# Euroforum



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### Euroforum

Dear Reader,

As already announced in our last two issues, *Euroforum* is ceasing publication in its present form. This is the last issue.

In January, you will receive for a three-month trial period the monthly publication of the European Commission's information office in your own country. This will contain an eight-page insert entitled *Euroforum* which will bring you a monthly round-up of Community news.

This is a special issue, not simply because it is the last one but because it coincides with the end of the old year, the beginning of the new, the departure of President Jenkins, the arrival of the new Commission under its President Gaston Thorn and the accession of Greece.

To mark the occasion, we have asked Roy Jenkins to look back on the last year and John Palmer, European Editor of the Guardian, to sketch the prospects for 1981. We also publish a new set of basic Community statistics which include Greece and which we hope you will keep as a handy reference.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your interest and support during the past two years, and to express my appreciation of the work of all those who helped to produce 100 000 copies of *Euroforu*m in five language editions every two weeks—without once missing a deadline.

I wish all of you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Peter Dy D

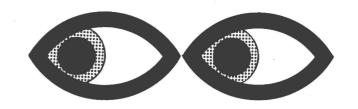
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Editor-in-chief: Peter Doyle

#### The Year Past

by Roy Jenkins, retiring President of the European Commission



It would be difficult to squeeze the Community into any set structure, for it is unique. It is neither an international or inter-governmental organisation, nor yet a full federation or confederation of European states. It combines elements of both, but the result is a dynamically evolving network of ties, transferred competences and shared responsibilities.

Certain basic rules, and quite fundamental ones, are enshrined in the Communities' Treaties, which provide our basic textbook. But there is no chapter and verse governing all the manifold activities of the Communities, and in many respects the process of European integration has developed with a momentum and direction of its own, quite independently from what was foreseen hardly thirty years ago.

I could cite, for example, the development of European Political Cooperation, which represents an increasingly important area of activity within the framework of the Community. Likewise, the European Council is an innovation unforeseen in the Treaties. Yet without its impetus, developments such as the setting up of the European Monetary System might not have been possible.

The Community should therefore be seen as a dynamic and evolving process. There is now a sound basis of well established aims and principles, of European institutions and of competences and procedures. However, all this is not enough. Aims have to be brought to life; principles have to be turned into timely action; formalities and procedures have to be used to help and not to hamper making Europe a day-to-day reality. It is precisely this flexibility of response which is vital if we are to make the Community work.

Any wholly pessimistic view would be misconceived. Apart from anything else, during the past few years we have survived a very difficult period. We have put the European Monetary System in place, a substantial and working achievement. We have got a directly elected Parliament, which Governments, having created it, must now be prepared to treat with a degree of respect. We have negotiated the second Lomé Convention and the MTN agreements.

On the whole we have successfully resisted protectionism and made ourselves a greater force in negotiating both with our major industrial partners—although more so with the United States than with Japan—and in the North/South relationship. We have completed negotiations with Greece and set them in train with Portugal and Spain—although, particularly with Spain, we have not got near to the core of the problem.

About the future, I am apprehensive, although certainly not despairing. There are tremendous challenges ahead of us, and of these the most pressing is to tackle successfully the economic problems confronting the Community. With 7.5 million unemployed, stagnating economic growth rates, unprecedented balance of payments deficits, and substantial structural problems, it is vital that we should respond by concerted action on a European scale.

A few weeks ago, the European Heads of State and Government stressed their determination to see these issues tackled in a concerted fashion, rather than individually and piecemeal. Only joint efforts, for instance in encouraging new innovative technologies, stand a chance of averting a situation which threatens to become out of control. For substantial sources still remain largely untapped; and red tape, national standards and others restrictions to free trade are still prohibiting economies of scale in a market of Continental size. This is a luxury we cannot afford.

But at the same time the European Community and its institutions, paradoxically enough, find themselves in a situation where their hands are increasingly tied, where their power of discretion, their margin of manoeuvre, is narrowing. We know that we should do more to develop a coherent economic strategy to combat unemployment and social disparities. We know that not only must we ease the decline of hitherto prosperous industrial sectors, but also offer encouragement and the necessary favourable conditions to foster promising new activities—for example, new technologies and industrial innovation. We know that we desperately need a viable energy policy on a European scale. We recognize that the economic performance and

standards of living between European regions are drifting still further apart; and that enlargement towards the South will widen the already existing problem of a North/South rift within the Community.

Whilst we recognize these problems and trends, at the same time the Community continues to allow the lion's share of its funds to be devoted to the agricultural sector which represents only a tiny fraction of its work force and of its overall economic product. Combined with an inflexible system of own resources, the result is a Community in which most of the wealth comes from industry, most of the expenditure goes on agriculture and yet in which many vital needs in other fields are scarcely recognized. At a time when the European Community would have to be invented if it did not already exist, and put to work immediately, the Community as it stands is about to come up against its financial ceiling and is running the risk of being stifled by its agricultural expenditure.

It must be recognized that this is a fundamental problem facing us. As so often is the case, the dilemma is that one cannot have it both ways. It is impossible to insist upon defending present patterns of agricultural spending while maintaining current financial ceilings, and at the same time to blame the Community for not taking up more vigorously economic and political matters of much larger concern than agriculture.

The European Governments, together with the new Commission in Brussels, will have to use their best endeavours in the coming year to bring about real reform, and not to indulge in mere cosmetic tinkering. For the very credibility of the Community is at stake. If the Community is to mean anything to the public of the Ten Member States, we cannot flinch from these tasks.



## The New Commission

The following are the members of the European Commission who take office for a four-year term on January 6 when their individual portfolios will become known:

#### Gaston Thorn (President)

Aged 52. Luxembourger. Lawyer. Member of the Democratic Party (Liberal). President of the Party 1961-80. Former Prime Minister of Luxembourg (1974-79).

#### F.H.J.J. Andriessen

Aged 51. Dutch. Lawyer. Member of the Lower House of the States-General (1967-77) for the KVP (Catholic People's Party). Minister of Finance (1977-79).

#### **Claude Cheysson**

Aged 60. French. Ecole Nationale d'Administration. Former Ambassador. Member of the Commission since 1973 with responsibility for Third World affairs.

#### **Etienne Davignon**

Aged 48. Belgian. Diplomat. Member of the Commission since 1977 with responsibility for Industrial Affairs and the Internal Market.

#### Antonio Giolitti

Aged 65. Italian. Lawyer. Socialist Member of Parliament (1948-76) and former Minister. Member of the Commission since 1977 (Regional Policy).

#### Finn Olav Gundelach

Aged 55. Danish. Diplomat. Former Deputy Director-General of GATT. Member of the Commission since 1973 (Internal Market until 1977, then Agriculture and Fisheries).

#### Wilhelm Haferkamp

Aged 57. German. Trade Unionist. Member of the Commission since 1967. Portfolios have included Energy, Internal Market, Economic and Financial Affairs and External Relations.

#### Gheorghios Kontogheorghis

Aged 68. Greek. Former civil servant. New Democracy Party. Minister for Relations with the European Community (1977-80).

#### Karl-Heinz Narjes

Aged 56. German. Lawyer. Christian Democrat member of Parliament since 1972. Former Director-General of the Commission's information department.

#### Lorenzo Natali

Aged 58. Italian. Lawyer. Christian Democrat. Former Minister. Member of the Commission since 1977 (Enlargement, Environment, Nuclear Safety, Relations with EP).

#### Michael O'Kennedy

Aged 44. Irish. Lawyer. Fianna Fáil Minister for Transport and Power (1973), for Foreign Affairs (1977-79) and for Finance (1979-80).

#### François-Xavier Ortoli

Aged 55. French. Ecole Nationale d'Administration. Former Minister. President of the Commission (1973-76) and Vice-President (Economic and Financial Affairs) 1977-80.

#### **Ivor Richard**

Aged 48. British. Lawyer. Labour Party. Former Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Defence (Army) and former UK Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1974-79).

#### **Christopher Tugendhat**

Aged 43. British. Journalist. Conservative Member of Parliament 1970-76. Member of the Commission since 1977 (Budget, Financial Control, Financial Institutions, Administration).

