoir of shipping power, Mr Kontogeorgis is confident that what Greece lacks in the higher technologies to be found in most of the existing Community countries it compensates for with lower wages. Because Greek industry is labour intensive it can handle commercially certain types of production processes which are no longer viable further west.

A further plus for Greek industry is that, with certain exceptions, it is largely weighted in favour of small businesses. These have everywhere been shown to be more flexible than large concerns in adapting to the current world recession and Mr Kontogeorgis believes that Greek

small businesses will fare even better in a wider market.

With just over 30% of the population earning a living from agriculture, compared with an average of 7.6% for the Nine the performance of this sector will be of vital importance to Greece. Mr Kontogeorgis believes that certain areas where the present Community can cover only a part of its needs will do better than at present, though obviously there will be some difficulties to compete, for example, with Northern beef and dairy farmers and consequently a considerable effort is needed in this field by both Greek authorities and farmers. The understanding and the assistance of the Community will be very important.

However, he believes that the theory of the international division of labour, which is gaining increasing currency, should be applied within the Community. 'It would not be wise', he remarks, 'for the Northern countries to continue to produce tomatoes, for example, at a high cost in hothouses when there is little prospect of the energy crisis disappearing and when we in Greece are in a much better position to grow them because we have the sun'.

Although the accession of Spain and Portugal to the Community will provide direct competition for the Greeks, particularly in the agricultural sector where they grow similar 'Mediterranean' produce like olive oil and wine, Mr Kontogeorgis said that he supported the further enlargement of the Community. However, he said that this would take time and patience and pointed out that, even with its size, Greece posed economic problems which had to be sorted out over a lengthy series of negotiations. In Madrid recently Commission President Roy Jenkins said he did not think that the original target date for Spanish entry of January 1983 was now realistic and reaffirmed his belief that Spain and Portugal should join on the same day.

Mr Kontogeorgis, who is 68, is a politician of considerable experience. Having studied in Athens and in the United States, he rose to become director-general for commerce before resigning after the colonel's coup d'état in 1967. When the civilian government was restored in 1974 he returned as Secretary of State at the Ministry of Coordination and three years later, when he was elected to parliament, he took over responsibility as Minister for conducting the negotiations for Greece's acces-

sion to the Community. During this period, and since the signing of the Treaty of Accession when he has recently participated as an observer in the Council of Ministers, he has learned much of the inner workings of the Community institutions.

What portfolio will he aim for in the new Commission? Because of his experience and background he would like to be in charge of agriculture, or external relations or relations with the developing countries, but he doesn't think any of those will be on offer.

'There are other portfolios, such as transport and regional development that interest us, but we must wait and see what emerges from the discussions that will take place after all the members of the new Commission have been nominated.'

Peter Doyle

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## EMPLOYMENT

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### Italians pay packets grow fastest

Wages of industrial workers have increased more rapidly over the past five years in Italy than in any other Community Member State, according to figures just released by Eurostat, the Community's Statistical Office publication.

With 1975 as a base of 100, real wages (taking price increases into account) had increased in Italy to 120.5 by 1979. In the United Kingdom the index actually fell to 98.7.

In between came Luxembourg (116.2), France (114.5), Germany (110.4), Belgium (110), the Netherlands (108.4), Ireland (105.3), and Denmark (102.7).

A second set of Eurostat figures for seven of the Member States—the exceptions are Ireland and Denmark—indicate that the British work the longest hours.

In 1978, the last year for which comparable figures are available, the average British industrial worker clocked in 42.2 hours, compared with only 37.6 for his Belgian counterpart. The Germans worked 42 hours, the French 41.3, the Dutch 41.1, the Luxembourgers 40.2 and the Italians 38.9.

## Job creation in steel regions is top priority for EP

European Community Heads of State and Government are to be presented with a European Commission proposal for a strategy of economic development and investment to offset the rundown in the steel industry when they meet in Luxembourg on 1 and 2 December.

European Industrial Affairs Commissioner Viscount Etienne Davignon announced the new Commission initiative to the European Parliament during a wide-ranging debate on the current crisis in the steel industry last month.

The Parliament adopted a resolution urging the Nine member governments to accept just such a strategy—linking job losses and closures in the steel industry with economic development plans aimed at boosting new investment and creating new jobs in badly affected Community regions.

The resolution also calls for a concerted Community aid effort for these regions, coordinating the use of the Regional, Social and Agricultural Funds and money from the European Investment Bank so as to maximize their effect.

The debate focused on the recent closure of the British Steel Corporation plant at Consett in County Durham, where around 4 000 jobs have already been lost.

Introducing her report on the Consett closure, Maria Baduel Glorioso (Italian, Communist) told fellow MEPs that Consett was a symbolic case that was typical of steel closures throughout the Community.

She appealed to the Nine for action now so that areas like the Lorraine and Consett, which possessed managerial and worker skills, were not pushed back to 'pre-industrial' days.