Key
FR of Germany
F France

Italy

NL Netherlands

B Belgium

Luxembourg

GB United Kingdom

(IRL) Ireland

**DK**) Denmark

GR) Greece



## The European Community in figures

The tables on the following pages are based on material contained in 'Basic Statistics of the Community, 1980' which has just been published by the European Community's Statistical Office. Available from Government Sales Offices (see back cover), price £2.25, IR£2.50.

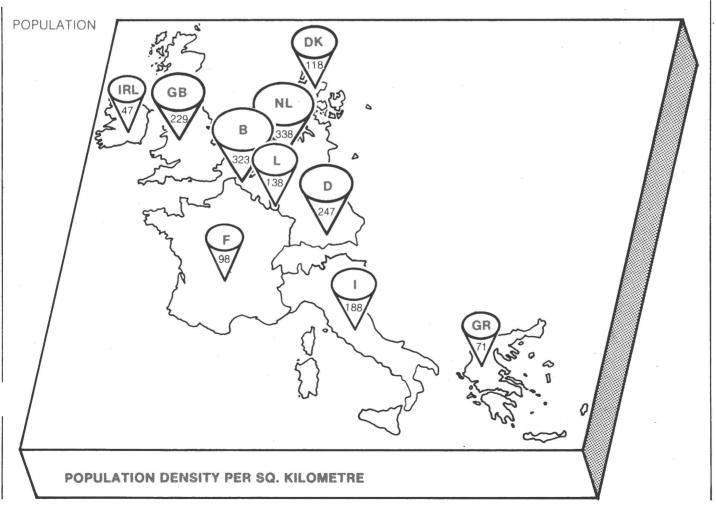
Monetary values are expressed in European currency units (ECUs). The ECU is a "basket" unit based on a certain quantity of each Community currency. 1 ECU = approximately 65p (1979 average).

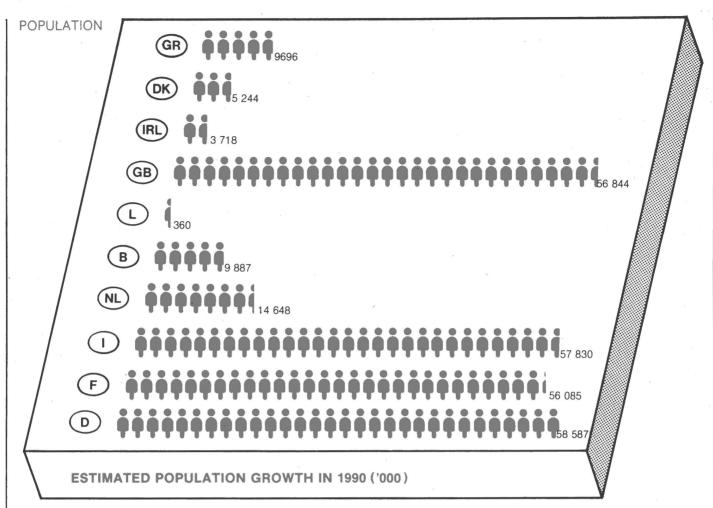
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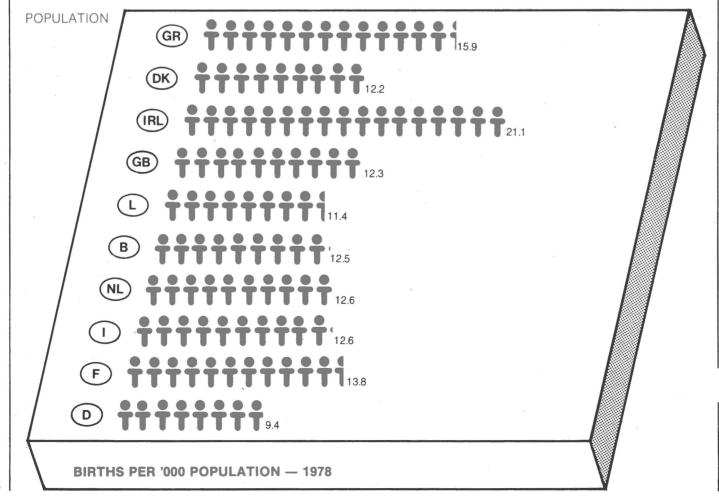
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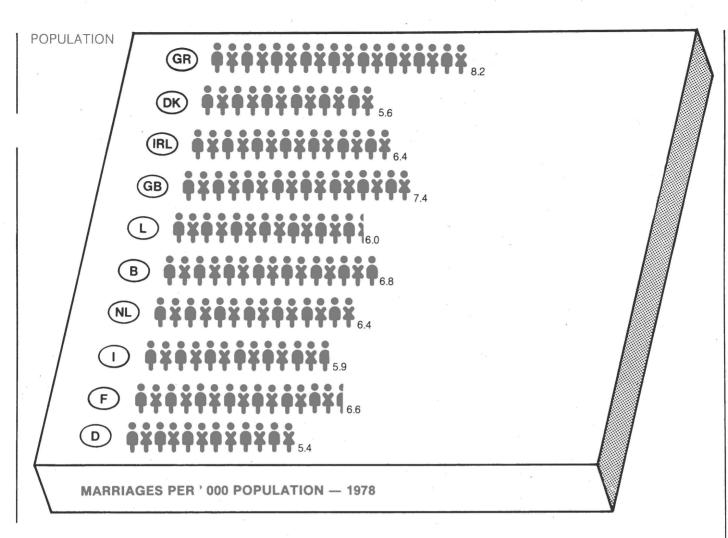
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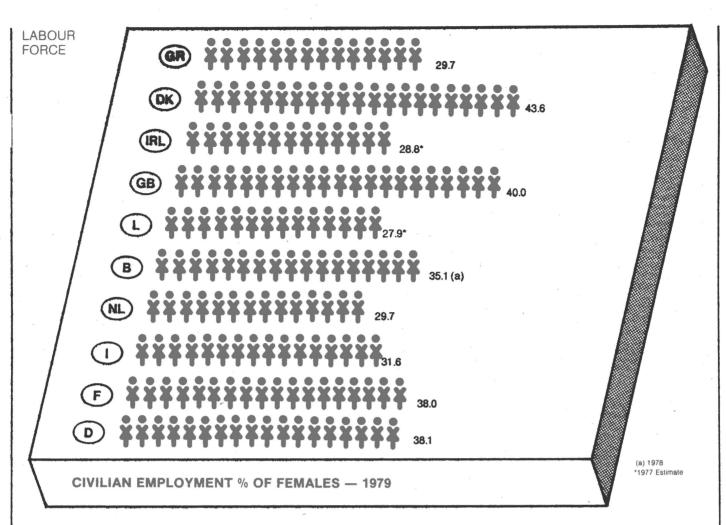


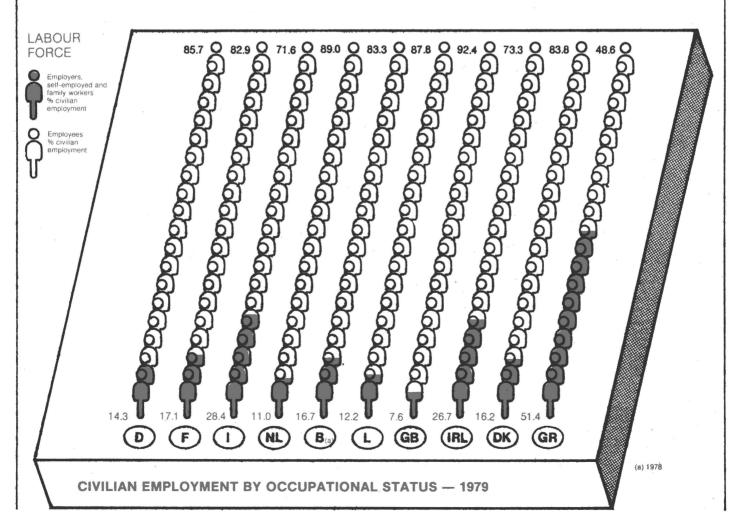
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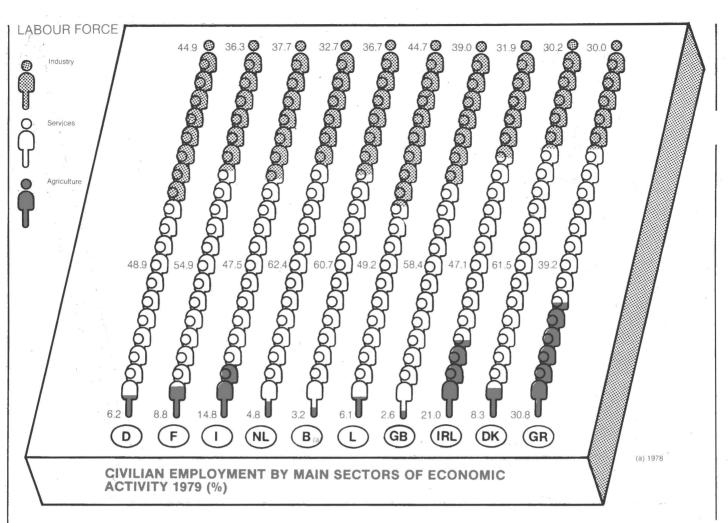
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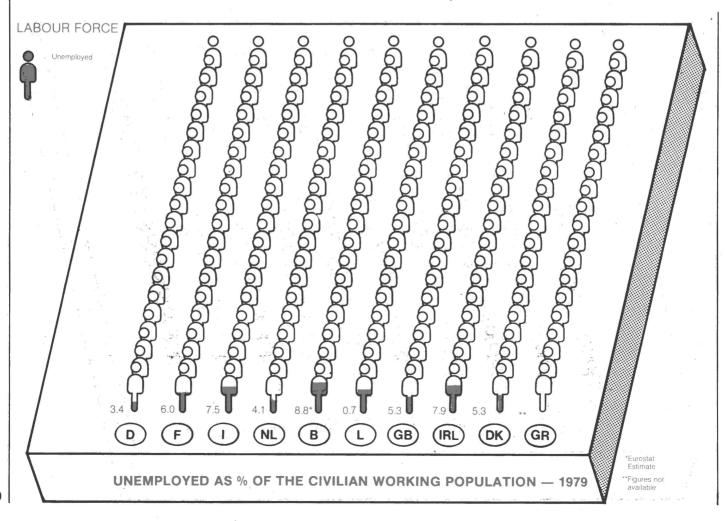
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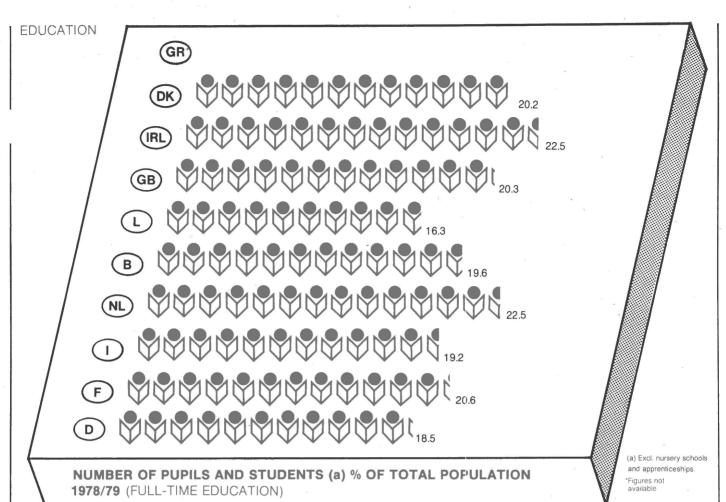
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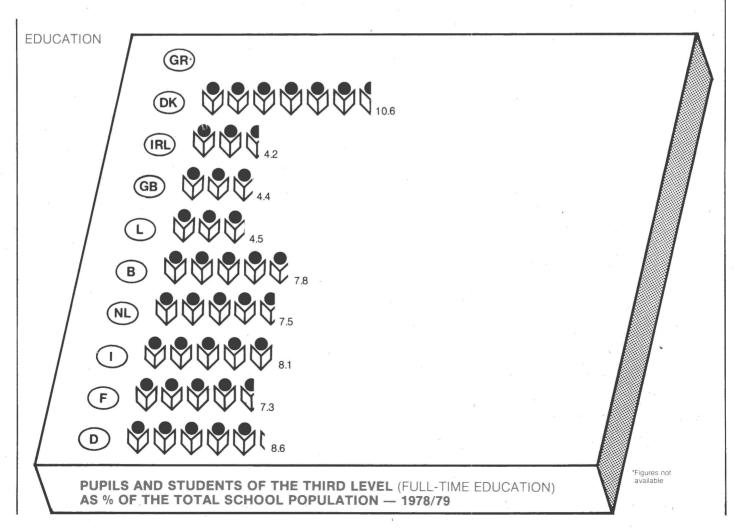