New jobs must be the major imperative', she said.

Most speakers supported the Commission's anti-crisis measures for the steel industry laying down monthly production quotas for individual

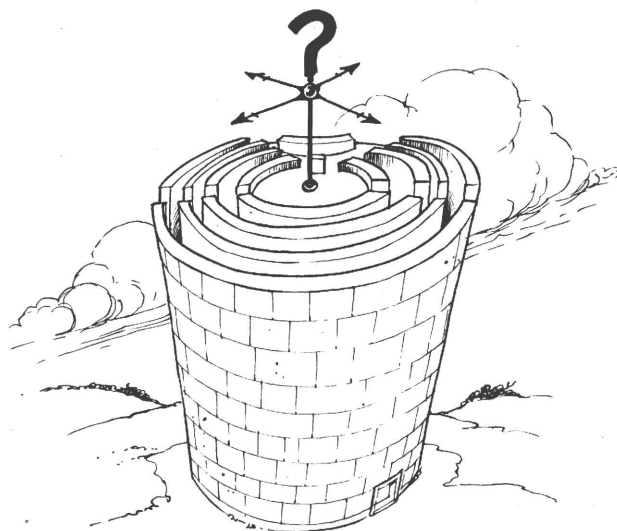
firms, which were approved by the Nine at the end of October. But they stressed continually the need for genuine social measures to accompany them.

Viscount Davignon told the Parliament that the Commission had already put forward proposals for social measures

but that discussions on them were still going on in the Council of Ministers.

He agreed that a concerted aid policy was required to revive economic and industrial life in areas like Consett, which had received 'particularly hard shocks'.

## THE INSTITUTIONS



### Nomadic MEPs demand a permanent home

Euro MPs issued an ultimatum to the Community member governments during their November plenary session in Strasbourg—decide once and for all on a permanent site for the European Parliament by next June, or we will take the decision for you.

Describing themselves as 'political gypsies', the MEPs hit out at the waste of European tax-payers' money that they claim results from their having to work in three European cities.

At present the Parliament meets for plenary sessions in Strasbourg and Luxembourg—home of its 2 000 strong secretariat—while specialist committee meetings are held in Brussels.

European Democrat group leader James Scott-Hopkins claimed that around £10 million could be lopped

off the Parliament's annual £100 million budget, and the Parliament's staff requirement cut by 200, if only the Member States would make up their minds on a single site.

This saving, Mr Scott-Hopkins added, did not include rent. The Parliament will rent some 30 buildings next year, at an estimated cost of £15 million.

Speakers from all political groups in the Parliament backed a resolution calling on Community member governments to end 20 years of indecision and agree on a permanent site by next June. But they did not say where they thought it should be.

For most MEPs this appears at the moment to be a secondary issue to ending their 'perpetual motion', which some feel damages the credibility of the Parliament in the eyes of the electorate.

As Mr Scott-Hopkins put it: 'We cannot yet be properly proud of our Parliament because this nomadic assembly lives and works in a suitcase'.

## EXTERNAL RELATIONS

## Thorn focuses on Middle East peace initiative

The European Community's peace initiative in the Middle East was the key item in the annual report on European political cooperation—foreign policy coordination of the Nine.

The report was presented to the European Parliament last month by European Commission President-designate, Gaston Thorn.

Mr Thorn told MEPs of the anxiety and insecurity which he had met on his recent fact-finding tour of Middle East capitals—the urgent desire of Israel to be accepted by neighbouring Arab States and the need for security expressed by Arabs and by Palestinians living in occupied territories.

The Arab States and the Palestinians were unanimous in seeing the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination as the two fundamental principles in any lasting solution, Mr Thorn said.

He added that only an overall settlement—covering both the problem of Israel, especially the future of Jerusalem, and that of the Palestinians—would bring about a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Turning to the Iran/Iraq war, Mr Thorn told MEPs that the Nine's Foreign Ministers deplored the conflict and hoped that other countries, particularly the two superpowers, would join together to ensure that the fighting did not spread.

The Nine had also stressed that it was vital to ensure the free movement of shipping, and especially oil supplies, in and out of the Gulf. Mr Thorn warned that although shipping had not been badly affected yet, there could still be 'nasty surprises in store' for Europe's oil supplies.

The Nine also deplored the involvement of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, Mr Thorn said. He added that a solution had to be found that would enable Afghanistan to regain its traditional neutrality and allow the Afghan people to run their own internal affairs.

Relations with Moscow in the follow-up to the Helsinki Agreement on security and cooperation, on human rights and other matters in Europe needed a new impetus, Mr Thorn told the Parliament. He hoped that the current follow-up Madrid Conference could achieve this.

Community Foreign Ministers attach particular importance to the free movement of citizens from all countries, and to the better spread of information, Mr Thorn said.