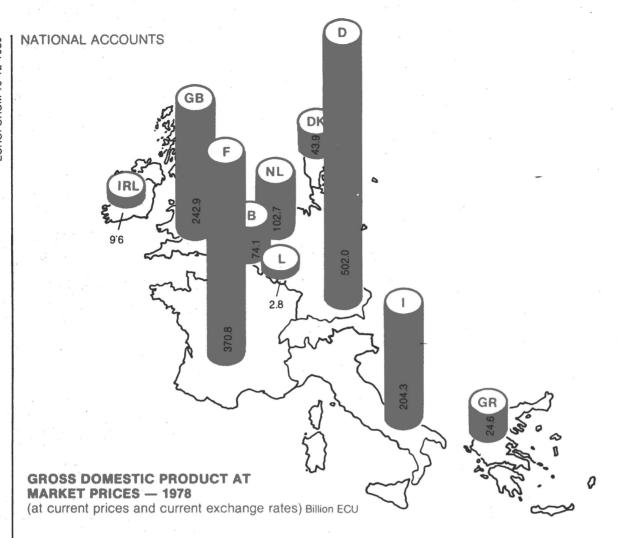


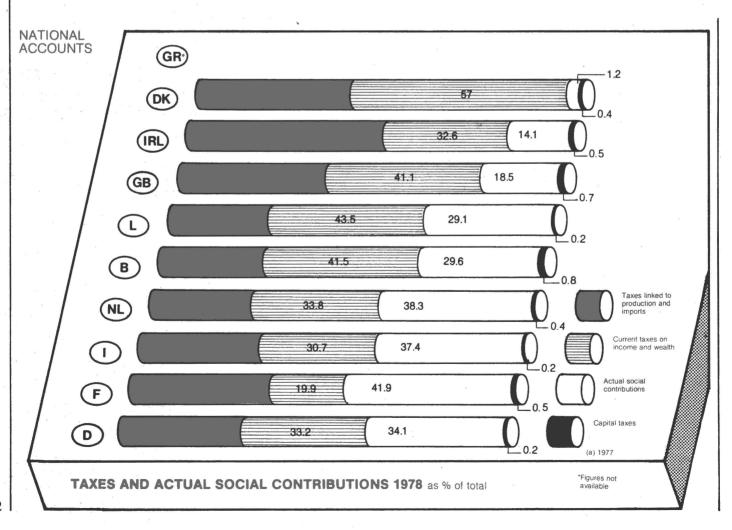


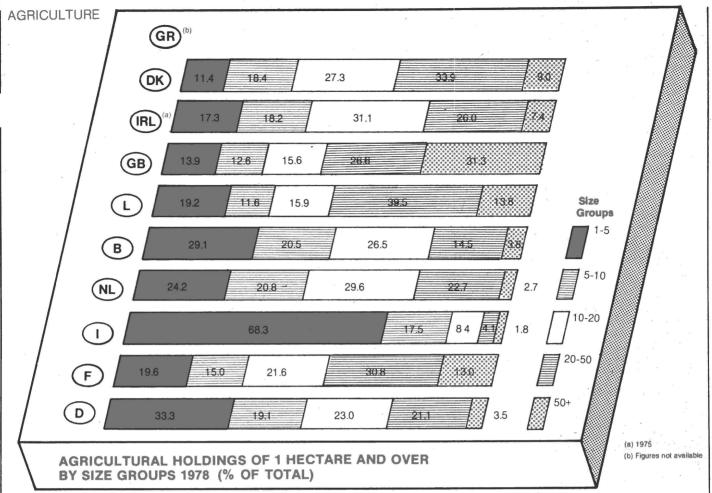


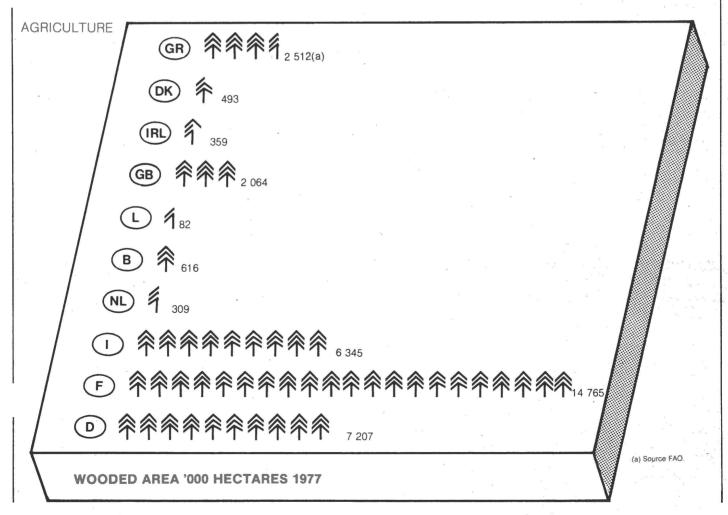


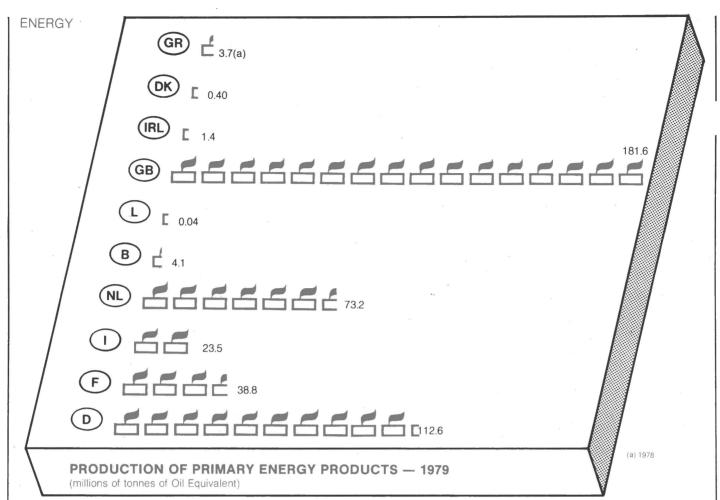


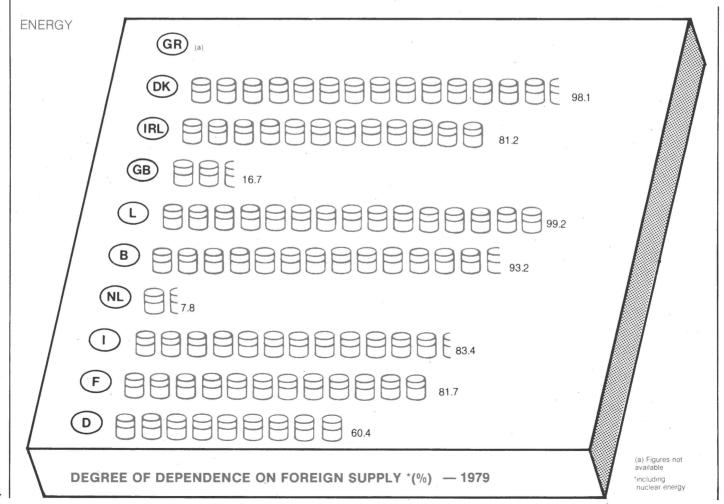


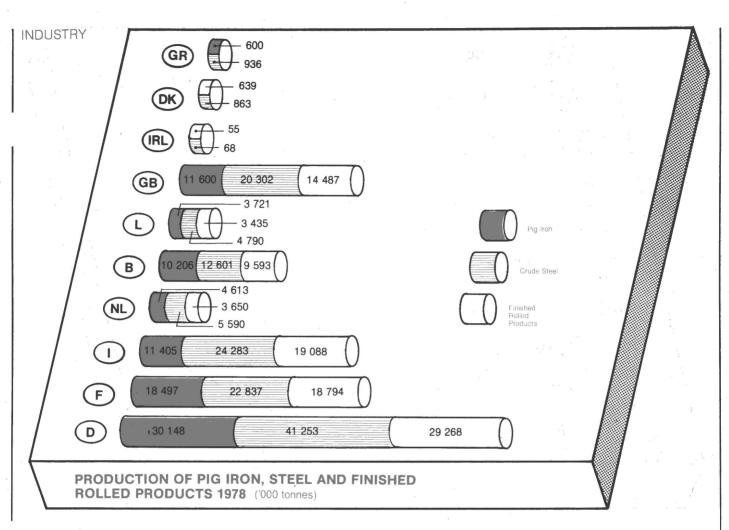


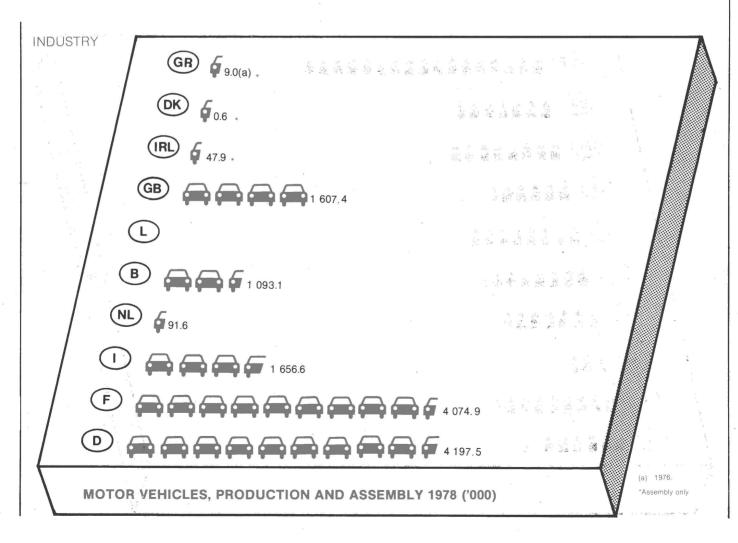


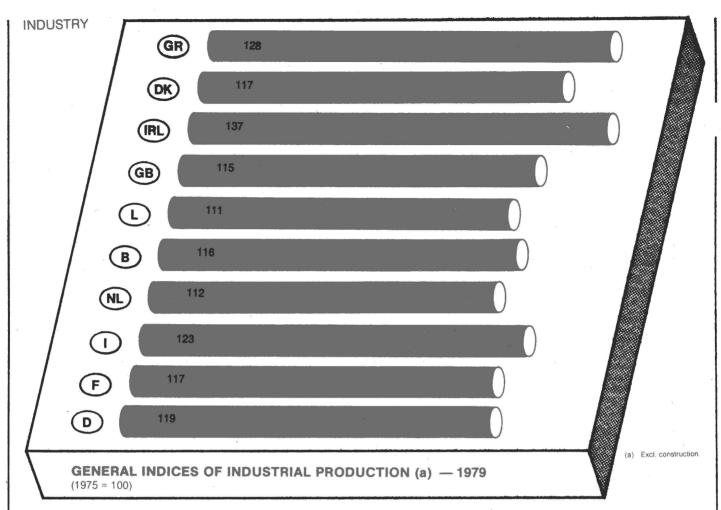


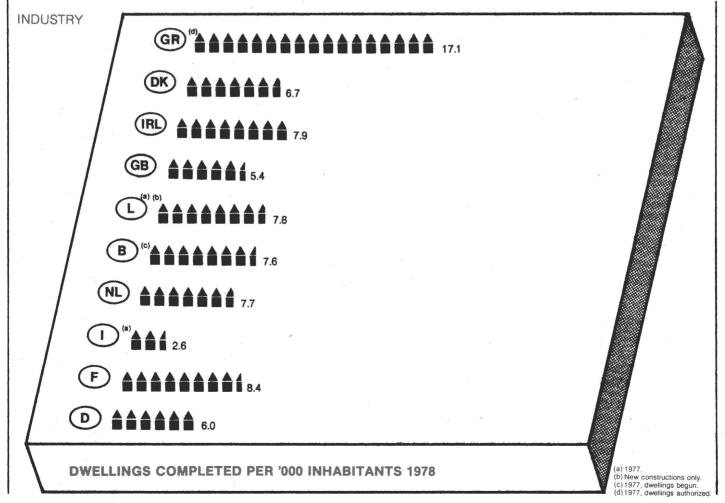


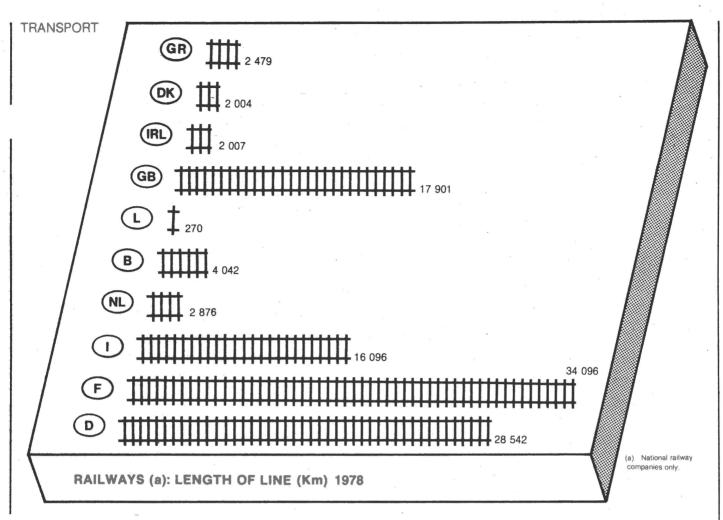


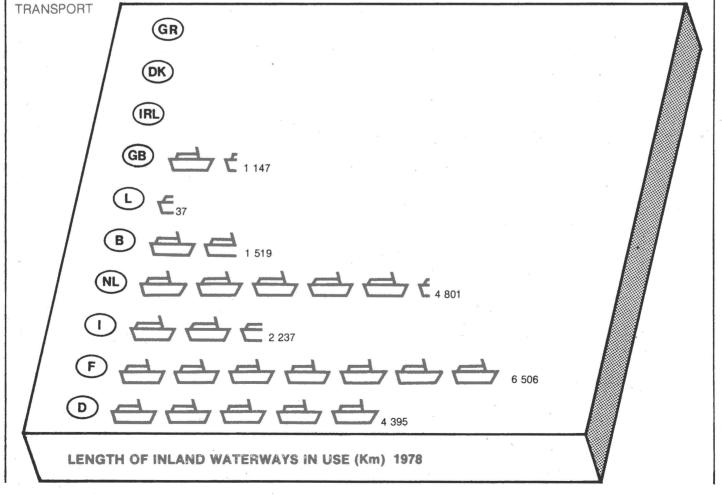


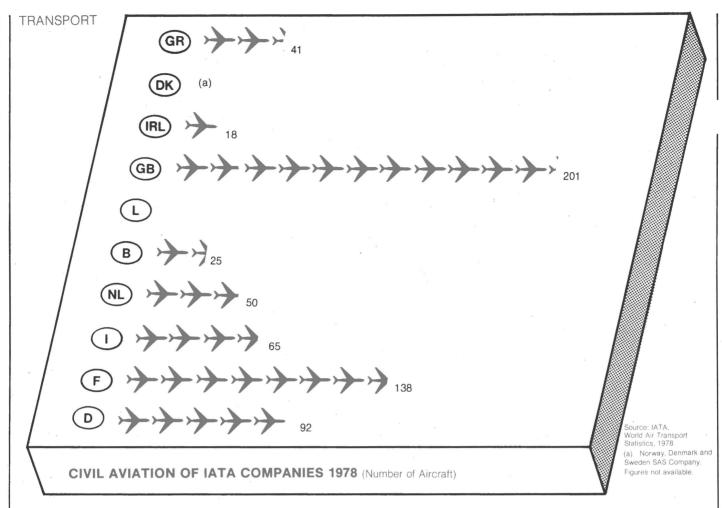


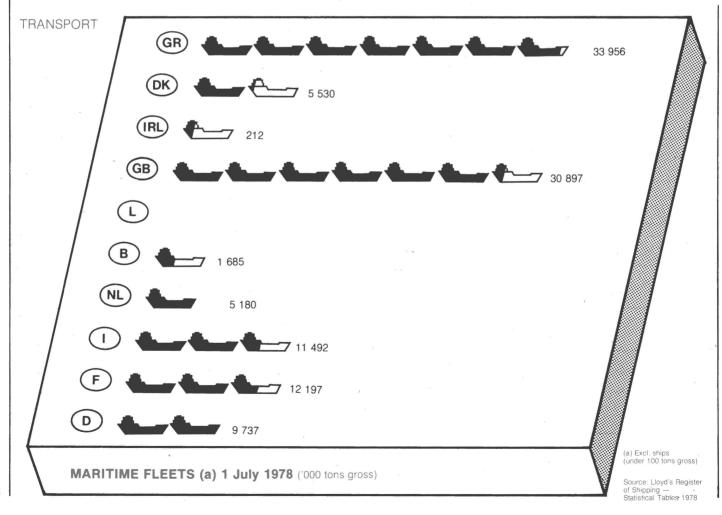


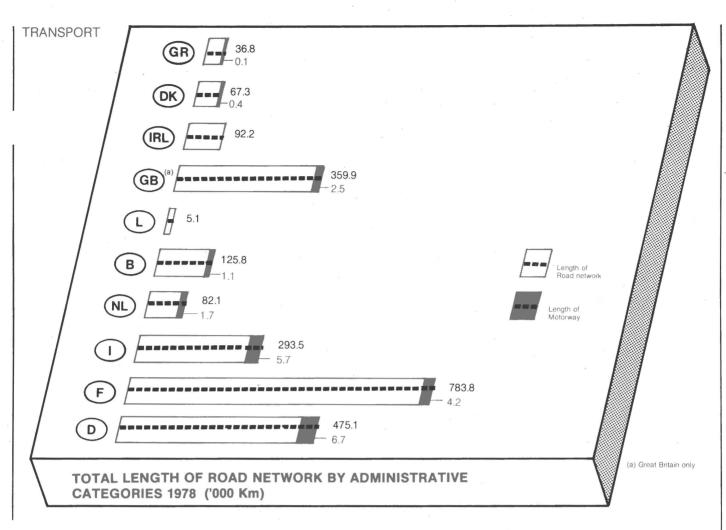


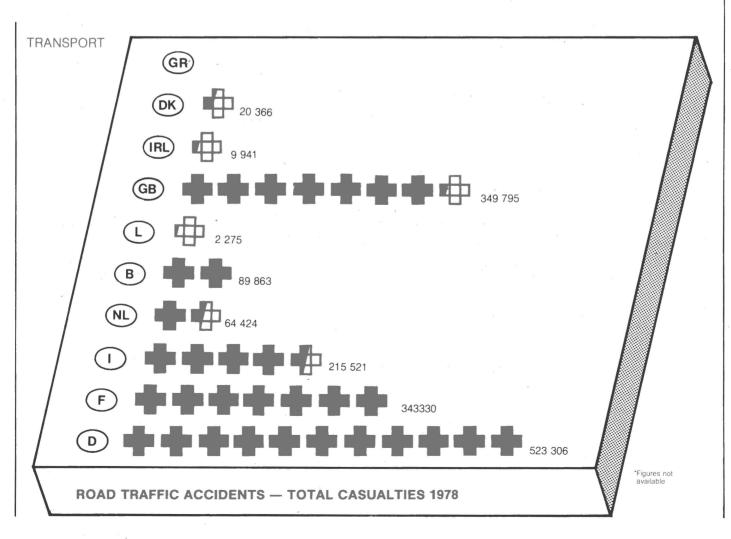


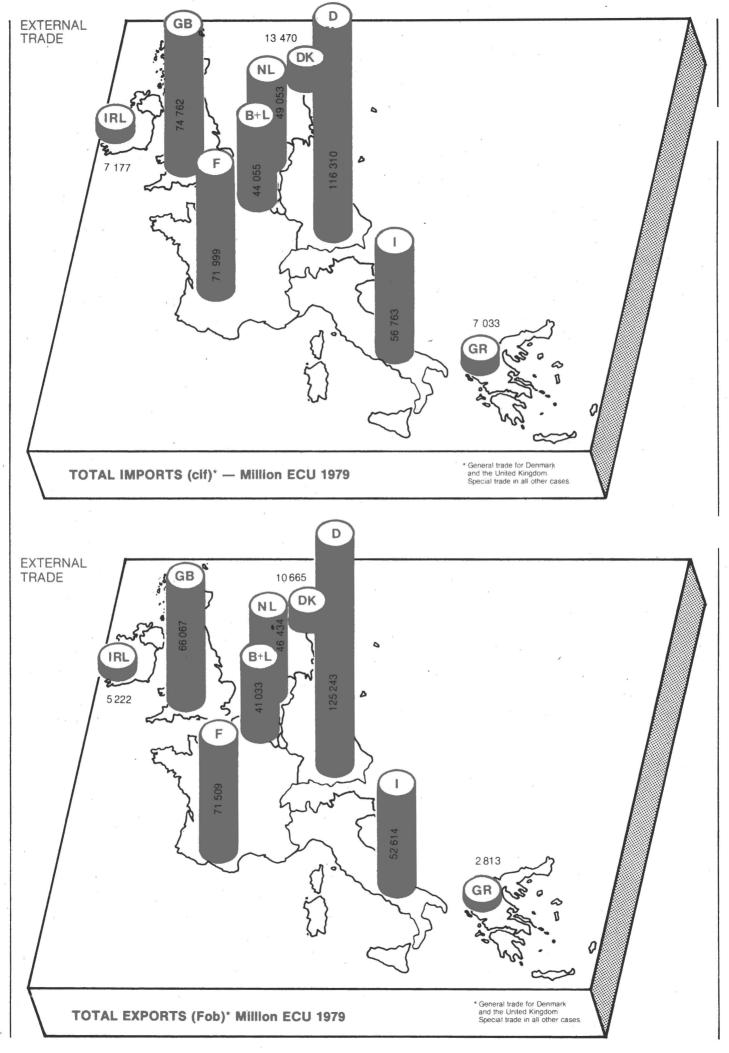




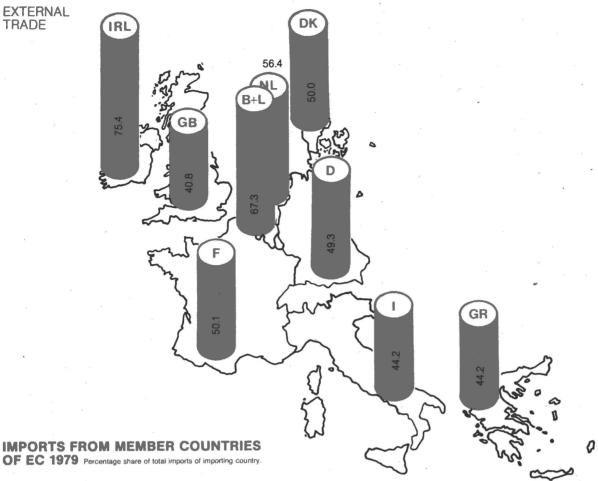




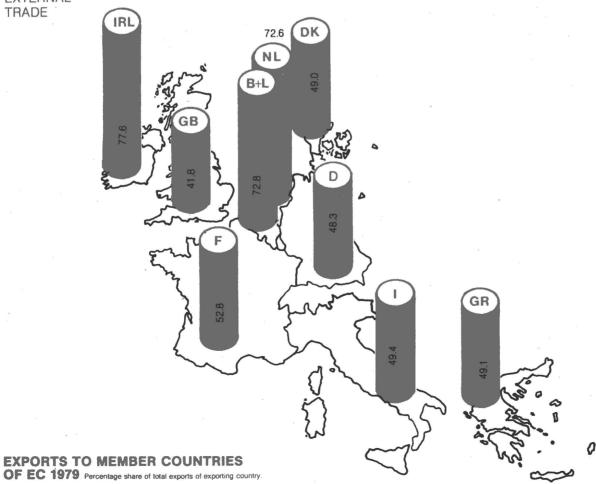


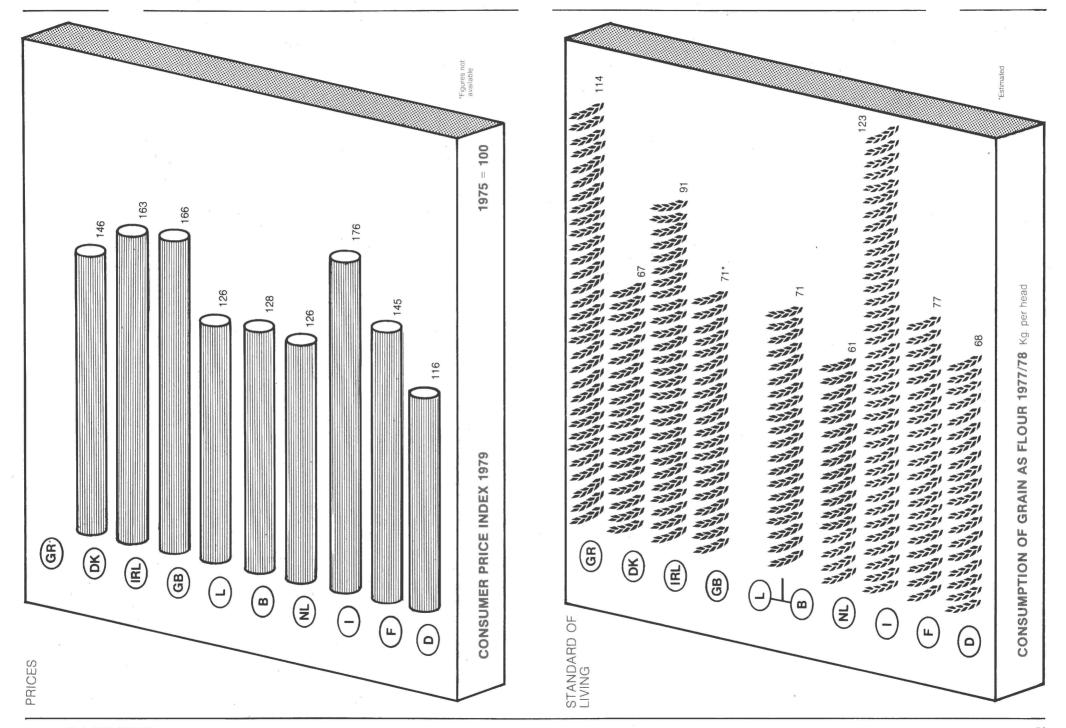


EXTERNAL TRADE



**EXTERNAL** TRADE







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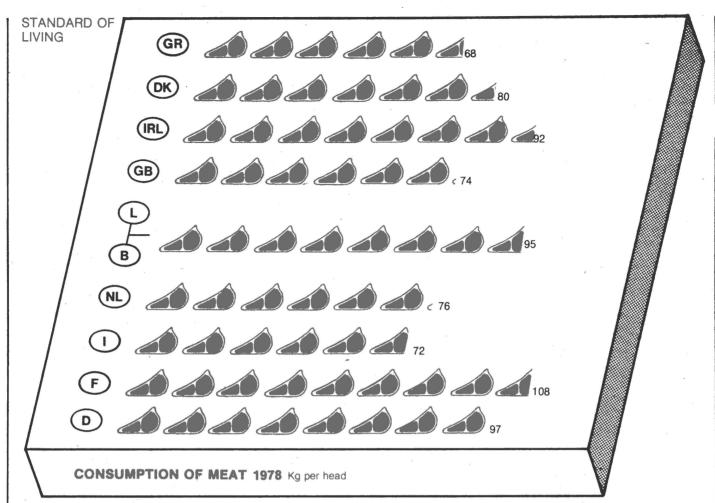
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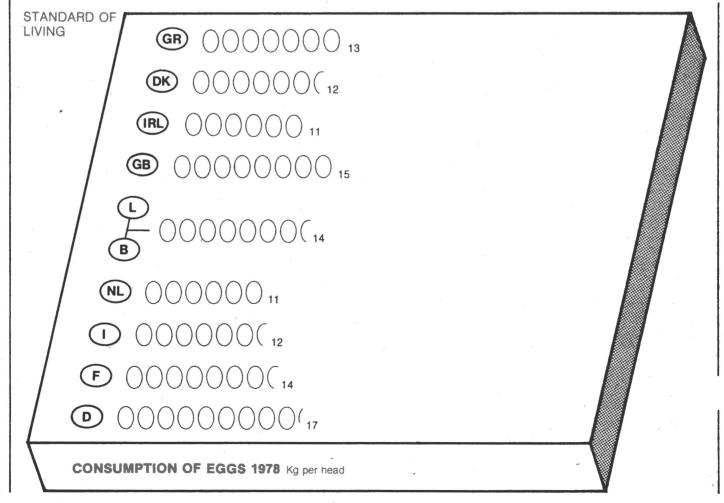