On a more positive note, the Council President-in-Office reported the success of the recent meeting in Luxembourg to relaunch the Euro-Arab dialogue between the Community and Arab League countries. It has been decided to try to hold a Euro-Arab Foreign Ministers meeting before next summer.

Finally, Mr Thorn touched on the current political situation in Turkey in response to MEPs questions. He reminded the Parliament of the Foreign Ministers' statement following the recent military coup, which called for a speedy return to democracy in Turkey.

On 16 October, the Turkish Foreign Minister told Council of Europe colleagues that his country intended to stick to its promise to return to democracy and uphold the rule of law and human rights.

## Euro-Arab dialogue gets underway once again

The first major steps to relaunch the Euro-Arab dialogue, which has lain dormant for almost two years, were taken in Luxembourg last month. The aim of the dialogue, which began five years ago, is to forge closer links between the Community and the Arab States.

The essential aim of the two-day meeting, which brought together junior ministers and officials was to work out ways of resuming the dialogue in a wide range of political, economic, technical, financial, social and cultural areas.

The meeting was also significant for the fact that the Arab delegation was led by the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which is currently chairing the Arab League.

It therefore represented the first official contact between the Community and the PLO, although Luxembourg Foreign Minister Gaston Thorn recently met PLO representatives on his Middle East fact-finding tour.

In the final communiqué issued after the meeting the Arab side reaffirmed that recognition of the PLO by the Community 'as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people' would be an essential step in the efforts made to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

But the Arabs stressed that this would not be a precondition for the ministerial meeting which the two sides agreed to hold in the context of the dialogue in June or July next year.

At the European Council meeting in Venice last June, the nine Heads of Government issued a declaration recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the right of the PLO to be associated with the peace negotiations.

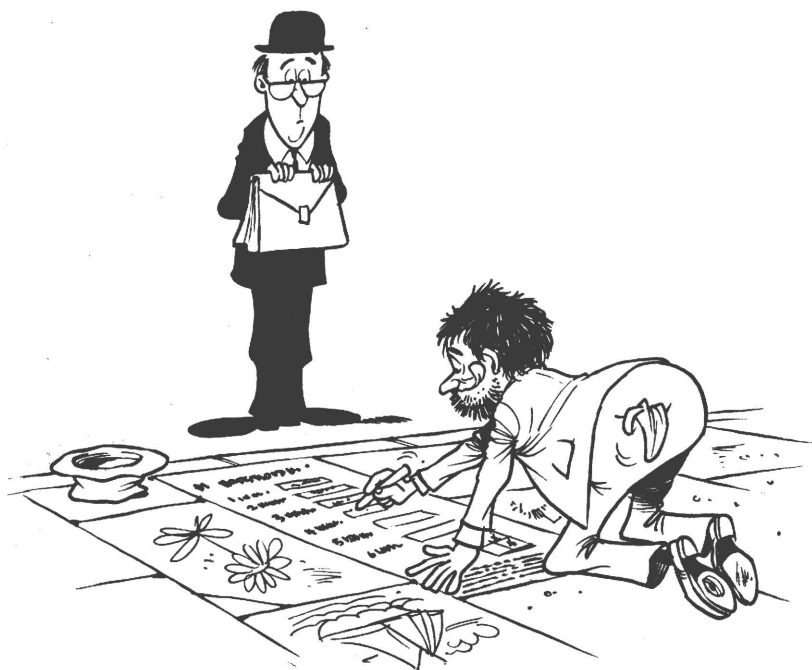
Although political matters dominated the two-day meeting, both delegations also pointed out that economic issues would continue to be important in the dialogue. Similarly, the Community's Development Commissioner Claude Cheysson indicated that energy questions would come within the dialogue.

The subject is expected to be treated in a global manner rather than focus on specific aspects like pricing or supply policies.

## Driving ahead

Despite gloom in the automobile industry, vehicle registration in the Community increased last year over the previous year. Registrations of private cars rose to 8.9 million, compared to 8.5 million in 1978. Registrations of lorries, vans and tractors topped the million mark for the first time, compared with 965 000 in 1978.





## Art for art's sake may no longer be enough

When Manet painted his 'Still Life with Asparagus' in 1880 he sold it for 800 French francs. When it was sold in 1968 the price was 1 360 000 Deutschmarks: artists aren't always the ones to get the financial benefits of their work!

It's a classic case that highlights the financial situation of artists and other members of the cultural professions—musicians, actors, writers, dancers, singers, film-makers, broadcasters, and so on—even today.

Their's can be a precarious existence: as they say in the theatre, 'You're only as good as your last performance,' and for every star who can command millions and live in luxury there are hundreds struggling to make a name for themselves, often taking second jobs to make ends meet.

Though the work these people do shapes our culture and enriches our lives, it's a sad fact that economically they are regarded as non-productive, and cultural budgets are the first to be cut in times of crisis.