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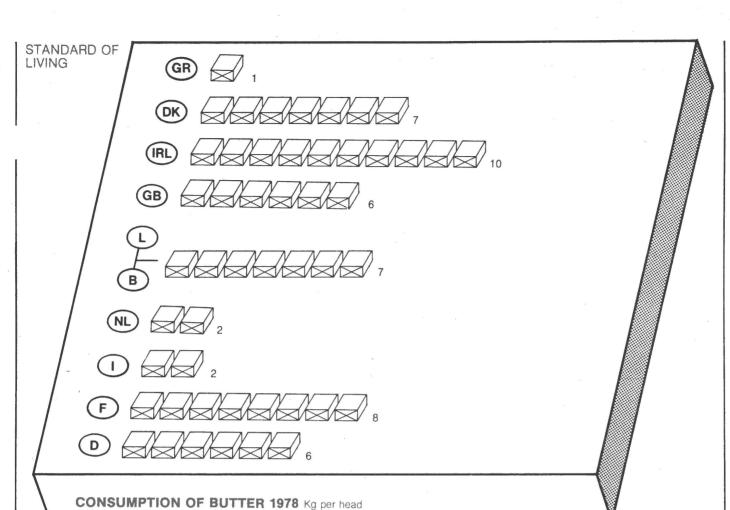
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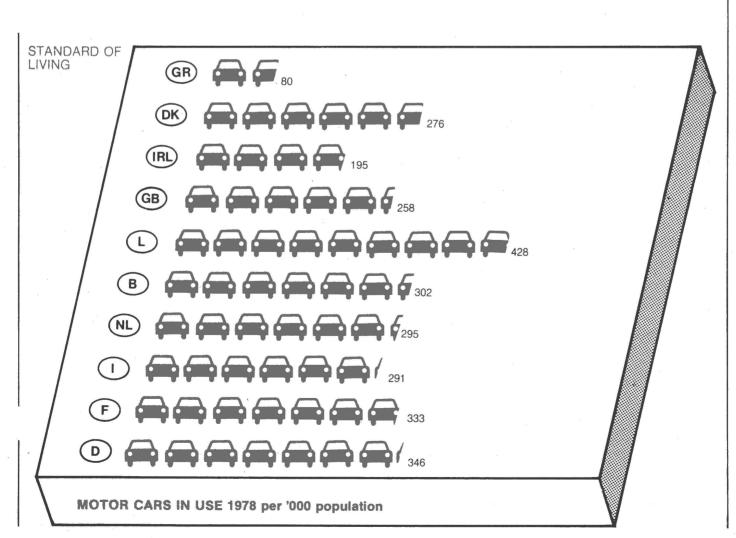
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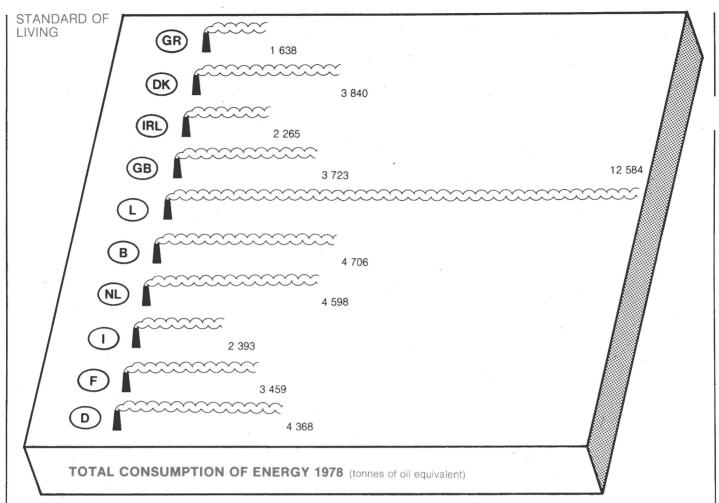
CONSUMPTION OF DRINKING MILK 1978 Kg per head

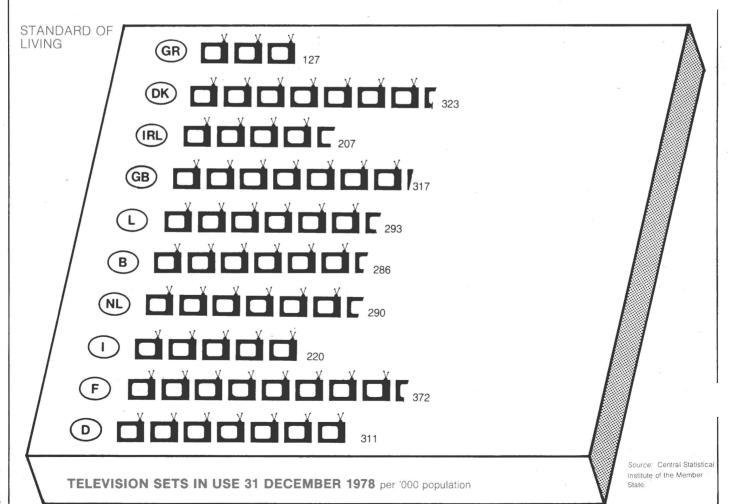












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HEALTH SERVICES 1977 — PHARMACISTS per 100,000 population

Source: World Health Organisation.

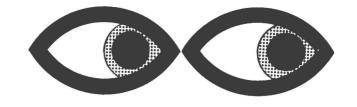
HEALTH SERVICES

HEALTH SERVICES 1977 — HOSPITAL BEDS per 100,000 population

Source: World Health Organisation.

#### The Year Ahead

By John Palmer, European Editor of The Guardian



As the four-year term of every European Commission draws to a close, the problems facing the incoming Commission seem progressively more daunting. The circumstances in which the new Commission, under its President, Mr Gaston Thorn, takes office are no exception. Rarely, if ever, has the European Community faced such a bewildering complex of economic, social, political and institutional challenges.