The vast majority of cultural workers are self-employed and in most countries are not eligible for the same range of social security benefits as other workers when they are sick or unemployed, retire or die leaving a dependent family. What's more, the irregular nature of their earnings or their need to travel makes it difficult for them to make regular contributions into social security or pension funds.

Some cultural workers do have access to private insurance schemes, and certain professions in some countries have their own benevolent pension funds, but these tend to be limited to their more well-established and regularly-employed members, and there is a growing feeling that cultural workers should be more widely eligible to benefit from obligatory State schemes to which employers also contribute—if these can be made flexible enough to cope with the special problems of the cultural professions. France has such a scheme and Germany has also been considering changing the law.

With its long-term objective of harmonizing social security systems in the nine Member States as a way of ensuring the free movement of

workers, the European Community has a particular interest in the problem. A comparative study has recently been published at the Commission's request, on the social security problems of cultural workers in the Community, and some possible solutions.

It's a complicated subject, and the author, Dr Bernd Schulte, finds there are plenty of misconceptions to clear up. Some people believe that art and law just do not mix, others that bureaucracy stifles creative talent. Many members of the public feel that artistic activities are not work in the proper sense of the word, and that artists are born rather than trained. Others believe that members of the cultural professions are highly paid and not in need of social protection like other workers.

In answer, Dr Schulte points out that performing artists have to train constantly (and at their own expense) in order to perform. They have to travel frequently, work long and unsocial hours, and may have very short professional lives—40 is the average maximum age for a dancer, for example.

Other cultural workers like writers, painters and sculptors, are not paid for the time they spend working, but for the results of their labours. This can cause legal problems, like: when is a writer unemployed?

More cultural workers are unemployed or under-employed than any other active group—as many as 80% of actors are unemployed in some countries. The majority of cultural workers earn less, not more, than the average wage, especially if they are under 30 or over 50 or are women.

Though many are theoretically self-employed most cultural workers in fact depend to a large extent on intermediaries between themselves and potential clients—actors, dancers and broadcasters need producers; authors, playwrights, poets and composers need publishers; painters and sculptors need galleries, and so on.

Though they are proud of their liberty and independence and generally disdainful of bureaucracy, according to opinion polls, the majority agree that being affiliated to a State insurance and pension scheme would not limit their creative liberty.

In France, it has been suggested that some cultural workers even declared inflated earnings in order to be eligible for certain benefits.

Various studies have shown that the poor economic situation of cultural workers goes hand-in-hand with inadequate social protection against sickness and old-age. We cannot expect our artists to give of their best, says Dr Schulte, if they have to worry about spending sickness or old-age in poverty, and he concludes that cultural workers need the same range of social security benefits as other workers. The problem is how?

In France, the variety of schemes covering cultural workers like authors and playwrights, composers and choreographers, engravers and artists, has been replaced for the past three years by a single scheme under the general social security system.

Under the scheme, benefits are financed on the one hand from contributions by the artists themselves, according to their earnings, and on the other by employer-type contributions from the intermediaries who benefit financially from their work. (Performing artists are already integrated into the general system.)

Though it's too soon yet to pass judgment on the practical consequences of the legislation, Dr Schulte feels it does show that the essential legal problems can be resolved. Given that the French social security system and the situation of French cultural workers have sufficient in common with other Member States, he feels it could serve as a model in other countries.

The German project, which—if it proceeds—should be ratified next year, is similar. It is based on research showing that artists and writers were much worse off than most workers in their old age pension and sickness insurance levels. The projected law would oblige all artists and writers (with certain exceptions)

to join the pension and sickness schemes which at present cover musicians, art teachers and variety artists.

Benefits would be financed by contributions from the artists (based on earnings), the various intermediaries they work through, and—unlike France—the State. The law would cover a wider variety of artists than in France, and there would be no requirement to prove that half the artist's earnings came from his art

(in an effort to protect those just embarking on their careers).

However, not all those affected are keen supporters of the project—some say it's not legally possible, others that it's not necessary. The intermediaries, especially the smaller ones, claim they could not afford the contribution and say they are in as urgent need of social protection as the artists. Dr Schulte suggests that the definition of 'cultural worker' could be broadened, but concludes that, given the arguments at the time of writing, it would be premature to forecast what the future of the project will be.

Nevertheless, he points out that having equal social rights entails certain corresponding obligations, as the French Minister of Culture, Michel Guy, said in the parliamentary debate on the issue: 'The artist must enjoy the same rights and accept the same obligations as every other citizen. The State must respect his right to be alone, but not see him trapped on the fringe of society.'

### Parliamentarians want 'European Music Year' in 1985

1985 will be the tercentenary of the birth of three of Europe's great composers—Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Handel and Dome-

nico Scarlatti. The European Parliament has proposed that the event be marked by the designation of 1985 as 'European Music Year'.

The proposal, contained in a report drawn up by German Christian Democrat MEP, Professor Wilhelm Hahn, calls on the Council of Europe to consider sponsoring the event, since it would be of interest and benefit to the whole of Europe and not simply to the Community.

The Community would, however, give all appropriate support to the 'Year', including possibly financial support, and by encouraging the full participation of the European Community Youth Orchestra and the European Community Choir.

'Culture should be a link between the peoples of Europe', Professor Hahn told his colleagues. 'European Music Year should serve to encourage not only the enjoyment of music by the public at large but also those directly involved in the performance, production and especially the teaching of music', he added.

Some MEPs thought that the Community should be the one to take the initiative for the 'Year', and not leave it up to the Council of Europe to organize.

But the majority of MEPs backed the wider view of the year as a truly European event. As French Gaullist MEP Vincent Ansquer put it: 'Music transcends frontiers'.



## Schooling must be a continuous process

Whole sections of the population are in danger of being progressively marginalized in our present period of upheaval and uncertainty dominated by rapidly evolving technology.

Apprenticeship for adult life cannot be completed within one preliminary phase of continuous schooling, isolated from practical experience. An efficient functioning of society now demands that learning continue throughout adult life, not only to assist individuals in understanding and adapting to a changing environment, but also to participate in the process of change.

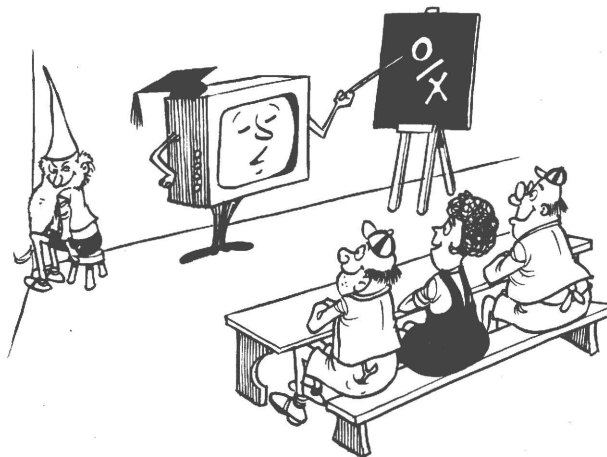
This was the approach of a seminar held recently in Berlin by the European Commission and the Community's European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training. The seminar considered the scope for new initiatives in continuing education and training within the European context.

It was stressed by speakers that the current crisis will involve a steady increase in the amount of 'non-work' time available in society. Existing policies, seeing only the negative aspects of unemployment and the purely recreational side of leisure, scarcely deal with the problem of 'surplus time'.

There was general agreement that the welfare State, relying as it does on economic growth for its existence, can no longer be considered a viable system for the transfer of resources from the 'haves' to the 'have nots' in other words, from those that have the opportunity and resources to participate in the workings of society, whatever their income, to those that are being marginalized through job insecurity, enforced inactivity and the lack of basic education.

Therefore, focus must now be placed on the challenges of distribution of work and non-work time.

In Berlin, it was suggested that 'time-budgeting' is one possibility to achieve such redistribution. This means an allocation to everyone of a certain credit in terms of time and income to be used for educational, leisure or other creative activities. This strategy goes beyond traditional paid educational leave, limited only to



those that have a secure job, as it must extend to the 'non-salaried' and to the 'non-active'.

Another suggestion is 'sabbatical leave' that also could eliminate the stigma of unemployment and redistribute non-work time according to individual and collective needs.

With these strategies, flexibility and mobility could be reintroduced into the labour market and so make employment available for the 'have nots' and promote innovation in self-management and job creation.

Within this context, the notion of basic education was redefined as an education for and by the groups concerned so as to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to define their own role in society. In order to master this tool kit of social skills, (which range from functional literacy and numeracy serving practical everyday needs, to creative skills of benefit to the local community) the education programmes should be drawn up with 'learners' and not on their behalf; materials and methods should be easily accessible and aim to awake a new sense of self reliance and autonomy among those involved.

The methods of multi-media teaching were also suggested in Berlin as most appropriate in implementing such educational programmes.

This involves the transformation of the traditional relationship between teachers and students as most of the information can be provided by the mass media and the role of teacher becomes one of guiding and helping the student as well as providing the feed-back on their progress.

The Open University in the United Kingdom is now studying the use of multi-media and distance education methods in the non-formal sector

aimed mainly at socially and economically disadvantaged groups and individuals.

The network of specialists, each representing a multi-media project being carried out in Europe, met in Brussels on 10 and 11 November to discuss their major problems and successes, and to develop appropriate criteria for evaluation.