The starting point for assessing the outlook for the European Community in 1981 must be the gloomy economic outlook. The economies of the Community, like virtually every part of the industrialized world, are in the grip of a severe recession. The hope is that the recession will 'bottom out' some time next year but it seems certain that conditions will get a lot worse before they improve. And there must be at least a question mark over the ability of the European economies to manage a sustained period of economic expansion thereafter without running into the inflationary and other problems which brought the recovery that began in 1975 to such a shuddering halt.

No single economic problem is quite as daunting as the present rate of unemployment. At the end 1980 there were 7.4 million people out of work in the European Community but this total is bound to continue to rise during 1981, even if the New Year sees the beginning of some economic recovery. Although, thus far, unemployment has produced remarkably little social—or even political—unrest, there are no reasons for thinking that this will continue indefinitely. And if there is any one single fuse which could ignite a major social and political upheaval in Europe it is the continuing level of unemployment among the young, growing numbers of whom are leaving school to go straight onto the dole queue.

Unemployment and the concertation of economic policy to overcome both recession and the underlying inflation—still all too evident in most European Community countries—seems certain to become a major priority of the Council of Ministers and the new Commission in 1981. The outgoing Commission has already begun work on studies of how an investment and energy savings oriented recovery can best be encouraged.

In assessing the prospects for sustained economic recovery, much will depend on the state of international trade and, in particular, on the ability of the developing countries to carry the increased economic burden on higher oil prices. The new Commission is bound to pay much attention to both these issues. On the trade front, matters will be complicated for the Commission which, in spite of the Community's commitment to international free trade, has negotiated restrictions on imports coming into the Community over a number of sectors.

During the course of 1981, the Commission will have to seek a new mandate to renegotiate the Multi-fibres Agreement which empowers the Community to curb textile imports. Likewise, the Community will later next year have to renegotiate 'understandings' on restraint of exports of steel into the Community as part of the continuing, but now partly mandatory, steel 'anti-crisis' measures.

Steel and textiles are only two industries experiencing serious difficulties at present. New Year seems likely to see a number of other industries—perhaps including cars, chemicals, synthetic textiles, electronics and shipbuilding discuss the need for 'restructuring' on a European At present, neither the Commission nor the Community has any legal basis for participating in this kind of exercise. But some European industrialists believe that if restructuring is to take place on a European-wide basis—as it must if European industry is to face the competitive challenge from Japan, the United States, the newly-industrializing countries and elsewherethen the Community and its institutions may have to become more directly involved.

Intimately linked with the issue of industrial modernization and reorganization in the Community is the issue of trade relations with outside countries. One continuingly sensitive area is bound to be relations with Japan, in view of the mounting Japanese trade surplus with the Community. Both sides will want to monitor the trade balance and to see how the disequilibrium in trade with Japan can be best put to right.

The European Community will also be actively involved in discussions about a revival of the so-called 'North/South dialogue.' The new Commission—along with the Member States—will have to make up its mind how far it wishes to go with the conclusions of the Brandt Commission which urged radical changes in the present international economic order. But it would take heroic optimism

to assume that 1981 will see any more rapid progress towards an agreement between the rich and poor countries about the long overdue changes needed to assist development and, incidentally, the continued expansion of the world economy.

1981 is also likely to see important developments in Europe's relations with the Arab world. Next summer will see a full Foreign Minister-level meeting of the Euro-Arab dialogue which will combine the ten Member States of the Community with the 20 Member States of the Arab League, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organisation. By then the Ten, meeting in political cooperation, are expected to have decided on the exact form and timing of the Community's much discussed 'initiative' to try and secure a Middle East peace.

The Euro-Arab dialogue is also concerned with important economic and commercial questions of mutual interest to the two world regions. And it is possible that discussions will get under way between the two sides on a number of energy-related issues. Although the issue of oil prices will not be discussed, it is highly significant that the Arab countries appear ready to talk, outside of OPEC, about such important questions as oil supplies, the developing of refining capacity and the common search for better energy-saving and alternative energy supplies.

Reference to the 'Ten' Member States recalls that from January 1 next Greece will become a full member of the Community. Preparations have been in hand for some time preparing for Greek accession and the new Greek Commissioner, Mr Gheorghios Kontogheorghis, brings to 14 the membership of that body. This is certainly far from being the end of the process of Community enlargement and 1981 will see the negotiations for the membership of Portugal and Spain reach an important, and possibly, decisive stage.

The Spanish and Portuguese governments still hope that the full accession negotiations can be concluded by the end of 1982 so that their countries will be in a position to become the eleventh and twelfth Member States of the Community by January 1984. Whether or not this ambitions timetable is fully realised will depend as much on the progress made by the Ten in tackling a whole range of internal problems as on the progress in the accession negotiations proper.

The Community will get down seriously to the business of reform next June. By then the new Thorn Commission will have published its proposals for restructuring the Community budget so as to reduce the share of Common Market resources (currently more than 70 per cent) taken by agriculture. But this is linked to a separate and more urgent problem: the prospective exhaustion

of the Community's system of so-called 'own resources', that is, the revenue available from agricultural levies, import duties and a share (up to a ceiling of one per cent) in the VAT income of Member States.

The British, French and German governments have made it clear that they will not endorse the amendment to the Treaty of Rome which would be needed to lift the VAT ceiling, at least until there have been significant changes in the internal balance between farm and non-farm spending in the budget. It is a practical certainty that, at current rates of expenditure, particularly on agriculture—which has a special 'obligatory' status in the present system—the present budget ceiling will be breached if not this year then in 1982.

No one in Brussels, or elsewhere, quite knows what will happen at this point. The President of the retiring Commission, Roy Jenkins, has made a valedictory plea for a threefold increase in the Community's budget revenues. He does not believe that sufficient savings can be made in the short run by cutting farm spending in order to release resources for spending on industry, energy, the regions or the Social Fund.

However, there will have at least to be a start in changing the open-ended system of guaranteed price support for Europe's farmers which is responsible for so many of the costly surpluses which embarrass the system at present. The 1981 farm price agreement will almost certainly be the last of its kind and increasing conflict between the Council of Ministers and the farmers seems inevitable.

Once the French presidential election is out of the way next March it is expected that serious work will begin on the next stage in the evolution of the European Monetary System. Ultimately, it is hoped, this will lead to a fully-integrated European monetary system run by a Community central bank and with the European Currency Unit (ECU) taking its place as another international financial reserve asset. But rapid progress towards this goal depends partly on much more progress being made in eliminating the disparities in inflation and economic performance of the Community economies and partly on developments affecting the dollar and the world monetary system.

It is a commonplace observation that progress towards the economic integration of the Community countries has stagnated in recent years and little or no progress has been made in elaborating new 'common policies'. Indeed, the planned reform of the CAP might yet end up with the gradual erosion of that particular common policy. However there has, particularly in the past year, been one important Community 'growth area'—namely political cooperation. Technically 'political coopera-

tion' between Community governments is outside the provisions of the Treaty of Rome. But, in practice, the Community's Foreign Ministers are beginning to evolve at least the skeleton of a common European foreign policy.

As already mentioned, this is likely of be put to the test in 1981 over the question of the Middle East and a settlement of the problem between Israel and the Palestinians. One indication of whether political cooperation is going to take off will be whether there is agreement to set up some permanent secretariat, partly to reduce the burden on the smaller Member States who, when they assume the six-month Presidency of the Council of Ministers, are also charged with coordinating political cooperation.

The wider question of institutional reform is not going to go away even though little was done by the outgoing Commission or by the Council of Ministers to adopt the recommendations of two 'Wise Men' reports on institutional reforms published during 1980. The European Parliament will also continue to assert its ambitions to exercise greater influence and, ultimately, greater direct power. But in 1981 the decision will have to be taken where the permanent site of the Parliament is to be. There are at present three candidate sites—Strasbourg (where the Parliament currently holds most of its meetings), Luxembourg (where its secretariat is housed) and Brussels (where the Commission and Council meet and where the Parliament's committee meetings are held).

It is most unlikely that by the end of next year the new shape of the European Community will have become apparent or that definitive new solutions to Europe's economic and political problems will have been found. But 1981 is bound to see the beginning of changes which may, in a few years, transform the face of the European Community.

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