Despite the diversity of multi-media initiatives there is a common concern to improve the means of contact with those most in need and to encourage the 'learners' to take an active and critical part in the design of programmes and materials: the success of any multi-media project depends on an effective collaboration between all the agencies concerned (in broadcasting, in voluntary organizations, in local educational bodies...) to ensure that media supports can be integrated in practice into the actual learning process.

The project of the Open University Distance Education Research Groups aims at formulating guidelines for further development of integrated multi-media projects. Also, it will provide the beginnings of a European data-base on multi-media projects in basic adult education.

The report, to be ready in Spring 1981, will form part of the preparations being made by the Commission for new proposals in the field of continuing education and training.

It is clear that fresh ideas and a greater sensitivity to local needs will be necessary to tackle the problems facing those who are illiterate, or redundant, or forced into early retirement, problems which are no longer peripheral to society and which cannot be ignored by the Community as it approaches its second phase of enlargement.

## ENERGY



## Can tidal power contribute as an alternative?

In the constant quest for alternative sources of energy, some Community Member States, notably France and the United Kingdom have been investigating the possibilities of harnessing the power of the sea to help run their generators.

With all but one Member State—Luxembourg—enjoying a coastline, this could be a very attractive proposition if tidal power can be made economic. But can it?

This is the question which was posed recently by two members of the European Parliament, Robert Moreland and Richard Cottrell, both British Conservatives and members of the European Democrats Group.

The European Commission was not too encouraging in its reply, although it pointed out that it is not feasible to give a general answer because the

viability of tidal power schemes can depend on the potential for combining tidal power plant with other infrastructure such as dikes.

However, it was able to list a number of difficulties which are posed by tidal power, all of which add up to what it described as 'an unattractive picture.'

There are major problems. The first is the high investment cost in the construction of tidal power stations. Secondly, the power stations are not able to operate all the year round because the stations have to close down for a part of each day on account of the tidal cycle. As a result, there is a need to maintain reserve capacity in a conventional power station.

None of these problems are, of course, insurmountable. Tidal power is already a reality and a station has been in operation in France for the past 15 years. However, the main challenge is to make it more economic.

'Water, water, everywhere...'

## ENVIRONMENT

## Support for plan to control siting of nuclear plants

A resolution backing the European Commission's proposal for a Community-wide consultation system on the siting of nuclear power stations in frontier regions was adopted by the European Parliament at its recent plenary session in Strasbourg.

An increasing number of nuclear power plants are being built in border regions. Of the 120 nuclear power stations on stream, under construction or planned in the Member States, 33 are sited less than 25 miles from the border with another country.

The resolution welcomes the Commission proposal for a consultation procedure ensuring prior information and discussion with neighbouring Member States likely to be affected.

The Parliament felt that when nuclear power stations are built in border areas urgently-needed Community safety standards must be observed.

The resolution also calls on the Commission and the Council of Ministers to draw up measures for cases where no agreement can be reached between the Member States concerned, even after consultation.

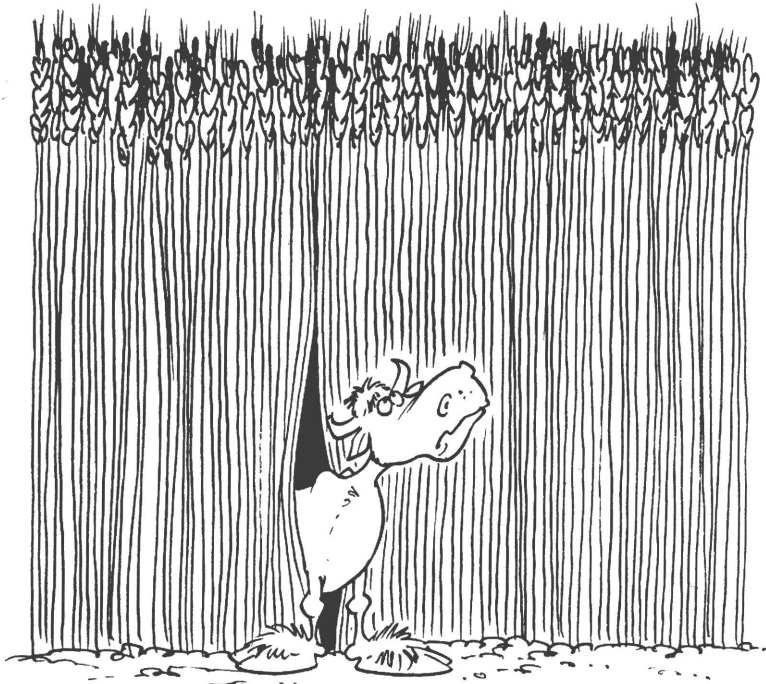
It also calls for a uniform procedure for applying the 'polluter pays' principle in cases of trans-frontier pollution caused by nuclear power stations.

Finally, the resolution expresses the Parliament's hope that negotiations be initiated with third countries bordering on the Community to arrive at agreements in line with the Community consultation procedure.

But the resolution was strongly opposed by French MEPs from all political parties. They felt that existing bilateral contacts were sufficient and that there was no need for a new consultation procedure.

### Poor harvest

Heavy rain this summer means that the wine harvest will be low on both quality and quantity. But there will still be enough wine to go around because of last year's good crop.



## Cautious approach to genetic engineering urged in EP

The European Parliament has issued a cautious welcome to the Commission's proposal for a Community research and development programme into biomolecular or genetic engineering.

A report adopted by MEPs at their November session recognizes the economic potential of genetic engineering in industry and agriculture, but draws attention to the risks involved.

German Socialist MEP, Gerhard Schmid, who drew up the report, told his colleagues at their recent session in Strasbourg that the dangers of genetic engineering, like those of nuclear energy, could only be guessed at.

He therefore called on the Commission to tighten up the programme and define clear goals. In doing so, the Commission should ensure firstly that no projects are selected which have already been studied in Japan or the USA in order to avoid

unnecessary duplication, and secondly that practical projects are selected.

These should be aimed at, for example, lowering production costs in agriculture, lowering energy consumption in the chemical industry, solving environmental and medical problems, using agricultural waste products, the report suggests.

Mr Schmid also called on the Commission to establish clearly the economic and social demand and the social effects of genetic engineering by 1983.

Finally the report notes that increased research into biomolecular engineering brings closer the possibility of manipulating human genes, and Mr Schmid urged the Parliament to hold a debate on the moral implications of genetic engineering as soon as possible.

Replying for the Commission, Mr Richard Burke told MEPs that the aim of the programme was to stimulate multi-disciplinary research halfway between 'pure' and applied fields.

It was designed to overcome the existing bottlenecks which prevent the Community from exploiting the full potential of genetic engineering in agriculture, industry and medicine.

## Plan for cooperation to beat terrorists

A unitary criminal code for European Community countries, covering at least the basic types of terrorist offences has been suggested as one way for governments to cooperate in their fight against growing acts of violence.

Each offence would receive a detailed statutory definition and fixed maximum penalties would be applied by a European criminal court using a fixed set of procedural norms.

The members of the court would come from all the countries participating in the scheme and there would be enough of them to allow the court to sit, if necessary, in different places at the same time.

The idea was put forward by former Irish Attorney General John Kelly at a three-day conference organized by the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe on the defence of democracy against terrorism in Europe.



Mr Kelly told his audience, which included prominent politicians and academics, that such a scheme could avoid the problems involving extradition on the one hand and the possibility of uneven application of criminal norms on the other.

The conference stressed that terrorism could never be defeated by criminal proceedings alone. This could only be achieved by enlightened political and social action and better scientific understanding of the alienated mind.

## FISHERIES

### Sluggish progress towards spawning common policy

Negotiations among the Nine's Agricultural Ministers on a common fisheries policy ran into heavy waters when they met in Brussels in mid-November.

After settling other outstanding issues like conservation measures and the reporting requirements for these catches which fishermen will have to meet, the Ministers spent two days tackling the crucial questions of catch quotas and access to Community waters.

These are seen as the two key elements in the common fisheries policy which governments are committed to introducing by the end of the year, but they are also at the root of the greatest disagreements among the Nine.

Although Ministers spent a large part of their time in confidential bilateral meetings with each other and with Fisheries Commissioner Finn Olav Gundelach, they failed to resolve the differences.

But they stressed that the talks had in no way broken down and that they would meet again as soon as possible, perhaps even the following week. In the meantime, the Commission would consult governments on other items that should be considered when the final proposals are made. But the gap between the various countries is still extremely large. The French have complained that they are being asked to shoulder an unfair burden of the reduction in catches. Present thinking would mean a 33% cut in their 1978 catches, they argue, while the average loss for other countries would mean less than 10%.

The French are particularly insistent that their fishermen should be able to continue to exercise their traditional rights in the waters around Ireland and the United Kingdom when the existing arrangements run out at the end of 1982. Both countries are seeking to end these rights.

Denmark, the Community's major industrial fishing nation, feels that too much compensation has been given

to the United Kingdom and Germany for the loss of potential catches when their fleets were banned from the rich Canadian and Icelandic waters.

Meanwhile, the United Kingdom, being the Community's main fishing nation with over 60% of the Community's fish in its waters is demanding what many term 'the sealion's share' of the catch.

Ministers realize that faced with a finite amount of fish they will have to make some concessions if agreement on a policy is to be reached. But, under pressure from their own fishermen and public opinion they are unlikely to yield ground until later in the year.

The final element of the fisheries package also needing to be approved involves measures aimed at encouraging fish farming and modernization of boats under 33 metres in length.

## AGRICULTURE

### Farm modernization plan: hopes for green light soon

When they meet again in Brussels this month, the Nine's Agricultural Ministers will try to agree on a wide range of measures to encourage the modernization of Community farms.

First proposed by the European Commission in March 1979, the plans include attempts to widen the scope of existing legislation and special programmes for specific underprivileged regions in the Community.

These include schemes to modernize farms, urge certain farmers to retire early, improve the expertise of managers of cooperatives and producer organizations and aids to young farmers.

Special integrated development programmes have been drawn up for the Western Isles of Scotland, the Belgian province of Luxembourg and the French department of the Lozère.

The package originally contained a ten-year plan to develop agriculture in the West of Ireland, which was

adopted by Ministers when they agreed on the 1980/81 price rises for farmers.

Later, two special measures for Northern Ireland—one to improve the cereals sector and the other for less-favoured areas—were included.

The general feeling among Ministers when they examined the proposals earlier this month was that inadequate preparation had taken place for agreement to be reached.

It is hoped that these hurdles will be overcome in the meantime so that the Community will be able to increase the low level of aid it allocates towards improving the structure of agriculture from the present £ 300 million—a mere 2.4% of the total Community budget.

## IN BRIEF

### Redressing the balance

The United Kingdom is this year expected to enjoy a trade balance with its Community partners for the first time since it joined the Community in 1973. The surplus is expected to be due to a growth in non-oil as well as oil exports, and to a fall in imports.

### Norway calling

Norwegian Prime Minister Odvar Nordli paid a one-day visit to Brussels last month to meet Commission President Roy Jenkins and a number of other commissioners. His visit came a few days after the publication of a report by the European Movement urging that Norway reconsider the possibility of Community membership. The Norwegian government negotiated terms of membership in 1972 but these were rejected by voters in a referendum.

### Inflationary figures

Consumer prices in the OECD group of industrialized countries rose by 12.6% up to September last. The lowest rate of increase was 3.8% in Switzerland and the highest 86.7% in Turkey. The lowest figure for a Community country was 5.2% in Germany and the highest 21.4% in Italy. Greece, which joins the Community next January, recorded a rate of 24.4%.

## FOCUS

## Studying the side effects of new technologies

One or more cars to a family, colour television sets, electrical appliances, bustling urban centres, modern and efficient living quarters; all these are associated with the technologically advanced and well-off society which exists in much of the developed world.

However, modern society also brings certain problems: pollution, overcrowding, isolation of the individual and crime, are but a few examples.

Thus, in addition to spending money on research to bring about technological advances, governments have in recent years begun to invest funds in programmes that study the side effects of today's society.

According to a ten-year review of government-funded research and development in the nine Member States of the European Community, there has been a steady increase in the amount spent for research in subjects grouped under the headings 'planning of human environments' and 'social and sociological problems'.

The report, put out by the Community's statistical office, shows that although these two categories represent a small portion of the totals spent on research and development in Community countries, their importance grew within the

1970s in most of the nine Member States.

Most research in post-war years has been concentrated on technological advance in various domains, ranging from the military to energy. However, in the late 1960s, along with the emergence of political and social movements of protest, there was a questioning of the priorities of society.

There were crusades to limit defence spending, for example, and governments were urged to place more emphasis on 'human' problems.

Thus, instead of considering that the only place for research and development is in relation to grandiose projects, governments began to look into the problems of the man-in-the-street.

The category 'planning of human environments' includes research projects being carried out on subjects such as: the social consequences of the development of technology, urbanism, social issues) which include the problems of prisoners, drug addicts, mental patients, etc.) and migration (from one country to another as well as from rural to urban areas).

Also grouped in this category are certain aspects of medical research (such as genetic and molecular biology) and protection from radio-active matter.

This type of research still accounts for a small portion of the total spent by governments on R+D. In 1978, 6.5% of government-financed research in the Community was in projects grouped under the planning of human environments

and social and sociological problems categories, as compared to 4.6% in 1970.

Of the individual Community countries, Belgium, Ireland and the Netherlands devoted the largest portion of government-funds to social research in 1978, with 15.5, 13.9 and 12.5%, respectively, of their total spending going to the two categories mentioned above. The UK, with 3.3%, devoted the smallest proportion to such research.

The amount of social research being done in the Community is probably greater than these figures suggest. Research financed in universities and other institutions of higher education has been grouped by the report in the category 'general promotion of knowledge', which includes a great variety of subjects. Since universities often engage in social science research, this category also includes research on social issues.

Up until the late 1960s most research and development involved high technology and military programmes. This is still the case; in 1978, of the total spent by governments on R+D, the Community average for defence was 22.5%, while 8% of R+D funds went to industrial productivity and technology.

The other important subject of research has continued to be production, distribution and rational utilization of energy, which, showing little change in the last ten years, accounted for 10.4% of the total spent by the Nine governments on R+D in 1978.



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ISSN 0379-3079  
Catalogue N° CC-AC-80-019-EN-C